

JACOBITE GLEANINGS

FROM STATE MANUSCRIPTS

Short Sketches of Jacobites

The Transportations in 1745

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SHORT SKETCHES OF JACOBITES

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Contents

SHORT SKETCHES OF JACOBITES	5
CHAPTER I.....	5
CHAPTER II THE PRISONERS Landed Proprietors—Students.	10
CHAPTER III THE PRISONERS The Battle of Prestonpans—Some minor Combatants.....	14
CHAPTER IV THE PRISONERS Trading Class—Working Class— Professional Class— The Walkinshaws.	19
CHAPTER V The Epic of the '45—Prince Gustavus Vasa, the Swedish Pretender.	24
THE TRANSPORTATIONS IN 1745	27
CHAPTER I Stamping out the Rebellion—Life on board the prison-ships— Suggested cure for sickness at Tilbury Fort.	27
CHAPTER II Drawing lots—Acts as to transportation—Abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions disarming, etc., of Highlanders—Escapes in 1716—Offers to transport rebels abroad.....	30
CHAPTER III The Colonies and Plantations a dumping-ground for prisoners—The Colonisation movement—Rebels asked for by American Governor as soldiers— Transport contract.	34
CHAPTER IV Capture of ship with transported rebels—List and description of them—Their fate.....	37
CHAPTER V Efforts to transport Jacobite officers—List of transported rebels—The Colonisation movement fed by deportation of criminals—The Lord Justice-Clerk watching rebel doings in Scotland.	43
CHAPTER VI The contractor's correspondence as to shipping rebels—Could the Rebellion have been terminated earlier?—Pamphlet urging clemency to rebels— Mr. Whitfield's contribution to Colonisation—Estimated number of forced emigrants—Formation of Highland loyal regiments—Disloyalty on the wane—Instance of personal resentment against witnesses giving evidence— Scottish Colonists and their Celtic influence—The benefits of transportation.	48

SHORT SKETCHES OF JACOBITES

CHAPTER I

Petitions for mercy—Accompany affidavits—Attempts at extenuation—Plea of being commandeered—Hard swearing—Plea of youth—Hope of escaping death—Memorials on behalf of prisoners indicative of humanity of the period—Hobbes' selfish idea of origin of sympathy—Attitude of Collins, Fielding, and Thomson of *The Seasons* to the Rebellion—Dr. Samuel Johnson—Anecdote of his Jacobite leanings—How Boswell became a loyalist—Dr. Johnson at Derby—His opinion of the Rising of 1745—Advises Boswell to write its history—Johnson on the taking of Cape Breton—The Union of the Crowns—The War Office preparations to meet Prince Charles—Expectation of his march into Wales.

THE high-road of Jacobite research has been well trodden down by hunters of historical records, but there still remain for the quest of the humble student of these remote times the shady nooks and crannies, the budding hedgerows, and the tempting bypaths nestling well out of the beaten track, or what Keats calls 'ways made for our searching.' Among such out-of-the-way records of facts must undoubtedly be classed the petitions for mercy presented by prisoners under sentence of death, as well as the accompanying affidavits testified to by well-wishers, whether Jacobite friends or Royalist foes. After the supreme moment of condemnation every nerve was strained, even in cases hopeless from the very outset, to secure a reprieve. Byron said of Nero that after his death 'some hand unseen strewed flowers o'er his tomb.' In like manner, no Jacobite however vile in the eyes of the law but had sympathisers eager to say a word for him if it would only be believed.

Some one wrote from Carlisle in September 1746: 'Mr. Graeme and Mr. Ferguson engaged all day in drawing petitions.' These documents, with their personal confessions by the prisoners, throw an interior light on the motives which led the latter to join the rebellion, as well as on the current of their connection with it. While many persons were forced to enlist under the Prince's banners, not a few asked to be 'commandeered,' so that they might have in reserve the plea of compulsion; and thus what each class had to face was the question—Did you do your best to escape at the first opportunity? There is no doubt that in these petitions there was much of what is popularly known as 'hard swearing' with a view to mitigate the sentences passed on the accused. Attempts were made, and very naturally in the circumstances, to minimise the part which each played in the rebellion, and to represent that, being forced into it, every effort was made to escape from its thrall. Ages were frequently underestimated so as to form the groundwork of a petition for mercy on the score of youth. Then the plea of humanity to the Royalist wounded and prisoners was often tendered, and as a rule with success. There were Jacobites who would spurn to sue for mercy themselves, as this would be to acknowledge the

ruling sovereign, and such prisoners never looked for pardon. These are the true heroes of the rebellion, but they are not so numerous as may be imagined. And all had the human side in view—had they not wives, sisters, daughters, lovers, friends, from whom they would fain not be separated?

The memorials on behalf of the prisoners, viewed in the light of efforts to save life, are indicative of an amount of all-round humanity which is highly creditable to the period. It is possible that public sympathy may have been quickened by the brutality of some of the executions, acting and reacting on the few who saw them, and the many who merely read or heard of them. Hobbes of Malmesbury imputes our feelings for others in their moments of pain to the circumstance that the like suffering is partially experienced by us, and that this community of feeling in turn induces what is called sympathy. Some public men happily took up the humane cry. Collins the poet composed an ode to excite compassion for the unhappy rebels, after he had published his famous poem 'How Sleep the Brave' in honour of the Boyalists who had fallen in battle. Fielding, on the other hand, took up cudgels for king and country, and set on foot his paper, *The True Patriot*, to create feelings of loyalty during the rebellion; and thereafter he began *The Jacobite Journal*, in the stilted phraseology of the period, 'to discredit the shattered remains of an unsuccessful party; and by a well-directed raillery and ridicule to bring the sentiments of the disaffected into contempt.' As for the Scottish poet of *The Seasons*, James Thomson of Ednam, he was too much taken up with the performance of his play *Tancred and Sigismunda* in Drury Lane Theatre by Mr. Garrick and Mrs. Cibber to do anything on behalf of his compatriots languishing in almost every prison throughout Britain. Allowance must also be made for him in the fact that he had the coming *Castle of Indolence* on his hands, and that he had to endure the chagrin of being laughed out of his *Sophonisba* refrain.

Dr. Samuel Johnson was in his thirty-fifth year at the time of the rebellion, but his biographer is not able to say much as to his attitude towards it. Apparently the great lexicographer was busy with his notes on Shakespeare, and was at this time little known to fame. He published in 1745 a pamphlet on *Macbeth*, which Warburton eulogised, and in regard to which Johnson said, 'He praised me at a time when praise was of value to me.' Johnson, however, had certain Jacobite leanings; and it is told of him that, dining one day in 1763 at old Mr. Langton's, where the latter's niece was one of the company, he took her by the hand and said, 'My dear, I hope you are a Jacobite.' The old gentleman asked Johnson, with great warmth, what he could mean by putting such a question to his niece. 'Why, sir,' said Johnson, 'I meant no offence to your niece; I meant her a great compliment. A Jacobite, sir, believes in the divine right of kings. He that believes in the divine right of kings believes in a divinity. A Jacobite believes in the divine right of bishops. He that believes in the divine right of bishops believes in the divine authority of the Christian religion.' Johnson also used to tell this story about his biographer, which is said to

be literally true: 'Boswell in the year 1745 was a fine boy, wore a white cockade, and prayed for King James, till one of his uncles (General Cochran) gave him a shilling on condition that he would pray for King George, which he accordingly did.'

On Friday, 19th September 1777, Dr. Johnson and Boswell set out in a friend's chaise for Derby by way of Lord Scarsdale's seat at Keddlestone, with its many objects of interest. On the way, Boswell had the benefit of the great man's conversation. The doctor strongly expressed his love of driving fast in a post-chaise. 'If,' said he, 'I had no duties, and no reference to futurity, I would spend my life in driving briskly in a postchaise with a pretty woman; but she should be one who could understand me, and would add something to the conversation.' Leaving this amorous flight of the good doctor with its adroit saving clause, we pass to a more relevant remark on the part of his biographer, who thus addressed him: 'I observed that we were this day to stop where the Highland army did in 1745.' Johnson: 'It was a noble attempt.' Boswell: 'I wish we could have an authentic history of it.' Johnson: 'If you were not an idle dog you might write it, by collecting from everybody what they can tell, and putting down your authorities.' Boswell: 'But I could not have the advantage of it in my life-time.' Johnson: 'You might have the satisfaction of its fame, by printing it in Holland; and as to profit, consider how long it was before writing came to be considered in a pecuniary view. Baretti says, he is the first man that ever received copy-money in Italy.' 'I said that I would endeavour to do what Dr. Johnson suggested; and I thought that I might write so as to venture to publish my History of the Civil War in Great Britain in 1745 and 1746 without being obliged to go to a foreign press.' Boswell, however, learning that John Home was preparing an account of 'that interesting warfare,' desisted from the attempt. It is well that he did so, as history is not now compiled from conversations so much as from authentic documents, either in State or in private possession. There are many who have aimed at writing a complete History of the Rebellion. This will only be possible when all the public records bearing thereon have been duly classified and arranged and made accessible to the student of those times.

In his political essays, Dr. Johnson incidentally casts a light on the public feeling during the Rebellion period. After remarking that Cape Breton, the most important fortress in America, had been taken by Pepperel, with the assistance of the Fleet, he added: 'We pleased ourselves so much with the acquisition, that we could not think of restoring it; and among other arguments used to enflame the people against Charles Stuart, it was very clamorously urged, that if he gained the kingdom he would give Cape Breton back to the French.' The doctor then pointed out that the French had a more easy expedient to regain Cape Breton than by exalting Charles Stuart to the English throne; they took in their turn Fort St. George in the East Indies, and got back Cape Breton in exchange. He states also his opinion that the Union of the two countries happened at a critical

time. 'Had England and Scotland continued separate kingdoms, when France was established in the full possession of her natural power, the Scots, in continuance of the League, which it would now have been more than ever their interest to observe, would, upon every instigation of the French court, have raised an army with French money, and harassed us with an invasion, in which they would have thought themselves successful, whatever numbers they might have left behind them. In a people warlike and indigent, an incursion into a rich country is never hurtful. The pay of France and the plunder of the northern counties would always have tempted them to hazard their lives, and we should have been under a necessity of keeping a line of garrisons along our border.' After perusing this, the reflection occurs: it is pleasant to think of dangers past.

How did King George view this bold attempt to wrest his throne from him? It undoubtedly alarmed his Government, especially when the march into England was well on its way. The means of getting intelligence were then few and slight, and the unknown added terror. 'The battle of Falkirk, fought when the Highlanders were in full and hurried retreat, appalled the Court.' So says Lord Bosebery, who adds, 'The only smiling faces were those of the dauntless old King and the malicious but comforted Cope.' Among the War Office records are notes of the preparations made to fight Prince Charlie. The alarm signals were, by day, a flag at St. Paul's answered by a flag in St. Martin's Church; and by night, 7 guns every halfminute from the Tower answered by 7 guns every half-minute from St. James's. Then 34 battalions and 22 squadrons were set in motion, including 6 battalions and 8 squadrons of Hessians coming from Flanders. The troops about London numbered 6500; and for the preservation of the King's person there were 7 battalions of foot-guards, 4196 all told, and 379 horse and grenadier guards. 'There will remain,' the records state, 'the above body of 6500 men, the far greater part veterans, to oppose any invasion, with dragoons and 3500 foot extra.' This looks like an army of 10,000 men on paper, exclusive of the force which was 'set in motion.'

As to the probable movements of the Prince, the War department made the shrewd guess that he might betake himself to Wales. The official statement was: 'Rebels may give Marshal Wade the slip by throwing themselves into North Wales, which seems the thing most to be feared.' In the Duke of Atholl's memoirs of his family, it will be observed that Lord George Murray, the skilful commander of the Jacobite forces, did actually contemplate making for Wales as a place in and from which military operations could be conducted with advantage to the Prince's cause. Wales is a mountainous country, some of the hills running almost into the sea, and it would be, in addition, a convenient spot for getting assistance from France. Moreover, the Duke of Beaufort and Sir Watkin William Wynne, the great territorial magnates in Wales, were understood to be friendly to Prince Charles; so that with a well-disposed population, and in what may be termed difficult country, an insurrection could have been maintained far longer than on the level, granted that the force could have been fed and

kept together.

CHAPTER II
THE PRISONERS
Landed Proprietors—Students.

PASSING from these topics to some of the actors in the great drama of the Rebellion, which as a military spectacle lasted only ten months, but the effects of which remain with us unto this day, we select Sir David Murray, Bart, of Stanhope, as a fair specimen of the titled prisoners of the rebellion. He was a youth of only sixteen years when he attached himself to the Jacobite party. Being much thought of by Prince Charles, he was chosen to be one of the latter's aides-de-camp. Though so young, he held the rank of captain of hussars, whose regimental headgear was a fur cap. He appears to have freely requisitioned horses and arms, for which he gave receipts. One of these reads thus:—

‘Sir James Cunningham, Milncraig, near Livingston. Livingston, Oct. 28, 1745. Received of Sir James Cunningham a Bay Mare, a Saddle, a Fowling-Piece and a Broadsword by D. Murray.’

On the day of the Clifton engagement, before it was fought, Sir David went from the house of Arthur Moore, where he was quartered, towards Clifton, and immediately returned to Colonel Bagnott, a brother officer, and said, ‘Colonel, shall I set fire to the village?’ to which the colonel replied, ‘Ay, damn it, stick and stone.’ There is no record, however, of the accomplishment of such an act of destruction. After Culloden, Sir David roamed the country, and some of his wanderings are recounted in the *Journal of the Escape of the Young Chevalier* (London, 1760). On the Friday following the engagement he was at Ruthveu in Badenoch; he was next heard of at Lochleven near Glencoe, then at Glenlyon, and afterwards at the Braes of Balquhiddar on his way to an English coast town. The State records tell how he came to be captured. Two custom officers received information that there was in the house of a Catholic named Simpson, a mile from Whitby, a person waiting for a passage abroad. They accordingly went and searched the house, but found that Sir David, for it was he, had quitted his bed and escaped into a hedge in a field close by. Here he turned at bay, drew his pen-knife and ran ‘very fiercely’ up to the officers; but before he could close with them he was knocked down with a cane and secured. He said that if he had had his pistols he would have shot them both. He was in disguise and was about to board a vessel at Whitby, which had been hired to take him to Holland. Tried and sentenced, he was pardoned in August 1748 on condition of not returning to the kingdom. In December of same year, being attached to Prince Charles's retinue, he was arrested in Paris along with his master and put into confinement till they were all conducted out of France.

James Stormonth of Pitscandlie, a small lairdship near Forfar, was relieved on the same condition. The official account of Pitscandlie is that he was born in the county of Forfar; he was in England with the rebels in no capacity as an officer, but along with Lord Ogilvie's regiment. About the

beginning of October 1745 he received a letter from Lord Ogilvie requiring him to come and join him, which he did.' It was stated in his favour that he had hid from the rebels, that he had surrendered, and that he had a wife and nine children dependent on him. Adam Hay of Asslid, John Burnet, and Francis Farquharson of Monaltrie, were pardoned on the same terms.

The Honourable William Murray, brother of Lord Dunmore, and for some time a prisoner in the Tower of London, was confined for life in Carisbrook Castle, Isle of Wight.

Sir James Kinloch, Bart, of Kinloch, was immured, on 8th August 1746, along with his two brothers Charles and Alexander, in a room of the New Gaol, Southwark, where his friend, Sir John Wedderburn, Bart., also was, when Mr. Sharpe, Solicitor to the Treasury, came to examine them. Both of these baronets stated where they were born, but refused, as it appears many others also did, to give any further answers to interrogations. If the Crown wanted information, it must be got elsewhere, was in effect their reply. One of the Kinloch brothers was soon after laid up with fever. The Rev. James Gow, minister of Cargill, Perthshire, wrote in Sir James Kinloch's favour. Sir James did not wish to go abroad after being reprieved, but preferred to find bail here. He was accordingly compelled to stay in a place in the country fixed by his Majesty.

His brother, Charles Kinloch, was also implicated in the rebellion, and the following interesting testimonial was given in his favour:—' We, designed by our Subscriptions, who were prisoners to the rebels and carried as such from Aberdeen under the command of Sir James Kinloch to Perth, do certify that Charles Kinloch, brother to the said Sir James, and who was in company with him, did behave and carry himself toward us with great civility and discretion, and was ready as he had opportunity to do us any service during our confinement.—Aberdeen, 29th September 1746.

Jo. Chalmers, Principal of King's College. Tho. Porbes of Echt. David Bartlet, Advocate in Aberdeen.' The heritors in the parishes of Alyth, Kattray, Bendochie, and Coupar-Angus also sent a petition in his favour, which was signed by James Anderson of Hallyyards, Wm. Graeme of Jordanstoun, Patrick Yeaman of Blacklaw, Sir Wm. Nairne of Duusinnane, and C. Halyburton of Denhead. He also was reprieved.

Certificates of character were not always efficacious. Sir John Wedderburn, Bart., already alluded to, who was officially described as 'a Volunteer in Lord Ogilvie's regiment and a Collector of Excise for the rebels at Perth,' was one of the early victims of the rebellion. After a six hours' trial at St. Margaret's Hill he was found guilty and condemned to death. In vain did his parish minister transmit a memorial to the authorities on his behalf and state therein that Sir John had a wife and eight children; they would probably reply that he should first have counted the cost. An ancestor of his was Sir David Wedderburn, who was killed at the battle of Pinkie. Sir John's father—Sir Alexander Wedderburn—having

got into debt sold his estate, with the result that his son was steeped in poverty and had to live in a small farm with a thatched house and clay floor, while his children ran about barefoot. Sir John vainly urged the plea that he had been several times carried off by the rebels, that his three horses had been taken from him, and that he had never borne arms against the Government. The fact that he had collected taxes for the Pretender was fatal to all his pleas. He was captured at Culloden, whither he had betaken himself after Perth ceased to be occupied by Prince Charlie. Sir John was executed at Kennington Common on the 28th November 1746.

Walter Mitchell, who once did duty as an ensign at Carlisle, was a student at Aberdeen, but left the University when only seventeen, and went to Buchan from fear of Gordon of Glenbucket, who was on the prowl for recruits. He petitioned for pardon on the ground that he had been forced to join the rebels. His story was that Lord Pitsligo's men surrounded the house; and on his resisting, he got two wounds in the head with the lock of a pistol; a shot was fired across his breast; he was put upon a barebacked horse, his feet were tied under the horse's belly, and he was carried off sixty miles, though his mother had offered twenty guineas for his release. The rebels told her they wanted men, not money. He was put in gaol at Montrose and taken for trial to Southwark. Another of Mitchell's pleas was that his mother had supplied Sir John Cope with straw and hay at Banff. His fate is not told.

William Sharpe, son of Alexander Sharpe, merchant, St. Andrews, was another student who linked his fate with Prince Charlie. Like Mitchell he was only seventeen when he went with them. The judges thought him 'an object of mercy,' and his age was attested by a certificate of birth produced by the session-clerk of the parish. It was in Sharpe's favour that, after having had fever, he left the rebels. His Alma Mater— St. Leonard's College in the University of St. Andrews—came to his rescue. On the 18th August 1746 the following professors testified in a petition that 'Wm. Sharpe was a student with us in the year 1745, was a modest, assiduous boy, had a good genius for learning, and made considerable progress, but in vacation time he was unluckily seduced,' etc.

Thos. Tullideph, Principal.
John Craigie, Prof, of Philosophie
Hen. Rymer,
David Young,
Nin. Young,

While lying in Carlisle Castle, Sharpe was reported by Wm. James, surgeon, to be in a very bad state of health. An official note as to Sharpe ran as follows:—'Said to be in Life Guards of Pretender.' He was reprieved in November 1746, but lay in Carlisle gaol till August 1747, when he and a companion, Robert Weight, an Edinburgh gentleman, made their escape, being evidently tired of durance vile. The remaining four prisoners were in

consequence put in irons, and they petitioned for the fetters being struck off. They stated that Sharpe and Wright, having money, boarded in the gaoler's house, and had the liberty of walking in the gaol-yard at all hours of the night as well as day. They were of opinion that the two escaped over the gaol wall, as two chairs were found there next morning. As a result' all of us were closely locked up immediately after 7 at night and kept under strong lock till 7 next morning.' Mr. Webb, the prosecuting solicitor, wrote to the Duke of Newcastle about their escape as made 'at a time when they had reason to expect his Majesty's clemency.' He imputed the facility of their escape to the fact that it was Fair Day, when there would be many persons to see the prisoners, who were no doubt one of the sights of the town. Sharpe and Wright were both pardoned.

CHAPTER III THE PRISONERS

The Battle of Prestonpans—Some minor Combatants.

DAVID ROW or RUE, who was executed at York, was a captain in the rebel army, and guarded the baggage at the battle of Prestonpans. He was in Lieut-Colonel Lochgarry of Lochgarry's regiment in the action of Clifton, Glengarry being then in command of the rear-guard. Row was once captured by a French privateer, and was detained as a ransom, through which his health suffered. An unavailing attempt was made to show, by some foolish freaks on his part at Anstruther, Fife, that his mind was somewhat weak. He was followed there by troops of children, who called him 'daft.' He was at one time a custom-house officer.

ALEXANDER STEVENSON was another officer in charge of Prince Charlie's baggage, and this lost him his life.

WILLIAM CONOLLY, who was tried and executed at York, was not a rebel of note; but his case illustrates the fact that when the authorities got outside information unfavourable to any one, it prejudiced them greatly against him. In truth they gave it as much weight as if it had been actual testimony made on oath in open court. It was said against Conolly that he had been formerly in the Scots Fusiliers; that while at the battle of Prestonpans he had 'advised to kill the redcoats, especially of Lee's regiment, because they would know him again'; and last, that he had killed a soldier.

DONALD M'DONALD OF TERNADREISH was a major in Keppoch's regiment. It was officially stated that he gave no quarter to the Royalists at Prestonpans, and that when the Duke of Perth came riding up to him and said, 'Major, I am sorry to see so much English blood spilt, for God's sake give the men quarter,' his answer was, 'My Lord, if we do not kill them here, we shall have to do it in another place, for they won't stay with us.' It is only fair to say that all accounts of the Major's character belie the brutality imputed to him by the Crown authorities. Such a story was of course fatal to his obtaining pardon. The Major made an effort to escape from Carlisle Castle by bribing the guard, but the attempt was discovered after he had filed off his fetters.

JOHN MACNAUGHTON, journeyman watchmaker, Edinburgh, was another rebel against whom cruelty was charged in connection with the fight at Prestonpans. He was proved by two eye-witnesses, men of Colonel Lee's dragoons, to have 'shot Colonel Gardiner and given him three wounds with his sword when he was fallen to the ground.' A third witness proved he had 'bragged' of having killed Colonel Gardiner. Mr. Sharpe, writing to the Duke of Newcastle, on 20th September 1746, said: 'I find that M'Naughton that Sir Everard Fawkener spoke and that I wrote to Mr. Webb about, by his Grace's directions, was the villain who shot Colonel Gardiner behind his back and basely covered him with wounds after he was down. I

therefore submit it to his Grace's consideration whether anything but the most absolute necessity should induce his Grace to receive such a wretch to mercy.' M'Naughton wrote a letter, on 22nd September 1746, to Murray of Broughton, who was then in the Tower of London. After stating that it was sworn against him that he had killed and abused Colonel Gardiner, and that before pronouncing sentence the Judge had singled him out as the person guilty of that crime, he asserted his innocence of the deed and added: 'The very day that you was taken, I was seized within two miles of my father's house and sent for to Perth, from thence transmitted here, and have been cast in the heavy sentence for high treason pronounced against me. When I came first here I was heavily ironed with a ball. If there be any persons at London who know the truth concerning Colonel Gardiner, let their oaths be taken and presented to his Majesty.' This letter would never reach Secretary Murray, as prisoners were not allowed to communicate with one another. M'Naughton was executed with every barbarity.

CAPTAIN GEORGE HAMILTON OF REDHOUSE, who was taken at Clifton, had a solicitor and counsel assigned to him at York in August 1746. This story was told against him, which no doubt helped to seal his doom. He drew his sword, after the battle of Prestonpans, in the Canongate Church, where several of the King's soldiers were confined, and said if they did not 'list he would cut them to pieces, and those that were Irish, it was a reflection on Ireland if they wouldn't. Captain Hamilton intended to take a commission in the army, but couldn't buy one, as he had lost money. Mr. James Johnston, writer in Edinburgh, sent a memorial on his behalf, in which instances of his humanity were shown. 'He behaved with great moderation, and particularly when the deponent happened to be living with his uncle, a surgeon in Prestonpans, when the battle happened to be fought there. Mr. Hamilton was seen taking the most tender care of the wounded of his Majesty's army. That he spirited on the deponent, and he, at his intercession, did the like to the surgeon, his uncle, to be assisting to them. That Mr. Hamilton supplied them with necessaries for dressing their wounds; and when some proposed to give drams to the wounded men, Mr. Hamilton directed that they should get water gruel, because he saw that would be the most effectual means of preserving them from fevering. That Dr. Dundas, who came afterwards to visit the wounded, approved of what Mr. Hamilton had done.'

ROBERT TAYLOR, an Edinburgh shoemaker, thirty years of age, held the rank of captain in the rebel army. He pleaded guilty at Carlisle, and was condemned to death. The fact that the judges recommended him to mercy gave him some hope in approaching the Crown. He accordingly sued for pardon, and his petition, with its accompanying affidavits, tells how the wounded Royalists fared at the battle of Prestonpans, and the kindly aid which they received from both Royalist and Jacobite surgeons. The readiness of Royalist military men to save the lives of their quondam enemies is very noticeable. On Taylor's behalf, Mr. Alex. Monro, Professor of Anatomy, Edinburgh University, testified on oath, and was the more

able to do so that he was employed, he said, 'all the day of the unfortunate battle of Preston tending the wounded officers and soldiers who were put into the late Colonel Gardiner's house and courtyard.' No food, or drink save water, could be procured for them in the neighbourhood. On Sunday evening, when returning to Edinburgh for the second time after visiting the wounded, he met Taylor at Musselburgh, four miles from Edinburgh, guarding some hampers of wine, spirits, cold meat, etc., in a cart for the use of the wounded, and which he had forced and kept from the rebels, who had tried to take the wine from him. He had also begged bread and cold meat on the Sunday morning for the same purpose. Mr. James Drummond, surgeon to Hon. Colonel Lascelles' regiment, and others who had continued at Preston to take care of the wounded, had thankfully acknowledged the seasonable relief.

The Professor also stated that he had visited Captain Disney, of Colonel Murray's regiment, who was 'very ill wounded.' Taylor procured a pass for the latter and his servant for Edinburgh, secured his money and effects, hired a chaise for him, and procured a guard to protect him in going to Edinburgh, hired lodgings for him there, and secured his servant, who had run off with his pass and money. Captain Disney wrote to General Guest (commanding Edinburgh Castle) on his behalf. Deponent was informed that Taylor had saved the lives of a considerable number of his Majesty's soldiers whom the rebels were about to cut in pieces at the battle of Preston. The above was sworn at Carlisle on 12th September 1746. Leonard Hewetson, lieutenant of H.M. Regiment of Foot (the Hon. Colonel Lee), deponed that on 21st September 1745 he had the misfortune to be wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Preston. He testified to the attention to the wounded by Taylor, who distributed wine and other necessaries, getting lodgings for them and chaises into Edinburgh, with protection for those unable to walk, and particularly to his care of Captain Disney, of the Hon. Colonel Murray's regiment, who had his hand cut off.

The following letter was written on Taylor's behalf to General Guest:— 'Perth, 12 October 1745.—Sir, I am glad to have the honour of sending my duty to you and good Mrs. Guest. It was recommended to me by last post to present you with Colonel Whitefoord's, Colonel Halket's, and the other field officers' compliments, and to acquaint you from them that they and most of the officers had taken particular notice of the remarkable care Mr. Taylour (now a prisoner in the Castle) took of our wounded prisoners at Colonel Gardiner's house and by his tender good offices and great assiduity in getting surgeons, providing refreshments, etc. This they thought a piece of justice to the gentleman to acquaint you of, that you may have an opportunity to give such orders about his confinement as you shall think proper. Eagle Griffith.' This, it will be admitted, was a testimonial highly creditable to the humanity of the officers who authorised its transmission to General Guest.

MORTON M'PHERSON, late servant to Richard Walker, vintner in Edinburgh, stated that 'on the 22nd September 1745 (the day after the

battle) Taylor applied to Mrs. Walker (in her husband's absence) for wine, spirits, oil, bread, cold butcher meat, and poultry, to a considerable value, to be sent to Colonel Gardiner's house in Preston for the use of his Majesty's officers and prisoners and wounded there. These were sent, and what was left was placed in the hands of Mr. Drummond, chirurgion to the Hon. Colonel Lascelles' regiment, and that the wines, etc., were paid for by the said Robert Taylor, and that the deponent was called upon by the latter to assist him to raise from the ground a soldier of the King's army who was lying near the field of battle very ill wounded, and that they carried him into a room in Colonel Gardiner's house hard by, and that he saw Taylor give the soldier some glasses of wine, and heard him give orders to take care of him.'

MISS CHRISTIAN SANDILANDS, daughter of Lord Sandilands, testified that she was living at Colonel Gardiner's house in Preston, attending her brother, the Master of Torphichen, a lieutenant in Colonel Lascelles' Regiment of Foot, who was wounded and a prisoner. Saw Eobert Taylor distributing wine, etc. Anne Denoon, wife of Richard Walker, vintner in Edinburgh, said that on 22nd September 1745 Taylor applied for wines, spirits, also bread and butchery for prisoners to be sent to Colonel Gardiner's house. These were sent accordingly in hampers by two servants who went along with the horses: the cost was paid by Taylor. Jean Bea, late servant to Robert Menzies, W.S., said she was sent out to attend the Master of Torphichen in Edinburgh, along with her mistress (Miss Sandilands). Her brother saw Taylor distributing the wines, etc., to the soldiers and officers, who seemed to be starving and distressed. Taylor was reprieved and got his freedom after being in prison for a time. He was captured in a somewhat inglorious fashion by some soldiers who were let down with ropes from Edinburgh Castle while Prince Charles held the city in his possession.

ARCHIBALD STEWART, a rebel soldier, who had been a servant to the Duke of Perth for ten years, obtained pardon through his humanity to the wounded. He saved the life of Major Bowles at the battle of Prestonpans, and the Major's story, along with the other affidavits in Stewart's favour, throws light on the manner in which the Royalist wounded fared after that decisive fight. The Major, who was in General Hamilton's regiment at the battle, thus wrote to his brother, Mr. William Bowles, M.P., Mark Lane, London, on Stewart's behalf:—' I gladly embrace the opportunity of endeavouring to show my gratitude to a man who undoubtedly was more than instrumental in saving my life, for he not only supported me with a strong arm when I was fainting and almost dying with the great loss of blood which ran from eleven wounds, but also preserved me from being cut to pieces by the straggling Highlanders, which in all probability would have been my fate, if it had not been for his care and protection.' Stewart was also helpful to General Sir John Cope's principal servant, and to his coachman, who were taken at the same battle. He got free passes for both of these men, by means of which they were restored to liberty.

LIEUTENANT DAVID DRUMMOND, of Colonel Lee's regiment, also wrote in Stewart's favour, and told how the latter had carried him and other wounded to the house of a Mr. Cheap, of Prestonpans, where he saved his (Drummond's) life a second time from the barbarous Highlanders who had got into the house. Stewart put a guard before the house, and lay all night on the floor to prevent accidents. He got horses for such as could ride, and litters for those who could not. Cornet Andrew Jacob, of Major-General Hamilton's dragoons, said that he saved his life. Sergeant John Eea, Colonel Lee's regiment, stated that Stewart prevented him being stripped and murdered at the same battle, got lodgings for him, and dressings for his wounds, and sent the wounded to Edinburgh under an escort of ten men. Mr. Cunningham and Mr. Burrows gave similar testimony. Lieutenant-Colonel Wright referred to Stewart's humanity to his soldiers, and William Trotter, surgeon in Major-General Hamilton's dragoons, similarly certified. An Edinburgh innkeeper, called David Murray, said he was sent for next day after the battle to take care of Drummond, and that Stewart had got two surgeons to attend him. Robert Drummond, tradesman, Leith, said he heard Stewart order a convoy by the request of a soldier's wife to fetch her husband, who lay under wounds received at the battle.

Among the examinations of prisoners there are three of some interest, two of them recalling this the most famous of all Prince Charlie's exploits—the battle of Prestonpans. The records read thus:—'Coventry, 8th December 1745. Guard of Scotch Fusiliers—Examination of prisoners.—One said he was trying to recover his horse—that rebels took away his shirts, shoes, breeches, and that he followed them to recover them. His master's black horse was stolen, and he was taken prisoner by rebels and was sworn never to take up arms against King James or his son Charles. He went in search of his brother, and they both went to see the battle. Thomas Harvey of Braintree in Essex, said he was a soldier in Col. Lascelles' regiment, and taken at the battle of Prestonpans and kept prisoner for a month in the Cannongate at Edinr., and on refusing to serve the Pretender, he with several others was ordered to be sent to Blair Atholl Castle, but on their removal found means to escape over a wall and got to Carlisle, where also he escaped and got to Stafford, where, with Wm. Roberts, he offered to enlist in the Duke's service, but was kept in the guardroom to be examined, but in the hurry was forgot and brought to Coventry with the rest. Wm. Roberts, of Bolton in the Water, in Glou'ster, but served an apprenticeship at Birmingham, said he was a soldier in Col. Lascelles' regiment, received four wounds at the battle of Prestonpans, was a prisoner five weeks, and escaped to Carlisle, where he served duty on the walls for six days and nights, and when the town surrendered he, with several of his comrades, expecting no mercy from the rebels, applied to the major, who furnished them with ropes by which they escaped over the walls, and that he with the above Thomas Harvey came to Stafford together and offered to enlist there, but were detained in the guardroom to be examined, but were forgotten, and brought to Coventry with the rest.'

CHAPTER IV
THE PRISONERS
Trading Class—Working Class—Professional Class—
The Walkinshaws.

THOMAS COLLINGWOOD was tried but acquitted at Carlisle, and the official reason therefor was thus stated: 'Occasioned by Mr. Cuthbertson, Town Clerk of Newcastle, suppressing, or at least not producing the prisoner's examination.' Prisoners were evidently expected to minister to their own condemnation.

ANDREW WOOD, shoemaker, Glasgow, was tried and condemned. He made shoes for the rebels in Glasgow; he was greatly in debt and was offered a captain's commission in the Jacobite army. In his petition for mercy, he stated that his grandfather had been a lieut.-colonel in the Revolution and commanded 500 men, and that his father had taken the Government side in the rising of 1715. He stated also that he had been instrumental in effecting the escape of nine Glasgow men who had been taken prisoners by the Jacobites. An affidavit testifying to his efforts in this direction was signed on the 22nd Sept. 1746 by various signatories in presence of the Right Hon. And. Cochran, Lord Provost of Glasgow, and bore the corporation's seal—'Let Glasgow flourish.' Wood was said to be under twenty-one years of age, and was for some time confined in the gaol at Southwark. He was tried at St. Margaret's Hill and executed at Kennington Common on the 28th November 1746.

J. COCKBURN, stocking-weaver, Glasgow, was immured in Towerhill, and his was a pathetic case. He had three sons, and he thus wrote to them on 31st January 1746: 'Dear Children,—Should it please God I be taken to himself, I leave you two of my stocking frames. Let me entreat you to imitate your grandfather in his valuable talents of honesty and probity, for this truth will always be found the best policy.'

JAMES INNES pleaded that he was 'near seventy years of age and that 300 men came into Cullen and forced him to go with them.'

ARCHIBALD KENNEDY, a jeweller's apprentice in Edinburgh, obtained testimony in his favour from Alex. Shaw, attorney at law in the city of Edinburgh.' Mr. Shaw said that Kennedy was eighteen years of age, and that when he joined the rebels the shops were all shut; and the youths having to go about idle mingled with the rebels who were in possession of the city, and that the shopkeepers removed their merchandise from their places of business.

RODERICK M'CULLOCH, 'a rebel officer from Ross-shire,' was also successful in appealing for clemency, having made many friends while soldiering. Edmund Anderson, late captain in Colonel Lascelles' regiment, stated that M'Culloch had protected him while a prisoner in Perth from insults on the part of Glaslulick, a Ross-shire officer in the rebel army.

Adam Gordon, Badenoch, also testified to his humanity. And Sir Harry Munro of Fowlis, who was another Royalist prisoner in Perth, certified that M'Culloch 'showed great civility and conveyed deponent's letters from the Post House unopened.' A graceful thing to do! On the 8th April 1746, a petition was presented in his favour by Lord Moray, J.P., R. Moubray of Cockairny, J.P., and other Fifeshire lairds. Another point in M'Culloch's favour was that he had helped a supernumerary surgeon's mate, taken prisoner, and placed in hospital among the wounded, to escape after the battle of Falkirk.

JOHN TUIITE petitioned for mercy because he had some special invention for raising water. James Gad obtained a free pardon. He had been recommended by the Master of Trinity College, Oxford, for having discovered a new method of printing.

ROBERT REID, who suffered at Carlisle, had some charges to meet. One was his attempts at enlistment. He offered James Campbell five guineas, and the same sum to James Holston, at Bell's butts, Jedburgh, if they would enlist in the rebel army. He is said also to have informed Campbell that he had been sent as a spy by the Prince to Newcastle.

PHILIP HUNT, who endured the last penalty of the law at Penrith, told this tale of his forced enlistment. Hunt was a barber to trade, and was standing in his apron at his door with many others as the rebels passed in December 1745. Lord George Murray dismounted, after riding up, and said, 'We want you—you both must and shall go along with us.' The Highlanders thereupon came up and took him away by force. He attempted to escape, but couldn't. At this time the rebels were quartered in houses, and persons had to sit up all night for want of beds.

FRANCIS TOWNLEY, colonel of the Manchester regiment, had it to his debit with the authorities that when Carlisle was besieged he was averse to surrendering to the Duke of Cumberland, and declared that it was better to die by the sword than deliver up the town to these d d Hanoverians.

His brother was in the rebellion of 1715, which was another circumstance not in his favour. Townley was executed at Kennington Common on 30th July 1746.

ALEX. HUTCHINSON, the Pretender's groom; Peter Lindsay, wardrobe keeper of Abbey of Holyrood House at time of rebellion; and Richard Morison, the Pretender's valet, were all tried at Carlisle and condemned. Morison was reprieved on the 12th November 1746, and was taken to London, no doubt to throw light on the Pretender's manner of life. In connection with Morison's trial, of which no account is published, Mr. Webb, the prosecuting solicitor, thus wrote from Carlisle: 'The trials went on with the utmost decency and without any improper expressions except that of one Morison, the Pretender's valet, on whose trial Mr. Lockhart told the jury that if they found him guilty, it would be Murder and Butchery. Mr. Noel in his reply animadverted on these with suitable

warmth, and showed how fairly and leniently the present proceedings had been conducted.' Before his reprieve, Morison had persons memorialising on his behalf. Eobert Leslie, wigmaker, testified that 'while the rebels were in Edinburgh Morison only once wore a white cockade, and that his answer therefor was that he was employed by several gentlemen with the Pretender to shave and make wigs for them, and that it was absolutely necessary to wear the cockade so as to get access to them. Saw him in the Abbey Court one day with a box of wigs newly made.' Alex. White, clerk to Wm. Adams, his Majesty's master mason for North Britain, gave an affidavit to the same effect. He said Morison was coming in and out to Holyrood Palace; he was seeking a situation under Government and was asking a Baron of the Exchequer to help him.

ROBERT FRASER, late secretary to Lord Lovat, was put under examination. He had been recommended to his lordship by Wm. Fraser, jun., a writer in Edinburgh. Mr. Fraser said that the night after the battle of Culloden, the Pretender's son came to Gortuleg and staid about two hours there with Lord Lovat, that the examinant helped the Pretender's son to a glass of wine, that Lord Lovat made a great many excuses to the Pretender's son on account of his age and infirmities for not having joined him in person, that the Pretender's son and Lord Lovat embraced and seemed very fond of each other, that this was the only time he ever remembers to have seen the Pretender's son with Lord Lovat.

ROBERT MAXWELL, officially designed as a 'Writer in Edinburgh, collected cess for Pretender,' was clerk to a rebel commissary, and he petitioned for mercy because he had surrendered at Edinburgh to the Lord Justice-Clerk. He thus described the duties of his office, after stating that he was only an amanuensis and had no salary: 'All I did was to get down the quantities of corn and straw that parties caused the country people to bring in, and to give it out to gentlemen's servants conform to instructions, and to take receipts for the same.' His petition was dated 3rd November 1746: he said in it that he had been upwards of four weeks in a high fever, 'which I hope will plead my excuse for prolixity and error.' He was reprieved a week later.

DR. ARCHIBALD CAMERON is an interesting personality, and he figures in *Chambers's History of the Rebellion* as revisiting the Highlands, and taking back to France with him some of the buried Jacobite louis d'ors. His fate is well known, but a few data from State manuscripts may be quoted to show the information, such as it was, on which the Crown acted. On the 15th October 1751, the Commissioners of Customs wrote concerning the arrival in Edinburgh of the wife of Dr. Archibald Cameron, and an order was given, with what effect is not stated, 'that Mrs. Cameron, who passes herself off as Mrs. Chalmers, be detained.' Parenthetically, one wonders what the Government could have done without these customs and excise officers, who acted as eyes and ears to them during and long after the rebellion, and performed duties much more of a police than fiscal or revenue character.

Two years afterwards, viz. on 20th April 1753, Stewart of Glenbucket was ordered to be brought to London for harbouring Dr. Cameron. Next follow, after the apprehension of the latter, the interviews of Mr. Sharpe and Mr. Cornwallis of the Treasury with Dr. Cameron, who furnished them with what they called a list of the services which he had rendered to his country. They sent, however, to the Crown a letter from a Captain Gardiner, enclosing a statement that 'Dr. Cameron had various blank commissions signed by the Pretender to be distributed in Scotland.' This may explain why on 3rd August the Lord Justice-Clerk was instructed to commit Barrisdale and others to the Castle at Edinburgh. Previous to this, Lochgarry had written to Dr. Cameron as follows: 'M'Donald of Barrisdale, who was attainted and apprehended some years ago in Scotland, had the benefit of his Majesty's mercy by being suffered to remain in the Castle of Edinburgh a prisoner till he died a natural death.' Barrisdale, distrusted by both parties, seemed to hop in and out of prison like a bird in and out of its cage. The inference was that Dr. Cameron should also be reprieved.

On 3rd June 1753, four days before his execution, Dr. Cameron said: 'It is all over with me. The King may execute me to-morrow if he pleases. I will give no trouble to the Court. His Majesty is a great and merciful Prince, and there is all my reliance. As for myself, I am indifferent; but I have a wife and children for whom, I own, I am greatly concerned.' In his last speech, which is preserved in the Home Office Warrant Book, the following notable passage occurs indicating the fortitude of the man at the time of his trial, a quality which he maintained to the close of his existence: 'I thank God I was not in the least daunted at hearing the bloody sentence which my unrighteous judge pronounced with a seeming insensibility till he came to the words *But not till you are Dead*, before which he made a pause, and uttering this with a particular emphasis, he stared me in the face to observe, I suppose, if I would be as much frightened at it as perhaps he would have been.' After his execution at Tyburn, Dr. Cameron was interred in the chancel vault of the old chapel of the Savoy.

At the trial of ÆNEAS MACDONALD, banker, it was proved that he had joined the Jacobites before the battle of Prestonpans, but had surrendered to General Campbell after Culloden. He said that he was French, and trained at Navarre College; but proof was led that he was born in Scotland and that he kept St. Andrew's Day—a dangerous thing to do in the circumstances! He was recommended to mercy and ultimately pardoned. Previous to his trial he said, 'It is notorious that my poor brother who paid for it with his life and fortune was brought into it by that villain Murray.' Before finally receiving his freedom he was confined in the New Gaol, Southwark, of which he thus wrote: '4th April 1748.—I was almost eaten up with vermin of all kinds last summer, though I did all possible to keep my ward clean. I would pay 6s. 8d. a day out of my pocket to get to a Messenger's house, rather than stay in this cursed place.'

JOHN WALKINSHAW was taken into custody as a suspected rebel, and the

Duke of Newcastle wrote to the military authorities concerning him, when the following reply was received:—'War Office, 22nd September 1746.—My Lord,— There is one Walkinshaw who solicits for some half-pay officers and has been often with me to importune for the Beating order for the Scotch Dutch; he was in the Rebellion in 1715, a noted Jacobite, and was on the scaffold with Lord Balmerino, whose wife now lives with him. I conclude this is the man your Grace enquires after. I hear he lives in York Buildings. There was a Walkinshaw Lieutenant in Lord Stair's who sold out last May; but there is no officer of that name now.—H. Fox.'

Mr. Walkinshaw is mentioned as agent for several half-pay officers and some West India correspondents. The execution of Lord Balmerino, who was a courageous and uncompromising Jacobite, took place on the 18th August 1746, and it is referred to in the following written statement by Mr. Walkinshaw: 'I cannot say I have known one cheerful day but the 18th when I attended in his last moments the greatest man that ever lived and was enabled by I do not know what power to go through and support that trial.' He was examined on 3rd October 1746 by T. Waite of the Crown Office as to the contributors to the Defence Fund of the Rebels—a tyrannical act, as every prisoner has a right to defend himself. The intention may have been to get at persons who were not overt rebels, but who secretly furnished the sinews of war. 'Being shown an Ode upon the Victory at Gladsmuir, 21st September 1745, directed to Mrs. Walkinshaw—doesn't know who sent it.' Mrs. or Miss Walkinshaw was his relative, and she was on very intimate terms with Prince Charles. In an intercepted letter, dated Carlisle, 27th September 1746, some one wrote, 'I depend more on Miss Walkingshaw as either of them.' If so, he was leaning on a broken reed. Lord Byron speculated on the probable effect of Cleopatra joining herself to the chariot of the great Julius Caesar.

'Had Caesar known but Cleopatra's kiss,
Rome had been free, the world had not been his.'

Who can estimate the injury which the Prince's Delilah inflicted on the sacred cause of the right divine of kings by attaching herself to its earthly embodiment in the base manner she did? Lord Rosebery says: 'When it was represented to the Prince that his mistress was not merely a scandal, but a spy, he risked his adherents, and lost his cause by retaining her'—a strong statement to come from one who is no mean authority in matters Jacobite.

CHAPTER V

The Epic of the '45—Prince Gustavus Vasa, the Swedish Pretender.

To Scotsmen there is a perennial interest in the events of the '45. They form an epic far transcending the *iEneid* of Virgil or the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* of Homer. They have to do with actual men and women—not with shadowy, mythical creations—and with sufferings which were only too real. We feel the actors in the great tragedy to be compounded of the same stuff as ourselves; but happily we are not called upon to take sides in what was a civil war in which the stronger did its best to efface the weaker party. Distance has lent enchantment to our view of the '45, and it forms a picture in Scottish history on which we love to dwell even with its lurid background of battle-smoke and headsman's axe. Small and confined as the arena of operations was, the interest in them has extended far beyond that limit, for there is no civilised nation that is not acquainted with the daring and gallant attempt of Prince Charles Edward to regain the British throne for the Stuart dynasty.

Among those specially interested in his movements must be numbered the class of what are known as Pretenders. These are usually princes who are aspirants to thrones from which they or their fathers have been expelled. The story of the '45 is naturally an object lesson to these Royal Exiles, many of whom have fled for refuge to this country, while some have been pleased to accept the hospitality of Holyrood. One of these scions of monarchy, Prince Gustavus of Sweden, came to Edinburgh in 1819, 'to do what Princes call studying.' His father had been dethroned by Napoleon, who put Bernadotte, one of his generals, on the throne in his stead. Lord Melville recommended the youth to Sir Walter Scott, who paid him every attention. The Prince was often in Scott's Castle Street residence along with his accomplished attendant, the Baron Polier. Lockhart says that the only portrait in Scott's Edinburgh dining-room was one of Charles xn. of Sweden, and that all were struck with the remarkable resemblance which the exiled Prince's air and features presented to the hero of his race. He adds, 'Young Gustavus, on his part, hung with keen and melancholy enthusiasm on Scott's anecdotes of the expedition of Charles Edward Stuart.'

On the 2nd February 1820, the Prince, Scott, and Lockhart went to Mr. Constable, the publisher's, shop in the High Street, to see therefrom the ceremonial connected with the proclamation of King George iv. at the Cross of Edinburgh. Scott explained all the details to the Prince, and spoke even of the conduct of the Edinburgh Corporation in removing the beautiful Gothic Cross for the sake of widening the thoroughfare. The day was one of bright sunshine; and the antique tabards of the heralds, the trumpet notes of God Save the King, and the huzzas of the uncovered multitude, formed a pleasing function to all who witnessed it, saving and excepting the Royal Exile, on whom it had quite the opposite effect.

Lockhart says that 'he surveyed it with a flushed cheek and a watery eye; and Scott, observing his emotion, withdrew with me to another window, whispering—"Poor lad! poor lad! God help him."

The Prince was also acquainted with one of Scott's intimate friends, James Skene of Rubislaw, who showed the Prince one day a set of portraits of the last two generations of the Royal Family of Scotland, which hung in Skene's dining-room. These had been presented to his grandfather by Prince Charles 'in consideration of the sacrifices he had made during the unfortunate enterprise of 1745, he having raised and commanded one of the battalions of Lord Lewis Gordon's brigade.' Skene, who tells of his interviews with Prince Gustavus, adds: 'The portrait of Prince Charles Edward, taken about the same age as Count Itterburg (Gustavus's travelling name), and no doubt also the marked analogy existing in the circumstances to which they had both been reduced, seemed much to engage his notice; and when the ladies had retired, he begged me to give him some account of the rebellion and of the various endeavours of the Stuarts to regain the Scottish throne.'

Skene, in his interesting *Reminiscences*, tells how he had to narrate all the details of the struggle, including Prince Charles Edward's curious escape from his enemies. The Swedish Exile was not content with information up to this point only, but asked further, 'what effect the failure of the enterprise had on the Prince's character, with whose gallant bearing and enthusiasm in the conduct of his desperate enterprise he evinced the strongest interest and sympathy.' His host had very reluctantly to tell Gustavus that his mortifying disappointments in France, the hopelessness of his cause, and the utter unconcern shown by the Continental Courts, had so preyed on Prince Charles's mind as to stifle every spark of his former character, so that he abandoned himself to listless indifference, which terminated in his becoming a sot during the latter years of his life.

For such an aftermath to so romantic a career as that of Prince Charles—which happily had no counterpart in his own—the Swedish exile was evidently quite unprepared. It did not seem to him to be either a natural or a fitting finale, for Skene says, 'On turning round to the Prince, who had been listening to these details, I perceived the big drops chasing each other down his cheeks, and therefore changed the subject, and he never again recurred to it.'

THE TRANSPORTATIONS IN 1745

THE TRANSPORTATIONS IN 1745

CHAPTER I

Stamping out the Rebellion—Life on board the prison-ships—Suggested cure for sickness at Tilbury Fort.

WHILE the career of Prince Charlie, the Jacobite leader, and his romantic adventures after the battle of Culloden, when he became a hunted outlaw, have formed the main theme of writers on the Rebellion, comparatively little attention has been bestowed upon the fate of the rank and file of the Prince's followers. These lesser lights in the Jacobite firmament have evidently paled in importance before the greater luminary round which they for a time revolved; but surely they too are entitled to some historic consideration in view of their great and silently endured sufferings, their numbers, and the part they subsequently played—humble though it might be in the building up of our British over-sea dominions.

The authorities were not too fastidious about the methods they employed in stamping out the last embers of the rebellion. Arrests were frequently made on mere suspicion, and without a shred of evidence. A good opportunity was offered to any man who bore a grudge against his neighbour. Mr. Charles Falconer, described as an attorney in Inverness, was lodged in jail because Lachlan Dallas heard him say, while his Majesty was abroad, that 'he wished he might never return.' The times were reminiscent of the Doge of Venice, the Lion's Mouth, and the Bridge of Sighs. Take a typical instance, that of the Rev. James Taylor, Thurso, a non-juring Episcopalian clergyman, belonging, like his Catholic confrères, to a class which was then under a ban. Without warning, he was made prisoner early in the morning of the 25th May 1746, put on board the *Shark* sloop-of-war, then the *Loo* man-of-war, next the *Terror* at Woolwich, and last the *Pamela*. As the result of his treatment on shipboard, he was, in his own words, almost at death's-door, and then only was his petition inquired into, and an official pronouncement made. 'Whitehall, 11th October 1746.—I have examined some of the Crown witnesses who lived at Thurso, and knew the petitioner perfectly well in relation to his behaviour during the rebellion, and I do not find that he was concerned in it in any shape.' Along with Mr. Taylor were John and Charles Farquharson, Jesuits, also three prisoners—John Low, a Montrose barber, Neil Drysdale, an Aberdeen schoolboy of fourteen, and John Warren, a Clitheroe carpenter, 'who have this merit to plead, that being prisoners on board the *Grayhound* man-of-war, after the battle of Culloden, at the time she was engaged with a French man-of-war off Loch Moidart, they worked hard and were of great service, many of the crew being then sick.'

Life on shipboard was a terrible torture, and from the excessive numbers crowded into a very limited space, one could readily realise the meaning of the words 'cabined, cribbed, confined.' The *Pamela*, a small

vessel, had 72 prisoners, of whom 18 were marked as in the last stage of a violent fever; other 20 were ill, but could move about; while sickness had shown itself among the guard and crew. This state of things was duly reported to the authorities, and a surgeon, Mr. Minshaw, was sent to Woolwich to examine the state of the prisoners on board that vessel. His official account amply confirms what has been said by Jacobite writers about life on board these prison ships. 'On Thursday night, the 20th August 1746, between eight and nine o'clock, I went on board the *Pamela*. Saw commanding officer, who appointed next morning at six to inspect prisoners. At which time I attended, and, on looking down into the hold, was saluted with such an intolerable smell that it was like to overcome me, though I was provided with proper herbs, and my nostrils, stuffed therewith. After seating ourselves in the quarter-deck, 54 prisoners came up, many of whom seemed very ill, as appeared by their countenances and snail-creep pace in ascending the ladder, being only just able to crawl up; 18 below were only able to come up, if brought in a sling. To hear the description given by the guard who went into the hold of the uncleanness of that place is surpassing imagination, too nauseous to describe, so that that, together with the malignant fever raging among them, and another odious distemper peculiar to Scotchmen, may terminate in a more dreadful disease.' The remedy was to send them ashore, and they were accordingly landed at Tilbury Fort.

On the 5th September 1746, it was reported that there was 'great sickness among rebels in Tilbury Fort,' and the prisoners were accordingly to be supplied with clean linen clothes, and it was suggested that they should be removed to some large houses in the neighbourhood. Captain Cayran forwarded a Memorial in regard to preventing the spread of the infection prevalent there. This Memorial, strange to say, was drawn up by a Frenchman—without doubt, a prisoner at the Fort. It is an original document, and the treatment recommended by the writer is of a liberal character, with a dash of commonsense running through it. As will be seen from the French Memorial, his panaceas for the prevailing infection were to burn the clothes of the infected persons, to give them new garments, aperient and bilious medicine, a good wash, to crop their hair, and burn their wigs, and allow them a weekly change of linen, along with fresh air, outdoor walks, etc. Then he would give straw beds, daily change of nourishing food, and purification of air by burning drugs in every room. Last, but not least, he would allow each prisoner a quart of beer a day and one glass of brandy. Six sous, or three pence, would pay for all this. As to housing the prisoners: 'My Lord Eochford has a house quite close to the river, and there is also Rochester Castle.' Those who were well would be sent to the country houses; those ill would remain at Tilbury Fort.

The original Memorial may be given:

'Mémoire pour empêcher que l'infection n'augmente à Tilbury Fort, et il y à craindre qu'elle ne se répande dans le País.'

Premierement il faut bruler tous leurs habits, et leur en donner d'autres; apres, il faut bien les purger et les gudrir de la galle, les faire bien laver, leur couper les cheveux, brûler les perruques de ceux qui en portent, leur donner un bonnet et deux chemises à chacun, et les faire changer toutes les semaines. Pour cet effet, il faut trouver quelque vieille maison de Campagne inhabitée où il y aura des écuries et granges, avec un jardin qui soit bien muré, pour qu'ils puissent s'y promener et prendre l'air. Par là, les soldats qui les garderont n'auront aucune communication avec eux. On enverra ceux qui se porteront bien dans la dite maison. Et les malades resteront à Tilbury Fort; on leur fera beaucoup de place. Il faut donner aux malades des nourritures conformes à leurs estomacs; il faut aussi des Garçons chirurgiens, et des gens pour servir les malades, avoir des lits de paille, et des couvertes pour qu'ils se puissent coucher: de cette manière, on les tiendra nets; il faut leur donner changement de nourriture, un jour une chose, et l'autre jour une autre: il faut aussi brûler dans toutes les chambres des drogues pour chasser l'infection, et brûler aussi dans le four des choses propres à purifier l'air. Il faudrait leur accorder une quarte de biere par jour, et un verre d'eau de vie. Je compte que six sous par jour par homme feront l'affaire. J'ai un de mes amis qui a été aux Indes, et dans tout le Levant, qui sait guérir ces sortes de malades. On m'a assuré qu'il y a une maison auprès de Tilbury Fort, propre pour les mettre: My Lord Rochford en a une près de Colchester tout près de la rivière. Il y a aussi le château de Rochester.'

After reading, marking, and inwardly digesting so weighty a document, the Commissioners would surely have no difficulty in enforcing at Tilbury Fort that cleanliness which, according to John Wesley, is next to godliness, and which in the present instance was so essential to health. But no: a British officer and red-tape stood, like an angel with a flaming sword, in the way. The wards were uncleaned three months after the memorial was received by the Secretary of State, and the excuse therefor will appear from the following letter sent by the Duke of Newcastle to the Commissioners:— '13th December 1746. Your letter received enclosing extract of letter from Captain Massey, commanding officer at Tilbury Fort, relating to keeping the prisoners there clean. It seems to be very odd that he should want an order for allowing the wards to be cleaned and attending the sick; and I do not understand what authority can be wanted for that purpose. If any of the prisoners have escaped, it is unlucky; but if that has happened from accidents and not wilful neglect or connivance, the remaining prisoners ought not to be worse treated, consistent with their security. I am sorry to hear from persons who have been at Tilbury and on board the transports that the prisoners who are in the former place are not near so unhealthy (healthy?) as those on the transports.' What made the commanding officer take this stand can only be imagined—perhaps he was not to be dictated to by the French memorialist who suggested purification all round. At any rate, the Secretary of State recurs to the matter nine days later, for a letter from his department states: 'Hope no further difficulties will be made, as my Lord Duke cannot give an order as the commanding officer desires.'

CHAPTER II

Drawing lots—Acts as to transportation—Abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions disarming, etc., of Highlanders—Escapes in 1716—Offers to transport rebels abroad.

IN these trying times, the authorities had not to substantiate a man's guilt; he had to prove his own innocence before they would set him free from confinement. Should he complain, he had the option presented to him, if able-bodied, of serving his Majesty at home or abroad, in the army or navy. Then they were allowed to draw lots who were not distinguished by any degree of guilt, and were not men of note. Those fortunate enough to draw the blank lot had to petition for pardon, which they received on condition of transportation to our colonies in America, 'there to serve and remain during the term of their natural lives, on the same conditions as laid down in 1715.' As the lot fell on one man of the rank-and-file out of twenty, it follows that nineteen-twentieths of the whole were marked out for transportation, the sickly and infirm being of course excepted from the number.

Transportation is said to have been first invented by the Privy Council in the reign of Charles II., and it became an acknowledged form of punishment under the Act of 1701, which defines transportation as a proper legal sentence. In the reign of Charles II. the times were such that rebellions were rife, and the Government could hardly put every rebel to death — principle and policy alike forbade that. The authorities were as powerless in this respect as Nero, who wished that all Rome had but one head that he might cut it off at a single blow. Sir George Mackenzie, in his *Vindication of Charles II.'s Government*, says:—'As to sending people away to the plantations, none were sent away but such as were taken at Bothwell Bridge or in Argyll's Rebellion; and the turning capital punishment into exile was an act of clemency, not of cruelty.' Cromwell deported his Royalist prisoners, so that it was not confined to one section of the community more than another. As to the clemency of transportation, Burton talks of the 700 rebel prisoners taken at Preston and sold as slaves to the West Indian merchants in 1716. He says:—'It is painful to see on the lists the many Highland names followed by labourer. Implicit obedience had been their crime, and in many instances they had been forced into the service for which they were punished, as absolutely as the French conscript or the British pressed seaman.'

The poor peasantry who followed their chief to the field did so from necessity rather than choice. They had to live; and when he who gave them employment in time of peace asked a warlike service from them, it was at their own peril if they refused. Agriculture, even in its backward and undeveloped condition, was at that time the mainstay of Scotland; and land-owners could not go to the State then, as they do now, for money to improve their holdings—they had to resort to the few banks existing at that period and borrow from these establishments at higher rates and on

personal security, one laird standing as financial sponsor for another. There was then in Scotland a varying but all-round poverty of which the effects were necessarily felt at the one social extreme more than the other.

The great power which the landed proprietors wielded at this time, especially in the northern parts, where they were virtually an *imperium in imperio*, taking the law into their own hands and enforcing their decrees by dagger and broadsword, was struck at by the Act xx. Geo. n. cap. 47, which was designed to clip the wings of feudal tyranny and to substitute the regular judicature of the kingdom for the wayward and highhanded procedure of the lairds. This Act was passed to abolish what were known as Heritable Jurisdictions. These were henceforth to cease and to be vested in the King's court and judges. All hereditary sheriffships and jurisdictions heretofore granted to many heritors or proprietors whose lands had been erected into baronies, or granted with power of 'Pit and Gallows,' although this power had ceased to be used, were to come to an end. No such barons or other heritors, or their bailies, were from this time forth to exercise jurisdiction in any criminal cause other than assaults, robberies, and smaller crimes, for which twenty shillings sterling was the fine, or the sentence not exceeding three hours in the stocks in the daytime; nor in civil causes where the debt was greater than forty shillings sterling. The only reservation of jurisdiction to these lairds was over coal-workers and salt-workers, who were then little better than serfs, but the power of trying any case involving loss of life or demembration was excepted. It is said of the notorious Lord Lovat that he once told Lord President Forbes that he would punish a certain chief for slighting the President, as if no tribunal existed to give redress.

The question was discussed by the Crown authorities whether the penalty of banishment was sufficient for its purpose, and it will be seen that one prominent official did not so regard it. Mr. Philip Carteret Webb, the prosecuting solicitor, had a plan of his own for branding the prisoners like herring, or deserters, as they then did. Writing on 4th September 1746, he said:—'As to the prisoners that have escaped in the lots, if they are to be transported, you may be assured that most of them will return again in a short time. It happened so in 1716. Suppose a law was made for transporting them, and marking them on the face with a hot iron, and making it felony if they return; without such a mark, every law will be ineffectual.' This brutal proposal was, happily, not entertained by the authorities.

Two Acts of Parliament with the penalty of transportation were passed, one for disarming the Highlands, the other proscribing the Highland garb if arms were not delivered up by persons resident within certain northern limits. If arms were concealed, a penalty of £15 was exacted, failing which the offender was liable to be transported to America as a common soldier, if fit for service. For a second offence the punishment was transportation for seven years. As regards wearing what are termed 'the Highland clothes,' under which are comprised the plaid, philibeg, trews, shoulder-

belts, cockade, bonnet, tartan cloth, etc., the penal consequences were imprisonment for six months without bail for the first offence, and for the second, transportation for seven years. Episcopalian clergymen refusing to take the oath of allegiance were, on a second conviction, liable to be transported to the American plantations for life; and if they returned therefrom, the penalty was imprisonment during the term of their natural existence.

A law was also passed (xx. Geo. n. cap. 46) under which any rebel returning from transportation without liberty was to suffer death as in cases of felony, without benefit of clergy. Persons aiding any one to escape would be subject to the same punishment, but they would have to be indicted within two years after the offence. In order to keep a further check on the transported rebels, the commander of the ship in which they were conveyed was compelled, under the provisions of the Act, to furnish a list of their names to the naval officer at the port where they were landed, and to hang it in the Custom House, under a penalty of £50 if this was not done.

As for the escapes, referred to by Mr. Webb, in the earlier rebellion, there was notified to the authorities the arrival at Cove, the port of Cork, on 27th August 1716, of 118 rebels taken at Preston and bound for Virginia, and the escape of some of them. The Sheriff of Cork found three in a tavern with the master of the ship, the *Anne* of Liverpool. Their names were Alexander Murray, senior and junior, and Peter Chambers of Edinburgh, and they were reported to be talking treason in their cups. Another vessel also on its way for Virginia landed at Waterford with rebels who were encouraged to make their escape. The Surveyor of Cove detailed the measures taken to recapture those who made off, and he stated that their flight was connived at by some of the officers of the ship. One of the transported prisoners was said to be a Scotch gentleman in scarlet clothes trimmed with gold, and worth £700 to £800 a-year. In 1716 a Thomas Johnson made a claim on the Government for transporting 639 prisoners.

So soon as it was known that measures of banishment were meditated, several English merchants trading abroad forthwith made offers of the needful transport. Some Chester traders invoked, in September 1746, the interest of the Earl of Cholmondeley on their behalf, as they had been informed that some of the rebel prisoners in the Castle of Chester were to be transported to some port of the West Indies, and they thought it would be less expensive if they were conveyed from that seaport. The expense of transporting from Chester had been heretofore £5 a-piece, besides cost of conveyance to Liverpool; and if other merchants offered lower terms, they would similarly reduce their rates, as one of their avowed objects was introducing here, if they could, the West Indian trade and encouraging our navigation, 'towards the doing whereof, sending our ships with rebels is a step.' Six others had applied, hence the need to be backed up. The present estimate was to transport prisoners to Jamaica or the West Indies at £5 a-head. On the 24th March 1719, Jonathan Forward, merchant, London,

offered to transport to the colonies and plantations in America criminals at £5 a head, or thirty and upwards at £3 a-head—his wholesale price.

CHAPTER III

The Colonies and Plantations a dumping-ground for prisoners—
 The Colonisation movement—Rebels asked for by American
 Governor as soldiers— Transport contract.

AMONG the 'lotted' were 180 who had drawn the blank lot at Carlisle, 72 at York, 73 at Lancaster, 34 at Lincoln, 34 at Chester, and 430 at Tilbury and in the following transports on the Thames — *Liberty and Property*, *James and Mary*, *Pamela*, and the sloop *Furnace*. These were the figures in September and October 1746, and Captain Eyre was instrumental in getting them all quietly to petition for transportation, for which he was thanked by his Grace the Duke of Newcastle. The Colonies and plantations had been for some time back the dumping-ground for undesirables of all kinds— convicts, State criminals whether political or religious, rebels, suspects, malcontents, fanatics, and deserters. Dr. Robert Chambers states that after the Restoration a Royal Fishery Company, with a capital of £25,000 sterling, was started as a rival to the Dutch, and that amongst the most notable uses for shipping in the reign of the restored Stuart were privateering against the Dutch, and the transporting of poor people to Barbadoes, and of discontented West Country Presbyterians to the American Colonies. He adds an interesting fact that it was not till eleven years after the Union that Scotland sent her first ship across the Atlantic, and that in the West, owing to the development of the American Colonies, the national progress was greater than in the other parts of Scotland.

A valuable publication referring to an earlier century's emigrants, and including those whose passages were assisted by the Government of the day, is that by John Camden Hotten (London, 1874) entitled, 'Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, and others who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700.' These, and those who came after them in the '15 and the '45, were among the willing or unwilling pioneers of the colonisation movement, in which even army deserters had a place. The latter were at this time lodged in the Savoy, a historic pile in its day. Strype quaintly describes it as a very great and a very ruinous building—in the midst a very spacious hall, divided into several parts, of which two served as Marshallseas for keeping prisoners, deserters, men pressed for military service, and Dutch recruits, etc. This ruinous building was a sanctuary in 1696, and any one trying to get hold of debtors there would be tarred and feathered. The Savoy building was set up in 1245, and the last vestige of it was swept away in forming the approaches to the Waterloo Bridge. There were many deserters from the army, some of whom were executed; but those sent by the War Department to the Savoy were destined for exportation to the West Indies, Minorca, Gibraltar, and the Plantations.

What gave the transportation idea a forward impulse was the craze for Colonial expansion which created the need for soldiers to fight the French in foreign parts and, if possible, to wrest from them their possessions.

Lord Stair, the Commander-in-Chief, writing on 14th June 1745, said: 'I think we may expect to hear directly that we are masters of Louisbourg and the Island of Cape Breton, an important place for fishing, fur trade, and lumber trade.' When captured, the place was garrisoned by a force under the command of the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, and the magistrates had power to grant land to settlers. On 24th June 1746, the Governor, W. Pepperell, afterwards created a Baronet, and whose authority ranged over a large tract of country, writing from Boston, gave a suggestion for the employment of Jacobite prisoners. He thus expressed himself to the Duke of Newcastle: 'Could it be thought expedient that two hundred of the rebel prisoners who may have been unwarily seduced, should be sent over for Mr. Shirley's and my regiment, it might be a means of making good subjects of them, which I mention to your Grace with all submission.' Pepperell's regiment in garrison at Louisbourg was 417 strong, and Shirley's 517, and these regiments were only at half strength. The garrison consisted of 2517 men, and the Governor reported that the soldiers were dying very fast with fluxes, eight or ten a-day; the water was bad, and the weather severe. Louisbourg was thus poetically described by its Governor, as he remarked, 'in the words of the poet,' in case he got false credit for the couplet:

'Here elements have lost their uses,
Air ripens not, nor earth produces.'

It was a terribly foggy and inclement place, and the troops were housed in wood-built barracks. The fuel for a year to the garrison cost no less than £4152. The Governor was at this time on a tour of visits to the Colonies, and he stated that he was contributing to the utmost of his power in promoting the intended expedition to Canada.

On 6th October 1747, the War Department offered a pardon to rebels who would enlist into the independent companies of Admiral Boscawen's expedition. It is a curious circumstance that while rebellious Scotland was thus supplying the Colonies with troops, the Colony of Georgia had previously sent a regiment to Scotland to help in suppressing the rebellion there. On 31st July 1746, *i.e.* five weeks after Governor Pepperell's appeal for soldiers from Jacobite sources, application was made for rebel prisoners being sent as recruits for regiments serving in North America and West Indies as follows:—Leeward Islands, 250; Jamaica, 100; Cape Breton, 400; in all 750. On 15th August of same year (1746), Lieutenant-General St. Clair and Admiral Lestock were ordered to take prisoners to Louisbourg, 'or failing that, to such other place as was best for the service.' Another curious feature in connection with the Colonies was the War Department's intelligence contained in their records that 'the Nova Scotians threatened a revolt on a report of the rebellion in Scotland.' The child-colony— not yet out of its long clothes—would have liked to be independent of the mother-country; at least the French section would who knew Nova Scotia under its Gallic and poetic name of Acadie, and the occasion presented itself when England was taxed in suppressing the

Jacobite rising.

The contract for transporting the prisoners was given to Messrs. Gildart & Smith, Cateaton Street, London, and Mr. Samuel Smith wrote on 25th March 1746 asking permission to have letters from his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, to the Governors of the Leeward Islands, Barbadoes, Jamaica, Maryland, and Virginia, setting forth the powers given to the contractors over the rebels, and recommending the contractors to the Governors of these places—evidently the intended destinations of the transported prisoners. Mr. Sharpe, Solicitor to the Treasury, who was appealed to in the matter, said: ‘Unless my memory greatly fails me, letters of the same kind were wrote by my Lord Townshend to the Governors of the plantations in 1715.’ Accordingly, letters were promised on 26th March 1747, to be sent to the various Governors named regarding the powers of the contractors, and stating that the prisoners were transported for the term of their natural lives, and that they must enter into indentures; if they refused to do so, they were to be treated as if they had; and a sufficient military guard was to be placed over them. The first record of transportation in this rebellion was of 47 rebels shipped at Liverpool on 26th April 1746 for the Plantations. These were transported to Montserrat in June, but two died on the passage.

CHAPTER IV

Capture of ship with transported rebels—List and description of them—Their fate.

A MISHAP befell an expedition with 225 rebel prisoners, of whom 75 had engaged as soldiers. Mr. Smith, contractor, thus related it:—'Cateaton Street, 22nd October 1747.— Sir, The loss of one of my ships with 150 rebels, the *Veteran*, John Ricky, Master, bound for Antigua, which was taken by the French privateer *Paul Mars*, and carried into Martinico, and of 75 sent with the East India Expedition which I was providing for, has been some disappointment to me. I have sent his Grace's letter to the Governor of Leeward Islands to reclaim them of the French Governor by three different conveyances. I have also sent a list and exact description to my agents in all our colonies in the West Indies that they may be the more easily detected in case they are taken in any homeward-bound Martinico ship. A copy is enclosed for Admiralty lest any should escape to France or Scotland; all the rest are safe arrived at Barbadoes, Jamaica and Virginia. I desire to know when I am to have the care of those who remain at Carlisle, York, Southwark, and elsewhere.' In a postscript is added something as to the attempt to find a North-West passage: 'The ships we sent out in search of the North-West passage are returned without having completed the discovery, but have brought us a greater probability than ever.'

A description follows of the 150 rebels which Mr. Smith took at Lincoln, York, and Lancaster prisons in October 1746. The name, age, profession, county, and stature of each, with remarks, were given in every case. Of the 150, fifteen were women, and three of those Camerons from Lochaber. No. 145 was 'Barbra Connell, 19, Perthshire,' and she was thus described: 'Red hair, clever.' 'No. 143. Margaret Dykes, 22, no occupation, Lithgow' (Linlithgow), is singled out for the distinction of being 'well-looking.' 'No. 57. Isabell Hamilton, 50, comes from Musselburgh.' Fortunately all of them could sew, spin and knit—useful qualifications for female colonists.

AN EXACT LIST AND DESCRIPTION of 150 Rebel Prisoners ship'd at Liverpool on board the *Veteran*—John Ricky, master—for the Leeward Islands; which were taken near Antigua, the 28th June last, by the *Diamond* Privateer—Paul Marsale, commander—and carried into Martinico, the 30th June 1747.

No.	First	Family Name	Age	Profession	County	Stature ft.	in.	Remarks
1	Robert	Adam	18	Labourer	Stirling	5	1.25	Brown, smooth-faced.
2	William	Bell	46	Weaver	Berwick	5	4	Black curled hair, strong-made.
3	Dougall	Campbell	18	Servant	Lochaber	5	4	Brown complexion, well-made, ruddy.
4	Alexander	Cattanach	17	Miller	Badenoch	5	5	Black, well-made, ruddy, healthy.
5	Dougall	Campbell	18	Servant	Argyle	5	5.25	Brown, well-made, ruddy.
6	Alexander	Campbell	18	Labourer	Inverness	5	4.5	Brown, pock-pitted.

No.	First	Family Name	Age	Profession	County	Stature ft.	in.	Remarks
7	John	Campbell	20	Labourer	Argyle	5	2.25	Brown, swarthy.
8	Alexander	Cameron	19	Labourer	Inverness	5	4	Brown, well-made.
9	William	Dickinson	44	Weaver	Lancashire	5	4	Red hair, thick-set, healthy.
10	Alexander	Davidson	17	Herdsman	Badenoch	5	3.5	Ruddy, slim made.
11	Andrew	Edwards	24	Servant	Angus	5	5.5	Black, well-made, strong.
12	John	Gordon	19	Weaver	Inverness	5	4.5	Black, well-made, strong.
13	Alexander	Goodbrand	30	Carpenter	Bamf	5	6.5	Brown, well-made, strong.
14	John	Grant	40	Labourer	Badenoch	5	4	Black, well-made, strong.
15	Alexander	Grant	25	Carpenter	Aberdeen	5	6	Brown, well-made, lank hair.
16	Joseph	Hinchcliffe	31	Tallow Chandler	York	5	5.5	Black, pock-pitted.
17	John	Johnson	30	Husbandman	Lanarkshire	5	5	Brown, pock-pitted, strong made.
18	David	Joiner	20	Labourer	Aberdeen	5	2	Brown.
19	John	Kennedy	32	Labourer	Perth	5	9	Black, well-made.
20	George	Keith	35	Shoemaker	Aberdeen	5	11.5	Black, well-made.
21	William	McLean	32	Labourer	Inverness	5	3.75	Black, well-set, strong, ruddy.
22	Duncan	McPhearson	36	Labourer	Inverness	5	6.5	Thin, pale, sickly.
28	Angus	McIntosh	26	Labourer	Inverness	5	6.5	Black, very strong made.
24	Peter	McIntosh	34	Labourer	Inverness	5	4.5	Brown, very strong made, long chin.
25	James	McPhearson	22	Labourer	Aberdeen	5	7	Black, lusty, well-made.
26	John	McLeod	25	Labourer	Inverness	5	4.5	Black hair, pale & slender.
27	Duncan	Monrow	19	Labourer	Inverness	5	4	Straight, pale & slender.
28	Alexander	McLeod	18	Labourer	Inverness	5	4.5	Brown, strong, stares.
29	Charles	Morgan	18	Barber	Elgin	5	4	Brown, well-made.
30	John	Murray	30	Weaver	Annandale	5	8	Brown hair, pale.
31	Thomas	Ogden	34	Weaver	Lancashire	5	5	Brown hair, strong made, lusty.
32	Donald	McGillis	18	Labourer	Inverness	5	0	Black, short-neck'd.
33	Donald	McDonald	19	Labourer	Inverness	5	8.5	Red hair, strong.
34	Allen	McDougall	26	Gardener	Argyle	5	5	Black, strong, well-made, seems sensible.
35	Angus	McDonald	60	Labourer	Argyle	5	4	Black, strong, ill-looking.
36	Daniel	McKee	18	Labourer	Murray	5	2.5	Light hair, fair, well made.
37	Mark	McCormack	16	Labourer	Moydart	5	3.5	Good face, fair, straight.
38	Alexander	Marnock	26	Shoemaker	Aberdeen	5	4.5	Brown, thick set.
39	George	Nieholl	26	Weaver	Aberdeen	5	7	Brown, strong, well made.
40	James	Neilson	26	Labourer	Aberdeen	5	5	Black, swarthy, slender.
41	John	Robertson	19	Labourer	Inverness	5	4	Brown, straight, slender.
42	Daniel	Ross	40	Servant	Ross	5	5	Sandy hair, swarthy, well made.
43	William	Robertson	17	Labourer	Perth	5	5	Brown, well made.
44	John	Stewart	18	Labourer	Aberdeen	5	4.25	Brown, well made, ruddy.
45	John	Smith	21	Goldsmith	Aberdeen	5	4	Brown, well made.
46	William	Sharp	18	Labourer	Aberdeen	5	5.5	Brown, well made, slender.
47	Daniel	McGillis	12		Arisaig	5	6	Brown, well made, stiff.

No.	First	Family Name	Age	Profession	County	Stature ft.	in.	Remarks
48	James	Lacky	16	Weaver	Edinburgh	5	0	Black, straight.
49	George	Bain	25	Labourer	Aberdeen	5	5.5	Black, swarthy.
50	Hector	McGillis	16	Herdsmen	Inverness	5	0	Black, lusty.
51	John	Scott	17	Herdsmen	Perth	5	3.5	Light hair, fair-fac'd, slender
52	John	Stewart	18	Labourer	Aberdeen	5	3.5	Brown, well made, swarthy.
53	John	Thompson	18	Labourer	Bamf	5	4.25	Black.
54	Adam	Sutherland	35	Labourer	Sutherland	5	6	Black hair, pale fac'd, slender.
55	Isabell	Chambers	25	Knitts	Mearnshire	5	7	Black, tall & slender.
56	Eliza	Clavering	22	Sempstress	Bamf	5	0	Brown, thin.
57	Isabell	Hamilton	50	Knitts	Musselburgh	4	7	Brown, little.
58	Mary	Kennedy	20	Sewing, &c.	Glengary	4	7	Brown, full fac'd, ruddy.
59	Jane	McKenzie	19	Sewing, &c.	Inverness	4	7	Fair hair, pock-pitted, slender.
60	Eliza	McFarlin	30	Sewing, &c.	Perth	5	8.5	Black, lusty, ruddy.
61	Eliza	Robb	35	Knitts	Aberdeen	4	11	Brown, thick.
62	John	Crookshanks	14	Herdsmen	Aberdeen	5	0	Fair complexion, healthy.
63	Duncan	McCleish	18	Pedlar	Perthshire	4	11.75	Pale complexion, slender.
64	Alexander	Low	37	Whitesmith	Lancashire	5	5.75	Pock-pitted, ruddy, slender, healthy.
65	James	Dunbar	17	Labourer	Murray	5	0	Dark complexion, well made.
66	Robert	Tom	16	Labourer	Angus	5	1	Black hair, strong, healthy.
67	William	Chapman	32	Pedlar	Aberdeenshire	5	4.5	Pale complexion, healthy.
68	Thomas	Brownhill	22	Labourer	Perthshire	5	6.75	Fair complexion, slender, well made, healthy.
69	Alexander	Brownlee	20	Watchmaker	Edinburgh	5	6	Red hair, slender.
70	John	Topp	16	Carpenter	Bamf	5	3	Brown, slender, healthy.
71	Joseph	Brown	16	Taylor	Bamf	5	6	Dark complexion, well-made, healthy
72	Daniel	Duff	26	Labourer	Perthshire	5	7.5	Cross made, strong, healthy.
73	Robert	Paterson	19	Hosier	Aberdeen	5	5	Slender, well made, healthy.
74	Alexander	Midleton	41	Servant	Edinburgh	5	5.25	Writes well, well looking, healthy.
75	William	Thompson	40	Labourer	Angus	5	3.5	Dark hair, healthy.
76	James	Thompson	21	Labourer	Bamf	5	2.5	Brown, sickly.
77	Robert	Warren	20	Weaver	Aberdeenshire	5	5	Brown, well-made, healthy.
78	James	Urquhart	18	Labourer	Aberdeenshire	5	5.75	Brown complexion, healthy.
79	Andrew	Mill	17	Taylor	Bamfshire	5	7.25	Brown complexion, healthy, slender, thin.
80	Charles	Grant	19	Miller	Inverness	5	7.5	Brown complexion, healthy, robust, well made.
81	James	Ross	20	Carpenter	Edinburgh	5	2.25	Pale hair, sickly.
82	George	Read	30	Labourer	Bamf	5	4.5	Dark visage, strong, healthy.
83	Peter	Summerall	14	Shoemaker	Lothian	5	1.75	Fair hair, slender, straight.
84	James	Mann	20	Baker	Perthshire	5	0	Pale complexion, well made.
85	William	Mills	22	Servant	Aberdeen	5	3	Sandy hair, healthy, Do.
86	Andrew	Langer	40	Weaver	Dublin	5	6.75	Dark complexion, well made, healthy.
87	James	Lawson	22	Labourer	Angus	5	5.5	Well made, slender, healthy.
88	John	Troop	20	Gardener	Stirlingshire	5	8.25	Dark, sickly.

No.	First	Family Name	Age	Profession	County	Stature ft.	in.	Remarks
89	George	Samuel	18	Bookbinder	Edinburgh	5	5	Brown, pale, slender, sickly.
90	James	Donald	20	Taylor	Mearnshire	5	7.5	Brown complexion, well made, sickly.
91	Andrew	Matthew	32	Maltster	Perthshire	5	5	Dark Dcomplexion, sickly
92	Walter	Minnis	18	flaxdresser	Perthshire	5	3	
93	James	Lamb	25	Watchmaker	Edinburgh	5	5	Fair, slender, healthy.
94	William	Jackson	19	Labourer	Angus	5	0	Brown, lusty, strong, well made.
95	William	Clapperton	13	Ploughboy	Bamfshire	4	11	
96	Donald	McDonald	58	Servant	Edinburgh	5	5	Swarthy, well made.
97	Hugh	McDonald	13	Servant	Arisaig	4	7	Slender, sickly.
98	James	McCleane	19	Nailmaker	Stirlingshire	5	0.25	Sandy complexion, healthy.
99	William	Ross.	36	Sailor	Aberdeenshire	5	3.5	Dark hair, ruddy, well set, robust.
100	John	Livesay	17	Cordwainer	Lancashire	5	6	Pale, healthy, well made.
101	Archibald	McPhearson	16	Cowherd	Skye	4	9.5	Thick, pock-pitted.
102	Duncan	Campbell	16	Labourer	Argyleshire	5	0	Dark complexion, straight, healthy.
103	Charles	Halket	20	Labourer	Aberdeenshire	5	9.5	Well made, sprightly.
104	John	Cunningham	32	Labourer	Argyleshire	5	7.5	Black, sturdy, his own hair.
105	John	McKenzie	22	Gentleman	Ross-shire	5	10	Well made, genteel.
106	Hugh	McFee	30	Labourer	Inverness	5	4.75	Lusty, black.
107	John	Chambers	21	Labourer	Perthshire	5	8.75	Dark hair, well made.
108	Daniel	Dingwell	31	Glover	Inverness	5	0.5	Brown, lame.
109	Donald	McDonald	22	Labourer	Inverness	5	6.5	Black hair, lusty.
110	William	Robertson	20	Weaver	Murray	5	3.75	Dark hair, well made,
111	John	Ostler	25	Gentleman	Lincolnshire	5	7.5	Brown hair, genteel.
112	John	Campbell	15	Servant	Argyleshire	4	10	Brown hair, genteel, sprightly.
113	Joseph	McDonald	27	Servant	Murray			
114	John	Bouie	14	Servant	Aberdeenshire	5	0	Nut-brown, lively.
115	John	Anderson	18	Gardener	Aberdeenshire	5	2	Dark hair, well made.
116	James	Anderson	25	Taylor	Ross-shire	5	0	Dark hair, pale.
117	William	Coats	55	Labourer	Aberdeenshire	5	3	Dark hair, shot in right shoulder
118	John	McIntosh	16	Fidler	Inverness	5	0.25	Dark hair, sprightly.
119	William	Campbell	21	Weaver	Perthshire	5	6	Fair, thin, writes well, healthy.
120	Duncan	Ore	41	Labourer	Perthshire	5	4.5	Dark hair.
121	Duncan	Ore	14	Weaver	Perthshire	4	8	Brown, sprightly.
122	James	Reed	18	Labourer	Angus-shire	5	6	Brown, lively.
123	James	Henderson	30	Cook	Angus-shire	5	6.5	Brown hair, slender.
124	James	Petre	20	Labourer	Angus-shire	5	4.75	Brown, sprightly.
125	David	Sharrock	19	Weaver	near Preston	5	6.25	Thin.
126	Francis	Brown	27	Husbandman	Lancashire	5	3.25	Light brown hair, thin.
127	Richard	Riding	24	Weaver	near Preston	5	3	Light brown hair, sturdy.
128	Henry	Bibby	22	Weaver	Wigan	5	6.25	Dark hair.
129	Robert	Singleton	17	Weaver	Walton	5	3.5	Light hair.

No.	First	Family Name	Age	Profession	County	Stature ft.	in.	Remarks
130	John	Williamson	17	Labourer	Aberdeenshire	5	3.25	Light brown, thin.
131	Alexander	Campbell	27	Labourer	Argyleshire	5	7.5	Sturdy, brown.
132	George	Hume	30	Writer	Edinburgh	5	7	Black man.
133	John	Mason	18	Barber	Aberdeenshire	5	3.25	Brown hair, well looking.
134	John	Stewart	17	Labourer	Perthshire	5	3.5	Dark hair, lively.
135	Alexander	Robinson	40	Labourer	Perthshire	5	1.75	Dark hair, pale.
136	James	Sharrock	21	Taylor	Preston	5	6	Dark hair, pale.
137	Richard	Leatherbarrow	32	Weaver	Winwick	5	6.75	Chesnut, sturdy.
138	John	Cottam	17	Labourer	Clifton	5	6.5	Sandy hair.
139	Hugh	Johnson	27	Weaver	Walton	5	3	Blind of right eye.
140	Thomas	Bold	21	Labourer	Wigan	5	5.25	Dark hair.
141	Thomas	Charnley	19	Weaver	Walton	5	8	Strong light brown.
142	Richard	Procter	20	Maltster	near Preston	5	5.5	Dark brown, sprightly.
143	Margaret	Dykes	22		Lithgow	5	0	Well-looking.
144	Mary	McKenzie	20	Spin	Lochaber			Lusty, healthy.
145	Barbara	Camell	19		Perthshire			Red-hair, clever.
146	Jane	McIntosh	20	Spin and knit	Inverness			Red-hair, clever.
147	Flora	Cameron	40		Lochaber			Black-hair.
148	Effy	Cameron	28	Spin and knit	Lochaber			Black-hair, swarthy.
149	Anne	Cameron	30	Spin and knit	Lochaber			Little-woman.
150	Margaret	McDonald	23	Spin and knit	Perthshire			Black-hair.

This description was taken by Mr. Smith at Lincoln, York and Lancaster in October 1746.

The list is taken from three different gaols—Lincoln, York, and Lancaster—and it is likely that the first 46 prisoners whose names are all alphabetically arranged would come from Lincoln; the other names from York and Lancaster being inserted without any regard to sequence. Of the 135 men, 18 hailed from Perthshire, 20 from Inverness, 25 from Aberdeen, 19 from England, and 1 from Ireland. As to the trades represented, 55 were labourers, 11 servants, 20 weavers, 4 herdsmen, 2 gentlemen, viz. 'No. 105, John M'Kenzie, 22, Ross-shire, well made, genteel,' and No. 111, John Ostler, 20, Lincolns, brown hair, genteel.' There was an Edinburgh writer, George Hume, age 30, marked as a 'Black man,' whose colour would, no doubt, suit the West Indies. One man, No. 104—a labourer—is noted as having 'his own hair.' A wig was hardly to be expected from one of his class or his age—he was only 32. Then there is a fiddler from Inverness, of but 16 years and 5¼ feet in height, who is happily characterised as 'sprightly.' The following other occupations were represented: sailor, watchmaker, carpenter, whitesmith, pedlar, tallow-chandler, hosier, maltster, shoemaker, baker, bookbinder, flax-dresser, nailmaker, glover, gardener, cook, tailor, husbandman, ploughboy cowherd, cordwainer, and last but not least, two barbers. No. 92, Walter Minnis, would probably be Walter

Menzies. Five of them were pock-pitted, and not one of them all was six feet in height. As many as sixty were under 20 years of age.

The island of Martinico or Martinique, into which the prisoners were carried, was in French possession, though taken from the French fifteen years later by Admiral Rodney, to whom its Governor-General, De La Touche, capitulated. It was the chief of all the Leeward Islands owned by the French, and was the residence of the ruler of the French settlements in the West Indies. It was quite typical of the other islands in its character and products. Its exports were sugar, cotton, cocoa, aloes, coffee, cassia, etc., and the climate was more adapted to blacks than whites. The island was recently the scene of a terribly disastrous volcanic disturbance, which came suddenly with appalling and devastating destruction to life and property. In 1747 it was a sally-port for French privateers in the West Indian Seas, just as the Island of Bourbon was to French pirates in the Indian Ocean. As the articles of the 1762 capitulation make no reference to the 150 prisoners in course of transportation, it is to be presumed that they had previously quitted the island.

The captured vessel was duly claimed from the French in January 1748, but they peremptorily declined to hand over it or the prisoners to the British Government. They were then asked to include the latter in the next cartel for the exchange of prisoners, and again they refused to enter into any engagement implying the return of the unfortunates to English servitude. What the fate of these prisoners—these twice-taken captives—ultimately was, does not transpire from the official papers. Let us hope they achieved their liberty and return to their native land in happier times.

CHAPTER V

Efforts to transport Jacobite officers—List of transported rebels—The Colonisation movement fed by deportation of criminals—The Lord Justice-Clerk watching rebel doings in Scotland.

ALTHOUGH the transported Jacobites were almost entirely confined to the rank and file—the ‘private men’ as they were termed—yet some of the higher grades would have been thankful to escape death even by the highway of transportation. What will a man not give in exchange for his life? William Drummond, who had acted in the Pretender’s army as an assistant-surgeon, offered to go out to the hospital at Cape Breton in the same capacity. James Brand, major and quartermaster, would fain have saved his life by going to the Plantations, but the king spurned his petition for mercy.

Robert Forbes, son of John Forbes of Newe, Aberdeenshire, was a youth of eighteen years when he entered the rebel service. He deserted at Falkirk, and went thereafter to the house of Patrick Dundas, surgeon in Airth. While in Glasgow with the rebels, he was billeted on the Rev. Dr. Leechman, Professor of Divinity in the University; and in the course of conversation with the Professor and Mrs. Leechman, he informed them that Lord Pitsligo had got him to join at: Edinburgh, and that he had regretted having done so. . Forbes regularly attended family worship when staying at the Professor’s house. He mentioned to Mrs. Leechman that he would try to get a commission in the king’s army, where he had brothers who were officers. He was apprehended at Carlisle when going south to follow his business in London. After his conviction for treason, friends did their best to obtain a reprieve for him. The Leechmans signed a petition in his favour, so did two Edinburgh citizens—Alexander Harley, merchant, and William Murray, printer, under whom Forbes had been learning the art of printing. The Provincial Synod of Aberdeen approached Lord President Forbes, and the Earl of Findlater wrote to London, on his behalf.

William Home was a prison companion of Forbes. The official description of Home was, ‘a boy of 14, carried the standard at Falkirk and Culloden.’ He was a cornet in Lord Balmerino’s troop of Life-Guards. His brother David was a Captain in the same troop, and was tried and executed. William was not fourteen when he joined, the temptations being a military dress with its fine lace and bright colours and the carrying of the standard. The Earl of Home, their relative, petitioned on behalf of both the brothers, and took occasion to hint at the services he had rendered the government at the elections. A surgeon testified to Home’s bad state of health, due to close confinement in Carlisle Castle, where fever was then raging, as a result of the prisoners having to lie on damp planks and rotten straw. Both Home and Forbes asked to be excused from serving abroad as common soldiers in the king’s army, but they were sent in custody of a messenger *en route* for Portsmouth. They absolutely refused to sign a

paper undertaking to serve in the East India Company's service along with Admiral Boscawen's projected expedition to the East Indies, as they were in a wretched state of health. They wouldn't live, they said, above a month on shipboard. In the end, a free pardon was extended to them.

James Dods was a farmer in Belton, Haddington, but in 1743 he leased from its proprietor, Mr. George Buchan of Kells, the farm of Setonhill Mains, barony of Longniddry and parish of Gladsmuir, East Lothian. He was implicated in the rebellion, and the battle of Preston was fought in the neighbourhood of his farm. His story is that he had all his effects carried off. The rebels took his horses and forced him with them, as he could have proved, but he drew for transportation and it had fallen to his lot. He could appeal, he said in his petition, to the king's evidence John Drummond, if he did not complain frequently to the person called the Duke of Perth of his being forced by the rebels. His pastor, the Rev. William Robertson, minister of Gladsmuir Parish, filed an affidavit on 8th April 1746 on his behalf, in the true spirit of Christian charity which hopeth all things and believeth all things. After testifying that he knew James Dods, late tenant in Setonhill Mains, now a prisoner in Tilbury Fort, Mr. Robertson added: 'He was sober, discreet, and peaceable, and regularly attended the Established Church. As to his behaviour since 21st September 1745, I can say nothing, having left the kingdom after the victory gained by the rebels at Preston; but as I am certainly informed, he never openly joined them during their stay in Scotland.' Dods made a strong appeal to be saved from transportation on the ground that his wife and children would be beggars if he were transported. His fate is not told.

Robert Taylor was a shoemaker in Edinburgh, and being in very low circumstances joined the insurgents. He was only fifteen days with them when he was made prisoner and put in Edinburgh Castle. He was officially described as 'a Captain in Rebel Army, active in enlisting soldiers, and forced James Wilson, a sheriff-officer, to read one of the Pretender's Proclamations at the Cross of Edinburgh.' At his trial in Carlisle, he pleaded guilty. Affidavits poured in testifying to his humanity to the wounded Royalists taken at the battle of Preston, whose sufferings he relieved by timely supplies and attentions. The judges in reviewing, as was their wont, the sentences passed by them, thus expressed themselves to the Duke of Newcastle on 22nd September 1746: 'There is one of these prisoners, Robert Taylor, whose petition with the affidavits thereto annexed, we herewith transmit to your Grace, hoping he may be found an object of clemency.' While in Carlisle prison, he seems to have suffered from the close confinement. He next appears as one who is about to be forced to enter into military service abroad, for a war official (H. Fox) writes thus to J. Eamsden on 3rd November 1747 in regard to Taylor's petition against having to serve his Majesty in scarlet: 'Admiral Boscawen represents Taylor as the ringleader of those who refused to enlist, which made me name and threaten him in my letter. I know nothing of the facts mentioned in his petition; if true, he should not have suffered himself to be

brought from Carlisle, where he would have been left if he had there declared his mind about enlisting. If he is not of the lowest class of people as he seems to insinuate, and was of use to the wounded people taken by the rebels, it is a pity it was not known before; for to let the rest see that the man esteemed the worst met with favour may have bad consequences. He must stay where he is until Admiral Boscawen examines into it. If left, he must remain in prison.' Taylor thus narrowly escaped transportation as a soldier and severe fighting in India.

There is recorded in the State papers a movement of transported rebels on 30th March 1747, 270 having sailed from Gravesend on that day, being 183 from Tilbury Fort, 76 from transports on the river, and 11 from Southwark. A computation was made in the prints of the period that at the beginning of April of that year upwards of 600 had been shipped. On the 24th of April, 148 were sent from Carlisle; and about the same time 68 who had cast lots in York Castle, viz.:—

William Murray.	Elizabeth Rob.	Thomas Ross.
Andrew Youl.	Alexander Catanach.	John Stewart.
William Dickinson.	John Robertson.	Elizabeth Macfarlane.
Walter Mather.	Dougal Campbell.	Jean Mackenzie.
William Hall.	Dougal Campbell.	Isabel Chalmers.
John Donates.	John Macleod.	Agnes Macartney, <i>alias</i>
John Johnston.	Charles Morgan.	Annis Cathon.
John Scot.	Alexander Macleod.	Joseph Hinchley.
Charles Shedon.	Duncan Monro.	Allan Macdougall.
John Kennedy.	Angus Grant.	William Robertson.
William Maclean.	Alexander Campbell.	Angus Macdonald.
Alexander Davidson.	Angus Macleod.	John Thomson.
Duncan Macpherson.	John Stewart.	John Campbell.
John Gordon.	Daniel Ross.	John Murray.
Angus Macintosh.	John Macdonald.	George Bean.
Peter Macintosh.	Hector Macgilles.	George Keith.
James Macpherson.	Alexander Goodbrand	James Neilson.
John Cameron.	Robert Adam.	Alexander Marnoch.
Alexander Campbell.	Daniel Mackay.	David Joiner.
Angus Macdonald.	William Bell.	Alexander Grant.
Donald Macdonald.	John Grant.	William Sharp.
Thomas Ogden.	Alexander Cameron.	George Nichol.
Mary Kennedy.	John Smith.	James Leckie.
Isabel Hamilton.	Daniel Macgilles.	Andrew Edwards.
Elizabeth Grant.	Daniel Macgilles.	Adam Sutherland.
Margaret Simpson.	Mark Macormick.	

These were all to sail from Liverpool for America. Of the 148 from Carlisle, 135 were 'lot-men,' 8 against whom no bills were drawn and who drew no lots; and 5 against whom indictments were found but who were ill at the time of the trials.

While the large ships which sailed from Liverpool to the plantations with these prisoners and others from Lancaster, Chester, and Lincoln—in all 430—were taking them on board, an unfortunate accident occurred, the ship's boat conveying some of them having run against a hawser and partially capsized, throwing into the water and drowning 8 out of the 74 brought from Chester, viz. Charles Gordon, Andrew Gib, Colin Macdonald, John Macfarlane, William Oldham, James Mackay, Hugh Macleod, and John Macconery. As they were handcuffed two and two together like felons, it was impossible for any of them to save their lives. At this time it was reckoned that rather more than 1000 prisoners had been transported.

On 4th October 1747, 38 rebels at Carlisle Castle and 37 at York Castle, who were reported to be fit for service as soldiers, set out from the last place for London under a strong guard. Their ultimate destination was the East Indies, where they were to serve under Admiral Boscawen, who had sent a mounted officer of the independent companies to take charge of them. On the way from Carlisle to York they were strongly solicited to enlist by this officer, but he could only persuade two of them. He rode on, however, to York, where he got most of the prisoners there to consent to become food for powder. Among the Carlisle contingent were Captain James Hay, who was recalled on the way and allowed to return to France with the French troops under Colonel Drummond, the two youths, William Home and Robert Forbes, who refused to join the colours, and lastly, Robert Taylor, who acted as a ringleader in dissuading the Carlisle prisoners from enlisting for service abroad.

The Government were so desirous to get soldiers to help in 'the reduction of Canada,' that they had offered in June 1746 a bounty of £30 to be paid in bills of credit, a share in the plunder obtained from the French, also a blanket to each man and a bed for every two men. These were the inducements held out to volunteers and publicly advertised in the *Gazette*. Attempts were also made to enlist as many rebels as possible, though without using direct compulsion. It was tried in a more insidious way. In July 1748, William Barclay and 72 others were pardoned 'on condition of their enlisting themselves into his Majesty's service to go abroad.' It is probable that somewhat more than one-third of all the prisoners would enter the army for foreign duty.

The recruiting of the army and colonising in foreign parts ran side by side. The necessity was recognised of ample immigration if the conquests of the army would be consolidated and the English race supplant or at least outnumber that of the French in the conquered territory. The two main military objectives at this time were Canada and India—both West and East, but principally East. Transportation of criminals acted also as a great feeder of colonisation. Two chapmen for fraudulent bankruptcy at Glasgow in July 1748 were ordered to be pilloried and to be transported to America for seven years; and two sextons who elsewhere took out of the graveyard and sold 150 lead coffins, were similarly sentenced. The Colonies thus became a common receptacle for all kinds of characters—

bad, good, and indifferent. On the 14th. March 1749 it was announced that, responsive to a notice in the *Gazette* inserted by the Lords Commissioners, upwards of 400 persons had given their names to the Estate and Plantations Office, Whitehall, to go to Nova Scotia. To take the volunteer colonists abroad, more than fifty transports were contracted for by Government, which would probably mean 10,000 emigrants, at 200 persons for each transport. As the war with France had come to a close with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in October 1748, many old soldiers would not hesitate to go abroad. In allusion to gaol-birds and the impecunious betaking themselves to the backwoods of Canada, a poet thus expressed the situation:

‘See distant climates they explore
A rude, uncultivated shore,
Transported by thy harsh decree
From gaols and penury they flee.’

The transportations of rebels continued till the close of 1748 and a portion of 1749. With the expulsion of the Pretender from France, where all his hopes lay, in December 1748, the English Government could afford to exercise more clemency towards political offenders, although it is to be noted that Dr. Gameron suffered as late as 1753, and that the authorities were, even later, on the *qui vive* for another insurrection, as may be seen by extracts from the Lord Justice-Clerk’s letters. On 24th April 1755, his lordship wrote that ‘he was going on circuit and would report on anything suspicious that he met with.’ He next enclosed letter respecting suspicious doings at Drummond Castle. On 2nd March 1756 he wrote that ‘the French and the King’s enemies are still attempting to create an insurrection in the Highlands.’ On 25th May 1756, ‘All quiet here.’ On 10th November 1756 he enclosed letter as to an attempt to take a plan of the fortifications of Fort-William, and to sound the depth of the water under the Fort. His lordship had probably spies whose news was not over-reliable.

CHAPTER VI

The contractor's correspondence as to shipping rebels—Could the Rebellion have been terminated earlier?—Pamphlet urging clemency to rebels— Mr. Whitfield's contribution to Colonisation—Estimated number of forced emigrants— Formation of Highland loyal regiments—Disloyalty on the wane—Instance of personal resentment against witnesses giving evidence—Scottish Colonists and their Celtic influence—The benefits of transportation.

ON 4th June 1748 Mr. Smith, the contractor, wrote to the Hon. Thomas Stanhope, enclosing copies of the letters written by the Duke of Newcastle and the Secretary of War, on the occasion of transporting the Rebel prisoners who were not convicted, but who obtained pardon 'on condition of serving me, or my assigns, in the Plantations during life: which may prevent some trouble to you in making out the necessary papers for transporting the rebel convicts that remain in the gaols of Surrey, York, Carlisle, etc' He added that he was desirous to despatch them without delay, as he had several ships fitting out for the Colonies, and he hoped that the pardon would be framed in such terms as to give him a proper power over their services abroad. It is evident from this letter that he had to get fresh powers over each shipful of prisoners which he despatched abroad. A general power was not sufficient—the names of the persons affected must be included in the Government order. It was a delicate task conducting the prisoners in a body from the various gaols to the port of embarkation; and delays, owing to various causes, frequently intervened to disturb their seaward march. On the 19th November 1748, Mr. Smith, after acknowledging receipt of the warrants for Surrey sent by Mr. Stanhope, thus wrote: 'By a letter I had yesterday from Liverpool, I am informed that the ship I had engaged to carry the prisoners from York and Carlisle to Jamaica was clear to sail, and my limited day for having them at the waterside elapsed, therefore as there is a risk of a disappointment for a little time, I must request the favour you will write to the messengers that you sent to Carlisle and York, in order to remain at these places until my agent, Mr. George Campbell, at Liverpool acquaints them when the other ship will be ready, which he is providing. And in case they are set out from those gaols before your order can reach them, it will be necessary to send an order to the gaoler at Liverpool to take care of them till they can be shipped off, which I hope you will do by this night's post at all events, to prevent the risk of escapes, and oblige,' etc.

Mr. Smith of Cateaton Street had a poor opinion of the 'rebel convicts' over whom he desired to have the power which 'chains and slavery' confer. His aim was, of course, to make money at their expense, first by shipping them, and next by letting them out to planters and others. The opinions entertained by Mr. Smith of these poor Highlanders were also held by

Scotsmen. Lord Reay thus stigmatised them, 'These idle, ignorant people.' And the Lord Justice-Clerk so expressed himself to the Secretary of State in November 1752: 'The miserable inhabitants of these wilds that hitherto have been generally a terror to their neighbours, and animals of prey ready upon every occasion to ruffle the tranquility of the Government, may at last be brought to apply themselves to industry, and become good subjects and useful citizens.'

The student of these times asks himself if the rebellion could at any stage have been brought to an end without the necessity for bloodshed or its alternative banishment. iEneas Macdonald, one of the intellectual adherents of the Prince, and who had both a French and Scottish connection, made a remark on the subject, in the course of his examination, which is of much interest. He said that if Marshal Wade's proclamation had without exception pardoned all who were engaged, upon their returning quietly home and laying down their arms, he knew very well that two-thirds of the rebels would have dispersed; but that proclamation excepting the gentry and chiefs, they found themselves under the necessity of continuing with the Pretender's son for their own preservation. Wade's proclamation was dated the 30th October 1745, and granted pardon to those forced into rebellion by their superiors, provided they returned to their homes before the 12th November.

The next question is whether clemency would have succeeded after the fatal Pultowa's day at Culloden, and enemies be turned into friends by a timely act of grace and concession. Very good academic reasons are given for such a humane policy in a pamphlet which was much in evidence at the time of the '45 trials, and of which Mr. Sharpe thus wrote to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle on 4th October 1746, from Carlisle: 'In order to work on the passion of the jury, the friends of the rebels the day before the trial came on, distributed among them many hundreds of the enclosed libel, which I take to be a new edition of a pamphlet said to be wrote in 1715 by the Bishop of Atterbury and others. The man (George M'Farlan) who distributed them is taken into custody.' This pamphlet was entitled—'*An Argument to prove the Affections of the People of England to be the Best Security of the Government.*' Two passages may be quoted to show its nature and scope: 'In all disputes, that party which has least justice on its side is commonly observed to be most violent, as hoping by superabundant passion to supply the defect of Reason. . . But in the three former cases (civil war, war against the oppression of one party by another, or an invasion of the rights of a people) it seems manifestly the interest of a Prince *to give a good account of the rebels*, rather by reducing them to their duty than by destroying them by fire, the sword, or the gibbet, which are a sort of argument altogether as preposterous to teach men allegiance as to instruct them in religion; and which, in the long run, must make the Prince the loser by depriving him of at least so much of the original strength of his kingdom, as there are persons who suffer without necessity.' These moderate philosophical arguments, in place of pouring

oil on the troubled waters, and diverting men's minds to moderation and clemency, were accounted by the authorities to be treasonous libels.

There may be mentioned as an interesting contribution to colonisation in South Carolina the founding there by Mr. Whitfield, the famous preacher, of an Orphan Home seventy miles from Charlestown, on a plantation of 660 acres of good land. In a sermon preached at Edinburgh in September 1748 an account was given of the progress of the institution. There were also schemes ventilated for sending out debtors to America and giving them their discharge on deportation. For many years until the American War, a stream of criminals, though not of the worst type—these were hanged—flowed into America and fertilised its lands by the humble agency of manual labour, which Adam Smith has shown to be the foundation of all material prosperity.

It is stated in the Report of the Royal Historical MSS. Commission that between the years 1717 and 1775 no less than 10,000 forced emigrants were despatched from the Old Bailey alone; while 50,000 are estimated to have been sent from the British Islands in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In 1766 Judge Perrott said, at the Stafford Assizes, that transportation in the case of common offenders had almost ceased to be a punishment. The Celtic element among the emigrants proved loyal when the American War broke out, for the Highland Colonists formed themselves into the Royal Highland Emigrant Regiment. It was then that the genius of Mr. Pitt (afterwards known as Lord Chatham) showed itself in recommending his sovereign, George II., in 1757 to employ the Highlanders on military service as the surest means of securing their loyalty and attaching them to his person and throne.

This advice was accepted, and accordingly orders were issued for raising Highland regiments. A battalion was formed of Macdonalds, Frasers, Macleans, Farquharsons, and Camerons, the chiefs of these clans receiving commissions, and their clansmen acting as the rank and file. This regiment was known as the 77th, or Montgomerie's Highlanders, from their commander the Hon. Archibald Montgomerie, and numbered 1460 men. The 78th Regiment, or Fraser's Highlanders, was raised by the Hon. Simon Fraser, who was 'out' in the '45, and was son of Lord Lovat, executed for complicity in the same rebellion. The Lovat estates were forfeited, and thus their commander wielded no landed influence, but he succeeded in bringing together 1400 men, of whom 800 were obtained by himself and 600 by his officers. There were also raised Keith's and Campbell's Highlanders, Lord Macleod's regiment, and Lord Seaforth's. Lord Macleod was in the rebellion, but returned from Sweden in 1777 and raised a regiment of 1100 men, and another battalion was formed in the Highlands. Lord Seaforth was in the rebellion of 1715, but his son raised in 1778 a regiment of 1100 men, of whom 500 were Seaforth Highlanders, 400 other Highlanders, and 200 Lowlanders.

It was evident from these military displays of loyalty that rebellious

feelings were entirely on the wane. Seven years earlier, viz. in 1771, the Lord Justice-Clerk had referred in his report to 'the happy change in the sentiments of the disaffected, which began about the reign of George II., and has made progress.' There were still angry feelings and resentments against individuals, which might be set down among the sequelae of the rebellion. These were very marked in the case of rebel prisoners who had turned King's evidence, or were ready to do so against their fellows. Testimony of this kind was very risky, as will be seen in a typical case of three rebel witnesses against the State prisoners in the Tower. Such witnesses were detained in the messengers' hands and in the Savoy. As many as fourteen were confined at the Angel in Piccadilly under the care of a messenger in June 1747.

The three rebel witnesses in question were cited to appear against Æneas Macdonald, banker, who was charged with High Treason. Being in mortal fear, they sent a petition to the Duke of Newcastle in which they said:—'Our lives are threatened, not in a public but private manner, our dwellings marked, and there is danger of our being convoyed from giving evidence by a mock press-gang. We are exposed to beggary, our persons known, and our enemies watchful. We cannot but think they will effectually take care to prevent our being employed or to have a bite of bread, as is the case with others. And if this has been the fact with such who were not on this trial but returned to Scotland, where they can scarce find even the nearest relation to give them shelter, what must ours be?' It may parenthetically be remarked that the petitioners received as witnesses an allowance of 2s. a day, while Lord Lovat's witnesses received 5s. a day, all of them getting a free pardon as well.

Having a practical object in view, the three petitioners thus described the situation:—'Giving evidence in open Court where the criminal's friends will swarm, attended with such imminent danger that we do not find ourselves under a necessity to run such a risk to be left that moment to the miseries of want, contempt, rage, beggary, loss of character, and life itself.' They therefore asked for a small sum to begin the world, or an annuity. At this time they were living out of custody of the messengers—an important point, indicating that they might be spirited away or might leave, and thus be valueless as evidence. The letter accompanying the petition bore for address, 'c/o John Urquhart, servant to the Bisket Baker, Wapping, New Stairs.' The petitioners appear to have occupied separate lodgings, for one of them, bearing the Highland name of Donald Stuart and residing near the Seven Dials, was the recipient of a threatening letter, which was forwarded to his Grace along with the petition.

The letter, which was of course anonymous, was addressed and couched as follows:—

To Donald Struat, Grate St. Andrews Street, by the
7 Dlayes, next door to the Blew Ball, London.

'Sr,—You are an evidence & has nothing to hope for from the

Government But you may hope for something by sending a line to A. B. Ferguson Coffee House otherwise Sir you shall meet with Immediate Distruction & the Government shall not protect you nor any of your associates.'

The authorities tried by a ruse to get at the writer of this letter. They fabricated an epistle which was handed in to 'A. B. Fergusson's Coffee-House,' but nobody came, though the person who delivered it waited till 9 P.m. The anonymous letter-writers were too astute to be caught, and evidently contented themselves with giving a fright to the three witnesses. As for the petition, here was the result in the words of Mr. Sharpe to the Duke of Newcastle: 'The Lord Chancellor, Attorney-General, and Solicitor-General thought, like your Grace, that no immediate attempt should be made to take up the witnesses forcibly, but that they be detained by Carrington and kept separate in order to be examined and try to find out the contrivers of this attempt.' Thus no mention was made of special remuneration to these men who were in presumed peril of their lives. The Crown's practice was to pay such witnesses from the date of their pardon till their full discharge. To complete the story, the trial having been put off till the 10th December, the three witnesses were taken to an alehouse at St. Margaret's Hill, where a messenger guarded them till their evidence was given. They were discharged from custody on the 21st December 1747. It is strange that they should have been thus threatened some hundreds of miles from home. They had, at any rate, the benefit of having very forcibly placed before them the fate of others who had been practically boycotted, and who could get no shelter even from relations.

Reverting to the transported prisoners, there are no statistics as to the rate of mortality of these in the various colonies and plantations to which they were sent. Bishop Hay in his Jacobite *Memoirs* tells of eighty-one Highlanders who were tempted to submit in Inverness, and were thereupon placed on board the king's vessels, and subjected to wretched treatment in them. Those who survived were sent to Barbadoes, where only eighteen were alive, three years after, out of the eightyone.

John Fiske in his *Old Virginia and her Neighbours* rather delights in the circumstance that many Scottish prisoners became colonists in America, 150 having been sent to Boston and 1670 to Virginia in the year 1650 by Cromwell, who captured them at Dunbar. The rising of 1715 was responsible for the deportation of about 1000, and the rebellion of 1745 for probably about 1600, if forced soldiers and indentured prisoners be taken together. As to the latter period, Fiske says: 'Later on, in 1745, after the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion, there came to North Carolina a powerful reinforcement of Scotch Highlanders, among them many of the clan Macdonald, including the romantic Flora Macdonald, who had done so much for the young fugitive prince.'

How far the Celtic leaven, due to deportation, has leavened the West Indian and Transatlantic lump it would be difficult to say, but in Cape

Breton there is published the only purely Gaelic paper in the world, viz. 'Mac-Talla,' the Sen of the Voice, or the Echo. This publication does not, however, owe its origin to those Jacobite prisoners who took the option of serving in Sir William Pepperell's regiment in the latitudes of Louisbourg and Cape Breton, and the survivors of whom remained as soldier-colonists. At the present time, there are in the Carolinas large numbers of natives of Highland descent, and the Gaelic language is still spoken in a few places. This Gaelic is, no doubt, a *remanet* from the Jacobite times when prisoners were largely sent to the Southern States.

In conclusion, painful though it was at the time to the Jacobite men and women deported and to their friends, candour compels the avowal that transportation was on the whole what Sir George Mackenzie claimed for it—an act of clemency. It was of benefit to the State, since it gave an impetus to colonisation; it told of lands beyond the sea waiting for the hand of man to cultivate-; it placed on soils, now bursting with tropic heat, now bound with Arctic cold, a class of men not only fit to work them but strong to defend them; it opened up to the tutored or untutored object of transportation, according to his sense of perspective, a big or small vista of Imperialist possibilities; it enlarged his mental horizon; in not a few cases it converted him from a servant into a master; it even provided a living to many who were destitute; and last, but not least, it transformed, as by the touch of an alchemist, a body of disaffected rebels into ardent loyalists and peaceful colonists in regions far remote from their native land, but which they now called their home.