

To

A. M. MACKINTOSH,

Author of "The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan,"
whose extensive knowledge of the history of his
kindred has been at all times most kindly placed
at my disposal, this volume is dedicated.



DUNCAN FORBES, FIFTH OF CULLODEN, LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COURT
OF SESSION, 1737-1747.

The portrait here given is reproduced from a picture of greater merit than that which was used
for Vol. III., and is presumably a more accurate likeness.

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Colloiden Papers

MORE CULLODEN PAPERS

EDITED BY
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PREFACE.

Although it was originally intended that the collections dealing with the Forty-five should be issued in one volume, it was found impossible to accomplish this without serious abridgement. In connection with events, the results of which so completely changed the Highlands, it was considered better to give too much than too little, especially as reputations have sometimes suffered needlessly from an extract, where a whole letter might have furnished palliation or excuse.

This volume breaks off in February 1746, when the Field of Culloden was in sight; and the echoes of that battle reverberate to our own day. The Forty-five can still arouse enthusiasm, even passion, when events of far greater consequence are relegated to the dull pages of history; and history is apt to be dull where the reader fails to find complete sympathy with his or her own particular view. If this volume should be found tedious, it is because every effort has been made to be fair to either side, and the editor has been sometimes led out of the path of ordinary commentary in trying to disentangle truth from falsehood, as in the case of MacLeod of MacLeod, in whose alleged perfidy he once fully believed.

Considerably more material has been added to what has already appeared in the columns of the "Inverness Courier," to the proprietors of which the Editor is much indebted for presenting the documents in a larger type with, consequently, a more pleasing book-page. Sources other than the collections have had to be consulted where gaps were manifest, and this will be more apparent in Volume V.

The Editor's warmest thanks are due once more to many kind helpers, more particularly to Professor R. S. Rait, C.B.E., and Mr Evan Barron, whose wide historical knowledge has always been most generously given; to Mr A. M. Mackintosh, author of "The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan," not only for assistance in genealogy, but for placing at the Editor's disposal most valuable information concerning Mackintosh of Mackintosh of the Forty-five; to the late Colonel A. R. B. Warrand, on whose collections this volume is mainly based; to Mr A. A. Chisholm, Sheriff Clerk of Inverness, for help on various points; to the Rev. Canon R. C. MacLeod of MacLeod, author of "The MacLeods of Dunvegan," who has most

kindly given extracts from papers belonging to his family, and assisted in many other ways; and to Major R. C. MacLeod, Secretary of the Clan Macleod Society, whose notes on MacLeod have been of great use. With far less material he had arrived independently at the same conclusions.

The Editor trusts that any mention of those who did or did not take part with Prince Charles Edward will not be resented by their descendants or representatives. The design has been to combat some previous prejudices, and to try to show that those who stood for the Government had a right to their own point of view, more particularly the smaller lairds, whose position was one of extraordinary difficulty. Possibly the letters and papers now presented may help to give some indication of the real atmosphere of the Highlands in the stirring times of the Forty-five.



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ILLUSTRATION.

Duncan Forbes, Fifth of Culloden, Lord President of the
Court of Session, 1737-1747. [*Frontispiece.*]

INTRODUCTION.

“In my poor simple opinion its quite hard that a nation should suffer for a few lawless people.” So wrote honest Hugh Inglis, better known as “The Pledger,” of which trading vessel he was captain, to his friend, Gilbert Gordon, in December 1745 (Page 148). These words may be said to voice the predominating view of Scottish merchants in regard to the Forty-five and expressed what was perfectly true, that practically the whole of Scotland lay under suspicion of being Jacobite. Anything was believed of those who lived over the Border by their English neighbours, more especially because of the early success of the Rising; and for that the blame rests entirely with the Government.

“Already,” wrote Andrew Mitchell in October 1745, “every man of our country is looked on as a traitor, as one secretly inclined to the Pretender and waiting but an opportunity to declare” (“Culloden Papers” CCCCLXXII.) Certainly there was no lack of false information to this effect. As an instance, Pelham was warned “to take care of Normand MacLeod member for Inverness and William [sic] McKenzie Seaforth both papists and Jacobites Members of the House of Commons from Scotland and elected by the Influence of Duncan Forbes president of the Session at Edinburgh”—an alarming insinuation against one who did more than anyone else to suppress the Rising. The document (Newcastle Papers) is unsigned and undated, but MacLeod and Lord Fortrose, as he was styled, both entered Parliament in 1741, the year after the death of William, Earl of Seaforth; and it was one of Lovat’s greatest grievances that his orders to the Frasers had made MacLeod’s candidature successful. Neither could have been papists (unless secretly) if the word be not used in the sense of “popery,” an expression still used occasionally in Scotland to denote the Episcopalian forms of worship. To those who belong to other Churches and can yet regard with sympathy the view of those loyal to the Government, it is amazing to read the works of some presbyterians, even “Divines,” who plead excuse because so-and-so did not join the Prince. The Church of Scotland as established was entirely anti-Jacobite, even Ebenezer Erskine playing his part against the Stuarts.

That the landing of the Prince caused consternation even among his own followers is sufficiently proved; its very audacity confounded his

opponents. The Government had certainly been on the watch a year before and, among other precautions, Forbes had been requested to make enquiries in his own part of the Highlands. This he did in the neighbourhood of Beaufort (see "Preliminary Fragments," Page 2), and it is tempting to suppose that he knew a great deal more about Jacobite intrigues than he chose to reveal, if there were not urgent need. It was not his way to make use of rumours against his own countrymen; he trusted to the steady development of Scotland's resources and the healing march of time. One thing, however, seems clear, that he was never really deceived by Simon, Lord Lovat, though he may indeed have looked upon a second forfeiture of that estate as a national calamity. No more typical Scotsman ever lived, and his own patriotism was reflected in others.

Whatever view be eventually taken of his friend and perhaps greatest helper, MacLeod of MacLeod, that Island Chief seems hitherto to have been condemned on quite insufficient evidence. Some attempt has been made in this volume to rehabilitate his character in "A note on MacLeod of MacLeod."

One of his greatest traducers was the late Andrew Lang, who appears to have neglected no opportunity for abuse. It is regretted that it should be necessary to call in question the statements of so distinguished a writer; but because he has been so distinguished in Jacobite literature, his every sentence carrying weight, it is the more necessary to be just to those whom he has sometimes needlessly impugned. Mr Lang has not always taken trouble to verify his statements. A few enquiries might have made him hesitate to write Appendix II. to "The Companions of Pickle"; which incidentally the Editor of this work had entirely forgotten till after the article on MacLeod was written. The accusations in that appendix are based on Murray of Broughton's "Memorials" and a passage in Mackenzie's "History of the MacLeods." Though Mr Lang was probably not aware of Murray's papers as given in Mr W. B. Blaikie's "Origins of the '45" or of MacLeod's letters of 25th June and 15th July (see Pages 10 and 12 of this volume), he could nevertheless have ascertained that the Dunvegan correspondence between the Prince and Macleod, as mentioned by Mackenzie, is a myth, begotten of one questionable letter. Further he need not have made it a sin for MacLeod to ask that his information should be considered strictly private, and leave out the qualification that the President might use his discretion (see "History of Scot-

land" IV. 458). As a matter of fact, and Mr Lang must surely have known this, people in Scotland were at that time very tender upon this point. Even Lord Reay, whose principles are justly unquestioned, made exactly the same request ("Culloden Papers" CCCCXXVII.)—"I hope your Lordship will not name me as your informer in this."

It would perhaps have astonished Mr Lang if he had known that most of MacLeod's information came from old MacDonell of Scotus (Page 52). Mr Lang has accepted the evidence of Murray of Broughton as given in his "Memorials," though he could write of him ("Companions of Pickle," p. 70) that he was "still striving to batter himself into his own self-respect and to extenuate or bluster out his own dishonour." If a "signed encouragement" (p. 78) were really sent by MacLeod to the Prince, it ought to have been produced or its existence proved on more reliable authority. Nor does Mr Lang refrain from insinuations against another great Island Chief, Sir Alexander MacDonald, ending some questionable criticisms with an epitaph (p. 128), calculated to leave the reader despising that amiable man. See MacDonald's letters to the President of 30th November 1745, and to Clanranald of 25th January 1746 (Pages 154 and 203 of this volume), which are more in keeping with his character. He had not, however, escaped suspicion some years earlier.

The letter, from which the following extracts are taken, came to light after the present volume was practically finished. The first adds additional weight to the brief for MacLeod, and both seem to show clearly the intimacy of the two chiefs, even at so early a date, with the President. On 30th May 1740 MacLeod wrote from Dunvegan as follows:

My dear Lord

I've wrote to Lady MacLeod in the terms we concerted only I made no mention of any alimnt in case of a future separation, because I was not to suppose such an event would hapen . . . I put the question [an entirely private one] you desired me to the Knight [Sir Alexander MacDonald] . . . for God sake bestow ane epistle on him . . . if you dont prevail none on earth will I'm sure.

I repeated as near as I could to Lovat what you said to me, he seemed much concerned that he could not regain that intimate friendship he once had with you but seemed to chuse to be as he was rather as [sic] have the form of it only.

INTRODUCTION.

Will you be so good as remember to speak to Mr Clayton about the 36 guns bought of Major Stone for me and convince him I'm no rebell and that he's little oblidge to those that gave him such false and scandalous informations. I've now teased you too long and heast to conclude that I am with all my pith yours faithfully,

Normand MacLeod.

The second letter was written from Edinburgh 21st May 1741 to the President by John Mackenzie, probably of the Delvine family.

My Lord

A courier from Sir Alexander MacDonald this morning either was officious in using your Lordship's name for dispatch or I am now extreamly so in presuming you this trouble and yet may I hope these marks of countenance you have on many occasions vouchsaft Sir Alexander will bear me through in this where the subject seems to touch him tenderly. That gentleman has dun'd me with letters and MacLeod with more these ten days past to transmitt his writes for a particular purpose and yet by a chain of letters from him and Lady Margaret for severall months before wherein he seem'd to speak his deliberate sentiments he expresses the strongest reluctance with what he seems now to point at. Its an easy matter to judge in what point of view one more attacht to that gentleman's honour and interest, than capable to conduct either will place such a sudden change . . . he whose character hangs by a twig be it never so slender should (in prudence) hold by that when he has no other protection. Nature seems not to have form'd my friend for publick life and if even an innocent folly will preserve him the esteem of the world which (however fluctuating) the best of men seem most to value can it but be mortifying to these who wish him well to see it surrendered inadvertently and perhaps himself afterwards rackt with a too late repentance, for this reason My Lord I detained hitherto what I considered as the weapons of his ruin . . . by this bearer I put these writes in your Lordship's hands and have wrot to Sir Alexander . . . Sir Alexander's last letter is dated from Lovat's house a sad sanctuary for sinking honour but I dare say no more I'm afraid I

have presumed too much My zeal for the honour of one who gave me an early confidence is some excuse and that I am with the greatest esteem [etc.]

It may be presumed that the subject of the above letter is one of politics engineered for election purposes by Lord Lovat. The President's influence, however, proved too strong in the case of both chiefs.

MacLeod's communication to the President sent from Beaufort 7th October 1745 (Page 84) seems to clear up several points; it is written from the heart and shows how much MacLeod detested the part he had played or had been forced to play in deceiving Lovat. The whole episode is dramatic, and it was this deception, not any momentary and abandoned idea of joining the Rising, which was to cost MacLeod so dear. His friends kept silence, but his enemies knew how to make capital out of it, in spite of the fact that Lovat, by a little patience, might still have saved himself. But MacLeod's return to Skye was delayed by storm (Page 87), and Lovat had acted rashly before the very definite refusal from the two chiefs reached him. The postscript to MacLeod's memorable letter to the President seems also to imply that not only was there no illusion as to Lovat's duplicity, but that both MacLeod and the President were fully aware of an attempt to be made on the latter's life or liberty, and by whom.

That Mackintosh of Mackintosh knew of the visit to Beaufort seems tolerably clear, but he eventually respected his military commission, and kept out of trouble, in spite of his wife. The famous letter which he sent to young Cluny, made known by Sir Walter Scott, has been taken to infer that he actually promised in writing to lead his clan in support of the Prince, and then withdrew—the charge hurled more spitefully against MacLeod. In his corrections to "The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan," Mr A. M. Mackintosh drew attention to the two letters from MacLeod and Lord Loudoun, which clear up the situation, and he has very kindly made it possible for the Editor of this volume to reproduce them in full (See "A Note on Mackintosh of Mackintosh.") Whether the President, Mackintosh and MacLeod were right in the method they took to delay Cluny's march is a question of ethics. Cluny had, it seems, been most discourteously treated by Sir John Cope ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLII.); he had then been made prisoner by those whom he afterwards served so well, and he admitted that "an

angel could not resist the soothing, close applications of the rebels." But Cluny held a military commission, and the President's view of what was right in such circumstances is clearly shown in the case of his great-nephew. (See "Young Pitcalnie and the Rosses.")

Mackintosh of Mackintosh was, it appears, largely a victim of his wife's enthusiasm, and she was by no means the only lady to trouble a loyal husband at this time. Mr Lang has shown in his tirade against Barisdale ("Companions of Pickle," p. 110) that Lady Sutherland was Jacobite; so it was with Mackenzie of Fairburn, who excused himself for not accepting a captain's commission of an Independent Company on the grounds of his property having originally been granted by a Stuart King; and for that reason it would not be becoming to fight against that line (See "A Note on Mackenzie of Fairburn.") In point of fact, the Mackenzies, though they did not rise, were perhaps the most difficult to restrain; and it was only the stern attitude of their chief which kept the greater part at home. This was not due to any particular understanding of the merits of the case among the rank and file, but mainly to the secret machinations of Lord Cromartie, who not only deliberately deceived the President but was actually disloyal to his own chief, a heinous offence in the Highlands, for which only ambition can account. On one occasion Seaforth's messengers returned "with the people's blessing for my protecting them" ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXVI.). It is perhaps admissible to suppose that, so far as Seaforth himself was concerned, he may have acted in gratitude for the restoration of the family estates, forfeited by his father, and not, as is too often said of him and others, because he was selfish and cautious.

Other instances of men being forced out will be found in Baillie's letter of 17th October (Page 110), where Barisdale is shown to have distributed "aquavitae" with initial success and in the affidavit against Cluny (Page 72). Yet Cluny himself could write—"In a word, it is hard to judge what burning, starving and killing may determine a defenceless people to do for their immediate safety" ("Culloden Papers," CCCCV.). The extract from Sir Alexander MacDonald's letter (preserved at Dunvegan), to MacLeod of 23rd September 1745 (Page 63), is particularly illuminating, as showing the difficulty of raising men to fight for the Government against their own kindred already in the field, "and the men here are almost as fond of the young gentleman as

their wives and daughters are." Many Macdonalds had ere now seen the Prince, who was looked upon as a leader, appealing to every fighting instinct of the pristine Highlander, be the event what it would. He was a great figurehead, with a definite appointment as Prince Regent. On the side of the Government there was no such leader, or anyone approaching him in that respect. There was, indeed, Duncan Forbes, whose military service during the year 1715 was not likely after so many years to be remembered. Yet there was no man in Scotland whose prestige stood higher or in whom the nation had greater confidence.

When he proceeded north to act at first almost alone he faced an extraordinary situation. There was every prospect, if a sufficient force were assembled, that the Prince would direct his march towards Inverness, then absolutely defenceless, and there was no real power in the several counties to call out men to protect those loyal to the Government. "The appointing of Lord Lieutenants I think would, as things now are, be too late" Forbes wrote to Cluny on 20th August ("Culloden Papers" (Idem CCCCXXXV), a view, perhaps correct in itself, but wholly unsuitable of infinite delicacy. On this matter the Government's own opinion was that "no authority is necessary to empower His Majesty's faithful subjects to arm, attack, and disperse their enemies, in time of actual rebellion." (Idem CCCCXXXV), a view, perhaps correct in itself, but wholly unsuitable to the emergency. In the Scotland of that time appointed leaders and suitable leaders were absolutely necessary. Cope suffered most from the fact of his being an Englishman; as a general, judgment should not be passed upon him without reference to Sir Robert Cadell's "Sir John Cope." Perhaps he was only too willing to take advice; before leaving Edinburgh, he was most anxious to see the Duke of Argyll (Idem CCCXCIX); who with other Scottish magnates was making his way quickly southward, deserting the country in time of crisis. The scheme, whether Cope's own or not, of getting assistance for his own insufficient forces from the chiefs loyal to the Government was excellent and the President endeavoured to support him therein (Idem CCLIX), but with little success. Lord Tweeddale blamed him for not marching to Fort Augustus (Idem CCCCVIII) and a fortnight later stated that military men were of opinion that he should have stopped at Dalwhinnie (Idem CCCCXXXV), which was certainly the opinion of the patriotic Lord Stair (Idem CCLXIV). But Cope's orders appear to have been definite (Idem CCCCXXX) and in the end, having avoided the Corrie-

arrack and marched to Inverness, he then lost as little time as possible in getting south again by sea. His troops, for the most part half-trained, might easily have been reinforced by some experienced battalions, however few. Mulloy's spirited defence of Ruthven illustrates what could have been done by a few well trained men under a resolute commander (Page 46).

The President's initial communications with the chiefs gave satisfactory results and he spared no effort, even communicating indirectly with Lochiel, for whom he had a great regard. "That Lochiell should play the madman in this manner surprises me; and I have still some faint hopes it is not true, tho' I have been by some well-wishers of his informed that he has absconded for some time, upon hearing that a warrant was out against him. I wish no such warrant had ever been granted" ("Culloden Papers" CCCCIV and CCCCI). It is difficult to estimate with any sort of precision exactly how many men were kept out of the Rising or whose march was delayed by the President's influence; but if MacLeod, Sir Alexander Macdonald and Seaforth be presumed to have been actuated solely by his friendship—a doubtful supposition—it would be no exaggeration to say that, but for him, the army which reached Derby would have been doubled. The Munros were unquestionably loyal; on Lord Sutherland and Lord Reay he could equally rely and he would have armed all their men, had there been arms to spare (Idem CCCCXXXI) but the request for arms was met by the Government with intolerable procrastination. After Edinburgh had been handed over to the Prince without any attempt at resistance (Idem CCCVI), no arms, even if available, could have been got from the Castle, as contemplated (Idem CCCCXXXIX). As to credit, it was necessary for the President to remind Lord Tweeddale, even on 13th September, that bank notes were not current (Idem CCCCXLII), while to Cope he had written with more candour on 24th August that it was ridiculous the well affected could receive no regular pay, in contrast, as he had been told, with "the Highlanders assembled" (Idem CCCCXVI).

The President's definition of the "Highlands of Scotland" was "that large tract of mountainous ground to the northward of the Forth and Tay, where the natives speak the Irish language" and further on in the memorandum from which the above is a quotation (Idem CCCCXLIII) he mentions that "it required no small degree of courage and a greater de-

gree of power than men are generally possessed of to arrest an offender or a debtor in the midst of his clan. And for this reason it was, that the Crown, in former times, was obliged to put Sheriffships, and other jurisdictions in the hands of powerful families in the Highlands, who by their respective clans and followings could give execution to the law within their several territories, and frequently did so at the expence of considerable bloodshed." The clan was in fact still in the Highlands the basis of society, whereby a chief loyal to the Government could restrain his people, a Jacobite Chief lead them out.

The suggestion of sending to the President blank commissions for the officers of 20 Independent Companies to be raised from the non-Jacobite clans was due to Lord Stair, ("Culloden Papers" CCLXIV) and was up to this point the only wise thing the Government had done. While it was in itself a great compliment to the President, it also burdened him with an unusual responsibility. Jealousy there was bound to be, which would create enemies, but few, if any, could have handled the matter with so little friction. The keynote of his policy was not to distribute the commissions only to the clans which had always been loyal to the Government but to encourage those which had on the present occasion remained loyal ("Culloden Papers" CCCCXLI). The present volume contains considerable additional information on the raising of these companies and on the appointment of the officers, the nominations for whom had to be confined to the North, owing to communication with the South having been cut off (Idem CCXCIV).

The arrival of Lord Loudoun, who had been sent to command at Inverness and the neighbourhood, was welcomed by the President, though the choice of a Campbell was not perhaps relished in some other quarters. He had, however, that very year raised a regiment of Highlanders, which unfortunately was not yet sufficiently trained; and in consequence the subsequent desertions from it were relatively as numerous as from the Independent Companies.

When at last sufficient arms had been accumulated at Inverness to make any sort of action possible, the Companies were assembled, and Lord Loudoun was able to revictual Fort Augustus and make Lord Lovat prisoner. The escape of that nobleman had most serious consequences to the Government's forces, because it delayed Lord Loudoun's march to the assistance of MacLeod of MacLeod. The latter had been chosen to lead an expedition for the relief of Aberdeen and the Eastern shires, pre-

sumably because he was chief of a great clan and had the largest following in the service of the Government. The results of that expedition may at first appear trifling, but closer reading shows that a definite object was in part attained; the enemy was obliged to pay attention to it and momentarily to divert a force to meet MacLeod, which might have been more advantageously used elsewhere, while recruiting for the Prince was certainly checked. In this respect it is probable that the Duke of Gordon might have done something before this date, in point of fact he had done little or nothing, but like many others he had near relations on either side. The Chisholm is another example and it may be a surprise to some that he himself did not fight or lead any part of his clan in this Rising; more will be said of him in Volume V.

It is true that MacLeod was defeated at Inverurie, but many of his men fought well and as Hugh MacLeod himself told the President (Page 171). "The desertion of our men considering how well some of them behaved at Inverurie gives me much more uneasiness than what happened there, and the more so that I think it might have been prevented." In the curious address to MacLeod of 8th January 1746 (P. 178) a reason for desertion is given, that "the common Highlanders have from time to time universally persisted in this pernicious unaccountable mistake, as if it circulated in their blood, and was conveyed down from age to age, that they have an absolute right to give up the cause they espouse, and forsake their Leaders soon after they see the face of an enemy." Highlanders did not espouse a cause, they fought for their chiefs well and bravely, returning home much as they pleased but coming again. This has been pointed out by more than one writer.

In spite of the desertions after Inverurie, the Independent Companies were almost certainly up to strength some weeks later, while still sufficient arms and cash were lacking. The resignation of Lord Tweeddale early in January 1746 had brought somewhat brighter prospects. The Duke of Newcastle, goaded by Lord Stair, sent both arms and cash, but unfortunately they arrived too late to be put to the use which had been intended. It had been planned to collect as large a force as possible to be added to the Independent Companies, to which end measures had been concerted with Lord Sutherland, Lord Reay, Seaforth, Sir Alexander MacDonald, and others. With sufficient men collected at Inverness it was hoped at least to present an appearance sufficiently formidable to make the Jacobites hesitate about retiring in that direction.

The underlying idea seems to have been to bring about, if possible, an early dispersal of the Prince's army and so prevent further bloodshed and the ruin of more and more families. This would have been characteristic of the President and of many others who thought as he did.

As it was, the Prince approached Inverness earlier than had been anticipated and though he was in retreat, yet the Battle of Falkirk had given a last encouragement to his cause, as the Battle of Prestonpans had made his whole campaign possible. His troops might well be proud of what they had been able to accomplish and feel themselves more than a match for any irregular force, especially when that force had no particular desire to fight their kinsfolk, however loyal they might be to the Government. The Independent Companies were indeed of most use in keeping themselves and many others out of mischief.

In spite of all that has been published concerning the Fortyfive a final account (indeed the whole history of Scotland) has yet to be written. It is hoped that at least some of the letters and documents here presented may serve as material to that end.



MORE CULLODEN PAPERS



VII. THE '45—FROM FEBRUARY 1744 TO FEBRUARY 1746



(1) PRELIMINARY FRAGMENTS.

On 1st February 1744, the Marquess of Tweeddale, then Secretary of State for Scotland, wrote to the Lord President that the Pretender's son had left Rome, and that there was reason to suspect an attempt would be made on some part of Britain ("Culloden Papers," CCCXCII.). Such an attempt by France was indeed in preparation, but it collapsed a few weeks later, owing to the great storm (See W. B. Laikie's "Origins of the Forty-five," p. xlv. et seq). The President's reply to Lord Tweeddale ("Culloden Papers," CCCXCIII.) touches upon the improbability of any rising without a sufficient force "to make the party equal," the advantage to be gained from the presence of regular troops in the Highlands, and the steps to be taken to obtain information.

However . . . I have wrote to a friend of mine in the neighbourhood of the Highlands to examine a person whom I confide in, and who I am sure will let me know what he has observed. . .

The "friend," to whom the President wrote, 5 February 1744, was John Hossack, then Provost of Inverness, though he did not, as is often supposed, hold that office in 1745 or 1746. He was Provost from 1735 to 1738, from 1741 to 1744, from 1753 to 1756, and from 1758 to 1761.

Dear John,

What brings you the trouble of this message is a letter which I have lately had by express from London, communicating the apprehension the Government has, that there is some correspondence carrying on in the Highlands in favour of the Pretender, and those that are or may be the declared

enemies of His Majesty's Person and Government, and desiring that I may contribute what may be in my power for the detection and protection of such designs. It is, I confess, my present opinion, and I am very glad that I can think so that there is little possibility of danger from that quarter; at the same time supine neglect is always blameable. I at this distance can do little, and can possibly know nothing, and its very probable that designs of this nature are on foot. You having no hint at all in the matter, might not give sufficient attention to circumstances, though if you were on your guard you might mind. Its for this reason I send you this line by Express, to desire that without communicating what I write or the cause of it to any one living, you will in a prudent manner listen to what you hear & inquire, where you may think it proper, and particularly without losing one moment you may send to our friend Mr Nicolson & know from him what he may lately have observed, & direct him to observe closely for the future. You will return this Express immediately, with notice whether you have observed anything or not to Mr William Forbes who forwards it, and if after conversing with Mr Nicolson or any other, whom you think fitt in your own discretion to converse with, concealing the cause of your inquiry, if you may discover anything worth to be noticed you may send it by a fresh express to Mr Forbes. If not, you may reserve the further correspondence to the course of the post. I am, my dear John, Yours

Edinburgh 5th Feby 1744

To John Hossack

Though the name of Nicolson seems to have been applied by the Jacobites to MacLeod of MacLeod ("Origins," p. 65), in this connection it can only be a coincidence. MacLeod was almost certainly in London at that date. The "Mr Nicolson" to whom reference is made must be the Rev. Patrick Nicolson, Minister of Kiltarlity from 1716 to 1761, who was son of the Rev. Donald Nicolson, sometime minister of Kilmuir, in Skye, and it is of considerable interest that the President should have directed enquiries in that direction, the more so, that the minister's wife, Grizel Fraser, was daughter to the well-known James Fraser of Castle Leathers, who then had every reason to mistrust his chief.

The result of John Hossack's observations is embodied in the President's letter to Lord Tweeddale of 1st March 1744 ("Culloden Papers," CCCXCV.), whereby it appears that there was little cause to suspect trouble. The letter refers also to the Duke of Gordon on whom the Government had bestowed no favour, not even a deputy-lieutenancy; in spite of which Lord Tweeddale had written as follows:—

Whitehall 23rd Febr'y 1743/4.

My Lord,

I had the honour to wait upon the King this Day, I would not delay one moment in laying before His Majesty your Graces Letter to me of the 16th instant, & he was well satisfied with the Expressions therein contained, of your Graces sincere Zeal & Affection for his Person & Government and I persuade myself you will do me the justice to believe that no body wishes you better than myself. As the Preparations for some desperate Enterprise against this Kingdom appear still to be carrying on at Dunkirk, I would submit to your Grace, if your presence in the Highlands at this juncture, where you are known to have so great an influence, would not be of use to preserve the Peace & Quiet of these parts; for altho at present there is no appearance of any disturbance there, yet no body can tell how soon the contrary may happen, if proper Precautions are not taken. I am with great truth and regard

My Lord

Your Graces most obedient & most humble
Servant

Tweeddale

His Grace the Duke of Gordon.

In his answer (20th March) to the President, who had suggested a regiment for the Duke, Lord Tweeddale wrote that his endeavours should not be wanting to secure some mark of favour ("Culloden Papers," CCCXCVI.).

On 31st March 1744, the President intimated his intention of going north, "whither my little affairs call me" ("Culloden Papers,"

CCCXCVII ''), and wrote the following letter on 10th May 1744 from Culloden to his sister, Mrs Ross of Kindeace. (Fraser-Mackintosh MSS., Register House).

My dear Grizzy,—I was detained this Season at Edinb: much longer than I expected by the hurry that men were put in from the expectation of disturbances on occasion of the attempts of France—Nor should I have come hither this Spring, my time was so very short, but for the sake of the journey, which my health after the fatigue of the winter required & to regulate some trifles about this place. But the worst of it is that the civility of my neighbours will not permit me to get what I came for that is health, or to do my small affairs. And we are the next week to have a Meeting about the election of a Collector of the Cess, at which I must necessarily be present, & which will occasion to me the thing which I least like, a crowd much greater than ordinary which makes it impossible for me to do what I wish, to see you at this time.

I never desire to let the day of my departure be known, because it subjects me to a run of importuance from my Neighbours who are willing to plague me with taking leave. But if you have any commands for me they will come time enough if they reach this before the end of next week.

I am my dear Sister

Yr afte Duncan Forbes

From Lord Tweeddale to the President, dated from Whitehall, 2 May 1745.

My Lord,

I have been favoured with your Lordships of the 11th of April, with a Copy of the Report of the State of our Manufactures for the year ended at Xmas last. It gives me great satisfaction to find, that in your opinion the Linnen Manufacture continues to prosper, and will soon make a more remarkable Progress.

As your Lordship is pleased to mention to me that you design to set out soon for Culloden, I cannot dispense with letting you know, that as we have certain intelligence here,

that a good number of Recruits are enlisted in Scotland for the French Service last year, so I have reason to believe the Town of Inverness, and that neighbourhood was the place where the French Emissaries chiefly had their Residence. As it concerns very much the Interest and Credit of his Majesty's Government, to have an effectual stop put to such Practices for the future, I am hopeful your Lordship will take an opportunity when you are in that Country to enquire into the Truth of such Practices, as also to suggest what will be proper for preventing the like for the future. His Majesty has this day put an end to the present Session of Parliament and I believe goes abroad tomorrow if the Wind proves fair. By the accounts we have had from Flanders since the last mails, we have reason to judge that the French have repassed the Scheldt and abandoned the Siege of Tournay, which if true we must soon have confirmed. I am with great truth and regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient Humble Servant,
Tweeddale.

Lord President of the Session.

(2) A NOTE ON MACLEOD OF MACLEOD.

Apart from any fresh light the letters to follow may throw upon his thoughts and actions, it is perhaps pardonable to examine the evidence upon which rests the supposed perfidy of Normand MacLeod of MacLeod. The accusation made against him appears to be that, conditionally or unconditionally, that is whether there was or was not foreign assistance, he had promised his whole-hearted support to Prince Charles, if he were to land in Scotland.

In 1741 there had been an engagement on the part of the titular Duke of Perth, Lovat, Lochiel, and others, to risk everything for a Stuart restoration, but MacLeod's name does not appear, in fact no list (though there was such a list) of other chiefs then compromised has been found. (See "Origins," p. XXXV.). In any case no rising was at any time contemplated without French support, not moral but real. If MacLeod, like others, momentarily discussed a Stuart restoration, such support

must have been in his mind, in spite of what has been said to the contrary; and it is certain, had the Prince not taunted Lochiel into action against his own better judgment, the world would have forgiven him. Few in Scotland had since the Walpole administration genuinely desired to fight for a lost cause; but in a sense it was the fashion to play with the idea. MacLeod may in weak moments have done so, in spite of his friendship with and admiration for the families of Argyll and Culloden (See Vol. III. of this series passim.) His grandson wrote of him ---

The numbers and fidelity of his clan and his influence with his neighbours were known; and I have many reasons to believe that many allurements were held out to seduce him to engagements which were considered only as dangerous, but neither guilty nor dishonourable. It would be neither pleasing nor useful to inquire how deeply he was concerned in the prelude to the rebellion; nor indeed have I been able to learn. (Mackenzie, "History of the Macleods," p. 150).

Mackenzie (Idem, p. 129) repeats the current story, and adds that there was a "correspondence" between the Prince and MacLeod. The Rev. Canon R. C. MacLeod of MacLeod (whose history of the Clan was recently published) has informed the Editor that this undoubtedly is a mistake. There was no "correspondence," though one letter from the Prince to MacLeod did formerly exist at Dunvegan. This was probably the letter sent in 1745, after the Prince's landing (Murray of Broughton's "Memorials," edited by R. FitzRoy Bell, p. 155). The letter sent in 1744 was one of those without direction. See "Memorials" (p. 429), where it is so acknowledged; and the supposed "rapture" of MacLeod (Idem p. 108) on receiving the letter, to which his name had now been added, was therefore procured, if procured at all, by what may be considered a rank deception. As a matter of fact, according to MacLeod himself, and his word must be taken to be at least as good as Murray's, a letter was delivered to his son, John MacLeod, and he did not hear of it till a year afterwards. (Spalding Club, "Historical Papers," I., 333, and D. N. Mackay, "Trial of Lord Lovat," p. 139). Incidentally, the Prince is said to have blamed the young Laird of MacLeod much more than his father, for he had been introduced to him

in France, had kissed hands, and promised all the support in his power. (Chambers' "Memoirs of the Rebellion," p. 339—"Narrative of Donald Macdonald.")

Apart from stray hints or accusations by interested or disappointed parties, such as Robert Scheviz (whose letter on the subject will be given later in another connection), the evidence against MacLeod seems to rest almost solely on the assertions of Murray of Broughton, in his "Original Papers" given in "Origins," in his examination, printed as an appendix to the "Memorials," and in the "Memorials" themselves. The last may be largely discounted.

"As to whether MacLeod really put his hand to the document, the reader must form his own opinion; Murray confessedly speaks from memory alone" (Lang, "History of Scotland," IV., 451). It is in the "Memorials" only (p. 109) that MacLeod is said to have committed himself in writing.

But, as I was still desirous to engage every one in such a manner as to leave them no room to resile, I begged Lochyell would repeat his visit next morning, and procure his [MacLeod's] advice and consent in writing: which he accordingly did, and as I can well remember, it was in the following terms: "That having maturely considered his Royal Highness's resolution, he was of opinion that to land in Scotland without assistance from abroad might prove an unsuccessful attempt; but as he was entirely devoted to the interest of the Royal Family if he should land, he would join him at the head of his Clan."

This, according to the "Memorials," took place in 1744, though there seems to have been an earlier meeting in August 1743 between MacLeod, Lochiel, and Murray, when there is no mention of a pledge. ("Origins," pp. 44, 45). This may be the meeting referred to by Murray ("Memorials," p. 108), when he states that he formerly had a long conversation with "MacLeod upon the subject of the King's affairs." It was not in September or October 1744 or earlier that MacLeod could have given a written pledge, or Murray would surely have told the Prince in his letter.

I next day gave Mr Dan [Lochiel] the letter designed for Nicolson [MacLeod], which he delivered to him, and made an

appointment to meet with me the same night which he accordingly did; but as he had drunk a little too much we differed having any positive answer from him. ("Origins," p. 65).

In his examination (Appendix to "Memorials," p. 428) Murray states that he, Lochiel, and MacLeod met in November 1744, and talked of the "Design," which MacLeod thought a very mad one, but that if the Prince came, he would join

but that as MacLeod had been drinking this examt desired Lochiel to speak to him the next morning and learn his real sentiments upon this matter, which Lochiel accordingly did, and told this examt that McLeod continued to say that it was a rash undertaking, but, however, that if the Pretender came, he would join him.

It was a curious time to extract a promise from anyone after a hard night's drinking in the fashion of that age. It appears therefore that MacLeod is supposed to have committed himself verbally, but not in writing, as many others did—this according to Murray's papers which were picked up after Culloden ("Origins," p. xlix); the written pledge once more rests on the "Memorials," which seem to have been composed about 1757 and later.

So far as Murray's dates are concerned, Lochiel seems to have been in Edinburgh in September 1743, where his children had small-pox (Vol. III. of this series, p. 159), and very possibly MacLeod was there too on his way to London. He was M.P. for the Shire of Inverness, and would certainly have been present at the important session in the spring of 1744, when the French fleet was massing at Dunkirk. Letters of December 1743 and March 1744 show that he was in the South (W. Mackay, "Letter Books of John Steuart.") Later in the year he was at Dunvegan, which he left 5 September, and on 23 September 1744 wrote to Lovat from Inverary that he had missed the Duke, adding, "Sir Alexander Macdonald was a wise man and against the scheme" ("Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness," XIV. 2). If the scheme was a sinister one, this is a curious commentary on Murray's letter to Edgar, 5 July 1743, wherein it is stated that Sir Alexander MacDonalld, in place of the 700 men his uncle brought in 1715, would himself bring 1200. ("Origins," p. 38).

According to Murray ("Memorials," p. 466) it was MacLeod who in April 1745 brought back from Lord Traquair the letter which was to have been sent to the Prince, dissuading him from coming without assistance from France. What passed between Lord Traquair and MacLeod would be of immense interest, were it known, but, as his Lordship took no part in the Forty-five, it is not unreasonable to suppose that, whatever he may have said previously, MacLeod from that time turned his back on any rash enterprise. It is more than probable that he let those sentiments be known, if Alexander Macdonald of Boisdale advised the Prince on his landing that Sir Alexander Macdonald and MacLeod would not join (R. Chambers, "Memoirs of the Rebellion," p. 2). On the other hand, Cluny thought that both Sir Alexander and MacLeod would be at the setting up of the standard ("Culloden Papers," CCCC.V.) Cluny probably took his information from Lovat, but Boisdale was in a better position to know. In any case, this uncertainty is one of the indications of the complete surprise and confusion into which the Prince had thrown the Highlands.

Murray states ("Memorials," p. 141) that when the Prince's letter was received in May 1745, announcing his intention of coming, MacLeod was with Lovat, and (p. 143) that they proposed a letter should be written, dissuading the Prince from landing, but (p. 144) that subsequently MacLeod did not hesitate. The fact of Lovat getting into a passion over the matter is, though Murray did not altogether trust him, no evidence of his real intentions. Inside the walls of Castle Doune odd things happened in an odd manner. MacLeod would probably not have been there, had he known what was afoot and in view of after events it may have been an enforced and seeming compliance, if there is any truth in Murray at all. He states that MacLeod, as a result of his supposed handsome behaviour, desired an interview with him (Murray), who was anxious that MacLeod should have people posted in order to observe the Prince's arrival. MacLeod said that he would see Murray in Skye (which Murray declined), that he could not answer for Sir Alexander MacDonald, but that he would himself, though he thought the Prince should return, join him, if he persisted ("Memorials," pp. 144-146). Murray's dates are never satisfactory, and the sequence of events is sometimes difficult to understand, but the following shows that as early

as 25th June 1745, MacLeod was not in the interests of the Prince, whatever his former feelings may have been.

From MacLeod of MacLeod to the Lord President [at Edinburgh], dated from Glenelg, 25th June 1745.

My dear Lord

I gott only here Saturday evening, [19th], since wh. time I have seen some of my Knodart Friends, one of whom has a letter from young Glengarry, dated 14 days ago, from the Braes of Perthshire, where he says he is hunting and fishing &c., with the D. of Perth and some other Friends, and would be home the beginning of July. I cannot help informing you of a much more extraordinary rumour, spread all hereabouts, (on what foundation I do not know,) which is that the Pretender's Eldest Son was to land somewhere in the Highlands in order to raise the Highlanders for a Rebellion &c. I own I do not believe one tittle of it, because I am morallie certain he cannot have the smallest encouragement from any men of consequence, in this part of the Highlands, but should such a thing possible happen, I am sure I and others well effected to the Government would be in a very odd situation, because we are in no condition to oppose him for want of arms if he had but 100 armed men with him. When the War with France was declared I made application at London for some arms to defend our Coast from Privateers, and there was some promise made that a number would be sent down to the different Forts, to be given out by our Commander in Chief, but as I never heard more of it, I suppose it was forgott, which I now wish it had not. You know much better than I can pretend to direct, what is the proper use to be made of this, but as it is but a report (I dare say without foundation) I would not choice to be handed about as the author of it, in the mean time I shall spare no pains to be better informed, and if its worth while run you ane express. I beg to hear from you by the bearer, I ever am most unalterable Yours,

Normand MacLeod.

The Knight & Lady Margaret are in Uist, I expect they'll make my house their way home, if the weather permits them.

The obvious criticism of this letter by MacLeod's detractors is that he must then have been cognisant of the Prince's intentions, and that he was making an impudent attempt to get arms, to be turned on those who were to give them. This is certainly another evil attributed both to him and to Sir Alexander MacDonald by Albemarle's spies in 1746, ("Albemarle Papers," i., 339), though even Murray acquits Sir Alexander of vacillation once the desperate nature of the enterprise was known. ("Memorials," p. 156). The firm refusal was not only on the part of Sir Alexander, but of MacLeod too, and both did their best to keep young Clanranald out of it ("Memoirs of the Rebellion," pp. 19, 20). According to Captain Donald Macdonald (*Idem* p. 424), he was at Mugstot when the Prince landed, and was detained by Sir Alexander, who was determined to raise his following if MacLeod, Seaforth, Lovat, etc., raised theirs. He states also that Sir Alexander wrote to MacLeod, but got no encouragement. In the mass of contradictory evidence, one thing emerges, that MacLeod relied for advice on the Lord President Forbes and on Argyll. "It is a great pleasure," wrote the latter in January 1746, "to me to find that MacLeod has behaved himself in so handsome and so zealous a manner. I had answered for him in such positive terms, that I have great reason to rejoice at his having done all I said on his behalf" ("Culloden Papers," DXXVI). The Duke was not a man to be fooled, nor was Forbes, who told his friend Mitchell in November 1745—

Under these circumstances I found myself almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credite; provided with no means to prevent extream folly, except pen and ink, a tongue, and some reputation; &, if you will except MacLeod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Sky, supported by nobody of common sense or courage.

High praise from two great Scotsmen, who viewed Scottish matters from very different angles. It has somewhere been said that the influence of the Lord President has been exaggerated: it has rather been under-estimated, as witness the importance attributed to securing his person under a warrant issued by the Prince. An enthusiastic English Jacobite, whose testimony may safely be taken as of weight, wrote ("Origins," p. 206—"John Daniel's Progress")—

Some of my readers may be curious to know who this President was, and what interest he had. He may truly be styled the Oracle of his Country, for many resorted to him for advice; and had he been as great a friend as he was an implacable enemy, James would in all probability have swayed the English Sceptre, for by his interest, cunning, and persuasion he brought over his own party, together with Sir Alexander McDonald and several others who before were just sworn in to the Prince's interest. So, I say, had he been as firm a friend as he was an implacable enemy, we should have seen, instead of the four thousand men who marched into England, an army of eighteen or twenty thousand men.

How the President accomplished what he did may perhaps appear more evidently from documents to follow. If MacLeod had needed persuasion, he would scarcely have taken the trouble to warn the President on 25th June, or have taken measures for the benefit of the Government to ascertain the truth of the rumoured invasion thereafter. On 15th July 1745 the Prince set sail for Scotland, and on 16th July MacLeod wrote as follows from Dunvegan to the President [at Edinburgh] :—

My dearest Lord

I had the pleasure of yours last week after our Post was dispatched, had I had anie Thing Material to Inform you of since I left Glenelg you may be sure, I would have run you ane express directly.

In consequence of the information I then had, and my writing you, I had Proper Persons who I was sure would give me the quickest Intelligence and laid all the way twixt Glenelg and the Point of Airdnamurchan, I likewise sent People into two or three of the Iles that are of your acquaintance, & into the long Iland, which with this Iland was all the places I could suspect ane attempt would be made upon, and as I've heard nothing further from any of these places, but Peace, & quiet, I think you may depend on it, that Either there never was such a thing Intended, or if there was that the Project is intyrlie defeated & Blown into air.

Lady Margaret & Sir Alexr have been here these eight days, they salute you & are very well only her Belly swells considerable, need I tell you the Knight is as well affected as you or I can be & would be as ready to defeat Projects of that kind as anie Man.

I am very sorry for my young Highland Brother, that he should neglect his affairs so much, be where he will. If he returns & that Sir Alexander & I could answer for him for the future (as he promised to put himself Intyrlly under our direction) cant you prevent his being looked after as you love to do good natured things.

I have not att all been well since I got home in spite of Regularity & Exercise. I've had three or four shivering fitts which ended in being feverish from 12 to 24 hours and sweating wh. caryed off the feaver, & in general I constantlie have Low Spirits and akeing in my limbs with a feebleness I was till now quite unacquainted with, & a constant disorder in my head, which is the most disagreeable thing of all. I would not have plagued you with this stuff did I not know you a most noted quack & I expect your assistance, I am my Dear Lord most unalterable Yours

Normand Macleod.

On 2nd August 1745, probably in view of this letter, the Lord President wrote from Edinburgh to Henry Pelham, then virtually Prime Minister, as follows. ("Culloden Papers," CCXLV.) The letter is endorsed, "Lo. President's letter to Mr Pelham."

Dear Sir,

In a state of profound tranquility, we have been alarmed with advices, which are said to have been received at London, of intended invasions; and particularly of a visit which the Pretender's eldest son is about to make to us, if he has not already made it. These informations, particularly as to the visit just mentioned, I must confess, have not hitherto gain'd my belief. This young gentleman's game seems at present to be very desperate in this country; and, so far as I can learn, there is not the least apparatus for his reception, even amongst the few

highlanders who are suspected to be in his interest. However, as, when so much is at stake, no advice, how improbable soever, is to be neglected, I have (our session being now over) resolved to make my accustomed journey northwards a little earlier than usual; to the end that, though my fighting days are over, I may give some countenance to the friends of the government, and prevent the seduction of the unwary, if there should be any truth in what is reported.

The next day the Prince had landed at Eriskay, and MacLeod sent the letter (the only one hitherto known) which has been the subject of so much criticism ("Culloden Papers," CCXLVI.).

My Dearest Lord,

To my no small surprise it is certain that the Pretended Prince of Wales is come on the Coast of South Uist and Barra, and has since been hovering on parts of the Coast of the main Land that lies betwixt the point of Airdnamurchan and Glenelg; he has but one ship, of which he is aboard; she mounts about 16 or 18 Guns. He has about thirty Irish or French Officers with him, and one Sheridan, who is called his Governor. The Duke of Athol's brother is the only man of any sort of note (that once belonged to this Country) that I can hear of that's alongst with him. His view, I need not tell you, was, to raise all the Highlands to assist him, &c. Sir Alex. Macdonald and I, not only gave no sort of Countenance to these people, but we used all the interest we had with our Neighbours to follow the same prudent method; and I am persuaded we have done it with that success, that not one man of any consequence benorth the Grampians will give any sort of assistance to this mad rebellious attempt. How far you think we acted properly, I shall long to know; but this is certain, we did it as our duty and for the best; for in the present situation of Affairs in Europe, I should have been sorry to see any thing like disaffection to the Government appear, tho' ever so trivial; or that there was occasion to march a single Company to quell it, which now I hope and dare say there is not.

As it can be of no use to the Public to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either

of us ; but this we leave in your own breast, as you are a much better judge of what is or is not proper to be done. I've wrote to none other ; and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly. Sir Alex. is here, and has seen this scrawl.

I ever am, most faithfully, Yours,

Normand Macleod.

Dunvegan, 3d Augt 1745.

The Ld President, &c.

P.S. Last night I had the pleasure of yours of the 25th. A thousand thanks for your advice ; but I'm in good health by the very means you mention, moderate exercise, and regularity, without starving. Young Clanranald has been here with us, and has given us all possible assurances of his prudence, &c.

Andrew Lang wrote ("History of Scotland," IV., 458), "Macleod at once warned (August 3) Forbes of Culloden, saying that it was "needless to mention" himself and Sleat as the sources of information."

In justice again to MacLeod it is well to note the qualification:—"but this we leave in your own breast, as you are a much better judge of what is or is not proper to be done."

The accession of his own following and that of Sir Alexander Macdonald might have infinitely prolonged the "Forty-five"; final success depended on the support of the English Jacobites and the assistance of France, neither of which was forthcoming. Without appearance of these, it would be rash to censure any who withdrew, whether they had offered help conditionally or unconditionally, and it does not seem in any way proved that MacLeod belonged to either category.

(3) THE LORD PRESIDENT GOES NORTH.

In his letter to Lord Tweeddale ("Culloden Papers," CCXVII.) of 8th August, the Lord President stated his intention of going north, and gave some hints as to arms and credit. It is probable that he had consulted with Sir John Cope, who had already advised the Government that arms should be lodged in some of the Highland garrisons (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.) On 6th August Cope wrote that the

5000 arms sent to Edinburgh, Stirling and Inverness would be of great use (Idem), and on 9th August issued a warrant in connection therewith.—

Sir

I desire you will deliver out of the Stores Lately sent you from the Castle of Edinburgh, Muskets, Bayonets and Cartouch Boxes for the Effective Men of the Seven Companys of the Right Honble The Earl of Loudouns Highland Regiment that are quartered at Inverness and you will deliver Muskets, Bayonets and Cartouch Boxes to the Recruits of said Companys as they shall arrive from time to time to join their Respective Companys, taking proper receipts for the Arms as you deliver them.

Jno. Cope.

To the Governor or Storekeeper
of Fort George Inverness

Copy Letter from the Earl of Loudoun [then Adjutant-General]
to Major McKenzie or officer commanding his Lops Regiment att Inverness.

Edinburgh August 9th 1745.

Sir,

I send you inclosed a Warrant from Sir John Cope for arms to be delivered to you out of Fort George, Inverness. But you are by no means to take any but for your effectives on the spot, and by the Warrant you will be supplied from time to time, as your numbers increase. I need not put you in mind to keep your people alert, and to go on to instruct both your Officers and Soldiers in their duty as far as the time will permit. The President is set out this morning for Inverness, he is a Civil Magistrate and a man of great consequence in this Country, it will be right for you to attend him, as you will certainly be justified for what you do, in consequence of his Directions.

(Signed) Loudon.

By command of Sir John Cope (13th August) Loudoun's regiment, or so much of it as was in the North of Scotland, was put under the President's orders ("Culloden Papers," CCLI.).

Travelling by Leith and Falkland, where he stayed the night of Friday, 9th, the President passed the Bridge of Earn, and on Saturday, 10th, came to Dunkeld (original cash account). A night was spent at Blair, and on Tuesday, 13th, he reached Culloden ("Culloden Papers," CCCC). No time was lost in communicating with the Chiefs. On 14th August he wrote to the Duke of Gordon (Idem), and the next day Lord Lovat dined with him (Idem CCCC). The (titular) Earl of Seaforth (known also as Lord Fortrose) probably as a direct result of the President's influence, wrote to the Government, 15th August, that he and his would remain loyal (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.) Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod had already given their written pledge to the President ("Culloden Papers," CCL.).

My Lord,

Probably you'll have heard, before this reaches you, that some of our neighbours of the main land have been mad enough to arm and join the Young Adventurer mentioned in MacLeod's letter to you. Your Lordship will find our Conduct with regard to this unhappy scrape such as you'd wish, and such as the friendship you have always shewed us will prompt to direct. Young Clanranald is deluded, notwithstanding his assurances to us lately; and, what is more astonishing, Lochiel's prudence has quite forsaken him. You know too much of Glengarry not to know that he'll easily be led to be of the Party; but, as far as I can learn, he has not yet been with them. Mr MacLean of Coll is here with his daughter, lately married to [MacLeod of] Tallisker; and he assures us of his own Wisdom; and, as he has mostly the direction of that Clan, promises as much as in him lies to prevent their being led astray. You may believe, my Lord, our spirits are in a good deal of agitation, and that we are much at a loss how to behave in so extraordinary an occurrence. That we will have no connection with these madmen is certain, but are bewildered in every other respect till we hear from you. Whenever these rash men meet with a check, 'tis more than probable they'll endeavour to retire to their islands: how we ought to behave in that event we expect to know from your Lordship. Their force, even in that case, must be very inconsiderable, to be repelled with Batons;

and we have no other arms in any quantity. I pledge Mac Leod in writing for him and myself. I come now to tell you, what you surely know, that I am most faithfully,

My Lord,

Your most obedt humble Servt,

Alexr Macdonald.

Tallisker, 11th Augt 1745.

In a long letter to Cope of 15th August ("Culloden Papers," CCCCI.), the President made mention of a note received that day from Major William Caulfield, then Quartermaster-General, enclosing copy of a letter, dated 7th, from Fort-William. These documents are as follows :—

To the Right Honble The Lord President

To be forwarded to him per express from
Ruthven by Mr John McPherson Deputy
Barrack Master there.

Wm. Caulfield.

Edinburgh Augt. the 12th 1745.

My Lord

Sir John Cope not having time to write to you himself, he sends you the enclosed wh. is a copy of what he has sent to the Duke of Argyle, and Marquis of Tweeddale. He sent you in his last an account of the Disposition he had made of the Troops. He has now ordered the first day of their marching out of their present Quarters, to encamp near, that they may know a little of their business and be ready to march on, as the Service requires. As bread and Biscuit baking for them at Perth and Stirling, cannot be ready on Wednesday next, which day they are to encamp, and which is as soon as the Train which I have sent this day to Stirling can arrive there. I have sent a re-inforcement to Fort-William.

This Scrawl is very incorrect, but I am not allowed time to write it over. Sir John sometimes dictated. Your Lordship will pardon the error, I began to write as from myself. I've not time to say more. I am ever your Lordships Faithfull
Servant

Wm. Caulfield.

Headed :—Copy of a Letter to Sir John Cope.

Sir,

I am sorry I have reasons to send you an express sooner than I expected. A few hours since I had intelligence that the Country of Moidart, inhabited by the Macdonalds, all Roman Catholics, came in 10 or 12 Transports with a Ship of Force, all French, and aboard of them they say are 2000 men, who are now landed (sic). The Country Gentlemen there, supplied them with all manner of fresh provisions. Unhappy for us in this place if we are attacked, the party that was in Sutherland not being returned, and the inner gate which was pulled down some-time ago not yet rebuilt, but all hands are now at work to make it up.

This day I'll send to the Country of Moydart, to know the certainty of what is told me, and when returns will run you another express

I am Sir

Your faithfull and most Obedt Servt

(Signed) Alexr Campbell

Fort William 7th August 1745.

The truth of this I can't affirm, as the Person that told me saw neither the Ships nor People, but was informed of it by a Relation of his, who said he was in Company with them.

In connection with Fort-William the following was written by the President on 16th August to "Mr Paton of General Guise's Regiment." This regiment, quartered at Aberdeen, was broken up and sent to Fort-George (Inverness), Fort-Augustus, and Fort-William.

Sir,

Between seven and eight this morning your Letter of yesterday's date came to my hand. Your case appears to me to be very delicate & what I cannot form any judgment on as I have not seen your order: if from that it appeared, the object in the Genls. view was to fling your Compny into Fort-William, in order to reinforce the Garrison and to prevent a surprise and that the directions to transport the stores, proceeded only from

a secondary view to save them as the Barrack was to be left defenceless, the stores might have been left to the care of the Duke of Gordon's Baillie, and the Compny might have marched, especially as it seems, they were to proceed by forced marches, but if the chief instruction was to have transported the Stores, for the Service of the Troops in Fort-William, you will I think stand sufficiently justified for not forcing your March, when you could not transport the Stores. As to what you are further to do tho' it be none of my Provence, I would gladly give you advice, if I was acquainted with the present conditions of the Country between you and Fort-William, if you have intelligence to be trusted that the coast is clear, between you and Fort William (which it possibly may not be now, tho' it may have been when you received the order), you ought in my opinion to march the men leaving the stores to the care of the Baillie, But if on the contrary, the best information you can get, leads you to believe the Highlanders in your way are already in arms, to a greater number than you can possibly deal with, prudence seems to require your acquainting the Genl. with your case, and remaining where you are till further orders. I wish you had given the Genl immediate notice of the accident, for his further directions. Any express which you dispatch to him will probably find or hear of him at Perth. Everything is quiet in this neighbourhood.

I am &c.

On 17th August the President informed Cope of the report that the Standard was to be set up on the 19th, and acknowledged the arrival of the sloop with arms, hoping that more would be sent, "since without them, Gentlemen, however zealous, can do no more than talk for the Government, and not even that with confidence" ("Culloden Papers," CCCCII). The Duke of Argyll, with whom Cope was so anxious to consult (Idem CCCXCIX), seems to have lost no time in setting out for London, and the Duke of Atholl intended to follow his example. The position of the latter was much more difficult, in view of the fact that his elder brother, known as Tullibardine, would but for the attainder have succeeded to the Dukedom in 1724; and he was now in Scotland with the Prince.

From the Duke of Atholl to the President, dated from Blair Castle,
17th August, "Saturday seven at night"

My Lord

I had the pleasure of your Lop's of the 12th by the Express you sent to Sir John Cope & just now I received yours of the 15th, 9 at night from Culloden, forwarded by MacPherson the Barrack Master at Ruthven, with one inclosed from Sir John Cope, which I this moment sent to him by Express, with what accounts are come to my knowledge. I send your Lop. a copy of Lochgarry's Letter, which I received yesterday, and expect to hear from him in a day or two.

Mr Robertson of Woodsheall came here today from Ranoch, and informs me that some of the Camerons from Lochaber, came to that Country on Thursday last, and were endeavouring to carry away some of Strowan's Tenants of that name, and that Keapoch had sent Emmisaries to Brodalben and Ranoch to bring away those of his Clan, some of whom were already gone to join him. I am now persuaded that the people in Lochaber are actually gathering in a body: But what Mr. MacPherson, the Barrack Master of Ruthven writes to me of ten thousand French being with them, I can by no means give credit to.

McIntosh it seems did not receive my Letter till Friday the 13th in the evening, and had not heard from your Lop, as he told Lord George that Night, betwixt ten and eleven at night at the Newtoun of Glenalmond, where he had come so far in his way to be with me at Dunkeld, where he believed I was. But having positive orders to march next morning being Wednesday with his Company to Stirling, he judged it best to return to Creef that night, which he did and the Reither that Sir Patrick Murray (whose company was also commanded to Stirling) was absent. Since writing the above, I have got from two of the name of McDonell, who live under me in Bon-ranoch, a letter wrote to them by Keapoch, the original I have sent to Sir John Cope, and inclosed is a Copy of it.

I am also positively informed that several of the Camerons from Locheall came to the two sides of Loch Ranoch and have

carried off about a hundred men with them. The Inverness post is just now come, from whom your Lop. will receive this

I ever am My Lord

Your Lops Most obedient Humble Servant

Atholl.

The enclosed from Lochgarry does not appear ; the following is the second copy referred to. The fact of the original having been handed to the Duke seems to infer some hesitation in obeying the order.

Directed to Alexr McDonell of Dalhoshnea Esq and Alexr McDonell of Drumcastel.

Dr Gentlemen

Keapouch 12th August 1745

As I have ane affair of the highest concequence on which yours as well as my honor, credit and reputation depends to inform you off, I most earnestly intreat you to be heare friday night first punctually in the terms—(tore by the seall) shall acquaint you of—(tore by the seall)—you, if ever you incline or expect my friendship or countinace as well as that of a persone of the hyghest consequence, fail not in your observation of what is above. I am

Dr Gentlemen Yours while

Subscriv'd Alexr McDonell

The President's answer is "Culloden Papers," CCCCVIII. "To the northward," he wrote, "Sir Alexr MacDonald & MacLeod have prevented any junction from their dependants, Lords Fortrose and Lovat declare that they are to support the Government, and the young Laird of Grant (whose father is gone or going for London) speaks the same language . . ."

Without waiting for a reply to his letter of 17th, the Duke on 19th wrote from Blair as follows :—

My Lord.

I wrote to you Lop. Saturday that Locheal and Kepuch had sent some of their people to Ranoch to raise the men of their name in that Country. Yesterday I heard that Colonel Murray's Regiment is marched to Stirling which I take as a sign that

the King's Troops are to make no stand against the Invaders, this side of the Forth, by letters that I have from Edinburgh dated the 17th I understand that the Duke of Argyll is returned from Roseneath to Edinburgh without going to Inverary, as thinking himself not safe even to stay at Roseneath. My Letter says that he is to set out directly for London, that this Country without arms or any Troops is quite exposed to the invaders, and in that case, I can be of no manner of use here, therefore I think I cannot do better than follow the Duke of Argyll's example, for which reason I intended to set out from this today with my Daughters, who I propose are to go to Tullibardine the day after, and I intend to go to Edinburgh and stay some time, till it be seen what turn this affair will take. Since I begun to write this the Inverness Post, has brought me your Lops, and I have forwarded Sir John Cope's Letter by him. It is now eleven forenoon, and says he was so long detained by not being able to cross the water of Findorn because of the rains. There was some men of Ruthven that escorted him, but he says he saw nobody on the Road, or heard anything extraordinary. I send this by one of the men that escorted the Post, and have wrote to Mr Macpherson to forward it to your Lop. I hope your Lop will think I doe prudently to go to Edinburgh, as nothing can be done here, and I do not know how soon some of these people may come this length. I have expected Lochgarry these two Days past, but has heard nothing of him. I wish he may not be intercepted.

I am My Lord yours most faithfully

Atholl.

By 23rd August the Duke had reached Dunkeld, where for the moment he intended to remain.—

Dunkeld 23d August 1745

My Lord

The moment I received your Lordship's of the 20th I sent yours to Sir John Cope who is to be this night with the King's troops at Tay Bridge; I wrote to your Lordship in my last of my intention and reasons for leaving Blair; the troops now march-

ing northward, I shall not go further south as I then intended; Glengary came here Tewsday the 20th, I went next morning to Crieff and caryed him alongest where Sir John Cope with the King's troops had come the night before. Glengary is to continue with me, but I do not know how far that will hinder his men joining the other side; he sayes Lochgary was either to come here or go to Inverness, but not one word of him yet, which makes me apprehend the worst of him, I am My Lord
Yours most faithfully

Atholl.

On 19th August the Standard was to be set up, of which MacLeod had knowledge when he wrote to the President on the 17th ("Culloden Papers," CCLII.),

My Dear Lord,

I got yours here, which is 18 miles from my House in the Road to Glenelg, where I go armless and alone to prevent any Mischief there from their close neighbourhood with Knoydart; I mean, any of my people's being tempted with plenty of Money to go a volunteering. As to their being pillaged, it's what I take for granted. My dear Lord, I have all along wrote without reserve, which Sir Alexander's last letter (which you ought to have got the same day as yours was wrote) will evince; and all I have to add is, that what we wrote is true, and no more. He had but one Ship, a Privateer of 18 Guns, with about 1,600 bad Guns, and as many worse swords; about 25 Officers, mostly Irish, or of Irish Parents; and there is but one of them that ever was so high a rank as Lieut Colonel. I hear of no more that has as yet joined him. He sets up his standard Monday; and as I am pretty sure of information from thence you shall know it. The Place, Glenfinnon, which is the outlet from Moydart and Arisack to Lochaber. Except the D. of P[ert]h get at them, I really do not see where they will find another man; for I know from Lovat his forwardness to serve the Government; and as to the M'Intoshes, M'Phersons, &c. &c. sure they are all quiet at least, if not well affected. In my weak opinion, it would be a very wrong step to draw many of the troops to Scotland, as there can be little

Danger here; and that they give out there is a strong landing to come, either from Cadiz or Ferrol, to the south west of England, with 30,000 stand of arms for the discontented there, who are ready to take them. This may be only meant to put spirit in his adherents here; but if it is true, it's worth Notice, which the insurrection here hardly is yet Sir Alexr Macdonald and I can easily raise from 1,500 to 2,000 men for the King's Service if they are wanted; and I am sure we are willing; but then some of our ships would require to land that number of arms here; else 1,800 Staves, with about 200 Guns and Swords, would make but a foolish Figure. The Privateer is sailed away to the Northward; and it's true, she took 3 meal barks and ransomed them, and sent some of her Crew with the Ships where the young Chevalier was; they took as much of the meal as they thought proper, and paid for it and dismissed them. I can think of nothing else just now; the place & paper agree. You will soon hear from me.

I am, with the outmost friendship and attachment,

My dearest Lord, ever yours,

Normand Mac Leod.

Sconsar, Augt 17, 1745, past 2 a'clock

There is surely no Scotsman of any note come over with him, but the Duke's brother [Tullibardine, titular Duke of Atholl], who is turned an old woman, if I can credit what I hear of my Cousin.

With regard to Lovat, see "Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness," Vol. XIV., p. 2, where is a letter from MacLeod to him, dated 18th August, in which occurs the following:—"I cannot find out what neighbour of yours to the West agreed in conjunction with you in my neighbour's Sentiments and mine. Lochiel I thought had, but I fear you was mistaken, as I am sure I was." Many mistakes were made in the Forty-five, as witness the President's correspondence with Cluny (See "Culloden Papers," CCCCH., CCCGIV., CCCCIV., CCCLIX., CCCCXIII., and the very interesting letter (CCCCLII.) which lays the blame for Cluny's final defection on Sir John Cope).

So far as the Duke of Gordon was concerned, the following to the President is from Brodie of Brodie, and is dated Tuesday [20 August], 11 o'clock :—

My Lord

I really dont know what to make of the Duke of Gordon. You see by the inclosed he is come home, but does not chose to answer your Letter or mine, so that he has either people about him who advise him not to meddle because it is a going game, or else he is turned whimsical. For I never heard anybody express more zeal and readiness, to serve the Government than his Grace has done, since he came last home. I am glad to find the Yachts are gone for the King but surprised to find they have appointed no Lord Lieutenants. We hear that some of the Mackenzies, Chisholms, nay even some of the MacLeods will take arms against their Chiefs and Masters, but Grant seems positive, that whenever Strathspey is assembled and march that way, that Glenmoriston will join him, we also hear that their General Rendezvous was yesterday. Sir James Grant has gone south but not Findlater.

I am, yours &c

Alexr. Brodie.

The President's answer, dated from Culloden, Tuesday, "the 20th August ten at night," is on the back of the above. His information came from MacLeod (see his letter of 17th August), whose identity he advised Cope might be revealed to the Duke of Argyll. (See postscript to "Culloden Papers," CCCCXII., which in fact belongs to CCCCVII., the date of CCCCXII. being 20th August.)

My Lord Lyon

Yours dated this morning at eleven was just delivered me and I am glad to hear that the D. of Gordon's occasions, have not carried him to Edinburgh. You was I believe truly informed, that the general Rendezvous was yesterday at Glenmoriston, between Moydart and Lochaber in order to what they call setting up the Standard. I am satisfied, for I heard by express this day from the neighbourhood, that no Mackenzie, Chisholm, or Macleod (notwithstanding your intelligence) was there nor

any one depending on Sir Alexander Macdonald, and I am further satisfied that no ship has arrived, since the first which did not land above 25 persons, neither do they there speak of expecting any further landing in this country, tho they talk much of an invasion to be made on the south coast of England from Ferrol or Cadiz, and give out that several considerable Gentlemen in the Highlands are to join them, who I verily believe if necessary will oppose them. Who they have with them, other than the family of Clanranald the Camerons and some of Glengarry's people with Keppoch I have not heard neither do I know what course they will take. But they must do somewhat soon. Printed Declarations by the Young Adventurer, who is declared Regent by his Father are handed about, and I have seen one of them. I would have wrote by express to the Duchess of Gordon had anything worth while occurred. If you judge this to be of that sort, you may send it to her Grace but with an apology for my not writing to her, by your servant, whom I dispatch this night. If you would say truths, say my eyes are almost out and that it is not possible for me to write one line more with candle light.

My service to the Lyoness

I am &c

An entry in family accounts dated 11 December 1745 is for 6d paid to the Post "for carrying herbs for his Lordship eyes from Edinburgh."

From John Hossack to the Lord President, dated from Inverness, 23 August :—

My Lord

From the East I am informed that the Duke of Pearth has been in Buchan, and has with a single Gentleman in Company past through Strathbogie, and Glenlivet to join in the insurrection. The Duke of Gordon, who was said to have taken journey South, went only the length of Fyvie, where he met with the Countess of Aberdeen, and returned last Saturday, Earl of Findlater is at his House of Cullen, Sir James Grant is gone south by Aberdeen

I am My Lord

Your Lops most faithfull Servant,

John Hossack.

In the absence of Sir James Grant of Grant, the command of the Clan devolved on his son, Ludovick. The following from him appears to have been forwarded by Brodie:—

Castle Grant August 21st 1745.

Dear Lyon

By all the accounts I can hear, Sir John Cope has not as yet left Stirling, and most of the Highlanders of the new Regiment are deserting. I wish Clunie's men stand by him in the event the old Gentleman go to the other side. I am informed this countrie is to be attacked; they threaten us greatly from different quarters. I am preparing for giving them some disturbance, this house I think as I am furnishing of it will hold out except they attack us with Cannon, and if we had Troups in the north you would see the people of this Countrie both willing and readié. We are much better provided in arms than I expected. I am afraid the two additional companies were surpris'd and taken by the Highlanders. I saw a man who met some hundreds in pursuit of them, he was informed they came up with them, and that the companies made little or no resistance.

I have sent people to different corners of the Highlands for intelligence, when they return I shall write you, but I see the King's friends who are willing to exert themselves for the defence of the Government and Protection of the Country are even like to be in danger of being Plundered.

I should wish to hear that Sir John Cope with the Troups you mentioned in yours, were marching this side of Dalnacardich. I dont see that the Troups we have at present in the North, can do more than remain in their Garrisons until more troupes are sent. I am quite impatient to hear that the Government have sent some arms and ammunition to Inverness. I am provided of both much better than you could expect, but not so well as I wish. I will convey the people of this Countrie although it is what I have no power to do, whenever I find the Highlanders are marching but I wish to God I knew who is to act in concert with us, and that would join

in the defence of everything that is valuable to us, for except we that mett together at Lethen gett some other assistance we will soon be in a dismal situation and hardly able to protect ourselves. I hear a great deal which I dont incline to write about. Lord Deskford has come north and no accounts of Lord Findlater's going south. I had a letter from both yesterday. Deskford writes that Sir John Cope is to be north, and he thinks him at Fort-Augustus before this time. All this familie join in kindest Compliments to you & yours

I ever am Dear Lyon Yours etc

Lud. Grant

I hope the Duke of Gordon will soon be north.

From the Provost of Aberdeen to the Lord President, dated from Aberdeen, 21 August 1745 :—

My Lord

Our town is much alarmed this afternoon by the accounts of ane invasion and insurrection in the West Highlands, which we had given us by some Inverness gentlemen passing throw the Town, two of them being your Lordship's relatives and having had the honour to wait on your Lordship friday last, where they had such information as the thing was not to be doubted of.

As this is ane affair of so great importance, our inhabitants insisted that I should take the liberty to write your Lordship about it and to beg you would let us know what truth is in the matter and any particular circumstance your Lordship may think proper to mention, as we have no intelligence from the Highlands where these commotions have begun.

I hope your Lordship will have the goodness to forgive this trouble which is of so general concern, and if any thing can be suggested that's proper or necessary to be done by our Town for our own safety and the publick good, it will be mighty obliging to give us a hint, as our Town is most

sensible of your Lordship's good will and favour on all occasions. I heartily wish a happy peace and a speedy end to all disorders and commotions and have the honour to be with great truth and sincerity

My Lord

Your lordship's most faithfull and
most obedient humble servant

James Morison Provost

The President's answer, dated 24 August, is "Culloden Papers," CCCCXVII. Correspondence between him and Sir John Cope will be found in "Culloden Papers" passim. The following (to which CCCCXVI. is the answer) is dated from Edinburgh, 18 August :- -

My Lord

I dont in the least doubt but your Lordship will blame me in your mind for not having heard from me all this time, first Occasioned by Expresses day and night Reed. and to be answered, next the Intelligence varying in Circumstances tho' in substance the same, that upon the whole I could say no more than what I knew your Lordship had from Bernera, Fort-Augustus and your part of the Country.

Bread will be ready by Tuesday next [20th] and tho' I have been baking at Perth, Sterling, Leith and here, yet sooner than that it was impossible to get it ready, nor could our Troops March Northwards without it. They are encamped, I shall join them at Sterling tomorrow, and hope to March forward on Tuesday.

I have had letters from London with an Account of Arms, Stores &c being embarked & hope for a Reinforcement of Troops soon, I must act agreeable to the instructions I have from thence as near as the Nature of the Service will admit of.

I am in hopes the heads of Clans in our Interest will not at such a Juncture as this sit still for tho' I do allow that their Argument is strong, that it is difficult for them to Act since they were disarmed, yet undoubtedly several of them have Arms to defend themselves against Robberies in their Neighbourhood, which surely cannot be made better use of

than in defence of the Country and their own Property by an Invader upon both. I have writ to Lord Glenorchy upon this head and likewise to the Duke of Athol & have proposed to the Duke of Athol to have some of his men enlisted for 3 months, with assurances of not going out of the Country, that such men may be Incorporated in our Corps upon the present occasion, I mean such as have Arms of their own, to bring along with them. I have writ to Lord Glenorchy to the same purpose. This my Lord I do as the only Expedient I can think of at present, but if the Duke of Athol or my Lord Glenorchy chuse to be Serviceable in any other Shape, I submit it to them.

I am with great Respect My Lord,
Your Lordships Most obedt humble Servt.

Jno. Cope.

Cope's suggestion of auxiliaries from the Clans joining him was backed by the President in letters for the Mackenzie, Grant, and Fraser Clans ("Culloden Papers," CCLVIII., CCLIX., CCCXXI., etc.), but without much success, more especially in the case of Lovat, whose answer to the President's letter of 20th August ("Culloden Papers," CCLXI.) is to be found in "Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness," Vol. XXVI., article by Rev. C. D. Bentinck, D.D. The following, dated from Culloden, 27th August, is addressed to the Magistrates of Elgin:—

Gentlemen

This morning I received your's of yesterdays date, desiring to be informed what foundation there may be for the Reports you have of ane Insurrection in the Highlands, & to be advised touching your Conduct on this occasion, With respect to the reports they are so far true, that the Eldest Son of the Pretender, having landed on the West Coast, above 3 weeks ago, surprised the 2 additional Companies of the Royall, between Fort Augustus and Fort William, that they have not been joined by any other of the Clans, who are determined to give all the assistance they can to the Government, and that Sir John Cope at the head of a considerable body of Troops was Saturday

last at night advanced as far as Trinifure in his way to quell them. This is surely the state of the case at present, which will naturally lead you to see that your object ought to be by all means in your power to preserve the Peace and to prevent your unwary Townsmen & neighbours from playing the fool and plunging themselves into certain Ruin. I am sensible you are in no condition to take Arms, but I hope there will be no occasion for it, only if there be any Quantity of Ammunition in the hands of individuals in your Burgh, I think you will act prudently in laying hold of it, and sequestrating it in the securest place you can to hinder its coming at this juncture into the hands of fools who may make a bad use of it. I am etc

It is not proposed to reprint Lovat's correspondence with the President—space would not permit—but the two following letters ("Culloden Papers," CCLX. and CCLXII.) suggest that Lovat was at this date prepared to forget his engagements to the exiled house, were a sufficient reward offered him, and (because Fraser of Gortuleg was reliable) that he really had difficulty in restraining some of his clan. A supply of arms would be useful in any event: the times were uncertain, and the battle of Prestonpans had yet to be fought.

My Dear Lord,

I was so very bad all day yesterday and last night, that I did not expect to see the light of this day; so that it was this morning before I had the honour of your letter put into my hand; and I am glad to find, that tho' I be tormented to death with boils on my body, which makes me feverish and most uneasy, yet that your Lop is in perfect health, which I wish the Continuance of; as should all those that love their Country do, being more useful and valuable to the Commonwealth than a thousand like mine.

Since Sir John Cope has such a powerful Army, I hope our desperate Countrymen will avoid to see him; but if they are so mad as to fight, that unfortunate Prince must fall with the bravest of his adherents most foolishly. I own, I must regrate my dear Cousin Locheil, who, contrary to his promise to me, engaged in this mad enterprize; but if Sir John Cope is beat (which I think next to impossible), this desperate Prince will

be the Occasion of much bloodshed, which I pray God may avert ; for to have bloodshed in our bowels is a horrible thing to any man that loves Scotland, or has a good stake in it, as your Lop and I have. Therefore, I pray God that we may not have a Civil War in Scotland : this has been my constant wish since ever I had the use of my reason ; and it shall be the same while there is breath in me ; so that they must be damnably ignorant of the principle of my heart and soul, who can imagine that I would endeavour to promote a Civil War in my Country.

I do assure you, my dear Lord, that if the King had taken away my house and a part of my estate without any just ground, as he did my Company, that I would go and live, tho' most miserable, in any Country on earth, rather than make a Civil War in my own Country. I hope this will convince your Lop that I have always been a declared enemy against this mad project. Now, my dear Lord, as to what you desire me, of acquainting all my people to be in readiness, I do assure you that I did so immediately after coming from Inverness ; but, to obey your commands, I have sent my Officers this Day with orders to them to be ready when I shall call for them ; and I ordered them to make short Coats and hose, and to put aside their long coats, and to get as many swords and dirks as they could find out. As to the article of arms, it's needless to talk of it ; for my men have no arms, and I will never present them to King or Genl without arms. And your Lop may remember, that when you spoke to me of that article at Inverness, you said at last, that I could not shew my men without arms, and without sufficient orders from the Government ; to which opinion I told your Lop I would adhere.

And as to my zeal for the Government, I can assure your Lordship that I have as much as any Lord or laird in Scotland except your Lop, whose constant, uncommon, and fiery zeal for this Government, to my certain knowledge, is, and always has been, without example. But I hope, my Lord, since you have this day the same power over your old Corporal that you had in the year 1715, you will make my Court to Sir John Cope

If I be able to step into my Chariot, I will pay my duty to him at Inverness or Culloden, and will beg of your Lop to introduce me to him.

After writing the above, I had an Express from Gortuleg, and I send your Lordship a copy of his letter enclosed [CCCCXX.] I think Tam More seems to be a little frightened. I will write a strong letter to him tomorrow, to be shewn to my Strathherick and Abertarf people. But, my dear Lord, I am in a very terrible situation; my Country threatened to be destroyed; and they have neither Support nor Arms to defend themselves: and they see all the Clans about them save themselves by sending some men to the Highland Camp, and they only left a sacrifice; but as it is you that has engaged me to make an appearance for the Government at this time (to which I had not an immediate Call, having neither Post nor Employment from the Government, and not having been well used, as your Lop knows), I trust entirely to your true friendship and generosity, that you will, in the first place, obtain arms for my people to defend themselves; and in the second place, that you will obtain for myself what encouragement your Lop thinks I deserve, or may deserve, from the Government. I can say without vanity, that if I was so mad as to be on the other side, the highlanders would have a much greater number than they have by this time; and might, with such a desperate bold Prince as they have at their head, become more troublesome to the Government than in the year 1715.

I refer all this to your Lop's generous Consideration; and I beg that you may forgive any Blunders that I may have writ in this letter; for the pain in my body, and the troublesome situation of my Country, have almost turned my head; but whatever situation I am in, I shall always remain

Your Lop's most faithful Slave and affectionate Cousin,

Lovat.

Beaufort, 27th Augt 1745.

Gortuleg, 29th Augt 1745.

My Lord,

I wrote to Lord Lovat yesterday Morning from this place ; wherein I told his Lordship, that I had occasion to see Lochiel, and some others of that Army, Tuesday, when they lay near Fort-Augustus ; and gave a true Account of their Number, which still is not above 2,000 ; and I recommended to Lord Lovat to let your Lordship know this, and what I then judged was their resolution.

This morning I am informed, that yesterday they set out early from Aberchalder, and came, before Seven in the Morning, to a place called Lagganvane, four Miles from Fort-Augustus, and at the foot of Corriyarack ; that then they were assured of Sir John Cope's marching by Ruthven to Inverness. That immediately they called a Council of war ; and the resolution taken was, to pursue General Cope with all Expedition ; that their whole Army was at Garviemore about 12 oClock ; & that they were solved to march by Night & by Day until they came up with their Enemy. I am assured, that their young forward Leader called for his Highland Cloaths ; and that, at tying the lachets of his shoes, he solemnly declared, that he would be up with Mr. Cope before they were unloosed. If this information holds true, they must certainly have a brush this day. The people are in top Spirits, and make sure of Victory in case they meet. Should that happen, I can assure your Lordship, that they will be troublesome Neighbours for some time ; for they know their Situation, and they are Desperate. I am plagued & fatigued by keeping some idle lightheaded people here in Order ; and I do assure your Lordship, that if the Highland Army remained any time in our Neighbourhood, that even the Lord Lovat could not get some of them commanded.

I have the honour to be, with all regard,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obedit Servant,

Tho : Fraser.

P.S. The Bearer is a very honest pretty fellow in whom I have intire confidence.

MORE CULLODEN PAPERS

Strength of Rebel Army.

A True Account of the Numbers of the Highland Army
Tuesday, 27th Augst 1745.

Lochiel	...	...	...	...	...	...	700
Clanranald, having Men of his Islanders	...						250
The Stewarts of Appin, commanded by Ardsheal							220
Keappoch	...	...	...	...	...	...	260
Glengarry's Men, including Knoidart, Glenco, and Glenmoriston	...	...	...	...	...	...	600
							2,030

(4) SIR JOHN COPE COMES TO INVERNESS.

"I have lugged along with me about 200 arms, not thinking it possible to come thro' so many friends country without meeting some hands to put them into; but not one as yet. I am in great hopes from Grant and M'Intosh. Cluny has been with me; his men I ordered to meet me at Garvimore, and first bent my march that way this morning. I have sent Cluny home this morning to bring his men to me as soon as possible." So wrote Cope 27th August from Ruthven ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXXIII.) Mackintosh of Mackintosh, who held a captain's commission in the Black Watch, had hitherto been employed further south. He was now with Cope, who informed the President in the same letter that he was to go off "tomorrow at break of day to his people." In the matter of assistance from the friends of the Government, the situation is summed up by Lord Tweeddale in his letter to the President of 17th August ("Culloden Papers," CCLIII.)

I am sensible of the want of a legal authority in the Highlands to call forth the King's friends to action, in case there should be occasion for them; but your Lordship will remember the difficulties that occurred about naming Lord Lieutenants of certain Counties at the Time of the last Invasion, which were the reasons that prevented any Nomination being made at that Time.

The President replied to Cope, 28th August. (Idem CCCCXXV.) :—

In my last I acquainted you that I had a letter from MacLeod of the 22nd from Sky . . . in that letter he is extremely pressing to have arms sent to him and Sir Alexr. MacDonald by sea . . . and if that may not be, he proposes, if he may have but 200 stand of arms att Inverness for his immediate protection he will send down so many men to fetch them. I could not take upon me to dispose of so many of the small store that is here, not knowing but you might have more immediate use for them; but I detain'd his messenger untill I have your orders; & if you think it proper that I should promise him those arms, I shall direct him to send the men for them : in the mean time you will think, how far it is proper or possible, to supply these two Gentlemen, who have been of vast service to the cause, by sea with arms; and you will give immediate directions with respect to this last proposall of delivering 200 at Inverness.

In view of the two following letters it is almost inconceivable to imagine that MacLeod intended to turn such arms as were received by him against the Government. The second letter is that to which reference was made by the President in writing to Cope.

My dear Lord

Since my last from Sconsar, I've had a good deal of fatigue, I hope to some purpose, as to my own people it was easy to govern them, but I found the Frenzy had seized old Mackinnon (not our Voter he is in the Ile of Mull) and has gone to wait of the Young Adventurer, and swears he will destroy anie of his people, wont raise and take arms with him. He is not yett returned, but I think I've putt ane effectual stop to his getting anie considerable number of his own people to join him. It is really hard that we are still 'so destitute of arms, for were it not that, I could easily take the old man Prisoner, and keep his People quiet. As to the Poor Glenelg People they are not only daily robbed but insulted by their Neighbours, who threaten to come and carry them all Prisoners to their Camp which surely they may do very easily if they please. If its possible to get a sudden remedy to this I beg you think

of it and aply it. The Attacking and taking of the two Companies you will have a more particular account of than I, you may write by the Post he will take proper care of your Letter. I am most unalterable Yours

Normand Macleod.

Scalpay on Mackinnon's Estate Augt 20th 1745

I have mist the Post, Please keep the Bearer, till you gett your Letter Monday and then dispatch him. Talisker 12 att night Tuesday [20th August].

Dunvegan Augt 22nd 11 att night
1745.

My dear Lord

Yours of the 19th Willy Muir brought me this afternoon, and I am glad to hear you are pretty well notwithstanding the astonished Crowd that are eternallie bussing in your ear, have you not Gartered Knights &c Prittle Prattle. Sir Alexander is in Sleat on much the same Errand with mine to Glenelg, and will return this way when he shall have our common letters for I opened his directlie.

I have little to add to my last, but that if there's a speedy way of getting arms here, theirs great use for it (as we are threatened with an invasion for being quiet) and that Glenelg in particular is in the way I discribed, and if a 100 or 200 stand can be given me, I would send men for them; though having them by sea would be the proper and only way, if the Government were to use our whole Possy; when the message about the Invading us was delivered me, I said it was easy to hurt us as we were defenceless, but I did not think it the road to gett att the Crown of Brittain. I this day had a letter from old Clanranald, wherein he assures me he will be ruled by Sir Alexander and me, as to his conduct in this matter, and in reality not one of his Uist men are stirred, nor now wont, if he follow our advice or example, and I am prittie sure he will, as he is under direction of a Brother of his, a very sensible man whose prudence and direction I can rely on.

May the righteousness of the Father atone for the folly of the son, who proposed to be my son in law. The only cause

for the express is my anxiety about the arms and to be att my wits end about them I am Intyrlie yours

Normand Macleod.

As people must ride the foord as they find it my letter to Clanranald is tolerablie quire (sic). Was John Maules house searched for arms, I've caught at the fancy a good deal. My Son nor none of his Subalterns are returned from Harris, so he cant move to Inverness, but how soon ever he getts here, he goes, which be so good as report, if you chance to see his Major, we've had some days of very bad and boisterous weather.

The next letter from MacLeod is dated from Dunvegan, 27th August :—

My dear Lord

I have little to add to my last except that Sir Alexr is here returned from Sleat, the Standard was sett up Monday seven-night & a Declaration published which as its in Print you've no doubt seen or know. They were about 1500 strong and marched out of Glenfinnon into Lochiel & propose to penetrate as far as Perthshire where they expect a strong possy to join them, after which they go in quest of Sir John Cope.

Glengarry's people are all in Arms, but had not joined them the end of last week, and he himself was gone to wait of the D. of Atholl. I hope for advise; as they are now gott out of our neighbourhood, you will have earlier and more exact intelligence than we can gett here, so you can expect little instruction from us, but I hope you will continue the correspondence for our benefit. They propose for the future to stop or att least search the Posts from Edinburgh to you and from you here &c. and are resolved to endeavour to intercept my Son and his Recruits att anie rate in their way to Inverness, which a very small number may do as we cannot harm them. He is not returned from Harris, as the wind has been very high and quite contrary. The Knight salutes you.

I ever am Yours

Normand Macleod.

Cope reached Inverness 29th August, sending the following to the President early that morning :—

On the march towards Inverness

August 29th : 1745 5 minutes after 9 a clock

My Lord,

I shall halt the men for an hour over against McKintosh's house and hope to reach Inverness to night till when I cannot answer any particulars of your Lordship's letter; shall be glad to consult with your Lordship on my arrival there. I was just sending off the enclosed as your letter came which I recd half an hour since. I am, My Lord,

Your Lordships most obedt humble Servant

Jno. Cope.

P.S.—I desire your Lordship will immediately direct the proper officers to provide either straw or hether for the men's tents, and firing for the men, we propose to encamp where Genll Wade encamped 4 regts.

The next letter is from the President, dated from Culloden, 31st August, 9 in the morning, and finally clears MacLeod from the charge of coming to Inverness with a view to getting arms out of Cope for the sinister purpose attributed to him. He was not only invited by the President to come, but there and then the 200 arms asked for were reserved, and this after consultation with Cope.—

My Dear Laird

I keepd your messenger from last Monday [26th August] till now in hopes of having dayly somewhat more certain to tell you. What I have now to say is that Sir J. Cope with the troops under his command came to Ins Thursday evening and ly encamped on the Barnhills opposite to the Castle where they must remain till bread, which is bakeing, is got ready. I hear the Highlanders upon his takeing the road by Ruthven marched up the Coryarig where they resolved to waylay him & marched to Garvamore intending as they said to follow him down throw Badenoch and so back to Inverness, but we have hitherto heard no certain news of them, other than that some

loose people of them hover in the hills about Strathern, but whether the main body of them be yet marchd to southward I do not know. It is reported that Clunie has been seized by them in his house & all the Badenoch men threatend with fire and sword if they do not join. In a little we shall know the truth & the effects of these things. Their force when they passed the Corryarig did not exceed 2000, which I am well satisfyed is oweing chiefly to you and Sir Alexr. What they may pick up in Badenoch and [on] their way southward I cannot tell. I find my neighbours desireous to be quiet, but I do not perceive that many of them are desireous to take arms to join the King's troops and thereby to prevent the spreading of this contagion which must end in the ruin of as many familys as dip in it. What influence my arguments might have with them if I had you to second them I cannot tell neither can I certainly say how expedient it may be for you to leave your Island for a few days, but if no inconvenience is to result from that, I should be heartyly glad to see you here for a moment, because things can be settled infinitely better upon a little conversation than after writing quires of paper. The ship expected every day with more arms is not yet come up, but as you propose 200 shall be reserved for you out of the parcell that is if you will send men to take them and make use of them for the King's service : if you send them you will not fail to send proper persons to take the direction of them. Herewith inclosed you have a couple of letters from Ld. Loudoun, who expects your son soon. I leave it with yourself whether you might not come down for a start as governor to the young gentleman to present him to his post and carry the infantry I spoke of as your Guard de corps. My affectionate compliments to the Kt. I am dr Laird truely Yours etc.

The following miscellaneous documents belong to this period :—

Fort Augustus, Augt. 28th 1745. 12 oclock at noon.

Dear Nanie

I got safe here last night by five oClock, more afraid than hurt, for none so much as asked a question on the Road.

Our news here, is as uncertain as with you, ten lys for one matter of fact, I give you what I got, and credite it as you please. The Highlanders to the number of twenty two hundred as near as we can learn left their old Camp near Fort William, Monday afternoon upon receiving an Express from the South of Sir John Cope's motion, they came that night to Laggan, within 6 miles of this, Yesterday they came forward and were last night at Aberchalder within four miles of us, and this morning by five o'clock they marched over the Correarick, in order to meet Sir John. I saw them in two great bodies Mount the hill this forenoon, by nine o'clock. They have accounts of all Sir John's motions, proceeding last night, but I am glade to acquaint you that before now we have accounts of them and I have reason to believe he does not come this way. They are determined to cut the hills, the short way and intercept him going to Inverness. Hade they met him in the Correarick their design was, after they had prevailed, which they assured themselves of, to return here with what pieces of ordinance they had, wh. are but four field pieces and two Cohorreles, to attack this place, but if they missed him, some people say they were to march directly South, tho others affirm that they are to follow him even as far as Inverness, before they go South. Last night three deserters from Sir John, while he lay at Dalwhiny passed here to the Highland Camp, they give account of his Force and artillery, and say he has no dragoons. I had a man in their Camp this morning and the same man and a woman was there this morning when they marched. They did not come to the King's Road near the Barracks here, but breasted the Hill at Aberchalder four miles West, and came to the King's Road two miles above this, by a Glen they call Glenbuck. Clanranald has only two hundred joined them, his men in Uist are not come up or any of the MacLeans but it is thought they will join them this day as well as a good many from Ranach and Badenoch. They also expect McDougal of Lorn, they have McDougal of Morar. The night before last Barisdale brought in Sixty very well armed men, every man had a

target. Locheal mounted guard on his Prince the night before last at Laggan, as did the Steuarts of Appin last night at Aberchalder. This day only they enter into pay, all they had before was victuals.

They Slaughtered twenty coves last night, and have carried with them eighty. It is currently reported but I hope it is false that Lochgarry is with them. They are in great spirits and all have sworn to conquer or dye. There is a man gone over the Corriarick after them, whatever news he brings shall send you, or bring it if I find Sir John does not come this way. What we are most at a loss about to know is whether they really intend to march South or to follow Sir John wherever he goes, only the last is the generall received opinion here.

If you think the reading of this worth My Lord President's while, pray sent it the moment you receive it, and give our Governr also a reading of it. The Deserters say Sir John is but sixteen hundred strong.

I am

Yrs Dun. Grant.

P.S.—At reckoning their men this morning when they marched, they were no more than two thousand and eighteen men strong, officers included.

The next is endorsed, "Delnys with list of men," the list being missing. Alexander Campbell of Delnies was factor to John Campbell of Cawdor.

My Lord,

Inclosed is the List, your Lordship spoke to me of when I had the pleasure to see you Wednesday last. There are several Tenements possesst by people unfit for service, which I have not mentioned, nor the morgaged Lands, except four men out of Budzet in the right of Dr Campbell's son. So far as I can judge of the people (according to their small assistance) they are well effected to the present constitution of Government besides the duty they owe their Master whose intentions I will not pretend to mention to one that's so well acquainted with them as your Lop. No doubt the army under

Sir John Cope's command, now as I hear encamped near Inverness, if their stay there is any time, may occasion a scarcity of Meal, as our harvest was not yet approach'd so far as to provide oatmeal. There's a remainder of oatmeal in my hands, which was contracted for, which the Ship that was sent by the Mert, would not contain. Its about 150 Bolls, a 8 Stone Amesterdam weight to the Boll. Its no loss to me if it should lie on hand. John Falconer in Nairn has the disposal of it on the Merts Accot. & I believe would willingly dispose of it in the Country. I am to be at Nairn this day, I shall speak to him about it. If I thought at present, I would take the meal off his hands myself, that it would do a service to Sir John Cope's army, and tho. I'm not obliged to carry the Meal further than the Port of Nairn, yet to Sir John's Service I'll most frankly carry it to Inverness, without costing him a farthing on that account, for I would not inclyne to take any unjust advantage on account of scarcity. I am with Respect

My Lord

Your Lops most obedt & most humble Servant

Alexr Campbell.

Calder 30th Augt 1745.

The accounts of the then Treasurer of Inverness show the purchase from Alexander Campbell of Delnies of 200 bolls of meal on account of the scarcity threatened from the apprehended rebellion.

The next is the enclosure referred to by Lord Findlater and Seafield in his letter to the President of 2nd September ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXXIX), and serves as a good example of the reports spread broadcast.

My Lord

Least Your Lop. has not heard it, We thought it our duty to acquaint by the Bearer, that this morning one Capt. Rogers Express sent by Generall Cope in an open boat came here, not thinking it safe to travaile by Land, how soon he arrived here he sett forward with three horses on his journey. The Officer said he left Genl. Cope yesterday morning, who the

Master of the boat says lay encamped under the Cannon of Inverness, 2000 Strong, and that the Highland Army were 5500, had taken the Road thro' Lovats Country, and were within six miles of Inverness. As times are quite jumbled, we judge it our duty to assure Your Lopp. that we shall most readily obey in Person Any Commands You are pleased to give us. That all happiness may attend Your Lopp. Lord Deskford and My Lady Countess is our earnest desire.

We are with greatest respect

My Lord

Your Lopps Most Obedt & Most faithful Servants

John Ogilvie, Willm Ogilvie.

Banff Sept 2nd
1745.

In "Culloden Papers" (CCCCXIX.) will be found a letter from Sergeant Terence Mulloy. It was probably addressed to the same person as the following, which describes what happened at Ruthven on Cope's departure for Inverness.

To the Honourable Col. Martin Bladen at the Plantation Office, near Whitehall, London.

Ruthven Redoubt
Sept. 7th 1745.

Dear Cousin Griffin,

I send you the enclosed letter unsealed which will inform you all the news I have to send, after you peruse it send it away under cover forthwith without delay, make my complements to your fireside from your

Affte Cousin and most Humble

Servant Ter: Mulloy.

P.S.—If you have any letters for me keep them by you until you hear from me.

To the Rev. Archdeacon Michael Davise at Youghall, Ireland.

Sir.

As the Posts are interrupted by the Enemy, had no opportunity to send you the former part of this Letter, but have as you'll find more to say now. Upon the 28th August, Generall

Cope encamped here in a Cornfield, with only 23 Comp. of Foot and some Artillery, so that my account in the former is not right, as to the Forces. The General lodged in this Redoubt all night, in the morning drew off the Company, that lay here, except your humble servant, one corpl and 12 men, which was for a guard left here, the enemy which was upon their march to meet the General, at a place very advantageous to them, he thought proper to take another Road, northward to Inverness, where I shall leave him in Camp, and so avoided giving them Battle. The Enemy being encouraged by the General declining engaging them, marched dowitzly southward, and on the 29th encamped within 8 miles of me, at which time there were sent thither 400 Highlanders, under the command of a Lieut Colonel, Brother to Logheal. They continued in the village about 500 yards distance from my Redoubt, for about 4 hours until they refreshed, and took all the view they could take at that distance. They lodged in a cornfield all the while unperceivable by me. About 6 o'Clock at evening they made a faint march from the village about 2 miles distance, towards their own Camp. I forgot to mention in the proper place that they had sent me proposal, to surrender to them, on condition to march off bag and baggage, and be escorted to the precincts of the English Camp. I made answer, that I was too old a soldier to surrender a Garrison, without first seeing some bloody noses, the Grandee went off with a vast deal of threats. About 12 o'clock they returned and attacked me, front and rear, with about 200 men (by my information) and the remainder lay by for reserve, in short they kept me, and my small number of men in action for about 4 hours. About 4 in the morning they thought proper to draw off shamefully, with the loss of 6 men killed and three mortally wounded, and by my information many more slightly wounded, and had they shewed themselves I would have killed most of them, but they were favoured by the Garden Wall which belongs to the redoubt (which I levelled low since) and a stable which is within 25 yards of my walls, wherein they crowded fast enough and which favoured their retreat. About

8 o'Clock their Lieut. Colonel sent to me, that he wanted to parley with me, accordingly I gave my honour, that he may come and any one other gentleman within 10 yards of my walls unarmed, and I would hear what they had to say, they proposed conditions I refused, they begged leave to carry off their dead to bury them, which I granted, after I had got their arms. They marched off at 10 o Clock to their Camp, and am well informed their Prince, would not look upon them, but blamed them for their conduct, thus I opened the campaign, and I drew the first blood. [Letter here torn and stained.] I am still here with plenty of everything that is necessary, the Lord only knows how I shall get out of this place or when. I cannot correspond with none, nor have no communication with or from the Army. The throng of the enemy, is about 50 miles from me, the people are friendly yet, until they find how the scale will turn. The Enemy is at Peerth. Sir John Cope decamped from Inverness last Wednesday in order to pursue the enemy. So that we will soon have an action. He ordered the several Adjutants, to publish my small conduct here, at the head of each regiment, that I am to be rewarded with a commission. Our own army is at least 50 miles distant from me, on their march to meet the enemy. Adieu. I hope to have the pleasure to see you once more.

(5) SIR JOHN COPE GOES SOUTH.

On 4th September the Commander-in-Chief left Inverness, marching towards Aberdeen. That he ever came so far north was a strategic error for which he cannot be entirely blamed (See "Culloden Papers," CCLXIV., CCCCXVIII., CCCCLXXX.). The consequences, too, might have been far less serious if an immediate effort had been made to secure the South of Scotland and North of England, as the President advised the Government at this time (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.)

From the President to MacLeod, dated from Culloden, Thursday, 5th September 1745.

My dear Laird

My last of Saturday's date [31st] I presume you received, your post has waited till now for the last Munday [2nd] Inverness

post, who came in this morning, stript of his bag & of every paper. He was detained at Blair till tuesday afternoon [3rd] nor did the Highland Army leave that place till tuesday morning, which is but indifferent evidence of the accession of strength they met with on their march. I am assured so as to believe it that, instead of incressing, their numbers when they left Blair did not exceed 1800, they talk of being to be joined by thousands from Athol, Renoch and Bramar etc but put off the term till the end of this week or beginning of the next; but P. Macglashan, Com. Bisset etc from Blair send me word they will be mistaken. The D. of Atholl left his house open at Blair where his brother and the young adventurer were entertained [30 August]. I presume the like will happen at Dunkeld, all the passes by which intelligence could come are stopt by the industry as I'me told of Glenbucket, who is gone down to the head of Banfshire & Aberdeenshire to try what forces he can muster. Our latest advices from London say they are in no apprehension of ane invasion having caused look in to the French & Spanish posts. Sir John Cope left this yesterday morning [4th] with the Troops under his command in his way south by the low road, as it was in the Highlanders power to retard his march by marring roads, breaking bridges etc. He has carried some of the Highland Compys with about 200 Monroes alongst with him to scour the ground of either side of his march. Macintosh and his Compy remain with us as do likewise some incompleat Compys of Loudouns. I have some faint hopes that I shall see you soon in consequence of the advice I gave you in my last. If not you shall hear from me by your post that is comeing on. My love to the Knight. I am afftly Yours etc.

Clunie is a prisoner. I have heard from himself.

Cluny's letter has unfortunately not been found. On 6th September Cope was at Elgin, whence the following is dated.

My Lord

The inclosed was writ as soon as I got of my horse yesterday, but the bearer was not to be found till this morning. I send your Lordship a letter to me from Lord Reay which I beg your

Lordship to answer for me. I had last night a very civil message from the Dutchess of Gordon, desiring my dining and lying at Gordon Castle this night. The Dutchess writes word the Duke is gone to make visits in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen etc. The Glasgow packet contained but one letter to Caulfield to desire he would send news to Glasgow. I paid the person who brought them 4 guineas as by agreement. I send the Inverness post with a small note to Sterling, as he is willing to undertake it.

I am in haste

Your Lordship's most obedient

Jno Cope.

Elgin 6th Sept. 1745

From Lord Reay to Sir John Cope, dated from Tongue, 2nd September.

Sir

I got just now your message, by Major Mackay, was I as near you as some of the King's Friends, for as old and goutish as I am, I had been with you e'er now, at the head of my men. This Country is of a considerable extent, and the places of the peoples Residence, at great distance from the other. Besides its about Sixty miles from Inverness, and three arms of the sea to cross, which will excuse my not sending you some assistance, so soon as I would wish. Meantime I shall with all possible diligence see to convene Two companys of good men from about sixty to seventy each, to be sent you with one of my Sons at their head, along with what men the Earl of Sutherland is to send you, and for your acquainting me in return to this, when you'll want them, Ile march them immediately and acquaint you, what day they be at Dornoch, with their precise numbers, so as you may have arms and cartridge boxes with ammuniton to meet them; with what provisions will bring them from thence to Inverness, for none can be got for money by the way. I must send sheep and cowes with them, to maintain them till they arrive at Dornoch. The long disuse of wearing arms, has been the occasion, that we have few is North [sic.]. I'le need about 200 stand of Arms,

over and above what the two companies will require, in order to defend my property, for I'm not free of suspicion of some of my neighbours, and I have been warned by some who wish me well to be on my guard in that respect, which please keep to yourself. This with the great scarcity of bread, our Harvest being just at hand, with what men I have given to my Son Sandie, occasions my intending so small a number to be sent you, at present, but if there should be a strait as God forbid, Ile risk my all to support his Majesty and Government.

Sir

Your most obedient

Most humble Servant

Reay.

From the President to Lord Reay, dated from Inverness, 7th September.

My Lord

As Sir John Cope marcht from hence Wednesday morning, and had in his march a thousand things to direct and take care of, he transmitted to me your Lops letter of the 2d with a request that I would make the best excuse I could for his not writing and let your Lop know as well as I could how our affaires stand. The first I have already done [“Culloden Papers,” CCCCXXI.] and as to the other, all I can tell your Lop is that Sir John past the Spey yesterday [6th] on his way to Aberdeen and so on southward, that the rebels did not leave Blair sooner than Tuesday morning last [3rd], that their numbers instead of increasing have been rather diminishing, nobody of any consequence haveing joyned them befor they left Blair, tho they talkt of multitudes that were to dip in their crimes the end of this or the beginning of the next week. As the scene of action is thus at present removed from us, tho none can tell how long, it gives some time to breathe and to waite for the arms, which the Marques of Twedale in a letter to me of the 17 of August [“Culloden Papers,” CCLIII.] gave us reason to expect. So soon as these come and as ther is the best prospect of doing good with them, your Lop may expect to hear from me for tho I am no more than a volunteer, as your

Lop is, yet I am in my heart as your Lop is the same man that I was 30 years agoe. In the mean time I am hopefull your Lop will keep your people disposed that they may get together on the shortest warning when arms come and when occasion shall require, Major Mackay will tell you more.

I am very faithfully, My Ld, Yours

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Dunvegan, 3rd September 1745.

My dear Lord

Yours of the 26th ulto I gott Friday [30th August], & lookt or now to have had an account either from you or Knoydart (where I still have some Friends wise enough to be quiet) of an action twixt the two armies. As Sir John Cope was a good way into Badenoch Tuesday [27th] & the Highlanders (not above 3000 strong and not very well armed) that day at Aberchalder, so that they could easily meet either Wednesday afternoon or Thursday morning, as the Highlanders gave out, they intended to go in quest of him, & I believe from the Notion I have of that part of the Country, it was in their power either to meet him or shun him, Certain it is, the Highlanders must either penetrate further or disperse, because they can't subsist anie time, where they then were, & I do not know how much they may be incensed with Lovat, he takes no notice of it to me, but I've pritty certain intelligence, they threaten distruction to this part of the World whether they succeed or not, so that it will be absolutely necessary to arm us tolerably (to enable us to Preserve ourselves), tho. the Government should have no occasion for our service, which I hope and think may be the case. Sir Alexander has had a second tour of fatigue amongst a few fools, but his diligence was made all right. The others I formerlie mentioned are still quiet.

Old Scotus [Angus MacDonald] has kept at home, with the People on his fell in Knodart, though threatened with fire and destruction by very near relations of his own; were it not proper he had some kind of protection to distinguish him from the herd in case anie distress is to be brought by our Ships or

otherwise on these parts, and a pass for the old Gentleman to go about his lawfull affairs; if it is, be so good as procure it, & send it me, as all my intelligence has been throu that Channell. Be sure I long to hear from you, and that I am with unalterable Friendship, Intyrlie Yours

Normand Macleod.

The following is addressed to "His Grace The Duke of Argyll," and is dated from Dunvegan, 3rd September 1745.

My Lord

I had the honour of your letter of the 19th ult, a few days ago, I hope this will find your Grace in Perfect health safely arrived att London. As Sir John Cope was within a few days March of the Highlanders Tuesday last, Its more than probable he has corrected them for their rashness & folly, tho no account has yet got here of any action, they were not then above 3000 strong. No wonder they have an odd opinion of us in England, but its lucky Your Grace is there to represent what is true, that the far greatest and most powerful part of the Highlanders, not only behave as good subjects, but are ready to assist the Government to the outmost of their power.

If they inclined to employ them I shall be Proud to receive and obey your Graces Commands, as I am with the greatest attachment & regard

Your Graces

Much obliged & humble Servant

Normand Macleod.

The letter, to which the above is the answer, is at Dunvegan, and is dated 19th August 1745. The Duke regretted the commotions, and believed the English army in Flanders ready to come over, adding, "I need not pretend to give you any advice at such a distance. Your own good sense will suggest better than I can offer you."

From the President to Sir John Cope, dated from Culloden, 8th September, 10 at night.

Dear Sir

I have received 2 letters from you since I had the honour of seeing you, the one from Brodie house, the other from Elgin

of the 6th, and I have had the satisfaction to hear that you crossed the Spey with safety, the afternoon of the date of the last. As I heard nothing worth troubling you with I deferred writing to you till this time, and I should not even now send you this despatch, were it not to let you know that every thing is hitherto quiet, amongst us, and that Captn Mackays Company, which came to Inverness late Saturday's evening, have this day received their arms, and having looked out for a few necessarys are to march towards you tomorrow's morning. The Captn proposes in 4 days to reach Aberdeen with his company, if no superior force (which so far as we know there is no reason to apprehend) meet him by the way. I imagine he will overtake you there, but should you find things so ready at that port as to enable you to follow your intentions before he arrive, I doubt not that you will return to him the proper directions, which is one of the chief ends of letting you know this by express, that he is to be tomorrow in march, and when you may expect him. Neither Sutherland's nor Macleod's Compys are yet come up. If they do not come soon, I shall hardly advise them to follow you, unless I shall hear from you what shall determine to give such advice. I have executed your commands in answering Lord Reay's letter and have told him that when arms come and when there shall be occasion, I shall give him notice, commending his zeall as he deserves. It has been reported here with circumstances, that render it credible, that John Roy Stewart, a person you have heard of, has been in this country solliciting succoure; he is said to have come to it last Thursday [5th] and to have gone away again, but I cannot with certainty say whether it is so or not. The courier that carried your dispatches left Friday morning was 7 night is not yet returned, so that I cannot tell whether he got forward to Edr or not. Supposing him to be seized if that has hapned only in his return, it is of no great consequence. A ship that arrived yesterday morning in our road from London brings no news, as her passage was slow, but she says she parted off the mouth of the Forth with a Leith ship that had 5 or 6000 stand of arms on board from the Tower for Leith. After you

get thither I am in hopes we shall see some of them, tho without money or credite I do not very well see what is to be done with them. As this, if it comes at all to your hands will find you at Aberdeen I hope you will have leisure to give me your further commands and to let me hear what is fit to be known. At present I can do no more than guess, Loudoun will write if you order him. I am D.S.

Very faithfully Yours etc

The following detached postscript may possibly belong to the above letter. Lord George Murray joined the Prince at Perth, which he reached 4th September. More appears later concerning Mackenzie of Fairburn.

P.S.—Since writing Mr Mackenzie of Fairburn, who delivered you a letter from me at Trinnifur is come to me hither; he slept Edr last Wednesday, where the 5 companys of Lees from Berwick were expected that night. He lay Thursdays night at Crief where he saw Ld Perth at the head of men who were said to be 800. He met on his way from thence to Trinnifur 300 Macgregors and as many of Strowans people. It was given out that 1200 Atholl men were gathered and what is of all things to me the most surprising that Lord George Murray had put himself at their head, and had given to him command of all the Highlanders, untill Earl Marishall, who is expected, arrives. The story of Lord George, how incredible soever it may appear, the gentleman tells with such circumstances that I doubt it is true. He says that Lord Airly is said to have gathered some hundred Highlanders and to have got together 3 or 400 horse, that Glenorchie has left Taymouth and that his men have got to [word undecipherable] under Campbell of Glenlyon, and he says further that all the Passes are guarded; he further says that at Edinburgh last Wednesday they believed that 6000 Dutch were to be embarked, 4000 for England and 2000 for Scotland. This is bad news but I thought it necessary to attempt giving you notice of it. I wish it may reach you. 11 at night.

Captain Alexander Mackay's company of Loudoun's regiment marched from Inverness to join Cope on Monday, 9th September. He was son of Lord Reay, and was taken prisoner at Prestonpans. On the same day, Captain John Sutherland of Forss arrived at Inverness with 54 men, and Captain John Macleod, younger of Macleod, with his company complete, on Tuesday, 10th September. ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXL.). Inverness was then as incapable of defence as it had been on 20th August. (Idem CCCCVII.).

From Sir John Cope to the President, dated from Cullen, 8th Sept. 1745, Morning.

My Lord

The Bearer of this can inform your Lordship of more than I can say, I had a Letter from General Guest the 3rd Inst, which says very little more than wishing me with Dragoons. I have received but that one single Letter from the South since I saw your Lop. A merchant tells me his Correspondent at Edinburgh of the 2nd Inst. writes him that all the Boats and Vessels in the firth, are brought over to the South side except two Ferry Boats, but as General Guest does not mention it to me, I doubt they do not yet think as your Lop and I do of this affair. I have sent Colonel Whiteford to Aberdeen. I shall get on as fast as I can but not without difficultys. Your Lop. shall hear from me when opportunity offers. Various are the Reports on the Enemy, which the Bearer will inform you on.

I am with great Truth

Your Lops Most Obedt humble Servt

Jno. Cope

Lord Loudoun desires his Compliments to your Lordship.

(6) THE BLANK COMMISSIONS.

"The Earl of Stair has proposed that a number of blank commissions be sent down to be distributed among the well-affected clans as your Lordship shall think proper. This I heartily seconded, as I know your Lordship will make a right use of this mark of his Majesty's confidence." So wrote Lord Tweeddale, 4th September ("Culloden Papers, CCLXV.) No higher compliment could have been paid by the Government.

From Sir John Cope to the President, dated [10 September].

My Lord

On my march hither I recd. by express a letter from the Marquis of Tweeddale of the 4th inst., with a large packet for your Lordship. I must observe to your Lordship that the seals of the Marquis of Tweeddale were all broke as your Lordship sees them before they came to my hands, tho one remaining came intire to me and I send it [to] your Lordship. The Marquis tells me that he has sent your Lordship a number of blank commissions to be dispos'd of to the well affected clans as you shall think most proper for the publick service at this juncture, that part of them may go & live at discretion in the country the Rebels shall leave or if it shall be thought necessary the whole or part may march with you wherever the service may require. I am sure they could not be put into better hands.

I shall be very glad of keeping these Highlanders with me or having a reinforcement with me as your Lordship shall judge most conducive to the service. I likewise send your Lordship two letters which came to me by the same messenger that brought the packet. I shall be able to reach Aberdeen tomorrow and then must take my measures as circumstances arise.

As the Monroes are the first people who have taken arms upon this occasion I submit it to your Lordship's consideration whither or no it may not be for his Majestie's service to show them a mark of your Lordship's favour.

I am with great Respect

Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servt

Jno. Cope

From Lord Loudoun to the President, dated from Old Meldrum, 10th Sept. 1745.

My dear Lord

I had a letter from Lord Stair this morning, and another on the march in last of which he makes complements to your Lop. and in the last he says he has writ to you but I dont see

the letter in the Packet, I dont know by what means it has been left out, I have no news to tell your Lop, but that all the things ordered at Aberdeen will be ready for us tomorrow when we arrive

What I principally give you this trouble for is to recommend my friends the Monroes who are come along with us and have behaved themselves very well for which purpose I send you a list of their names, I really think you cannot get so many of these Commissions in better parts, if you cannot give me the whole I beg they may have part for which I shall think myself very much obliged to you. If you agree to this and dispatch a Messenger immediately we may take them along with us, where they will be of great use. You know how much I am employed, and will pardon this abrupt ending from me, who is with great esteem and friendship

My Lord

Your Lordships Most obedient humble Servant

Loudoun.

To The Lord President.

The packet containing the blank commissions reached Culloden 13th September ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXLI.), having been forwarded from Edinburgh.

From the Lord Advocate to the Lord President, dated from Edinburgh 8th September 1745.

My Lord,

This serves Chiefly to accompany the enclosed which came to my Hand this Morning by Express, dispatched from London the 4th Current, and it was intended that Blank Commissions for Raising Twenty Independent Companys in the Highlands, to be disposed of and filled up as your Lop. should judge proper, and to be employed for his Majesty's Service in the Present juncture, as your Lordship and Sir John Cope should think most expedient.

But Andrew Mitchell informs me, that it was so late ere the Commissions were made out, that they could not pass at the Stamp Office, but said they would be dispatched next day

and desired me to delay sending the express to you, till they should arrive. And as I had prepared a vessel to carry the express to Aberdeen I write you this even before they arrive, that the Express may not be delayed one moment after they come.

As his Majesty hath been pleased to leave this whole measure to your Lop's direction, it would be very improper for me to interpose. I have no friend to recommend and I have no knowledge of the Highlands, but what I have from yourself. Yet I hope you'll forgive, what you have formerly mentioned as proper, on such an occasion least it may escape you. You'll remember you once mentioned Culdares last Summer, and I know he would then have accepted, and I dont know if he has changed his sentiments, and he has a son a pritty young fellow an Ensign in the Dutch Service, whom you may have in your eye. I will also mention Lord MacLeod, it was taken amiss, he was not provided in the Earl of Loudons Regiment, by some friends of yours whom I need not name. I will only add Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul.

The Election of the Emperor was fixed for Monday last the 2nd, and it was thought it would fall on the Duke of Tuscany. I have the honour to be with great truth and esteem

My Lord

Your Lop's most faithful Humble Servant

Rob. Craigie

Lord President.

Edinburgh, 9th September 1745.

P.S. The Commissions are just arrived and I herewith send you them.

The Highlanders at Perth according to our best accounts do not exceed 3000—and many of those but badly armed. They wait there till they are joined by the Atholl Men, Lord Ogilvie's Men, and the Duke of Perth's, whom their Respective Masters are raising with great Difficulty. Detachments are gone to Dundee and Coupar on Saturday the 7th in quest of arms.

I am yours

Rob. Craigie

Some of the outer seals of your Pacquet were opened, before they came to my hand, I have not had time to inquire by whom, or by what accident.

Meanwhile MacLeod had arrived at Culloden on Tuesday evening, 10th September, with his son. "I have great assistance at present from MacLeod, who at my desire came from the Isle of Sky, alongst with his son, and is now my fellow-labourer; what we aim at is, to league for our mutuall defence; & in case we are supply'd with the arms and credit, or the money expected, to try what may be done to put the most speedy end to the present commotion." ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXL.).

With regard to arms and credit, Lord Tweeddale had written, 17th August ("Culloden Papers," CCLII.).

Arms are already ordered to Inverness, and a Credit is sent to Sir John Cope. When I mentioned the expediency of supplying your Lordship with money for procuring Intelligence, and other Services to the Government, Mr Pelham assured me, that whatever Sums you advanced he would certainly repay; I hope, therefore, your Lordship will have no difficulty on this head.

The Lord President had very great difficulties on both these heads. The following was written by him to Lord Tweeddale, 3rd October ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLVII.).

.

It may, my Lord, unless you have got my former letters, be surprising to you, that under the favour of the credite which your Lop acquaints me I have upon Mr Pelham & the Paymaster Genll, no money can be raised; but that surprise will cease when you are told, that bank notes are not, by reason of the present commotion, current; that the little coin that is, is lock'd up; so that the man of best credit in this country cannot command a shilling; that bills on Edr or London are of no value; partly, as no payments are made at Edr; & partly, as there is no secure method of correspondence with either of the places; & this matter is now gone so far, that the bills which the Major of Ld Loudoun's Regt has drawn on Edr for the sub-

sistence of some of the new compys of that regt now at Inverness, have return'd protested ; so that these companys are in imminent danger of being obliged to disband for want of pay, which they have at present on the private credite of their officers ; & how many days that resource may last I cannot say, tho' I have offer'd to support the private credite of these officers with the additional security of mine. And now, my Lord, give me leave to express my very great concern, that so fine a game as has been in our hands should be in danger of being lost, for lack of the supply I have so often mention'd, which might have been very easily sent, & which may still be of very great service, if it come before it is too late. To me, it seem'd to be of vast consequence, to keep out of the rebellion a greater body of men than those who are hitherto engaged in it ; & that I think would certainly have happened, had the supply expected come in due time. It is at present doubtfull whether numbers may not play the fool ; but I am still confident, that if this arrives quickly to your Lop's hands, & the necessary orders are without loss of time given upon it, we shall be able still to do good, by preventing a great deal of the mischief that is to be apprehended. It is almost unnecessary to mention to your Lop, what will naturally occur to yourself, that we can now have no supply of arms from the castle of Edr, so long as the town is in the possession of the Highlanders ; & that arms therefor, if we have any quickly, must come from the Tower. The necessity of sending us arms I have mention'd often, because without them the well-affected, who have none, can make no figure. I am hopefull they will be speedily sent us ; but the vessel with money & credit, if any such is to be sent, ought not to wait ane hour for that which may carry the arms, because if we had the money we could bring our troops together to receive arms, which might arrive some days later. Besides that, we have seven or eight hundred stand of arms at Fort George, which might be put in the hands of our companys as they might successively arrive.

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It was at this time extremely difficult to obtain even a hearing from the Government. Andrew Mitchell could write, 2nd October ("Culloden Papers," CCLXXIV.)

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Every body here is sensible of what service your Lop's presence has been in the North. Your influence has prevented many from rising ; and if, notwithstanding the present unhappy situation of Affairs, your Lop shall be able to raise the Independent Companies, so as to act before the Arrival of the Troops, you will have done the most essential service to the Government that has in my memory been performed by any subject.

I need not mention to your Lop the unfortunate situation of this Country ; a divided and a diffident Ministry ; the rage of Party still so strong, that they are more animated against each other than against the common enemy.

Your Lop must be sensible that the late mark you have had of his Majesty's confidence has already occasioned some reflections from a quarter, that I believe wou'd rejoice if you was not able to raise one man ; but I hope your Lop's prudence, interest, and address, will be superiour to all difficulties, & at last confound the malicious schemes of those who wish well to themselves only.

.

The President accepted the "burden of disposing the commissions" unwillingly but of necessity.

. . . it is my present purpose to distribute such of these commissions as I shall give out among those clans who, on occasion of the last rebellion, showed their adherence to the protestant interest; without neglecting such other clans, as, tho' adversary at that time have on this occasion behav'd themselves well beyond the expectation of most people, and thereby very much provok'd the rebels, from whom they withhold two thirds of the force which they flatter'd themselves they could carry from the North Highlands.

Under these circumstances he ventured to suggest that the reserving of three companies for the Munroes would be somewhat out of proportion, in spite of their having actually been first in the field. ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXLI. and CCCCXLIH.).

From the Magistrates of Elgin to the President, dated 16th September 1745.

My Lord

After sincerely acknowledging our obligations to your Lordship for your favours of the 27th last, in return to our express, and heartily wishing good success to your endeavours for the Publick Safety, We are obliged of new, to give you this trouble per Express, to show Your Lordship, that we and all the well affected part of this Town, are in great Danger of being surprised by Glenbucket and his men, who are said to be about 200 dispersed all along the Country about Strathbogie, pressing men and money for the Highland Army.

As we wrote your Lordship formerly this place is utterly destitute of arms, and though we had them, the whole of the place is not to be trusted with them . Therefore being informed that Several Companys of the new levied Regiment lie at Inverness, We earnestly entreat your Lordship may procure a Company or two, to come and lie at Elgin, for some time for our Defence against the Insults and Depredations we have just cause to fear from Glenbucket's men, who design to visit this place. As a Company or so of armed men would very much animate the inhabitants, who are under a great Damp at present, it would likewise be a fresh instance of your affectionate care for the Safety of this place and a lasting obligation upon

My Lord

Your Lordships Most obedient and humble Servants

The Magistrates of Elgin

James Stephen

Rob. Duff

John Laing

Rob. Allan

The President's reply is "Culloden Papers," CCCCXLVI., intimating that in a few days there would be a sufficient force to protect those loyal to the Government.

The actual disposal of the commissions was one of very great delicacy, but little time was lost by the President in making arrangements or endeavouring to do so. As MacLeod was then with him, the companies being or to be raised by him and Sir Alexander MacDonald could be personally discussed. A letter preserved at Dunvegan is, however, of great interest in this respect. Highlanders no longer desired to fight each other, and this difficulty was infinitely less with the recruiting agents of the Jacobites than with those loyal to the Government. The letter is from Sir Alexander MacDonald to MacLeod, dated from Mugstot, 23rd September 1745. After stating that his gentlemen felt a delicacy in coming out to hunt down friends and relations, he goes on to say—

No man need be surprised that they rumbled their relations in their noddles for a time. However thinking they will not be set to that work they have come forward now. MacDonald Kirkibost is to be Captain, Allan, Kingsborrow's son, Lieutenant, Donald Roy, Ensign. I need not tell you the difficulty of recruiting 100 men. Scarcity of bread forced away several in the Spring to the Dutch service and the men here are almost as fond of the young gentleman as their wives and daughters are. Money is urgently needed. A sloop from Glasgow says the Highlanders are there levying contributions.

From Sir Alexander MacDonald to the President, dated from Mugstot, 24th September ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLIII.).

My Lord,

By a vessel from Kintyre, I find the Highlanders were at Glasgow eight days ago; they have demanded fifteen thousand pounds of that town. No certainty of their numbers; & no word of the Dutch being actually landed, which the people who retired to Kintyre from Glasgow sho'd have known, had they landed any where, five days before their retreat. I have wrote to the Laird, how the commissions are to be filled up: he knows the Gentlemen. It will occur to your Lordship, that the pay of the officers, I mean such of them as never served before, sho'd

be lotted for ; & I take it for granted it will be done. It is quite impossible to raise the men without money, unless it was to follow myself. It is not surprising that they are somewhat agog about the adventure of their brother Highlanders ; but all care is taken not to encourage their foolish actions. I look'd at the men of this part of the island in parcells, told them, in troublesome times, they ought to be in all readiness possible to do for themselves ; & that I did not know how soon the King might demand a levy of men. I expect your Lordship will let me know what levy money the Captains are to have. I refer to the Laird's epistle ; being in the state your Lordship is, not very well, but resolved to mend, as I hope you have already done.

I am, with the usual attachment,

My dr Lord, yours,

Alexr Macdonald.

To Lord Sutherland the President wrote, 17th September, offering one company and asking him to name the officers ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXLV.).

From the Earl of Sutherland to the President, dated from Dunrobin, 21st September 1745.

My Lord

As my friends were at a distance from this place, I was to name Officers of the independing (sic) Company of an hundred men, that you have recommended to me, could not write to you sooner till I commune with them. I have pitched on such Gentlemen for whose honesty and faithfulness I can promise namely Alexander Gun Esqre Captain, John Gordon Esqre Lieutenant and Kenneth Sutherland Ensign, and how soon orders for them appears I will recommend to them the outmost Diligence. My Zeal for his Majesty's Service Ile still stand by, I am My Lord

Yor Lop. most obedient humble Servant

Sutherland

I hope your Lop will excuse a borrowed hand being troubled with a sore head.

My Lord

After writing the enclosed, I had a letter from a Cousin an Kinsman of mine at London, Patrick Sutherland, Kinminty's Brother who is Captain Lieutenant in General Oglethorpe's Regiment in Georgia, and who has distinguished himself remarkably in his Majesty's Service already. He expects of me and I would very much incline to get him promoted, at this time to a Company on the British Establishment. My Lord Stair to whom he has been very well recommended, told him that I would have it [in] my power at this time to provide for severals of my Friends. and this made him depend on immediate advancement as his Service deserved, and if your Lop has reserved any room, I would take it very kindly that Mr Sutherland got one of the Independent Companys, now to be raised, and tho' he cannot be in the Country, sooner than twenty days, His Friends assure me and I will concur to have his Company compleat as soon as is necessary. If your Lop has any acquaintance of General Oglethorpe he will tell you how deserving a man Mr Sutherland is. I am My Lord

Your Lop. most obedient humble servant

Sutherland

From the President to the Earl of Sutherland, dated 21st September 1745.

My Lord

I have just received the honour of your Lops letter of this day's date, recommending Alexr. Gun, John Gordon and Keneth Sutherland to be Captn, Lieut. and Ensign of ane Independant Compy : their names shall be filled up accordingly & their commissions sent them as soon as arms which are dayly expected arrive. I have no doubt that they are proper persons since they are named by your Lop & I am confident their Company by your Lops direction will be very soon made up. I have had besides two other letters from your Lop one in favours of Patrick Sutherland and ane other in favours of Mr Mackay of Strathy, recommending them also to Independant Companys if

there is room. The case, My Lord, is shortly this : all the commissions which in conformity to the directions I have received are proper at present to be disposed of are settled. It is very possible I may be directed to give more & and when that shall happen your Lop's recommendation will be regarded, as no man is abler to serve his Majestie than yourself & no one has a stronger disposition to serve your Lop than My Lord your most obt & most humble servt.

It will be observed that on this date the whole 20 companies were in theory already placed.

Lord Reay was offered a company on 17th September ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXLV.), to which he agreed, naming as officers "my son George, providing he chooses to accept, after advising with your Lordship and knowing the footing these companies are to be on. As for the subalterns, I refer to George, who will deliver you this ; only I wish with all my heart my grandchild, Bighouse's son, could be allowed of the ensigny, notwithstanding of his being only past thirteen years" ("Culloden Papers," CCCCL.)

The President, in a letter to Ross of Inverchasley suggested a company for the Master of Ross, reserving a captain's commission for him, the other officers to be a son of Inverchasley and "David Ross, Shandewick's brother, if you approve of it. The Gentleman last named . . . carries you this ; and it is my wish . . . if it may be, I may see you here without loss of time" ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXLIV.). One company was offered to Ludovick Grant, younger of Grant. (See "Origins," pp. 275, 276.)

From Ludovic Grant to the President, dated from Castle Grant, 22nd September 1745.

My Lord

I regrated much tother day that I had soe little time to converse with you and the more that when I came home I found by the news papers that there was twintie Independant Companies designed to be raised among the Highland Clans who were well affected. I own I thought one Companie was not the proportion fell to the share of my friends and I found some difficulties would likelie happen in getting them all satisfied

as everie one of the Gentilmen of my name are well affected, therfor I delayed nameing anie of them untill Lord Deskford should explain my sentiments to your Lordship : he has now communicate to me the conversation he had with you and I take this opportunitie by my friend Rothemurchus to assure your Lordship I have not the least doubt of your friendship towards me and my friends and I hope you shall see the same zeall for the support of the Government subsists at present in this countrie which you was ane eye witnes of in the year 1715 and we now who are the King's friends must act with the same spirite and confidence in one ane other.

I doubt not but your Lordship will from time to time give the best advice you can and that you likeways will communicate what you judge proper to my friend Rothemurchus, his firmnes you have long known. I think him the properest person for the Companie and Robert Grant son to Easter Duthell the Lieutenancie and William Grant younger of Dillechapple to be Ensign ; if your Lordship pleases you may fill up the Commissions and deliver them to Rothemurchus with your directions. I send you inclosed two letters I had to day, one giving ane account of Glenbucket, the last I had from a McGrigor, a relation to some of my friends who has from time to time let me know Glennies motions. All this familie joins me in offering your Lordship our sincere compliments. I continue my Dr Lord

Your most faithfull and obed. humble Servt.

Lud. Grant.

The first enclosure does not appear : the second is as follows :—

Honourable Sir

In obedience to yours of the 19th instant please know that Glenbucket went from this place upon Wednesday last [18th] about 2 oClock afternoon with 230 men or thereabouts, he came from Banff to avoid meeting the Munros who were on their way home, and were at Banff the night Glenbucket left that place. It was proposed indeed by the friends of the C—r in this place

that either men or Contributions should be raised here, but the Country people being resolute against both neither of them has yet taken place. Meantime as Mr Tulloch has not gone, we dont know what violences may not be committed before he and his company march. Lemrie [sic] Leith and a young Gentleman or two in your Town, a Brother of Beldornies & a son of Dunedeer are here and make some excursions in to the Country in Search of arms, sadles &c. Yesterday some by Mr Tulloch's orders went a little through the Garreoch & seized three horses belonging to Westhall, and this day they are out on the same errand, but nobody knows where. Mr Tulloch talks of marching Tuesday next. Its uncertain as yet if Mr. Hamilton goes, tho' its generally thought he will, and if he does he and Mr Tulloch will carry with them near 200 men. Yet keen as they are they acknowledge that without a landing they are undone, and upon that I imagine does depend the Rising of a good many Gentlemen in this Country. Whatever steps Mr Hamilton has taken to join them I am yet to think it is more with a view to save this Country from their Mischief than any real design he has as yet heartily to embark in the affair.

They give out a great many stories to keep up the spirits of their party, that the Castle of Stirling has been taken by surprise, that a landing in England has actually taken place, headed by the Duke of Ormand, that the young C——r has been visited on by some of the Nobility of England and invited thither with the promise of some thousands to join him, as soon as he sets foot on English ground, all which I am persuaded are without foundation. Meantime such reports keep them in heart, and make them eager to be gone, which I earnestly wish they would, and allow the Country people time to cut down their corns and to enjoy themselves in peace. This is all worth writing just now.

Septr 21st 1745.

Seaforth was offered two companies, concerning which he wrote to the President from Brahan Castle, 20th September 1745.

My Lord

I would have sent your Lordship yesterday the names of the Gentlemen I recommended to you in the new Levies, but that most of them were in the Highlands. Those I chuse and know are capable to serve the Government are as follows, Alexander Mackenzie of Ferburn, Captain, Alexander Mackenzie Yr of Lenton Lieutenant, and William Mackenzie Brother to Dundonald to be Ensign. In the other Company Colin Mackenzie Brother to Redcastle will make a very proper Lieutenant and William Mackenzie Brother to Allangrange, will make as good an Ensign, and as such I recommend them to your Lordship.

There's several of my Friends at my desire, ready to serve the Government, when you think there's occasion. Your Lordship will acquaint me, if you'll have these Gentlemen wait on you, or if you send their Commissions here by the bearer. Pray inform me if there's any news, and believe me to be with the greatest sincerety and regard

My Dr Lord

Your Lordship's Most Affectionate Humble Servant

K. Mackenzie.

P.S. I still hear Mackinnon crossed the Kyle in his way south with a 100 men on tuesday the 17th.

The second company for which Seaforth named the lieutenant and ensign was offered to the Earl of Cromartie for his son, Lord MacLeod ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXLVIII., CCCCLI., CCCCLIV.), but was in effect refused, 26th September (Idem CCCCLV.).

Lord Lovat was offered a company the day after the arrival of the blank commissions, and MacLeod went to Beaufort to discuss this matter, probably on the 14th September; he was certainly there on the 15th. "The Laird of M'Leod who is here with me, my son, and Gortoleg join with me in assuring you and my Dr Lady Cluny and Sibbie and my Dr Grandchildren of our most affectionate respects." So wrote Lovat, 15th September, to Cluny ("Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness," Vol. XIV., p. 209), who had been released from the Prince's army a few days previously. What passed on this occasion

between Lovat and MacLeod cannot with certainty be known; something may be gleaned from the President's letter to the former, dated 19th September ("Culloden Papers," CCLXVIII.). In brief, MacLeod had not brought back Lovat's resolutions,

and being under a necessity of reporting soon what I have done, or am doing, I am obliged to give your Lordship the trouble of this, to beg to know how you like the proposall; and, if you do, to have a list from you of the persons names to whom you would have the commissions for Captain, Lieutenant and Ensign given.

The letter ends with a hint as to the rumours circulated concerning his Lordship, which the President stated he did not believe. It is impossible to suppose that he and MacLeod could do more at that time than try to prevent what they already feared. Lovat's answer of 20th September seems to show that the President's letter must have been re-dated and despatched that day. Lovat laid the blame on MacLeod for not explaining his reasons for refusing, denied the rumours, and accounted for the presence of Fraser of Inverallochy at Beaufort by the suggestion of a settlement of his estates preparatory to going to France ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXLIX.) At that date the President was able to write to Lord Stair

As to the state of this country . . . the rebels have not had so far as I know, 20 men dependent of Sir A. McDonald, MacLeod, Ld Fortrose, Ld Cromarty, Ld Sutherland, Ld Reay, Grant, Ld Lovat, Macintosh or Chisholm to join them. I need not mention the Munros, whose signal service Sir J. Cope has doubtless acquainted the Administration with.

The battle of Prestonpans had yet to be fought—on the day following that on which this letter was penned. ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXI.).

(7) MISCELLANEOUS, SEPTEMBER 1745.

From the Lord Advocate to the Lord President, dated from Edinburgh, 14th September 1745.

My Lord

This serves chiefly to cover the enclosed which arrived last night from London by express.

With respect to our Situation here the Rebels crossed the Forth yesterday about midday, Six miles above Stirling. Colonel Gairdner is in his way from thence to this Town with his Regiment, to join General Hamilton's Regiment encamped in this neighbourhood. We every moment expect the Dutch Auxilliarys and Sir John Cope, but they are not as yet arrived

I am with great respect My Lord

Your Lops. most obedient humble Servant

Rob Craigie

From the Marquess of Tweeddale to the Lord President, dated from Whitehall, 12th September 1745.

My Lord

My last to your Lordship was dated the 10th Instant, in which I acquainted you that Mr Pelham would duly honour your Eills upon him at this Critical Juncture, I am only now further to acquaint you, that in order to prevent confusion, in case it should happen that the Scheme of forming Independent Companies of Highlanders, pursuant to the Blank Commissions sent down, should succeed, the Money that will be necessary for the subsistence and pay of such Companies must be drawn for on the Paymaster General of His Majesty's Forces here. In my Letter to your Lordship of the 17th August, I took notice of the want of Lords Lieutenants in the Several Counties; and I should have been glad if your Lordship, had suggested any way by which that could have been supplied. The Scheme of sending down the above mentioned blank Commissions, was thought here to be the best and most expeditious for that purpose.

I shall expect to hear how matters go with you, since Sir John Cope left you, His Majesty and all his Servants here are very sensible of how great use your Presence there has been to him, and have not the least doubt of your continuing to exert yourself in support of his Government. I am My Lord

Your Lordships most obedient humble Servant

Tweeddale.

Lord President.

The President's reply is "Culloden Papers," CCCCXLVII., dated 20th September, asking once more for a ship with arms, money or credit. He also intimated that Cluny had probably joined the rebels. This was an event which greatly influenced the Prince's cause, and it was thought that it would secure the rising of some of the Mackintoshes, Frasers, and Mackenzies. See "Culloden Papers," CCCCLII. On 26th September Cluny wrote to the titular Duke of Atholl that he must keep his men so that all could march together, but that force was necessary to bring all required ("Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family," XXV.). To this the Duke replied, urging him to come without delay, and on 27th September Cluny answered that he would come as soon as possible. (Idem XXVI., XXXI.). That force was being used appears from the following copy among the Fraser-Mackintosh papers in the Register House, endorsed "Young Cluny 1745."

William Robertson in Badenoch declares young Cluny came to his house and ordered 20 cows and 6 horses to be taken from him and otherwise threatened him & upon consenting to go they were restored except one cow which was killed.

Wm. Robertson, his mark.

The President's opinion upon this subject appears in "Culloden Papers," CCCXXVI.

It is to be doubted, whether affecting the Crowd of the common people with the punishment legally and justly due to their Crimes might not be construed an unnecessary severity, and therefore do more harm than good, by raising Pity: the rather, that it is most certainly true, that great numbers of them were compelled to join the active Rebels, by threats which were justly terrible to them.

On 17th September the Prince entered Edinburgh, and Cope landed at Dunbar. The following is dated on the previous day (16th September 1745 at 12 o'clock), and appears to be from General Wightman to George Drummond (See "Culloden Papers," CCLXXI.).

Dear George

I cannot go out of the Town till I have fully apprized you of what occurs to me as absolutely needful be done, without which I reckon it Phrensie to attempt the defence of the City, and if

it be done, I'm of opinion, it will not be attacked. The Measures are, that Col. Gardners Dragoons alone, without any of Hamiltons people, enter the Town, and undertake to defend the Bastions and Patrole the Streets, in order to overawe the disaffected inhabitants. That all the well affected people who inhabit Houses fronting the Streets, illuminate their houses through the whole night that whoever appear on the street may be known and the Dragoons may see how to act.

That all the Garden & Park Walls, fronting the City Wall from the Pleasants to Lauristons yards be levelled to the ground, That no body but soldiers be placed on the Bastions, provided with Pattereros, Blunderbushes, and hand Granads only, and with lamps, blind on all sides, but the one which points along the Wall, that soldiers may see what is doing at the root of the wall, without being seen themselves.

I only add the Rule of Conduct in defending the City, is the same on all occasions. It must not be surprised nor taken by assault; but delivered up upon articles when it can no longer be defended. May God defend the good Town, for its Motto is certainly true—Nisi Dominus Frustra—Dont trust yourself in it if the Rebels enter it, take care of St Mary Wynd, Lieth Wynd, and the Trinity Hospital, for if any attack is made, it will be when it is dark, and these are by much the weakest part of it, because of the Houses on the Town Wall and opposite to it.

From Sir Alexander MacDonal to the President, dated from Mugstot, 17th September 1745.

My Lord

I had yours yesterday by Kingsborrow, one has pleasure of hearing from their friends at any time, but at present it gives joy, whether that is owing to the curiosity of hearing what one did not know before, or the comfort that real friendship gives in perilous times, is not difficult to determine by feeling, I give it for the last. Our Neighbours who have gone Southward vow destruction to this Island, if they destroy no more because we are not with them, this is the Language of men in Passion and

does not affect me much, tho' we are very defenceless, it is however odd that the Government does not think of giving us the means to defend our Goods and Chattels. We might have been armed Cap à pie had we chose it. I should be glad to know if anything of that kind is intended. Your Lordship cannot expect any Novels from me as the Scene of Action is distant. Fleets, Troops, Spaniards, French, Dutch, Russians &c. land in numberless Places, if Nation rising against Nation & division in a Kingdom are Couriers to the Day of Judgment, 'tis at hand. I dont care how soon you remit the Laird, it is only fair to demand him for the reason that your Lordship detains him, the Love of his Presence. I am My Lord

Yours most faithfully

Alexr Macdonald.

Lady Margaret who is afraid in more Shapes than one sends her complements.

The Battle of Prestonpans (21st September) had far-reaching results, and infinitely prolonged the Rising. The President was fully aware of the importance which was being and would be attached to this victory ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLVII.), and it prompted the titular Duke of Atholl to write to Lovat, Seaforth, Cromartie, Sir Alexander MacDonald, MacLeod, and the Duke of Gordon ("Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family.") The news did not reach Aberdeen till the evening of the 25th, as appears by the following to an unknown correspondent.

Sir,

I doubt not before this reaches you, you'll have got a particular account of the Battle on Saturday the 21st inst, when the Forces under Sir John Cope were defeated, As we had no account of it until the 25 at night, I thought it would then be needless to run you an express, especially as we had it only from one side, who have now published it, in the Mercury, of which the inclosed is a copy with some additions printed here by order of Mr. John Hamilton, who came here on Tuesday with Mr Tulloch, and 24 Horse and 80 Foot, and read their Manefesto &c, then opened the Prison doors and let out the Prisoners, thereafter broke open the Kings warehouse, and took out the Seizures, searched several Houses for Arms, Horses, Sadles &c.

and carried off yesterday what they met with and marched to Stonhive. We are told that Lord Pitsligo is to be here on Monday with the Gentlemen of Buchan and some of Banffshire and to be joined by several here, who already appear with white cockades.

One Duncan a Sailor here, who left Rotterdam on the 19th inst, says that he was assured that the last of the Dutch Transports were about to sail, and that he saw 15 sail of them bound [letter torn].

A ship master who came to Dundee [letter torn] the streets of Ed. and that the Highland Army were encamped in St Ann Yards on Tuesday last and waiting some Reinforcements from the North. That there is no disturbance in the Town, but a great many of the Principal People have left it

I am Sir Your most obliged humble Servt

John Thomson.

Aberdeen 28 Sept 1745. 3 afternoon.

P.S. 5 oClock the Post from Edinburgh now arrived but put under a Guard till the Letters are perused, tho' already opened by others of their Party. There is no News Paper, the English being kept at Edr which looks as if they did not like them.

From Seaforth to the President, dated from Brahan Castle, 29th September 1745.

My Lord

I own the contents of your Lordships Letter surprised me, for I never imagined that the unfortunate Gentlemen would have presumed to go to Edinr which I thought had been secured against a surprise, as in all probability the Dutch are landed, their stay there cannot be long, yet I agree in opinion with your Lordship, that some thoughtless People may be induced to desert their King and Countrys Cause. I had a Letter from the Chisholm, who says that there are several of the Highlanders come home, may be with a Design in their usual manner to Plunder their Neighbours; but I hope this will be the last year of our having a Disturbance of that kind. If Lord Macleod does not accept, which I believe was no more than an air in the

Father, perhaps to discourage others from accepting, I will get a Gentleman who will be proud to serve his Majesty faithfully. I want to write to Loudon, I shall desire Ferburn to ask you how I can send it. I am with greatest sincerity and regard
Your Lordships Most Faithfull Humble Servant

K. Mackenzie.

(8) A NOTE ON MACKINTOSH OF MACKINTOSH.

Lachlan Mackintosh, Chief of the Clan, who married Anne, daughter of Alexander Duff of Drummuir, died in 1731, leaving no issue. He was succeeded by his kinsman, William Mackintosh, of the Daviot family, whose wife, Christian, was daughter to Sir Alexander Menzies of Weem, second baronet. He died childless in 1740, and was succeeded by his brother, Aeneas Mackintosh, married to Anne, daughter of John Farquharson, of Invercauld, the famous "Colonel Anne" of the Forty-five, and at the same time a great favourite of President Forbes.

Aeneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh does not appear to have been a strong character, and he found the activities of his wife extremely disconcerting; indeed, it is difficult to suppose, had he been left to himself, that he would have done anything at all to prevent his Clan being raised for the Prince. It may be inferred from what follows that only the influence of the President and of MacLeod prevented his being drawn into the Rising against his own better judgment, and caused him to take somewhat tardy steps to keep the Mackintoshes at home. One such step has cast a shadow over his reputation, but if the position at that time of Scotsmen loyal to the Government be realised, a real excuse will be found. Time meant everything—arms, cash, credit, and a few weeks, even days, might make all the difference: so that there was justification for those attempting to prevent by any means in their power men being enlisted against their will in a Rising which, apart from its merits, appeared to them hazardous at all times, hopeless in its future.

In Sir Walter Scott's "Tales of a Grandfather" (Notes to Chapter LXXXII) this letter appears.

From Mackintosh of Mackintosh to Evan MacPherson, younger of Cluny, Esq., dated from Inverness, 1st October 1745.

Dr Sir

As I am now fully determined to command my own people and run the same fate with them, having yesterday received a letter from the Prince, and another from the Duke of Atholl, I hope, notwithstanding of the order obtained from the Prince, you will not offer to meddle with any of my men, as we are both designed on the same errand. I am resolved to maintain the rank due to my family, & if you think proper to accept the next rank to me, you'll be very wellcome. If you judge otherwise, act as you have a mind. But do not put me to the necessity of requiring my men of you in a more publick manner, the consequence of which may be disagreeable to both. My kind compliments to Lady Cluny and Miss Fraser, and I am, Dr Sir, Your most humble servt and affectionat cousine

Aeneas Mackintosh.

Standing alone, this letter conveys the impression that Mackintosh was not only a party to the efforts already made by his lady, but that he was himself, as Chief of Clan Chattan, about to raise his men for the Prince. The explanation, however, has been most kindly given to the Editor by Mr A. M. Mackintosh, author of "The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan," in the following documents, copied by him from the originals. The correspondence of which they form part has no other connection with the Forty-Five, and is of purely private interest.

From MacLeod of MacLeod to John Mackenzie of Delvine, dated from Whitehouse, 9th December 1761.

Sir,

Since you mentioned a letter of Macintoshes wrote in the end of the 1745 to MacPherson of Cluny I have endeavoured to recollect myself as well as I can as to that matter, and its first necessary for me to acquaint you that when President Mr Forbes sent for me to Sky the end of August 1745 it was with the view to do all in our power to prevent the different clans in that part of the country from joining the Rebellion. If we failed in that design our next view was to use every art we

could to make that junction as slow as possible, as we looked on gaining a little time then to be gaining the whole cause. It was with this view that Macintosh wrote that letter, which was done not only with the President's consent but was his diction, and both he & I were greatlie misinformed att that time if it did not retard a very considerable number of them from joining for several weeks.

This is all I can recollect of this matter, and if you think it proper you are extreamlie welcome to lay this letter before my Lord Advocate. I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant

Normand MacLeod.

From the Earl of Loudoun to the Lord Advocate, dated from Edinburgh, 16th November 1761 [copy made by John Mackenzie of Delvine.]

My Lord,

As your Lordship desires to be informed what I know in relation to a letter wrote by Capt. Aeneas M'Intosh of M'Intosh to the Macphersons about the end of the year 1745 or the beginning of the year 1746 at which time I had the honour to command in that part of the country it is as follows. ~ The first information I had of that letter came to me by a spy from Badenoch. On receiving it I went immediately to my Lord President Forbes to consult what steps were proper for us to take upon it, when his Lordship informed me that the letter had not only been wrote by M'Intosh at his desire, but that he had dictated the letter himself in order to try to put a stop to the violence the gentlemen in Badenoch were using to raise not only the Macphersons in their own lands, but even some of M'Intosh's tenants in that neighbourhood. The letter had not the effect the President expected from it for the Macphersons continued to raise their men and M'Intosh remained with me.

I have the honour etc

[signed] Loudoun.

It certainly, however, if it was so intended, deceived the titular Duke of Atholl, who must have known of it when he wrote to Mackintosh, 7th October.

It was with the utmost joy I heard you had abandoned the usurper to join in restoring the King at the head of your numerous clan that has ever been loyally inclined.

At the same time he urged him to march, as he also urged Cluny in a letter of even date ("Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family," LXVI. and LXVII.).

If the President was responsible for this famous letter, Mackintosh is absolved of that at least. But the known facts seem to point to an extraordinary vacillation on the part of one who had not renounced his military commission. It would indeed appear that if MacLeod and Sir Alexander MacDonald had joined the Rising he would have acted differently. It may be that he, too, was present at the meeting at Beaufort mentioned hereafter. See MacLeod's letters to the President of 7th and 15th October, which follow, and "Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXI., where MacLeod writes (23rd October),

I would gladly hope my letters and messages to Lovat and Mackintosh were not too late: for the first, I am sure they were not, if they can have any effect and that he was not absolutely determined beforehand; as to the latter, I always doubted, from his own weakness & the disposition of my cousin and John Shaw.

See also "Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXIII., the President to MacLeod, 24th October.

The effect of your message to L. Lt. I do not know, as the messenger says he appear'd sullen and reserved to him; it is possible he may be more communicative to the young men as he returns. M—sh seems to me rather to be pleased & has despatched expresses to some of his tribes that are gather'd & on wing not to stir for some days at least. How he will succeed I know not; he certainly would but for one person whom I love much. [The Lady of Mackintosh].

The "rather to be pleased" phrase seems to corroborate the theory that, while Mackintosh wished to remain loyal, he felt keenly the position in which his wife's endeavours had placed him, especially as it was she, it seems, who conveyed the impression that he was "the loyal successor of his ancestors" ("Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl

Family," CXXX.). On 29th October the President told MacLeod that he was really under great concern for "our friend Macintosh," the zeal of "some people" having caused the march of about 200 of the clan, "much against the Laird's inclinations" ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXXVI.). Though he had now been finally steadied by the efforts of the President and of MacLeod, the Lady of Mackintosh continued to raise the clan, being not averse to the use of force, when necessary ("Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family," CIII.).

(9) MACLEOD OF MACLEOD AND SIMON, LORD LOVAT.

There is abundant evidence to show that Lovat, greatly influenced by the battle of Prestonpans and the capture of Edinburgh, had already begun to set his clan in motion, making good use of James Fraser of Foyers. (See "Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family," XXXVII., XLIII.). He was, however, still in a position to shield himself, even if others were to suffer. The President and MacLeod, apart from their own political views, had an intense desire to keep the old Lord out of mischief, if they could. Though his shuffling had deceived neither of them, in spite of what has often been alleged to the contrary, appearances were still kept up, and he actually seems to have dined at Culloden on 25th September ("Sutherland Book," II. 256). A final effort was now made to keep the Frasers at home, and the actual measures concerted are perhaps to be summed up once more in the word "time," time for the oft-asked arms, money, and credit to arrive. What happened seems to have resulted from the situation in which MacLeod found himself when he went for the second time to Beaufort early in October.

According to a letter, dated 9th October, from Fraser of Foyers to the titular Duke of Atholl, all gentlemen of the name of Fraser had a call from Lovat to repair to Beaufort, and as a result MacLeod was seen there by Foyers on Saturday, the 5th (Home, "History of the Rebellion," Appendix XXIX.).

We met at Beaufort when it was concerted that I should not move till Tuesday next [15th] when the Macdonalds of Skye, MacLeods, Mackenzies, Macintoshes and Frasers are to join and march that day. All the certainty I have of this is, that I have been present when the Laird of MacLeod was despatched Satur-

day last [5th] by express to Skye and is engaged in honour to be Tuesday next [15th] in Corryarrak with his name where the Frasers will join him.

If Home's transcription of this letter be correct, Foyers was vastly mistaken in supposing that MacLeod left Beaufort on the 5th, nor does the answer of the Duke to a communication from Lovat convey the impression that the matter was a certainty.

This morning [9th October] I had the honour to receive a message by Mr Fraser with your Lordships most agreeable resolution of quickly sending up your following and the Master of Lovat to join His Royal Highness who will be extremely satisfied to hear of the care you are taking to get all your neighbours to follow without farther loss of time ("Jacobite Correspondence of the Atholl Family," LXXI.).

On [Monday] the 7th, Lovat wrote as follows to the President ("Culloden Papers," CCLXXV.).

My dear Lord.

I was very glad to hear, by my Cousin Macleod, that your Lop was in your ordinary good Health, notwithstanding of the fatigue that you must undergo in these confused & troublesome times.

I send your Lordship a letter from my dear Cousin, and your real friend, the Laird of Macleod. And if it will be agreeable to your Lop, as it is truly to me, I shall be mighty glad of it; and I shall steadfastly observe & stand by the Terms of that letter; and whatever turn the Affairs of State may take, I shall always live with your Lop as a Neighbour, Relation, and real Friend ought to do, & will never forget the obligations I owe to your Lop and your family.

There has been several villainous, malicious, and ridiculous reports, that vex'd me very much; but as there was nothing ever out of Hell more false, I despise them and the Scoundrels that invented them; and since the whole business, trade, and conversation, of many in Inverness is, to invent and tell lies, I hope your Lop will believe no ill or mean thing of me, till you have a real and infallible proof of it; as I am resolved that this shall be my conduct towards your Lop. And if your

Lop pleases, let us live together as we did since you came North, communicating to one another what news we hear, & inquiring for one another's health.

If it was not for the excessive pains that I have in my knees and limbs, I would certainly have paid my respects to your Lop at Culloden before now, notwithstanding of all the villainous lying stories & reports that have been going, much to my disadvantage, & a little to your Lop's; and I am very sure that it is the advantage of my family and person to be in friendship with your Lop, and I am resolved to observe that friendship inviolably, if your Lordship does not reject it, which I by no means apprehend. I shall long for an answer of this letter; and I ever am, with a very great Esteem & Respect,

Your Lop's affectionat Cousin, & most faithful Slave,

Lovat.

P.S. I salute my unkind relation Duncan Fraser of Achnergairn.

The letter which MacLeod was obliged to write, and by the terms of which Lovat said he would stand, has been preserved, and is as follows, being dated from Beaufort, 7th October 1745.

My Lord,

I have the pleasure to write you from this with the Landlords sincere compliments and acquaint you that he is resolved to continue in the strictest and closest Friendship with you, Sir Alexander Macdonald, Macintosh, and your humble Servant and lett what will fall out in this odd conjuncture, he is for doing whatever is in his power to support our Familys as Friends and Neighbours ought, which I am sure is very agreeable to me, and I hope will be so to you, as I know your strong attachment to us all, and to this Family in particular. As this is a season full of strange reports, he has heard some which gives some uneasiness, tho' I told him he ought to slight them, as I was sure you would do, if you heard them. Nothing but the Coldness of the weather and the pains in his knee, prevent his going again to Culloden, which indeed I have endeavoured to prevent, as it might do him hurt. I go early for Sky and am with the strictest Friendship.

Yours

Normand MacLeod.

These letters were received by the President on the afternoon of the 7th, and at 5 o'clock he replied ("Culloden Papers," CCLXXVI.).

My Lord,

I have yours incloseing Mac Leod's. Both Letters breathe what I should expect to meet with from both, stark love & kindness. I have spent my time ill for many years past, if your Lop is not convinced that I wish in a very uncommon way well to your family ; & the drumly times in which we now live may perhaps show it, more than perhaps would be imagined. If Mac Leod has told you all he knows, he has given you a strong instance of this ; & I do once for all assure you, that no accident that can hapen will divert me from pursueing the resolutions which I was possess'd of, as you well know, with respect to your Lop, 30 years ago. I mightily approve of your purpose of conforming yourself to the resolutions of the friends you speak of ; as you know for them I have the greatest respect. The tales you have been told ought not to make any impression on your Lop, as they have made none upon me, further than to induce me to take that sort of care of myself, without which I should have been laugh'd at. I was very sorry to hear that the cold weather had affected your Lop. Upon the sudden change you ought to have been more carefull ; but the cold bath, & abstaining from cold air, will certainly remove your complaints. If you have any occasion for the lazy Dr, tho' I have some occasion for him, he shall attend you. If you hear anything that is new, which I do not look for for some days, as the communication is intercepted, you shall hear from me. My Compliments to my Pupill the Master. I am, with wishes that have remain'd almost from my Cradle,

Yours, etc.

In Murray's Memorials (p. 229) occurs the following :

There being nothing to be had but evasive answers from L. L-t. . . . nor from McLeod but oaths and curses that so soon as he went to Skye he would raise his men and march south, att the same time that he had no sooner made his solemn promises and consulted of how he was to march and where to meet the other clans than he went directly to Mr Forbes of Culloden, the President, and told what had passed.

MacLeod did not tell the Lord President what had passed ; most fortunately he wrote it.

The Right Honble My Lord President.

My dearest Lord,

I never knew what vexation and anxiety is till now and nothing but thinking and knowing I've such a Friend to rely on as you, could give a moment's ease, and yett I could not bring myself to tell you, that I did after the Scuffle I had with the Landlord and the Intimation upon it, seemingly comply to do as he inclined, which be the Hazard ever so great was so mean that I believe I will never forgive myself, what ever you may do, however I find not only he but Tam [Fraser of Gortuleg] &c all begin to boggle greatly and that absolutely wont move, without Sr Alexr & me, nor will McIntosh, if not driven by my Cousin and that can hardly happen, so I hope and am sure of a very happy issue. This will make it absolutely improper the copy I left with you be ever heard of and as I will write in conjuncture with Sr Alexr from Sky here, you shall see it and know directly, in the mean time if you can find ane excuse for me with yourself, I daresay you will be apt so to do, and whether or not, neither fear of Death or anie other motive shall ever seaver the Friendship I have for you or make me break throw my Ingadgements to you, as I will while I breath remain yours

Normand MacLeod.

Beaufort October 7th [1745] 7 att night.

All Plotts and ass— g schemes I am pritty sure is over, and a strict Friendship wished for and to support other in every situation, however I insist on the same precautions as usual, for the rest I refer to the Bearer, with whom I can trust my Life.

It is evident from the above that MacLeod found Lovat a much more difficult problem than even he had anticipated, and, whatever view may be taken of the deception, it is equally evident that Lovat was not expected finally to commit himself before Sir Alexander MacDonald had been consulted. A joint letter was to be sent immediately from

Skye, repudiating the seeming compliance, whereby MacLeod was sure of a happy issue. Though Lovat may have had cause thereafter to blame MacLeod, the latter still hoped that he was not "absolutely determined beforehand."

On his arrival in Skye, MacLeod went straight to Sir Alexander MacDonald at Mugstot, which he reached on Saturday, 12th October. He probably wished himself in London, whither he seems to have had thoughts of going, as appears by a letter dated 3rd October from George Ross ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLIX.).

Dear Sir,

The last letter I had from you was of the 3rd September from Dunvegan. The progress the rebels have since made accounts for the interruption of our correspondence. This goes by a sloop, which carries a quantity of arms, &ca., for the troops which I hope in God you and the other wise and well-affected chieftains have enabled our worthy friend Lord President to bring together. By the last intelligence from Berwick, the rebels were about marching southwards, when they must meet with a force of the King's troops that must conquer and destroy them. And the discredit this affair has brought on our unhappy and much deluded country can only be retrieved by the appearance your Highlanders shall make in support of the Government. It is not, I do assure you, to be express'd, the encomiums made on Lord President and all of you for your conduct on this occasion; nor can I help telling you, people make no scruple to reflect on such of our countrymen as have come to this place. Here, it's said, they can be of no use; in their own country they might be of some, were it only to countenance such as show their attachment to the present establishment by remaining quiet.

I am satisfied such measures have of late been taken, that must in a little time quiet these disturbers of the peace nor will their taking Edinburgh, and their defeat of Cope, have any other end, than that of deluding such as are so blind as not to see that in the end they and their families will be ruined, and an eternal infamy attend the country.

Tho' the parliament be to meet the 17th of this month, I should, with great submission, think that it would give more satisfaction

to the friends of the Government if you stayed with Lord President, and helpt the completing of the 20 companies, and even marching with them southwards, perhaps to the relief of Edinr., than coming up here. Besides, a few weeks must in all human probability make an end of this affair; and then indeed there will be no occasion for you in parliament; where there will be a very strict inquiry into the whole of this unhappy affair. I suppose you know that all our troops are ordered home.

Advice is arrived from Admiral Martin, that he had look'd into Brest, but found no force there and all the coast is so well guarded, that there can be no danger from a foreign landing.

I am, dear Sir, yours,

Geo. Ross.

Normand Macleod Esq.

Meanwhile, Lord Loudoun had arrived at Inverness on 10th October ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXII.)

to take upon him the command of the troops and garrisons from Inverlochy to Inverness, of the twenty independant companies to be raised, and of all such bodies of men as are or shall be raised for his Majesty's service; and his lordship is desired to act in everything with your advice and consent (Lord Tweeddale to the President, "Culloden Papers," CCCCLVI.).

His actual command on arrival consisted of 150 Highlanders of his own regiment, so defenceless up till then was Inverness ("Culloden Papers," CCXCIII.).

As, however, he had brought some cash with him, it was possible for the Independent Companies to be brought together (Idem CCCCLXII.), and on 11th October the President wrote to Lovat what was certainly a strong hint of what he knew, while still endeavouring to save him and to keep the Frasers from marching (Idem CCLXXVII.). Lovat, then believing that MacLeod and Sir Alexander were to join the Rising, and in ignorance of the President's real knowledge of the situation, replied at once that he was sorry his faith was different, but that he hoped "our friendship for one another will always be the same; that is full of sincerity and affection." (Idem CCLXXVIII.). This was written within a week of the attempt on Culloden House.

What the President may have written to MacLeod as a result of his secret letter from Beaufort is unknown, but it produced the following.

Address :—For the President.

My dearest Lord. Yours which I received this morning has given a Philip to my Spirits, that I am so much the better for, & I think I shall now continue so. I cannot say I intyrlie approve of my own conduct, tho. of my intentions I do as I am sure they were meant for the best & I hope will now turn out to gain our main point, keeping the Frasers and McIntoshes at least at home, for I had a positive promise from both not to stir, till they knew Sir Alexr's ultimate resolutions & mine, & that then theirs would quadrate, or agree with them & I now send Mr Macleod & a Friend of mine to both to declare our Positive & first resolution not to stir & to follow such directions as will be given us to enable us properly to exert our Strength in support of the Government. After he has learnt their answer he has orders to be with you, & let you know it, that you may take the Steps you think proper, which I hope will be to fix both in resolutions, to do what is right or at least to do no harm.

I was very nigh Drowned, & drove [driven] to Aplecross, I think he [Mackenzie] has no intention to play the fool, and I hope he will comply with his Chief's Request. I did my endeavour to sett him right & I fancy with some kind of success. I have sent amongst the Macleans and to South Uist. If dividing a Company amongst them and my namesake's of Rasay, will keep them all right it will be well bestowed, but tho I have your leave already, I will give no positive promises, till I am well assured it will answer the Service & that you approve of my so doing.

I did not shew Alexander your small Letter, but for the future he will see everything you write me. He has wrote himself anie thing else I can think of worth writing you. I shall be mostly here with him, as L. Margaret's situation confines him to home. Have you fallen on a way to write to London. I am with all my heart and soul yours

Mugstot, Octr 15th 1745.

Normand MacLeod.

As we get no Scots Newspapers, I wish you would order one sett of yours for us after the Perusal of the Doctor. &c.

The "Mr Macleod" sent to Lovat was evidently Alexander MacLeod, younger of Balmeanach (see "Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXXVI.), who afterwards held a commission as lieutenant in one of MacLeod's Independent Companies. Lovat calls him a "little sneaking gentleman" (Mackenzie, "History of the Frasers," p. 407).

From Sir Alexander MacDonald to the President, dated from Mugstot [16] October 1745.

My Lord,

This acknowledges the Receipt of the Laird on Saturday last [12th October] after Perils by Sea, with him came the Gentleman mentioned in your last, who left this yesterday, with a definite answer from us both, not all to his satisfaction. I know not but Mr. Grant of Caledonian Mercury may be in the right in crossing my men to the Main Land and marching them cliverly but then I am sure there is Necromancy in the case for they are all in this Island in Effigie. I have the Parchments and shall look for Directions to the Gentlemen they belong to when your Lordship sees proper. My Rib is still on foot. I am as ever

My Lord Yours

Alexr Macdonald.

On the day the above was penned, Lovat wrote to Cluny congratulating him on marching, and excusing the Frasers, because his son was waiting every day for MacLeod and Sir Alexander MacDonald :

. . . and if M'Leod and Sir Alexander does not do right things God knows it is not my fault, for I have used my endeavours with them as much as if it was to save my life. ("Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness," XIX., 211).

Three days later, 19th October, Seaforth wrote—

Sanders Campbell my factor mett an express of Lovat's going to Macleod ; who told Campbell's servant his business was to put Macleod in mind of his engagements with his master.

However, I do not believe one man will stir from Sky ; tho' I am convinced that some people that are quiet were concerned and authors of these troubles ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXVIII.).

On 29th October the President wrote as follows to MacLeod ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXXVI.):—

My dear Laird,

I have both your larger & your lesser epistle of the 23rd. The effect of the declaration by Balmanach, on Lovat, I doubt the lad did not tell me as it really was, by some things which I have learnt since & in his return he stay'd two full days at Castle-downie, where were Barisdale, Kinlochmoidart, who came north from the P. as he said, for Lovat & you, &c, Col. Mac-Donald that is, Glengary's second son, & severall others; & doubtless, he can & will tell you all he knows, tho' he was reserved to me; wherefor to him I must refer you for all intelligence from that quarter, & particularly for the history of Pitcalny's son, my grand nephew, for whom I lately procured a commission in Ld. Loudoun's regt, but whom they seem to have debauch'd into the Young Gentlemen's service, in hopes that, being the male heir of the Balnagowan family, he will be follow'd by the Rosses, & so recover the estate; as Ld Lovat did formerly, by espousing the cause of the Royal family now reigning. He most certainly knows what they said about this operation, & will doubtless open it to you, from whom I expect to hear of it. In Lovat's correspondence & mine, which began after the attack made upon me, he blames, as I told you in my last, his son's obstinacy; & I have heartily given him a great deal of good advice. I in particular, after he had received your message, wrote him a strong letter, which he took three days to answer. He still says his son is inflexible, but is to make further tryalls to divert him from his madness. He tells me, he has prevail'd upon him to deny assistance of men to Barisdale, to revenge himself of some affronts he met with in Assint, of which Balmanach can give you a more perfect account; & he presses me still earnestly to give him further advice; saying, that his son will not move for this week. I have return'd him the best advice I possibly

could, still in the supposall that the fault is in his son; but suggesting the consequence to himself, which I really dread, if his son shall be permitted to play the fool. What answer I shall have I know not, neither do I know what he has said to Kinlochmoidart, &c. of which you will be undoubtedly satisfy'd in the way I have already suggested; but it is my opinion, that he will not be hasty to declare finally either way, which in certain events may be attended with consequences for which I shall be sorry.

MacLeod's subterfuge was not a subject of discussion among his friends. Even Lord Loudoun may not have known the actual facts. See the post-script to his letter to Lord Lovat ("Culloden Papers," CCXCIX.), where "My Lord's" (line 6) should read "Macleod's."

P.S. I am sensible of the confidence with which your Lop treats me, when you open to me some of the incidents that have lately happen'd in your private life; and am very sorry for such of them as have proved cross. From the great concern which the President expresses for you and your family at this very time, I should have imagined you never gave him any offence; and I am sure, if you did, none of it sticks with him; from MacLeod's behaviour, I collect the same disposition towards your Lop; and as I am well inform'd your Lop and he were in perfect friendship some weeks ago, and as you have not suggested what it is he has done of late to give your Lordship offence, I cannot imagine what he has to answer for; but should be glad to know it, that I may contribute to remove what I am confident can be no more than a pure mistake.

(10) THE INDEPENDENT COMPANIES (i.).

"I have not projected at present to dispose of more than 10 or 11 of the Independent Companies, according to exigencies; and, as experience shall direct, I shall dispose of the remainder, or some of them." So wrote the President to Lord Tweeddale, 10th October ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXII.).

From Lord Reay to the Lord President, dated from Tongue, 5th October 1745 :—

My Lord,

I beg pardon for not making a return sooner, to the letter you did me the honour to write to me, of the 26th Septr. which I could not help, as I have been ever since in a bad state of health, and it took time with the bad weather we had of late to convene the principall men of my name, to concert among us the properest Persons for Subalterns to George's Company, as my view was, to name such as were most popular, to make all go on the more easily, which is requisite in such cases. These we pitched on, are Hugh Mackay, younger of Bighouse as Lieutenant, and Aeneas Mackay who served four years in Flanders, in the late War for Ensign. The former as I wrote your Lop. already, is too young for present service. But I found he was more agreeable to the people, than any other, and his being named would contribute very much to several going along more cheerfully, which is what I had principally in view. The method I have taken to supply this defect, is that I have got a gentleman James Mackay of Strath [?] Skerray, to act in his place, whose capacity, and doing his duty he answers for. This I know is not the Military way. But the Boy will soon be fit for duty, and in the present exigence there was a necessity to name him, as we must please the people as best we can. Your Lop. may depend this is the case. Your Lop. will give me full time, when you call for the Company, as this Country is wide and scattered, for I'm determin'd, as it would be easier for me to get my whole clan to than 100 of them, for obvious reasons, to convene the whole in my presence, as tho. they were all to March and pitch on the number wanted. This your Lop. will see, will take some time, so that I should be timeously acquainted before hand. As my Son George did acquaint your Lop. we have too few broadswords, for our own defence at home, so such as go out will need to be provided with broad swords by the Government, for several of them would rather want Firelocks than swords. Since writing the above I'm assured by a Letter from Assint, that some Gentlemen of the

name of Mackenzie, who I thought would not stir, are raising men for the Pretender, and that one in Coigheach, was doing the same there, yet I hope the later is a mistake, and that these Men are designed for Lord McLeod's Company. If this stir is real and universal among that people, your Lop. will know it better than I, tho. I assure you it is begun in Assint. If the Mackenzies all rise, as I hope not, the Marching of George's Company to Inverness, may be a little retarded, and if we had some help of arms here, in some events I dont care to name, it might do the Government good Service, but I submit this to your Lop's better judgment.

I had a letter by express from my son Sandie, acquainting me with the unlucky action at Cockenzie, that he and his Lad were safe, and very civilly used, the rest your Lop. knows long e're now. I shall only add that I shall exert myself in all my power for the present happy constitution and that I am with sincere esteem, my Lord, Your Lordships most obedient most faithful humble Servant

Reay.

Alexander MacKay, who commanded a company of Lord Loudoun's regiment, was taken prisoner at Prestonpans.

From the President to Lord Reay, dated 11th October 1745.

My Lord

I have the honour of your Lops of the 5th. I dare say the reason for your Lops choise of the Subs for my friend George's Compny are good and they shall be apprenticed accordingly. The E of Loudoun arrived here last Wednesday to take upon him the command of the Troops of all kinds in this country & as he is in condition to subsist them it will be necessary forthwith to bring the independent Compys together. Your Lop will therefor without loss of time direct Georges Company to be made up of the cleverest of the young fellows who I hope know that they are no longer to be tyed unless they like it, than the present exigence and that when it is over the Compny is to be made up of listed and attested men in the usual manner, So soon as the Compny is put together your Lop. will give directions to march them towards Tain, where they will receive orders where to

come for their arms, & the expense of subsisting them shall be made good as they will be put upon the Regular Establishment when they receive their arms & commissions. They must provide themselves in broadswords for the present service as well as they can, since tho we have muskets and bayonets to put in their hands we cannot at this juncture expect broadswords. A ship with arms is expected from the Tower and then your Lop may have some arms for the rest of your people. L. Loudoun brings certain word that besides the auxiliary Dutch & the 10 British Battns already landed 8 more British Battns & 9 squad were embarked for the North of England where they are probably landed befor this time, that 2000 are landed at Chester from Ireland & that a great force is marching northwards against the Highlanders under the command of Mar. Wade. Lord Loudoun I believe will drop you a note by the bearer. My service to George I am yours without ceremony etc.

This letter was not answered till 19th October, his lordship being ill. He had ordered his men to be at Tongue on Friday [25th] ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXIX.).

From Seaforth to the President, dated from Brahan Castle, 10th October 1745.

My Lord

I am very glad to understand of Lord Loudoun's arrivall at Inverness, I hope he has brought alongst with him arms and money for the new independent companies, as some of the gentlemen I have promised commissions to seem impatient to gett them, tho I should be glad to see your Lordship before you fill them up. I have sent my factor Colin Mackenzie with this letter, a man I intirely trust in, to acquaint you of what is doing here, and to have your Lordship's advice, which I shall always follow, and am with great sincerity and regard

My Lord

Your Lordships most affectionate
Humble Servant

K. Mackenzie

This seems to have anticipated the Lord President's letter to Seaforth of 11th October ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXIII), which was answered on the 13th (Idem, CCCCLXVI.). Lord MacLeod's refusal would occasion a change in some of the officers, but he hoped to have one company ready 24 hours after the commission was filled.

From the President to the Earl of Sutherland, dated 11th October 1745.

My Lord

As the E of Loudoun is now arrived in this country to take upon him the command of all the forces in it, the Independent Compys ought immediately to be brought together. I therefor send this dispatch to your Lop to entreat that without loss of time you will give the necessary directions for bringing together the Compy whereof your Lop has named the officers. Your Lop's zeall for the good of your country & for his Majesties service will undoubtedly dispose you to take care that clever fellows be chosen & when the men, whose regard for your Lop's honour is so strong, know that they are not to be bound longer than for the present service, & that when that is over the Compy is to be made up by listing and attesting men in the common form, I flatter myself there can be no difficulty of forming the Compy in a moment. Your Lop will be so good therefor as to order them to be immediately brought together at Dornoch & when you give notice that they are there, directions shall be given where they are to come to receive their arms & the officers shall have their commissions according to your Lops recommendation. The expense of subsisting them in the meantime shall be made good, & when they receive their arms they shall be put on the regular establishment. What we know certainly by E. Loudoun is that besides the 6000 Dutch & the 10 Battns Brittish already landed, 8 batt. more Brittish & 9 squādr̄ons were actually embarked at Williamstat for the North of England, where he believes they are at this time landed, that 2000 from Ireland are landed at Chester & that Mar. Wade with great part of the foot and cavallry formerly in England is marching northwards to take upon himself the command. I offer my duty to my Lady and am with great respect My Lord your Lops most ob. and most hum. servt.

From the Earl of Sutherland to the President, dated from Dunrobin,
14th October 1745.

My Lord

The 12th at Night I had the pleasure of your Lops. Letter of the 11th instant desiring that the Company whereof I recommended the Officers, should be assembled at Dornach without loss of time. I have ordered the Officers to bring their Men to the Place of Rendezvous with all possible haste, and they tell me they will have them at Dornach by Saturday the 19th, where they will wait Your Lop's or the Earl of Loudoun's further orders. Your Lop will observe that the stop the present troubles have put to the Sale of all Country Commodities, must have made coin scarce, Therefore will advert to order subsistance for the Officers and men against the time of their meeting at Dornach. My Compliments to the Earl of Loudoun and I have the honour to be

My dear Lord

Your Lops. most obligd

Humble Servant

Sutherland.

From the President to Ross of Inverchasley, dated 11th October 1745.

Dr Sir

As the E of Loudoun is come to this country in order to command the troops in it, it is now necessary that the Independant Compys projected be forthwith assembled. I therefore dispatch this to entreat that without loss of time the men necessary for the Master of Ross's compy be brought together to Tain & when we have notice that they are there, they shall have directions to come where the men shall receive their arms & the officers their commissions, when they shall be payd regularly & any expence laid out in subsisting them in the mean time repayd. I need not repeat what I told you befor that the men who serve at this juncture are not to be bound further than the immediate service is over, when the Compy may be at leisure filled up in the ordinary way & therefor I should hope there will be little difficulty in compleating the Company at present. I know ways and means have been used to poison the people,

but I trust to your dilligence & zeal & to Will. Baillie's. I have entreated the favour of Culcairn to advise & assist you. The enclosed is only a note to Mr Baillie referring to yours. I am Dr Sir Your most obt. & most humble servt etc.

The enclosure to Baillie of Ardmore is "Culloden Papers," CCCCLXIV. He had written to the President as follows :—

Ardmore 10 Octr 1745.

My Lord

I know your Lordship gets a great deal of trouble at this time, and I am ashamed to add to it when I have nothing very material to say. And yet I would not act up to the honour and regard I have for you, my Lord, if I did not let you know what ever may come to the knowledge of, with respect to the great affair, in which your Lop takes so much part att this time, and in which you have already done more Service to your Country, as well as to his Majesty, than was in the power of any other man alive to expect in the North of Scotland. But without any further introduction I am to let your Lop know, that Mr McDonell of Barisdale, called here early Monday last [7th], he came lately from the South, and the day before from my Lord Seafort's, Culcairn's and my Lo. Cromarty's. And he told me he was so far on his way to Assint, to look after his private affairs (for he has some possessions there) and was only to stay two nights in that Country, after which he was to return by Coigach and Lochbroom. I suspected he had something further in view by this round, and asked him if he did not propose also to get some men in Assint. He said that he had no power to force men, but would not refuse Volunteers if they offerred themselves, and made only a short stay and proceeded. However I dispatched a man who was in Assint alike with him, that is tuesday morning and stayed there till this day, 10 oClock. And as I have a management in that Country so far as it is under Sequestration, I sent a message to the people to avoid Barisdale, & on no account to go with him, and my Express who is immediately returned informed me that some of the people were looking for Barisdale and has been

convened at his coming but not near so many as he expected, and that he dispatched Couriers to all Corners to bring them together, but that no more than fourscore had come, when this man departed from that Country. He says that about forty of these agreed to go, but that Barisdale was resolved to get 200, otherwise to do mischief among them. All the men in that Country are no more than 200 McKenzies, McLeods & Kers, and since Whitsunday last, which was Barisdale's Commencement severalls have changed their names and turned McDonells. So that at this time half the people are Mackenzies and McDonells, and these I suspect will mostly go with this man. But the Kers and McLeods will not, for they have been long keep'd in a sort of bondage in that Country, and have no turn for Arms. I am informed Barisdale goes tomorrow to Coigach, where he may get about four score men, and these not good ones. But if the Lochbroom men rise as he expects, they may be about 100, and with all these, or as many as he gets, he proposes once next week to join a more general Rendezvous of Highlanders, that will surely let off for the South, if not intimidated by the actual landing of the Dutch & his Majesty's Troops. I cannot imagine Barisdale had any instructions to lessen the Opinion of People about the strength of the Highland Army, nor would it be his own choice to do it going on such an errand. And yet from his account of them, they do not at all seem so formidable as indeed I apprehended, for he does not call them at the time he came off, that is Friday was s'Night [more than] about 7000 Highlanders and others. And they were deserting fast, for Keppoch McDonell had not of 250, above 100, and many more had gone off but officers were sent to bring them back. I enquired Barisdale if they had any English Gentlemen with them, or expected assistance from England, particularly if they had any intelligence abt. Sir Wat. Wins. He told me they had no English men in their camp, nor did he think Sr. Wat. Wins was in concert with their People. But that some Scotsmen now in England assure them, that persons of great Distinction in England, are preparing very fast to assist them with men and money. But their names are so Lofty I dare not on so

slender an authority mention them. I would have given your Lop. the trouble of this Letter how soon Barisdale went off, but thought it more proper to delay, until I could say something particular about his business to Assint. etc. One of his horses set up here, and he carried one of mine with him, but promised to return him Monday next, and desired me send his horse that day to a place near Dingwall.

The Meeting which I mentioned to your Lop. intended near Kessock did not hold literally, but other measures were devised to bring about the same purpose, and it will be lucky for themselves if that is not past all doubt in a few days, so am informed by no bad authority. I hear my Lord Loudon is at Culloden and brought arms &c on board a man of War, now att Cromarty. I shall be glad to receive your Lordship's commands about the Co. intended for the Mr of Rosse, for I assure myself he will refuse nothing that you my Lord thinks reasonable, and proper for him to accept of, and whatever you will be pleased to say will come very acceptably from Doctor Fraser, or any other about you, for indeed I think the reading of this is too much trouble to give your Lordship at a time when you have so much to do, and so universal a Correspondence with people of Distinction. I have the honour of being with the greatest regard and attachment

My Lord

Yr Lordships most obedt and Most faithful Servant

Will. Baillie.

Barisdale does not say that the Imbarkation at Brest is designed for Brittain.

From the President to George Munro of Culcairn, dated 11th October 1745.

Dear George

When we were last together I told you of my resolution of letting your Brother's people have one of the Independant Compys, with my reasons for resolveing on no more, unless Sir J. Cope took the burthen of ordering it. Lord Loudoun is now come hither to take upon him the command of the Forces in this country but without any signification from Sir John relateing

to the Compys & as his arrival makes it necessary for us to begin to act, You will let me know immediately how you would have the commissions of Capt, Lieut, and Ensign disposed of. You shewed men so lately that we may depend on one hundred of them I should hope on demand, as when this immediate service is over they will be at liberty and the Compys may be made up afterwards by attesting in the common form. You will therefore order them to be brought together as soon as possible as you have arms & when you give notice that they are so L. Loudoun shall send you orders & the commissions shall be delivered. I told you formerly that a commission was intended for the Master of Ross and I acquainted Inverchasly & Wm Baillie who promised to provide the men. I have by this bearer wrote to them & as you are better acquainted with those matters than they are, I beg you may give them your advice & assistance. Ld Loudoun will drop you a note by this bearer I ever am Dr George yours etc.

From Munro of Culcairn to the President, dated from Newtoun, 17th October 1745.

My Lord

Having seriously thought on what your Lop wrote in yours to me of the 11th instant, and what you said to me at Culloden on the 12th instant, I resolved to name the Officers of the Independent Company, proposed for me thus, Myself for Captain, Adam Gordon, Yr of Ardoch, for Lieutenant and Hugh Munro, Yr of Achanny, for Ensigne, and as I have arms for them, I'll have them ready armed here (I mean the hundred men desired) on Tuesday next the 22nd instant, and will be ready to March with them the next day, wherever I'll be ordered, but would wish to be left in this Country, as long as possible, not only for our own preparation from theft, &c, but also to discipline the Men to charge and fire by word of Command, but that as your Lop and Earle Loudon will direct, and I am really

My Lord

Your Lops. most faithful and most obedt

Humble Servant

Geo. Munro.

On the 12th October the President wrote to Ludovick Grant, younger of Grant, in a similar manner, the delay in writing being due to Lord Deskford's visit ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXV.). In any mention of Grant the article, "A Short Narrative of the Conduct of Ludovick Grant of Grant during the Rebellion, given in "Origins" (W. B. Blaikie), should be consulted.

The following is headed, "Copie of a paragraph of a letter to the Laird of Grant, 17th Oct. 1745."

Dr Sir

This evening I had the honour of yours of the 16th. I am glad to hear the Independant Compy is in such forwardness. Your proposition of giving that Compy to Rothie's son I confess for my own part I like, as it is agreeable to my old friend Rothie at his time of life & as it would be a fine step for the young lad of whom I have a very good oppinion. But how far the getting young Rothie's commission disposed of in the way you propose is at this juncture & as we are situated practicable is more than I can tell, & whether Ld. Loudoun, whom I have not seen for some days can resolve it, is more than I know. But if there should be any difficulty in that negotiation at present I hope Rothie will not deliberate because we shall have immediate occasion for the Compy & a matter such as is now proposed, may hereafter be accomplished at leisure, tho the situation at this nick of time may not admitt of the transaction. However if Ld Loudon is of oppinion the thing may with certainty be done, the Captns commission shall be filled up as you desire.

Patrick Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus, held at this time a lieutenant's commission in Lord Loudoun's regiment.

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Mugstot, 16th October.

My dear Lord,

Yours of the 10th with the agreeable accounts of Loudon's arrival and his news we got this morning here. The Officers of the Companys will be set to work forthwith to assemble their men, and have all the assistance we can give them, but it will be some drawback on their speed that we have no money here

to sett them a working, and it is not easy or very safe to remitt anie. We can send them but very indifferentlie armed unless we should intyrlie strip those that remain in the Country, which in some events would not att all be expedient, unless we were sure of an immediate supply. Their being but now in the throng of their Harvest is also a sort of impediment which we must obviate the best we can. As both of us have made a sort of muster of our men, we can easily draw the numbers you mention armless to such places as that they would be able to join other in a very short space, a day and a half or so will do and tho' we want money we can find beef &c. to feed them.

As to more Commissions if you find it necessary to issue them, we shall be thinking of proper people hereabouts. I have already sent amongst the MacLeans as we did to Boustil. Tho I can have no doubt of Fairburn, yett I wish he were fairly at home. It would be very urgent necessity that would draw Sir Alexander from home, now as Lady Margaret is very near her time and nobody near that she has much confidence in but himself, for me I cannot say I will be fond of Travelling in heast, as I had a very sufficient Toss lately however if its thought of absolute necessity and real use, am under authority and will comply. We know here by a visitation of Ardshells who was in the Battle that the Desertion after it was very great, and that severall of their Officers are come home to drag them out again. You have the sincere good wishes of us here and we salute Loudon.

I ever am yours

N. M. L :

Its odd [no] more of the Ships stationed here abouts have called in att anie Part of this Island, as Sir Alexr or I could give them hints of what was expedient for them to do, on several emergencies which they cannot possibly know otherwise, and they can never fail to gett plenty of Pilots for Dunvegan Loch. If this appears proper to you I can convey a letter to them either to Barra or Sound of Mull, whichever place they are in.

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Mugstot, 16th October.

My dear Lord

This is wrote about 8 hours later than my last to inform you, there is a considerable number of Broad Swords at Glasgow, that is a sort of arms much more useful to Highlanders then Guns. Of Consequence it would be of use to have them conveyed here as soon as possible, as a Highlander does not think himself properly armed without his Broad Sword.

The method to convey them I must leave with yourself, tho' I think one of the Sloops of War might easily do the thing, but of this you are best judge.

I am yours N. M. L.

From the President to George Munro of Culcarn, dated 18th October 1745.

My dear George

This afternoon I had yours of yesterday's date with the names of the officers you propose for the Independant Compy : it is enough to tell you that the commissions shall be filled up accordingly but I will do more, I will assure you that the nomination is exceedingly to my mind. Your readiness as every other step of your conduct is very remarkable & gives Ld Loudoun to whom your letter was delivered at this place much satisfaction. With respect to the march of your Compy when you know that, threatened as the Town of Inverness at present is with a visite, Loudoun has made a disposition with the few men he has to defend it, you will readily perceive that the sooner you come it will be so much the better, as his men, tho they were more willing than they seem to be, could not subsist many days with the hard duty that is necessary to be done ; wherefor I am confident if you can, you will come rather befor than after Wednesday [23rd] but this direction or rather expectation is to be regulated by the appearances that may offer, if the coast is clear. for you have little more than half a day's march, you can fling yourself into Inverness early, if there should be any obstruction by the way, which I hope will not be the case, you must act with discretion & Ardersier will fetch you to Inverness without loseing much time. I wish to know from you what Inver-

chasly & Mr Baillie are doing with respect to the Master of Ross's Compy & that without loss of time. Doubtless you have heard of the foolish attempt that was made in the night between Tuesday & Wednesday last [15th-16th] on this house. I wish those attempts may not be followed by further follies. I hope they will not, as the news from the south Ime told are discouraging to those gentlemen. I am, my dear George, sincerely yours etc.

(11) THE ATTEMPT ON CULLODEN HOUSE.

On 23rd September 1745, a warrant was issued to James Fraser of Foyers, as follows:—

Charles, Prince of Wales, and Regent of Scotland, England France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging,
To James Fraser of Foyers

Whereas we gave a warrant some time ago to the Lord Lovat to apprehend and secure the person of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, which warrant, for sufficient reason, he could not put in execution: We now judge it necessary hereby to empower you to seize upon the person of the above-named Duncan Forbes, and when you have so seized and apprehended him, to carry him prisoner to us at Edinburgh, or where we shall happen to be for the time, for the doing of which this shall be your warrant. Given at His Majesty's Palace of Holyroodhouse, the Twenty-third day of September, 1745.

By His Highness' Command

(Signed) Jo. Murray.

An attempt was made to execute the commission on the night of the 15th October, or rather early in the morning of the 16th. On the 19th, the President's sister, Mrs Fraser of Achnagairn, wrote an account of it to the Rev. David Ross, Minister of Tarbat. ("Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness," Vol. XXVI.).

Ther is a pece of news that I think youl wonder at which is that Wadsenday morning last ther was ane attack made by three in the morning on the house of Coloden by no les than 2 hunder Stratherick men who in the silence of the night slipt in

through the Bushes clos to the get, and hade two leders planted. When observ'd by the centrys emideatly as they were discovered they shot six shot at the centries who gave them a warm return. A small canon was fired which made them fly. The darknes of the night hinderd fireing more but the vilans plundered the Gernar and Hooks the weaver they took all his cloaths and cut webs out of looms. There was one man found very sore wounded nixt day who I am told has told all that wer there. They took 60 waders of my Broths and 29 head of catel from his tenants.

The President, whatever he may have thought, wrote to Lovat on the 18th, holding him innocent of the affair ("Culloden Papers," CCLXXIX.). Possibly he was influenced in his opinion by MacLeod, whose postscript to his second letter of 7th October (see ante) may refer to an attempt on the President's life or liberty—"All plotts and ass—g schemes I am pretty sure is over"

Lovat had meantime written to the President on the 17th, as appears by "Culloden Papers," CCLXXX., but this letter (which unfortunately is missing) was not delivered at Culloden till the 19th. It was enclosed in one to Bailie James Fraser, dated 18th, in which Lovat wrote—

and I beg you do me the honour to deliver it out of your own hand to his Lop. after you peruse it, and put a drop of wax under the seal, and I hope my dear Cousin you will do me the honour to come here and see me and let me know what passes betwixt the Lord President and you which will singularly oblide me.

("Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness," Vol. XXVI.).

It is plain from "Culloden Papers," CCLXXX., that what was required of the bailie was to ascertain, not so much what the President thought of the attack, but his views on the supposed disobedience of the Master of Lovat. These views the President wrote clearly enough to Lovat on the 19th (Idem), making only minor reference to the other matter.

I am sorry the idle attempt upon my house has given your Lop so much pain. By a letter which I wrote your Lop last night befor I received yours, you will see my sense of it. The people

loiter'd at Essich for some hours to taste my Mutton in daylight, & by these means were all known; but let them do no more harm, & I freely forgive them; only I wish they would send back the poor Gardener & Weaver their things. And if they do not send the Tennant back his Cattle, I must pay for them. The poor fellow that was wounded in the foot show'd so much resolution, that, without asking him any questions, I caused dress his wounds, & sent him to the place he chose to be at, with a protection for himself & his Landlord.

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Dunvegan, 23rd October 1745.

My Lord

As the accounts of the attempt on your House gave me much pain, so the knowledge of your being safe gave me real pleasure. Lord Lovat my Friend seems to be in vast anxiety about it, and with great reason as he is apprehensive his Stratherick men were the Actors, if that is so I persuade myself he will do all in his power to bring them to justice, his Letter to me on that head is very strong, and had I not sent it with the other pieces of news I gott last night to Sir Alexander I would in justice to him have sent a copy of it. Our Independent Officers are busy but by reason of bad weather go on but slowly. No doubt or now you've heard of the arrival of a large sum of money and quantitie of Arms from France att Montrose for the use of the young Adventurer. Other News have I none, but that Sir Alexander and Lady Margaret are well, and she still holds out, and that you seem to be a favourite with all Ranks of people here, at least they shew a strong abhorrence to the attempt made against you. I ever am as usual

Yours

Normand Macleod.

Compare this letter with "Cullođen Papers," CCCCLXXI., MacLeod's real letter (of even date) on the subject, from which the last paragraph has been omitted.

My dear Lord,

It is easier for you to imagine (by supposing your dearest friend in your situation) than for me to express the different agitations of my mind on hearing of the villainous attempt on your life;

I hope God will still preserve it from the treachery of pretended friends, or the open attacks of known enemies. I have a long letter from Lovat about it, protesting his innocence and vast concern, as Stratherick men were the actors. As the post assures me one of the villains was taken, I hope a proper and full discovery will be made. The attempt, since it misgave, will have no bad effect on the minds of all ranks here, as they have an utter destation to all such practises. I would gladly hope my letters and messages to Lovat and Mac Intosh were not too late : for the first I am sure they were not, if they can have any effect, and that he was not absolutely determined aforehand ; as to the latter, I always doubted, from his own weakness, & the disposition of my cousin and John Shaw.

There never was such dismal weather seen as we have had constantly here ; hardly a day that it's possible to stir in any sort of business. However, by the end of next week, Talisker, who has just got a son, will be ready to move, & I will by that time have a body of 300 men so disposed here, that they can move on a day's notice. Sir Alexr has sent to Uist for his captain ; and I am very hopeful he will be ready as soon as Talisker, or very quickly after. The behaviour of my son's men vexes me to the soul ; they were entertained in an outhouse of Lovat's, & sent to the master's rendezvous. Sandy McLeod [younger of Muiravonside] is still here, waiting to see his uncle from Harris ; he has made some attempts to raise rebellion against the knight and me here, but with very bad success. The post was stopped and searched by two of Barrisdale's men, but they found nothing, so he passed safe.

There should allways be some cant letter from the doctor or some one with ane apologie for your not writeing & telling all the news, that signifies nothing. I have some hopes of seeing Sir Alexr tomorrow, if not I'll go their Friday or Saturday & probablie dispatch a runner to you, if theirs anie thing new to say.

I am, with unvariable friendship,

Yours,

Normand MacLeod.

Dunvegan, Octr 23d, 12 o'clock.

The two letters from MacLeod would have been carried by the same messenger, the one securely hidden, the other to be found easily, if he were searched.

MacLeod's letter to Lovat, also written on the 23rd, is printed in "The Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness" (XIV., p. 9). Murray of Broughton, so far as he may be accepted, has the following passage in connection with Lovat's complicity in the endeavour to seize the President ("Memorials," p. 277).

In conversation his Lordship [Lovat] . . . complained that the order he had required to empower him to seize upon the person of Mr Forbes of Culloden had not been granted in the terms he demanded, viz., dead or alive. From which he endeavoured to show how easy it would have been to accomplish his death, and thereby have prevented the Junction of McL—d with the other Northern Clans; who had done so much to hurt the Princes affair: and that provided the order had been in these terms, the attempt upon his house would not have proved abortive: but as they had not sufficient power, they were obliged to make a shameful retreat inconsistent with the honour of his Clan.

These statements are very doubtful. In point of fact, Culloden House was well secured. From a letter, dated 30th September, and quoted in the "Sutherland Book" (II., 258), it appears that "The President keeps 100 men in his house & some pateraroes mounted."

On 24th October the President wrote very candidly to MacLeod ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXIII.).

My dear Laird,

I need hardly tell you, that the receipt of your letters & of the knight's were very comfortable to me; partly as they satisfy'd my mind about your health, for which I was under great apprehensions; & partly as the messenger, who came alongst with them, gave evidence to some of my neighbours, that the knight & you had not run stark mad, & that my guess was better than theirs, which, if they had not lost all discretion, may in some degree restore them to their senses. The effect of your message to L. Lt I do not know, as the messr says he appear'd sullen

and reserved to him ; it is possible he may be more communicative to the young man as he returns. M—sh seems to me rather to be pleased, & has dispatched expresses to some of his tribes that are gather'd & on wing, not to stir, for some days at least. How he will succeed I know not ; he certainly would but for one person, whom I love much.

Since the foolish attempt on this place, I have had two letters from my friend Lovat, on two different subjects ; the one, that simple story which he disclaims in the strongest & most convincing manner, expressing the highest detestation ; & in that I have agreed with him, & declared my opinion that it has given his Lop much more concern than it has me ; the other, the present situation of his family, which gives him the greatest agony ; & that is, the mad resolution of his eldest son, who, in spite of all that he has been able to say to him, & in spite of all the good advice which you & Gortuleg have zealously bestow'd upon him, has put himself at the head of the Clan, who are passionately fond of following him, & cannot possibly be restrained by my Lord's authority from following the fortunes of the adventureing Prince ; which not only may destroy the master and the family, but bring his own gray hairs with sorrow to the grave. When my Lord wrote this letter, the master had made a sort of muster of the men of the Aird ; he had by detachments from them bully'd the Urquhart men, who were on their way marching by the Laird's orders to Strathspey, & forced them to return home. He had pass'd over to Stratherrick, where he was reviewing the posse, & he has since cross'd the Loch to Urquhart, where, in conjunction wt Colonel Angus M'Donell & Barisdale, he is said to have persuaded the Urqt men to do what [Grant of] Sheugly & some other of these Gentlemen wish'd. On this subject, I wrote to my Lord a very serious & at the same time a very friendly letter ; laying open the unavoidable consequences of the suspicion which the Master's inconsiderate conduct might create, not only to my Lord's family, but to his person, & hoping that if what I suggested were properly represented to the young man, naturall affection to so indulgent a parent, & filiall reverence, would get the better of his politicall zeal. My Lord has return'd me many

thanks for my good advice ; says, he sent my letter to his son to Stratherrick, to be inform'd by Gortuleg ; but doubts it will not answer his & my wish : &, indeed, after the master should have received it, he made his trip across the Loch to Urqt ; but then this happened, in point of time, before my Lord received your message, & when his common answer to the difficulty suggested, from the danger of his person if the clan march'd, was, that he would be carried to Dunvegan, & be shelter'd where his father dy'd. Whether your message may make any alteration in the Master's measures, I cannot take upon me to say. Barisdale was the day before yesterday with him, & I believe may not be far from him still. He made but ane unprosperous recruiteing in Assint & Lochbroom, tho' they say some men have followed him from Cogach.

I had last Saturday a letter from the E. of Cromerty, contradicting the many lies made of him, & assuring me that all the steps taken by him were only to provide men for the service of the Govt, pursuant to his declaration made to me at Culloden severall weeks ago ; which, I told him, I was very glad to hear ; & yet I am assured, the Ld Mac Leod was the day before yesterday at Castledownie. Fairburn came straight to Culloden from Carlile Tuesday at noon, without touching at Ins, in the same disposition in which he parted with us. I sent him that night to Brahan, w'out stoping by the way, & hinted to him what I had the day before heard from Sky. Caber [Seaforth] stood in great need of him; his Kintail men will soon be down. The Saltash sloop with some arms [arrived] three days ago in Cromertie; but for lack of wind has not as yet reach'd our road. We have not yet so many as we shall have occasion for, but I shall write for more. Upon Martin's shewing me a note from you, I have advanced Santy 20 guineas, to be apply'd as you hinted. If the carriage to Sky were safe, which it is not, you might have what you want. The independant compys must immediately be put in march, as the rest are assembling & drawing to Ins. Culcairne's is already there ; one of you two must necessarily come with them, and manage them, whilst the other remains to take care of the island : but of that more in my note of the same size to the Knight, for whom this is intended, as that is for you.

I am heartyly the Kt's & yours, &c.

In regard to the attempt on Culloden House, Andrew Mitchell, who had heard the rumour, was under no delusion as to where the blame should be placed ("Culloden Papers," CCXCVII.).

Soon after I had the pleasure of your letter, a report was spread here, that you had been attacked in the night between the 16th and 17th October by about two hundred of the Frasers, and that your Lop was actually a Prisoner in their hands. I need not tell you what concern this gave me in particular, because, in general, everybody that wished well to the present establishment appeared affected with the news, and the loss of you was considered as the loss of the Northern part of Scotland. We were in a few days relieved from this anxiety, by the accounts of the defence you made from your house, & of the Rebels failing in their attempt. I will not pretend to guess who was at the bottom of this nefarious scheme, because I am morally certain, that without the consent, & perhaps contrivance, of a certain person, whom no ties can bind, nor no favours oblige, that Clan had never dared to endeavour to seize your person.

Lovat's further correspondence with the President at this time may be read in "Culloden Papers," passim. It may be remarked that the letter of 29th October (CCCCLXXXV.), dated from Inverness, is not now to be found, and is most probably from Lord Loudoun, and not from the President, whose own letter of 29th October is CCLXXXVI. Number CCCCLXXXV. in addition does not appear to be correctly dated, and was perhaps penned at a later period of the negotiations.

(12) THE INDEPENDENT COMPANIES (ii.).

From William Baillie to the President, dated from Ardmore, 17th October 1745.

My Lord

I am just now returned from the Highlands where I have been concerting about the men who are to go from this Country and have pitched upon 100 very good men, all Tenants of the Estate of Balnagown, that are now in readiness to move as your Lordship shall direct. It is intirely in the way of Militia I agreed with them for. Some people among ourselves industriously spread false reports in the Country that had almost turned the

men wild and they would on no account enter ane Independent Co., so as to be alwise bound, but they are clear for present Service and will act as faithfully as any Troops for his Majesty's Service and as your Lordship shall order, so I shall be glad to receive the honour of your Commands, and as the men have resolved not to proceed unless I go alongst, I am very willing to do so or anything els that may be in the least obliging to your Lordship.

I shall give subsistance to the men while they are in this Country, and as long thereafter as necessary. But where are they to get arms.

Barisdale contrare to my expectation and far contrare to what he proposed has been 8 days in Assint greatly troubled and distressed wt. the people in that Country. For at his arrival they flocked to him very throng, and while some aquavitae wh. they had tasted, they engaged not only to follow, but to fly after him, and fight like Dragons, and he had as he supposed near 100 of them engaged. But he would not go with those while there were a few more in the Country, for he must have all. But when the whiskie was done, and the people sleepd and coold they began to repent, and by the means of one Ross who lives there, a great band of them deserted, and several others followed and were joined by some who had not engaged at all, and to the hills they go, and tho' close pursued by some others they have made good their escape and came in mostly to Balnagown Highlands where they were received and protected. But in order to bring them back, their Cattle is seized and driven off their pcssessions, by a party detailed for that purpose, but which party is defeat and the Cattle retaken and sent entirely out of their way. There was also some unlucky devision betwixt Barisdale and the leading people, about the Command of the men, and tho' that was adjusted after 24 hours contest it had such effect that several more deserted and the Commanders united could not reclaim the fellows since they had no aquavitae. And in short, My Lord, I believe Barisdale will not bring from that Country 30 men. There is also a great Sessession in Coigach and Lochbroom, my Lord Seaforth having signified his displeasure att the intentions to

move and I believe that out of all the three Countries scarce a hundred (if so many) will go. And there is now very little appearance that any in West Ross will stir. Meantime there is a Report about a Vessel Landed at Montrose with Arms, money and several officers, which rises peoples Spirits, who are in a fluctuating way. [The remainder of the Letter is missing.]

From the President to William Baillie of Ardmore, dated 19th October 1745.

Sir

Last night I received yours of the 17th & this morning one from Inverchasly of the 18th. I am glad to hear that the Compy is in such forwardness. Inverchasly says they will be together at Tain this day ; what is much wanted is their being as soon as possible at Inverness whither Culcairn is marching as soon as possible & in the safest manner. His Compy have arms & if yours could come up with them would be a protection to them. How far this may be done I cannot tell, but without loss of time you will acquaint him with your readiness & advise with him what is fittest to be done. Arms will be delivered to them when they come to Inverness as we cannot at present think of any safe way to convey arms to them. I hope they in the mean time will provide themselves with swords & pistols as well as they can. I am glad you think of coming alongst with them. What you lay out on their subsistance befor they arrive shall be at sight repayd. I am mightily diverted at the acct. you gave of Barysdale's recruiting in Assint. Your care on this occasion has been of great service. If he do not recruit better elsewhere, the Gentlemen at Edr must be discouraged, as a considerable army is now marching against them & by this time not far from the Border. The second embarkation of British troops from Flanders is as I am advised landed at Newcastle. You must before this time have heard of ane idle attempt made on this house 3 nights ago. It is their beginning with this kind of horse play that makes me talk of your useing caution in your march. I am glad you think the young man, whom both of us mean, will play the

fool no further. You will show this to Inverchasly as he will show you what I write to him, as it prevents me trouble & avoids repetition. I am Dr Will treuly yours

Note at end of letter :—" Writ to Inverchasly referring to the above & mentioning Pitcalny's son."

On 20th October, he wrote to Lord Sutherland, asking that his Company should be at Inverness as soon as possible. (" Culloden Papers," CCCCLXX.).

From the Earl of Sutherland to the President, dated from Dornoch, 21st October 1745, 12 o'clock.

My Lord.

I received yours just now and have reviewed some of the men here, and ordered them to march to Dunrobin, where they shall be sent in Boats to Inverness, for as no arms is sent me, I value my men so much that I wil not alow them to March throw disafected Countrys without arms as I know they are good men. Being fatigued for some days past in his Majestys Service I am:

Your Lops most obliged Humble Servant

[Sutherland].

P.S. I have given some arms to the People which I hope your Lop will order to be returned.

From Seaforth to the President, dated from Brahan Castle, 23rd October 1745.

My Lord

I was very glad to understand from Fairburn Your Lordship has been taking the air on Horseback, which exercise I much prefer to fatigues on foot.

The two Companies will be compleat the beginning of the Week, As I have not settled all their Officers, I shall not write about them till Your Lordship sees them at the Head of their Men either at Inverness or Culloden, as you direct. In the meantime I think their pay might go towards the maintenance of two or three Hundred men, I have about this House. I

believe [Roderick Mackenzie of] Redcastle must be a Captain, as [Alexander Mackenzie of] Davochmiluach has no men, unless I give him some wh. I dont chuse.

The Chisholm was here yesterday and says he can't at this Juncture see you, but, whatever his way of thinking is, to my certain knowledge he will doe nothing to disoblige your Lordship ; and is your humble Servant. I beg you wont give yrself the trouble to answer this, as you will hear from me when the Companies goe over. I continue

My dear Lord

Your Lordships Most affectionate Humble Servant

K. Mackenzie.

P.S. The Coigach Men came to Castleleod two days ago, to the amount of forty five men, the rest, being about twenty, deserted on the Road. Their Arms consists of four Guns and five swords. Ardoch [Mackenzie of Ardloch] is I believe come from Assint but without any men. Barisdale got but five.

The Chisholm was very much in the interest of the Lord President. Writing from Beaufort, 11th May 1745, Lovat, referring to a process for murder at Inverness, says :—

The Chisholm triumphs and so he may for he has got the better of me, for he has spoke to the Lords and to the Advocate Depute and to his known great patron, the President. . . (Hist. MSS. Com., Laing MSS., II. 310).

See also "Culloden Papers," CCCCXIV. William Chisholm, who carried that letter, was a son of the Chisholm. "His father is a good friend of mine," the President told Cope. Something will be said of him later.

On 24th October (Idem CCCCLXXIV.), the President wrote to Sir Alexander Macdonald that his and MacLeod's companies should march forthwith, intimating that the presence of one of them was necessary. The condition of Lady Margaret Macdonald made it extremely difficult for Sir Alexander to come, and MacLeod was not anxious to do so. (See his letter of 16th October). The President was now "almost resolved to have 2 other companies from Sky," one from Sir Alexander and one from MacLeod ; and in consultation with Lord Loudoun the matter was definitely settled. These two additional companies were to come to Inverness, the men to be armed there, and the officers to receive their commissions (Idem).

On 29th October he wrote to MacLeod (*Idem* CCCCLXXXVI.).

In my last brewes to you and the knight, which I am confident came safe to your hands, I desired the immediate march of the two compys for which you carried the commissions, and of two more for which I shall issue the commissions ; & I press'd that one or other of you should come alongst. I in my conscience think, that measure will determine severall of our neighbours to save themselves ; & that the appearance which we may make is the only means left to prevent the harsh measures that may be push'd against our country ; & what determines me more than ever to think the presence of one of you here necessary, is, the industry I see stirring amongst the weak politicians of this neighbourhood, to debauch both officers & private men ; and the disposition of some of those you trust (if the suspition I have already insinuated be just) to favour the cause which we are engaged to oppose. For those considerations, both officers & private men must be strongly indoctrinated before they leave home ; & some one, who has authority over them, must necessarily come alongst with them. What the burden may be of the express which Lovat sent you ten days ago, I cannot tell ; but he gives it out he has still some hopes from your answer. If he inform'd you that great quantitys of arms, or large sums of money, came by the ship that landed at Montrose, he has been misled ; for I have been assured, the arms did not exceed 1,500, nor the money half as many thousands. Another vessel got in to Stonehive with some arms, but without money ; & one from Spain, with arms & money, is by a privateer carry'd into Bristol. There is a supplement directed to ye Kt. Farewell.

Ludovick Grant of Grant, instead of at once bringing the one company he had agreed to furnish, now proposed without warning to bring a large number of men to Inverness, but apparently it was not his intention that these should be inrolled in one or more independent companies (*Idem* CCCCLXXVI. and CCCCLXXVII.). This was according to Lord Desford, but by Grant's own letter of 26th October (*Idem* CCCCLXXVIII.), it appears that his one independent company was to be complete that day, and would arrive at Inverness on 29th or 30th at latest. On 28th October he wrote again to the President in answer to his of the 27th (*Idem* CCCCLXXXI.).

Castle Grant October 28th 1745.

My dear Lord,

When I desired Deskford write your Lop. the other day, I was fullie determined to have marched five hundred men from Inverlaidnen to Urquhart and to have been with them at Inverness as Saturday Night. But as I writt you in my last that James Grant of Dell had come from Urquhart and informed me, that the Frasers and McDonells had left that Country and gone far astir and when I reflected that it might not be convenient to march so large a Bodie to Inverness without having Lord Loudoun's approbation and Your Lordship's I thought it best to wait a return. I am so ashamed that Rothemurchus Company should have been so long of being at Inverness that I dont know what to write or what to think. When I proposed draughting of the men tother day, though all were willing to go in a Bodie and to serve their King, and Countrie, yet some difficulty was like to arise which gave me Infinite Pain. I called the Gentlemen aside and told them that as my honour, inclination and interest and all that was valuable to me was engaged to serve the Government, that I depended upon their honour and spirit upon this occasion, to help me to put the Company together within two days. All of them have engaged to exert themselves and I hope tomorrow we shall be ready, but in all events I shall march with at least a Company who may be depended upon, and I can answer that there is not a man I had together last day, but will follow me to serve his Majesty, which I will do to the utmost of my power. I beg Your Lordship will make the best apology you can for me to My Friend Lord Loudoun. The unaccountable method of Recruiting for some time past occasions me all this trouble, At present all here join in offering Your Lordship our sincere Compliments which we hope you will make acceptable to the Earl of Loudoun and

Believe me to be My Dear Lord

Your most faithfull and Obed. humble Servant

Lud : Grant.

The Earl of Sutherland, who was still applying for a "certain commission," presumably that of lord lieutenant of the Northern Shires, dispatched his company in excellent time. It arrived at Inverness on 25th October, "earlyer than any of those that have been call'd for except Culcairn's which was just at hand." The officers, however, had still to be named. ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXIX., CCCCLXXX.).

Seaforth's companies were still incomplete when he wrote on 28th October, sending a list of officers, which has been omitted from "Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXXII.

My Lord,

I have obey'd your directions about the Sky post ; he will be safely conveyed to the sea side. If I had heard anything worth notice, your Lordship would have heard from [me] sooner. I return thanks for what you wrot to Farrintosh ; however, as the men I have just now here are arm'd, I fancy none will offer to attack my house, tho' prudence requires one to be on the guard. Lord Cromertie, his son, Macculloch of Glestulich, and Ardloch's Br, came here Fryday. It was as unexpected a visit as I have receiv'd for some time. As I did not like to turn him out of my house, he stay'd here, but seem'd very pensive and dull. However, if I had known then what I doe now, I would have been uncivill to some of the company by makeing them prisoners ; for Ld Macleod went yesterday to Lochbroom to endeavour to get men, and I suppose will go to Assint. Inclos'd your Lordship has a list of the officers' names belonging to the two companies. I offered them to Coul and Redcastle, but neither of them could be prevailed on to accept ; so I gave it to one I will answer for. It was from Coul's house Lord Macleod went to Lochbroom, which vexed me. However, I shall remember all these things when the troubles are over. If I had been Sheriff of the county, I fancy it would have authorized me to doe several things which I have not a pretence to doe at present.

I am, with great regard, My Dr Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate humble Servant,

K. Mackenzie.

Braan Castle, Oct ye 28th, 1745.

P.S. My intelligence is very bad, as few come here.

A list of the officers of two Independent Companies.

Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn, Capt.

Alexander Mackenzie of Davochmiluach, Lieut.

William Mackenzie, Brother to Dundonald, Ensign.

Colin Mackenzie of Hilton, Captain.

Alexander Campbell, my Factor, Lieutenant.

William Mackenzie, Brother of Allangrange, Ensign.

On 30th October, Seaforth sent Mackenzie of Fairburn to Culloden.
(Idem CCCCLXXXVIII.).

My Lord,

As Ferburn is the bearer of this, he will inform your Lordship of all I know, which is very little. I wish you wou'd give him his commission (for a certain reason), and tell him you expect his company will be compleat at Inverness this week, and that I promised you to have them both there before that time. In my little sphere I have as great reason as most people to cry out O Tempora, O Mores! Some want resolution, others honour, and some free of both.

I am, with perfect esteem, My dr Lord,
Your Lordship's most affectionate humble servantt,

K. Mackenzie.

Braan Castle, Octr 30th 1745.

It is probable that Seaforth had in his mind Lord Cromartie, who now threw off the mask which he had worn less attractively but far more successfully than Lord Lovat. Up to 19th October he had protested his innocence ("Culloden Papers," CCLXXI.), which on 21st October the President said he believed (Idem CCLXXXIII.) On 6th November he and his son, Lord MacLeod, were at Beaufort (Idem CCLXXXIX.), whence on 9th November they marched south to join the Prince. The following extracts are from the President's letter to Lord Tweeddale, written 13th November (Idem CCXCIII.), and is his official opinion of Lord Cromartie and of some others:—

This commotion among the Frasers I did not look for; but what surprised me more was, ane intrigue, carry'd on by means of the E. of Cromerty, to debauch the Mac Kenzies from their

Chief the Lord Fortrose, who is extremely zealous for his Majesty's Govt, & to draw them into Rebellion. This design was so well masked, that tho' I had severall hints of it, I could not give credite to them. The Earl visited me at this place full of the strongest assurances of zeal for his Majesty, with offers of all his Men to be employed in the Service; & tho' he afterwards declined accepting one of the Independant Compys, which I offered to his Son, yet he wrote me a Letter, assuring me, that his sole intention in bringing Men together was, to make out his original Declaration to me; but when it appeared that he was acting in conjunction with Mac Donald of Barisdale, already mentioned, who was employ'd in forcing the Men of Assint and Lochbroom into the Rebellion, all means possible were used to disappoint the design. Barisdale miscarry'd in his project, & Lord Fortrose brought down some hundreds of his Kintail & Loch Carron Men, who bridled the Mackenzies with whom Lord Cromerty had been tampering; so that he has not been able to prevail with above 150 or 160 of them to march. With those he & his Son march'd last Saturday to Urquhart, on the North side of Lochness, with intent, as was said, to wait for the Frasers, & with them to march Southwards. Haveing thus given your Lop a sketch of the disagreeable, it is reasonable, in the next place, to give your Lop some view of the agreeable side of our situation. Lord Fortrose is as zealous as it is possible to be; &, but for the intrigue I have just mentioned, would have had his clan intirely unanimous.

.

Sir Alexr Mac Donald and Mac Leod have been of vast use for preventing the growth of the Rebellion: their example & influence has done much good; & as the other Highlanders had flattered themselves with the hopes of their assistance, the disappointment exasperates them, & has made them vow revenge, which by all means possible must be prevented.

.

The Duke of Gordon has not been in good health for some weeks past & has for that reason not been able to do that service to

the Govt that might have been expected from him ; but the Rebels have not had the least encouragement from him ; & to that it is in a great measure owing, that they make very small progress in recruiting in places where, in former times, multitudes would have joined them.

I should be to blame, if I did not inform your Lop, that the E. of Sutherland has shewn a very becoming Zeall on this occasion. The Compys that were expected from him were brought together, & join'd us without loss of time ; & nothing in his power will, I am confident, be wanting to promote the service. Ld Reay sent us his Son, with a very handsome Compy ; & the Munro's, whose situation is indeed the nearest, were, as your Lop will observe from the 1st paragraph of this Letter, the first that came in.

The case of Macpherson, of Clunie, is, that he had very lately a Captns Commission in the E. of Loudoun's Regt ; he attended Sir John Cope on his march to Ins. & was allowed to go to his own house for a night, in order to bring his Compy together, to join Sir John on his march. He was seiz'd by the Rebels that Night in his house, whether with or without his consent did not then appear, nor does it now, otherwise than as, after haveing been carry'd about with the Highlanders as a prisoner for some Weeks, he at last listed in their service, return'd to Badenoch, &, partly by perswasion, partly by violence, prevail'd with the greatest part of his Kindred, to the number of about 300, to go along with him to the Highland Camp, which they reach'd before the Rebels left Edr.

As to the President's own exertions, Lovat wrote, 6th November (Idem CCLXXXIX.)—

For if it was not for your Lordships great zeal, extraordinary and unheard of activity & fatigue the Venturer Prince would have 10,000 before he went south, instead of two ; and with that num-

ber would have marched straight to London without opposition. So that the King owes more to your Lordship on this occasion than to any subject in Britain; and I do assure your Lordship that the King's enemies are very sensible of it; and that you are more obnoxious to their hatred and revenge than any man on earth.

(13) A NOTE ON MACKENZIE OF FAIRBURN.

Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn found himself in much the same situation as Mackintosh of Mackintosh, his wife being an ardent Jacobite—"une fort jolie personne," who "a vendu ses diaments . . . pour lever des hommes" ("Origins," p. 100 note). She was Barbara Gordon, daughter of Bailie Gilbert Gordon, well known in his day in Inverness and the neighbourhood. Her mother was Marjory Mackintosh, daughter of William Mackintosh (brother of James Mackintosh of Termit) by his wife, Barbara Cowie; another daughter, Margaret Mackintosh, was wife of Provost John Hossack. Barbara Gordon's first husband, to whom she was married in 1735, was David Brodie of Pitgaveny. He died in 1738, leaving an only son, Gilbert Brodie, whose sole curator was his grandfather, Gilbert Gordon. In February 1741, Bailie Gordon was congratulated on his daughter's marriage to Fairburn. The contract is dated in January 1741, and an entail was made in 1749 on Roderick Mackenzie as the only son of this marriage. In 1760, Roderick's uncle, Cosmo Gordon, as son and heir of Gilbert Gordon, was summoned to choose curators for the said Roderick, as eldest son and heir of the deceased Alexander Mackenzie of Fairburn. These details have been given, because accurate information on the Mackenzies of Fairburn is not easily obtainable, and the identity of his wife seems hitherto to have puzzled genealogists.

On Fairburn's own side there was considerable Jacobite tradition, his mother having been Winwood Mackintosh, daughter of the famous Brigadier (A. M. Mackintosh, "Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum.") Moreover, his brother-in-law was Coll MacDonald of Barisdale, in whose regiment his own brother, Kenneth Mackenzie, was a captain during the Forty-five. Vainly had Fairburn written to his father-in-law in the previous January. "My brother Kenny, I think I'll board him with Mr Thomson, I'll have him to learn book-keeping and arethmetick with Mr Barber."

Having interviewed the President on 30th October, Fairburn wrote to him two days later as follows.

My Lord

Doubtless this line, which is signifying my incapacity for serving the Government by accepting of one of the New Independent Companys will surprise your Lop, the more as I had the honour of being with your Lop two days ago. My not declaring it that day was owing to a Concert [this] forenoon with My Chief for whom notwithstanding I hurt my private interest by refusing this merk of his and your Lops friendship, I will while I breath endeavour to promote his Interest. Reasons weighty enough for this part of my conduct, I dont pretend to give, but hopes by [torn] kness & goodness to be excused. My Lord Seafort is highly displeased, yett I'll convince his Lop I am sincerely his man, as any Mackenzie alive—I was not brought up a Soldier—A Grasier or Farmer is all I pretend to, both which I peacable incline to notice—I am with reall esteem and due regard

My Lord

Your Lops most obliged & obedient Servt.

Alexr Mackenzie.

Fairburn 1st Novr 1745.

Apparently the President sent an answer to this, as shown by "Culloden Papers," CCCCXCIV., and the following fragment, which is in Fairburn's handwriting.

My Lord

Your Lordship's very kind letter came safe to hand; ere I woud write back, I went to Braan wt a view to speak my mind fully & clearlie wt my Chief, whom I found not in good humour to talk wt me, on this I beat my march & came to my little home, where, I bless God, I've welcome, ease & the good will of my neighbours.

The plain undisguised cause I refused the commission is that I woud bring no tash or imputation on the little family I represent, by shewing that I woud oppose the lineall heir male of the Stuart line, as this small mealling I possess was given my predecessour by King James the Fifth in free gift. So your

Lordship may see the case is conscience with me. I confess to my shame I did argue wt myself that I ought not to lett slip an oppertunity, so beneficiall to my worldlie interest as an Independant Company: this was the cause I stickled at all. Poor as I am, I woud give one hundred guineas I had refused it, how soon it was proposed. Now, my Lord, I take God to witness I bear you the greatest regard & esteem & tho Ld. Seafort be angry att me, I'll endeavour to support his Family while blood circulates through my veins. That he has an evill counsellour without head or hands (I mean Sanders Mackenzie [Chamberlain] in Ferrintosh, his son Colin) by whom he is solely directed & who makes his sole aim, to my conviction, to give his Lo. bad impressions of his Clan except Colins [letter torn] immediate relati [remainder missing]

Fairburn's apology is unusual, and could hardly have appealed to his chief, but the President wisely did not make further mischief. Writing to Seafort, 6th November, he stated that he had had "no other satisfaction than to be convinced that his [Fairburn's] affection to your Lordship continues the same as ever, & will be such to the end, tho' a sort of nicety prevents his doing at present what your Lordship & I so much wish; and since that is the case, I presume your Lordship has resolved how his place is to be supply'd" ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXCIV.).

(14) THE INDEPENDENT COMPANIES (iii.).

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Dunvegan, 30th October 1745.

Address :—For The President.

My dear Lord

Yours of the 27th I gott only this day, it found me rendevouzing a part of my men. I shall be employed in the same way tomorrow and next day, after which they will move without delay towards the number of 300. As I think it next to certain the Highland Army will soon recoil back, it would be the greatest hardship in earth if we were not properlie provided with arms, to enable us to withstand any insult might be offerred to us, and has been so much threatened. 240 of my best men are in Harris.

I am resolved to move 150 of them here at my own expense, in case there should be occasion for them, and if I'm gone, [?] Macdonald will take the command of them, as he writes from Mogstot, I referr all the rest to him, of our movements &c. and this with your Epistles travell there immediately. My young Kinsman is not yet returned from Lovat, so I can echo nothing from them. Tho I complained of a real want, money, I did not mean anie should be risked to gett here, but the 20 guineas which is sent. Cows and Credit however borrowed may do till meeting. I am intyrlie yours

Normand Macleod.

Order a letter directed for Mrs Macleod of Talisker with your first Courier to Sir Harry [Innes] and from thence to Aberdeen.

Two letters from Sir Alexander Macdonald to the President, dated from Mugstot, 31st October 1745, should be compared. The first is the ostensible letter to be shown if the runner were searched; the second is the real letter, carefully concealed.

Address

The Right Honourable

Duncan Forbes of Culloden Esqre,

Lord President of the Session.

My Lord

I long to hear from you, of you I have, & of your safety from the villanous attempt of your Neighbours. My Lord Lovat's Letter to Macleod put his having any concern in that matter beyond Dispute, as he swears the strongest Oaths that he knew nothing of so mad & so foolish an attempt. The Laird I saw lately at the making of Talisker's Son a Christian, he was in better health than when he returned from you, I am to have him here soon, & perhaps to witness a washing of the same kind. Daily Landings from France are conveyed to us, but lyes are so numerous one doubts of a Truth, I suppose the Difficulty of consigning letters to this Place is the reason why I have not the honour to hear from your Lordship.

I am, My Lord,

Your most obedient humble Servant

Alexr Macdonald.

Address :—For The President.

My Lord

I shall make all the dispatch possible to have my quota in readiness to travel with the Laird. Captain Macdonald I expect hourly from Uist with men, but the men of this Country shall travel with his Lieutenant, but there is a necessity, when the men have got to you to send a proper Escort of them with arms to this Island. As soon as the Laird departs I repair with his men, and my own to the Part of this Island next the Mainland. Margaret is still afoot. I am ever

Yours very much

Alexr Macdonald.

Mugstot 31st Oct. [1745]

The nomination of new Officers your Lordship will delay till they appear with their men and one of them will have a Letter from me to your Lordship.

Grant's company marched on 2nd November ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXCI.), and on 5th November the President asked him for a second company (Idem CCCXCIII.).

Fragment of a letter from the Earl of Sutherland.

Dunrobin 4th November 1745.

My Lord,

I was favoured with yours of the 26th Ulto by James Anderson and am satisfied that he made all the dispatch possible, having sett out from Inverness on Sunday by Boat and arrived here early Monday Morning with the Arms I sent with the men.

As your Lop. directed me to raise another Company, I lost no time in sending to the different corners of the Country, to have them brought together, And has one half of them here just now, but the other half which is to come from Strathnaver, being at a considerable distance has not yet come down, but I expect them hourly, and shall not then lose a minute in dispatching them. As [remainder missing].

By 6th November 4 companies had reached Inverness—the Munro's, the Earl of Sutherland's, the Mackays, and the Grants. Seaforth's two companies were expected, unless, as the President suggested to him,

he might think it expedient to keep them where they were, "to prevent follies in your neighbourhood," to which suggestion Seaforth replied, 8th November, see "Culloden Papers," CCCXCIV. and CCCXCIX., which follows.

My Lord,

I had the honour of yours of ye 6th, which I had been expecting for a day or two before. Last Wednesday Ld Cromertie passed the river at Contin, with about a hundred men, in his way to Beulie, without my knowledge (owing to the neglect of my spies, as there's rogues of all professions). I have since seen severall that numbered them. Ld Macleod came from the Highlands the same day, and follow'd his father to the rendezvous; but after traversing all Assint and Lochbroom, did not get one man, tho' he expected to get the Macleods there. I have this satisfaction, that not a man has stir'd from Ross-shire, except William [Mackenzie] Kilcoy's brother with seven men, and a tenant of Redcastle' with a few more; and if [Mackenzie of] Len-tron & [Mackenzie of] Torradon did goe off last night, they did not carry between them a score of men. I took a ride yesterday to the westward with two hundred men, but find the bounds so rugged, that's impossible to prevent a single man from going by, if he has a mind. However, I threatened to burn their corn-yards if any body was from home this day; and I turn'd one house into the river for not finding its master at home. Its hard the Government gives nobody in the north power to keep people in order. I don't chuse to send a Company to Inverness till I hear what they are determined to doe at Lord Lovat's. I took care of the Sky post, and shall doe the same of every thing else you recommend.

I am, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate humble servant,

K. Mackenzie.

Braan Castle, Nov. ye 8th, 1745.

P.S. [Mackenzie of] Coul has absented; where he is gone I know not.

Lord Reay wrote, 6th November, offering to raise a second company (Idem CCCCXCV.), on which date the President made a note that he had written to MacLeod

of the motions of Lord Lovat's people, of the expectations from some of his neighbours, of the message sent to him, of the march of some of the Clanchattan, of the advice to Macintosh, of Fairburn, and pressing that he may be as assisting as possible to him. The same date a letter to Sir Alexander giving him the common news & hinting to him that MacLeod should take all proper precautions on his march to prevent any surprise.

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Mugstot, 5th November. This, from its size, must have been very carefully concealed.

Address :—For the President.

My dear Lord,

We received yours of the 29th yesterday, our people will be in motion tomorrow, and if they meet with no interruption you may expect them that day se'enight. As they will be but indifferently armed, some of your Neighbours may take a fancy to visit them which were they armed would not much alarm them but if they think what the consequences must be if they try that experiment, I fancy they will at least deliberate. Fairburn by a few proper scouts Can know if they attempt to move anie thing like a body of men, and he may send intelligence to the westward, that they may putt themselves in a posture to make the best defence they can, you will better than I can suggest to you, know what is fit to be done on this occasion, and so I leave it with you, and refer everything else till I have a further opportunity of writing

I ever am yours

Normand MacLeod.

From the Earl of Sutherland to the President, dated from Dunrobin
6th November 1745

My Lord,

I wrot your Lop of the 4th Curt, to which reffers, and am obliged to make a further apology, for a borrowed hand, my cold continuing so violent that I am obliged to sign this in bed

By the directions I got from your Lop, in your Letter to me of the 26th of October last, I have raised another Independent Company for his Majesty's Service, and as I have the naming of the officers, I recommend as Captain, Patrick Sutherland, Brother to the late Kinminity, for Lieutenant, William Mackay, younger of Pitfure, and for Ensign, John Mackay of Mudale, whose names I have hereunto subjoined with my own hand.

I believe your Lop, is already satisfied with the Captains Character, and I assure you the Lieutenant and Ensign are pretty fellows of good character and stench to the good cause. I own I have a particular regard for the Lieutenant and if his Conduct answers my expectation, he'll deserve to be taken notice of, and if he should merit better things, I make no doubt your Lop will mind him, when he makes any application to you.

I would not choose to be too troublesome to your Lop, but as the Bearer James Anderson has served me faithfully for a good many years past, I both intended and promised him some little place to better his future, and for this end recommended him to the late Earl of Orford, who promised to mind him, but his death prevented that design, so farr that he is still unprovided for as yet, and tho' I am willing to continue him in my Service providing a small Sinecure could be got for him which would be more agreeable to him, yet if that cannot be conveniently obtained I'll part with him on condition, it is made up to him in another way. I have charged James Anderson with severall things by word of mouth to avoid too tedious Letters.

And have named as Officers Captain Patrick Sutherland Lieutenant William Mackay and Ensign John Mackay I am My dear Lord

Your Lops most obliged Humble Servant

Sutherland.

The last paragraph is in Lord Sutherland's own hand.

An opportunity for sending despatches to the south was given by the return to Newcastle about 17th November of the "Saltash," which had brought 1500 stand of arms and £4000 in cash ("Culloden Papers,"

DV.). By it the Lord President wrote to Lord Tweeddale (*Idem* CCXCIII.), the letter being dated 13th November. It shows the arrival of the companies at that date—the Munros, 23rd October; the Earl of Sutherland's, 25th October; the Grants, 3rd November; the Mackays, 4th November; and Lord Sutherland's 2nd company, 8th November. MacLeod and his men arrived on 15th November (*Idem* DV.). The company raised in Assint by Hugh MacLeod of Geanies is shown as completed, 28th November, that is the date of its arrival at Inverness. (*Idem* CCCXVIII.).

The following notes (undated) on the Independent Companies are in the Lord President's handwriting.

- Q. If or how exercised.
- Q. On service—whether by detachment or by kindreds.
- Q. As to rank. Whether they may not for the present take the roll of duty according to the date of their arrivall at Inverness—their permanent rank to be afterwards settled and
- Q. Whether when that comes to be adjusted it may not be proper to class them so that the first ordered companies should take place of the 2nd and where there is no personall claim to rank, should fling the dice—thus Culcairn's personall claim being admitted the first companys ordered from Sutherland, Seafort, Reay, Grant, Macdonald, Macleod, woud fling [the dice] and afterwards the 2nd with Will. Macintosh.
- Q. If duty is to be done by kindred, ought not those who have the least connection with Lovat to be employed to keep him in order & the same as to Murray, Banff & Aberdeen.

In view of the fact that Lachlan Mackintosh (of the Daviot family), Lieutenant-Colonel of the Prince's Mackintosh regiment, was a resident in Inverness, but not a Bailie (see note, pp. 124, 125, by the author of "The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan," in Fraser-Mackintosh's "Antiquarian Notes."—Ed. K. Macdonald), it may not be amiss to say something of the William Mackintosh just mentioned, who certainly was a Bailie of Inverness, and commanded one of the Independent Companies formed of men raised locally by himself. This company was complete on 18th November, the lieutenant being Kenneth Mathison, and the

ensign, William Baillie ("Culloden Papers," CCCXVIII.). The House of Culloden being less than four miles distant from Inverness, it may be presumed that arrangements in connection with this company were made verbally, at all events no trace of a correspondence survives among the collections, and local historians scarcely seem to have been aware of its existence. That William Mackintosh was one of the Bailies of Inverness seems clear from a letter quoted in Dunbar's "Social Life in Former Days" (p. 348). It is dated 16th December 1745, and narrates that "Culkern [George Munro of Culcairn] and Bailie William M'Intosh are just now come in heir [Elgin] with two hundred men more, and Lord Loudoun is expected with five hundred more tomorrow." As it is known that William Mackintosh's company did march eastward (see next article), the fact is established that the commander was a Bailie of Inverness.

As there were then living two of the name, each of whom had been or was a Bailie, it is necessary carefully to distinguish the two. There was William Mackintosh, sometimes called of Borlum (over which he had a bond), son of John Mackintosh in Lynvuilg, grandson of Lachlan Mackintosh of Borlum, and nephew of the famous Brigadier. The evidence, however, seems wholly in favour of the William Mackintosh, son of another William Mackintosh by his wife, Barbara Cowie, and nephew of James Mackintosh of Termit. The younger William's first wife, Marjory Mackintosh, died in 1726, leaving no issue surviving, and soon after he married "Mistress Isobel Forbes," whose connection with Culloden has not been proved, but may not unreasonably be inferred. Moreover, one of his sisters, Margaret, was married to ex-Provost John Hossack, so much in the President's confidence, and the other, Mary, was the first wife of Bailie Gilbert Gordon. In a letter (given later) from Hugh Inglis to Gordon he mentions "Capt. McIntosh (I mean your brother in law)." Bailie and Captain William Mackintosh (born in 1692), died 13th May 1751. The Town of Inverness thus contributed its special quota for the service of the Government—"a company of 100 Highlanders raised in the Town of Inverness" ("Culloden Papers," DXIX.)—commanded by one of its own magistrates.

(15) YOUNG PITCALNIE AND THE ROSSES.

On the death in 1711 of David Ross of Balnagowan, the last of the direct line, the Rosses of Pitcalnie were generally recognised as representing that family, though they did not succeed to the estates. Alexander Ross of Pitcalnie married Jane, daughter of George Munro of Newmore (by Margaret, daughter of Duncan Forbes, third of Culloden), and had a son, Malcolm Ross, who, in spite of his relatives, joined the Prince's army in 1745. The President (who was also connected with the Rosses by the marriage of his sister, Grizel, to David Ross of Kindeace) felt keenly the conduct of his great-nephew, the more so that young Pitcalnie had been appointed in the previous June to an ensigncy in Lord Loudoun's regiment. A very strong letter to Pitcalnie was written, 25th October, by the President ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXV.), in which he says

I never was more astonished, & but seldom more afflicted in my life than I was when I heard of the madness of your son. I cannot conceive by what magick he has been prevail'd on to forfeit utterly his own honour; in a signall manner to affront & dishonour me, whom you made answerable for him; to risk a halter, which, if he do not succeed, must be his doom, without any other tryall than that of a court martial . . . the villains who seduced him . . . I never will forgive, tho him I will if he return quickly to his duty. . . .

To this letter Pitcalnie replied as follows:—

Arboll. 28th Oct. 1745.

My Lord,

I had the honour of receiving your Letter, by my Friend Mr Baillie on Saturday last, and the contents of it, tho' they did not surprise me, being sensible of your Lordship's Friendship and goodness towards me and my Son, has added mightily to that Sorrow and affliction which has of late almost reduced me to the last extremity and which is such on these very considerations you mention, as I cannot indeed express in Words or put in Writing, and the only blink of ease I have is when I consider of my own Innocency and how much the measures which my Son has taken were without my knowledge or approbation.

And it will be great Justice of the Divine goodness if those who seduced him at his tender years, and brought such affliction on me and misfortune on him my only and Dear Child will meet with pardon and forgiveness.

I hope your Lordship will not doubt of my attachment to the present Establishment, for which my Father appeared zealously in the last Rebellion at the head of five hundred men, and I would do the same now were it equally in my power, and that my health and situation allowed of it.

Mr Baillie has desired me not to give your Lordships letter out of my hands, and therefore I cannot send it to my Son ; but will write him in the most earnest manner, and by all the most powerful arguments, to come here directly, so as I may have an interview with him, and an opportunity of telling him how much it is his Duty and Interest to take your Lordships advice, and put himself still under your fatherly Protection. But truly I have my fears that considering his past conduct how much of my Displeasure he must be apprehensive about, that he will not come near me nor take the least of advice, I heartily wish it may be otherwise.

Mr Baillie has been proposing to me that we should concur in bringing some men to Inverness for the present Service, and I would agree to that with all my heart and soul, tho' I know it would be no manner of purpose, until they compose a little and be made free of several apprehensions, which they were either impressed with or Conceived for themselves, but they are at present so alarmed that I cannot apprehend it will be in the power of man to get them even to a hearing. However Mr Baillie says he will try. And since I could not go in person in quest of my Son, I have sent with my Letter a Gentleman, who is a friend of mine and will talk to him very closely, and with as much success as any man can doe. He will say severall things that I cannot safely commit to writing in the Troublesome Times, and whatever answers I have from my Son I shall immediately acquaint your Lordship with them, which is all at present necessary, but to assure your Lordship that I am with utmost regard.

My Lord

Your Lordship's much obliged and

Most obedt humble Servant.

Alexr Ross.

N.B. The condition of my health is such, that I am obliged to make use of a borrowed hand which I beg your lordship may forgive.

On the same day, William Baillie of Ardmore, who looked after the Balnagowan interests, also wrote to the President ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXXXIII.), and the letter points to young Pitcalnie having been influenced by the thoughts of "chiftanry." He may even, as only son of the heir male of the Rosses of Balnagowan, have had his eye on the estates ("Culloden Papers," CCCLXXXVI.), anticipating the famous lawsuit of after years. The worst result of his "madness" seems to have been the inability of getting a sufficient number of the Rosses definitely together to form the Independent Company so much desired by the President (Idem CCCCLXXXVII.).

From David Rose of Tarlogie to the President, dated from Tarlogie, 1st November 1745.

My Lord

Your Lop's favour of the 25th October was delivered me last Monday by Mr Baillie and he told me he was to write your Lop the next morning by express, with old Pitcalny's Answer and Difficulty anent getting the men together again, We are since last Saturday in a great Alarm and Pannick, that severall Hundreds of the McDonells, Glenmoristoun people & Frasers are to visit us and that we are to expect no mercy, if we doe not joyne them and last night Mr Baillie wrote me he believed they would come, in which case we to be an easy prey as we have no arms, and tho' we had, as we are ane unhappy divided Country, they'le meet with little or no opposition. My neighbourhood is of late tainted with the Modern Principles almost as much as your Lop and indeed Severalls I never suspected, are to say no worse, very cool, & have exerted themselves avowedly to make the people believe Mr Baillie and I were to make sale of them; till its certain we are not to be invaded by the above mentioned Highlanders, its in vain to think of conveyeing the Men. If they come I expect to be worse used than any except Honest [Macleod of] Gayniss. And in caise of such an attack, if your Lordship has leisure to write, I beg a few Lynes of advise and directions. When the fright is over, I hope Mr

Baillie will go heartily to work to make out the Company. My assistance will be as forward and keener than in any affair ever recommended to me, as I see many strong weightie reasons for it, My footman would have had equal success with [young] Pitcalnie in sending them home, but none can pretend to bring them out but by violence and force for all the Countries are frightened & debauched. I was in Sutherland & at Dunrobin last Week, when the Earle assembled his Company & for as absolute as his Lop is, he had the greatest Difficulty he ever mett with to make it out, he was obliged to be the Executor of his own Warrands and to go through all his Country, and to my knowledge there is not six volunteers in the 100. I believe Culcairn mett with abundance of trouble and so doe all and Sundrie. I was write of the 14 ultimo from London that the Mr of Ross was then there. I wish your Lop would get a letter safe conveyed to him, so as your Lop might press him to lose no time in coming to this Country by sea. I'm certain if he came the people Gentle & Commons, are so new fangle that before he was 48 hours in the House of Balnagowan his Company would be full of good men. There would not be nigh such difficulties in Raising all our Country as 100 men. For they say why shall I go & not my Neighbour. If Sir Robert Munro is in Brittain, as I hear he is, I'm very certain his presence in this Country would be of the greatest Service to His Majesty and the Common Cause. All be east his House would stand in awe of him, & would obey his Call & with great submission. I think your Lop. should endeavour to get him North by Sea, for I'm affraid this will not be so soon over, considering the advanced Season, My Lord I can only answer for myself & with the greatest Cheerfulness I'll risque my own and my two Sons lives & fortunes in the Cause & particularly in obeying your Lops. Commands, which gives me the outmost delight. I cannot think young Pitcalnie can be reclaimed, which gives me great pain. I wish we may have speedy and good accounts of our Army. I am with the greatest esteem and respect immaginable

My Lord

Your Lops most obliged, most faithful and most
devoted obedient Servant David Rose.

Three days later the President wrote to young Pitcalnie himself, offering a safe-conduct, should he come to Culloden, but without effect ("Culloden Papers," CCCCXCII., CCCCXCVII.), and on 7th November, at the suggestion of David Ross of Inverchasley, he wrote to "the gentleman you mentioned of the name of Ross" in relation to the independent company.

. . . to my great mortification I have been informed that the men who were assembled for that purpose were prevailed upon to disperse upon the interposition of an unhappy youth, a near relative of mine, whose conduct you may be sure gives me infinite pain. . .

On the same day he returned all Inverchasley's letters, telling him how much he wished news would come from Lord Ross or the Master of Ross; the latter he thought would come by sea, which eventually was the case.

From Alexander Ross of Pitcalnie to the President, dated from Arbol, 9th November 1745.

My Lord

I received the favour of your Lordships Letter from Culcairne and cannot express my sorrow on my Son's account, when invited in so friendly a manner and on his own Terms. I was att all the pains imaginable to get him home, and wrote him in the strongest manner, representing his dangers and the miserie he must bring on me by this folly and the ruine and distruction of my family in case of his death.

I sent a very sensible and discreet man who could reason with him and respect the fatal consequence of his disobedience to my Commands, his return was far from being Agreeable. Last week I sent Andrew Rose a son of [?] Bedlays who called for my son from Lord Lovats to [?] Ardnagrask, and argued with him in the best manner he could but to little purpose, he told him he was in honour bound to return to his confinement, and to assure me he would do nothing that would give the least offence to the Government and was very sensible he had incurred my displeasure in the highest manner in dismissing those people. I can assure your Lordship he has not one man with him except his Servant and I am credibly informed he never proposed to

any of those people to follow him, they went peaceably home to their respective dwellings that very night he dismissed them, & hopes the Gentlemen that are to Meet Culcairn tomorrow at Taine will concert such prudent measures as will convey the people and march the Company to Inverness, to which I will concur as much as I can. My health is not yet confirmed nor have I been abroad since the 26th of August last.

My sons conduct afflicts me much, more than I can express, and discomposes me from doing things in manner I ought. I pray God may preserve your Lordship, hereafter you may consider us one of those Familys, who were, and are not, for I never will recover the loss of that Youth. I with great esteem remain

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obliged &
Most obed. Servant

Alexr. Ross

Pitcalnie's name does not appear among the signatures to the letter from certain of the Rosses in answer to the President's letter of 7th November. This had been delivered by Munro of Culcairn, and the reply is dated from Tain, 10th November. See "Culloden Papers," CCCCXCVI., CCCCXCVIII., D., DV., and DIV., which follows.

From the President to George Ross, dated 15th November 1745.

Dear George,

By another letter of this date, I have acknowledged the receipt of the strong boxes ; & by one to Mr Mitchell, besides what I have wrote to the Mar. of Tweeddale, I have so far explain'd the state of this country, that he will be able to satisfy your curiosity. What I write this additional letter for is, to let you know, that your namesakes have not, whether from knavery or folly, or a mixture of both, behaved themselves as I expected, or as they ought to have done. So soon as I received the commissions for the indepent compys, I sent for Mr Baillie & Inverchasly, & acquainted them with my intentions of giving one to the Master of Ross, with the Lieut. & Ensign that were proposed. They seem'd very well satisfy'd, found no difficulty in raising the compy, & promised to bring the men together so

soon as they should have notice ; which could be no sooner than we could have arms & money : when these came, they had notice & brought 100 men together ; but, upon some difficulty's raised by Pitcalny's mad son, they dispers'd ; & thro' I have wrote to them, as a kindred, a letter, & sent Culcairn to Tain, where he had meetings with them, all I have got from them is a promise, that in a fortnight the compy will be brought together. I do not choose to conjecture at the cause of this backwardness in the people ; it is surely not disaffection. Some of the gentlemen question, whether the Master of Ross would accept, and others pretend he will not because he is not already here. If I knew where to write him, I would ; & as you do, I desire that you may let him know how the matter stands ; to the end, if he cannot come, he may write to his friends in the strongest terms. Inverchasley is, I am confident, sufficiently zealous. I am so monstrously tired with writeing, that the only other thing I can submit to the trouble of writeing about, is poor John Innes, who writes me word from London, that his misfortunes this campaign have not left him a groat ; & begs some supply. Remittance is impossible, & my purse is pretty well drain'd ; let him, however, have somewhat to keep the bones green, & put on a coat, & I shall pay you.

I am, Dr George, Yours &c.

(16) MISCELLANEOUS (OCTOBER TO DECEMBER).

From John Urquhart of Craigston and Cromarty to the President, dated from Cromarty, 8th October 1745.

My Lord

I had the honour of your Lordship's Letter, I am much obliged to you for taking the trouble to write me, which I know was intended to caution your Friends and Neighbours from doing any thing precipitously that may ruin themselves and Families ; for my part my next resolution after that of returning and settling at home was to live peacibly under any Government it should please God to set over us, which resolution I am determined to keep by, and amuse myself with Books in Winter and Farming in Summer, which is all the employment I either expect or (now my health is much broke) desire under any

Government. Everybody who knows how much the Dutch are interested in the Public Funds, must think they will readily give at least the stipulated assistance, and that the Government will bring from Flanders what more Troops they judge necessary. There are many unexpected chances and fortunes in all Wars, but greatly more in a Civil War than in any other. I cannot express how much I am concerned at the fate of my Country, which has been often almost ruined by Civil Wars. I heartily wish it were in my Power to serve your Lop. in anything, if ever it is I pray you to command me, for I have the honour to be with the most sincere and Grateful Regard and esteem

My Lord,

Your Lordships most obedient & most oblidge
humble Servant

John Urquhart.

On 25th September, John Hamilton, Factor to the Duke of Gordon, who had joined the Rising, came to Aberdeen, and tried to force James Morison, the Provost, and some of the Bailies to drink a Jacobite toast, after the proclamation was read ("Origins," p. 118). Morison's own account is in his letter to the Lord President of 10th October ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXI.). As part of that letter is not printed, the whole is here given.

My Lord,

The place you hold under his present Majestie, & the so faithful pairt your Lop has acted in your high station for the interest of his sacred person, & all that's dear & valuable to Great Britain at this juncture, makes me presume to trouble you with what follows.

I am just now at some distance from Aberdn & from my famiely, not thinking myself safe to be in the way of those who had used me in so unreasonable odd a manner, as was my fate the 25th past; when, being seized upon by an armed party of Highland-men, was violently forced down to the Cross; and there, with some broad-swords over my head, was obliged to stand till their Proclamation was read; & because I refused to drink a health they proposed, I had a glass of wine spilt down

my breast ; which was, I acknowledge, making me suffer in a way, next to taking my life, that non could have affected me more. In so far they gott what they aim'd at ; but sure it was no advantage to their cause. It is my great support, that what I underwent on this occasion was for endeavouring to be faithfull in the discharge of my duty in my station, under the present happy establishment, and which I hope I shall ever esteem it my greatest honour to doe, as Providence shall give me opportunitie. I will take a more convenient time to inform your Lordship of the particulars of my treatment ; meantime thought it most necessary to acquaint you so much in the general of this matter, intreating your Lordship will advise me in what manner I should behave, That my being at the Cross at such a time (however evident it can be made appear I was dragg'd there) may not be constructed wrong at a time when the Government will not without cause be jelouse of every man they are strangers to. This being a matter of great concern I hope your Lordship will pardon this freedom. This happen'd the day of our election ; we had in the forenoon chosen a new councill, intending as usewall to elect the office bearers in the afternoon, but when I mett with the above treatment I saw it was follie to make an attempt that way, it being evident no magistrate when chosen could do the lest good office to the Town, nor could an election of Magistrates [have] answered any other end than to lay those who wes chose more open to the insults & resentment of those that had already in effect taken all power upon themselves, even to such a degree as to oblidge some of the old office bearers to pay about £8 ster for printing their manifestos & the wine drunk on the cross. Yet I found some of our Councill (they know best for what good reasons) mett that evening with a design to proceed, but a message sent to them, to qualifie otherways than we had done in the forenoon, they thought fit to disperse ; for my part, I had gone out of town & almost ever sence have scarce seen my own house.

Your Lop observes our new councill is chose, but no office-bearers ; & we want much to know if that councill will stand ; and if it & the old councill can at a convenient time choose the office-bearers, without any new powers from the Crown. I

hope your Lop will give me your thoughts of this matter. There is no news but that it's said the castle of Edr are now allow'd to get what provisions they want; which, no doubt, you'll have sooner accots of then we. Depending on an answer from your Lop, I remain, with the greatest truth,

My Lord,

Your Lop's most obedt hu. servt,

James Morison Junr.

Near Aberdn, 10th Octobr 1745.

To this the President replied, 19th October ("Culloden Papers," CCCCLXVII.)

Sir,

This morning yours of the 10th inst. was sent to me from Cromertie. The useless, insolent usage you met with at your Cross, & your resolute behaviour, I had formerly heard, & was sufficiently approved of; nor need you doubt that it shall be properly represented in due time. The discontinuance of your election is what you could not help, under the then circumstances; & tho' it is a misfortune to the town, it must be endured, as well as they can, untill a legall remedy can be apply'd; which is no otherwise to be done, but by a warrant from the Crown, either to continue the former Magistrates & Councillors in office, or for a new election. But the remedy, in either of the ways, appears at present unseasonable. The good people must therefor at present live in the most neighbourly way they can; as no one, I believe, would choose (tho' the community should by one consent think fit to authorise him) to act. I cannot blame you for keeping yourself as private as you can until this storm blow over; which I pray may soon happen, with as little loss to this poor country as possible. I am, Sir, sincerely,

Your most obt & most humble servt, &c.

Morison's answer was not written till 29th November.

My Lord

Your most agreeable favour of the 19th past, came safe to hand. I have great pleasure that from it I can depend upon your Lop. doing me the honour to represent the manner in which I have

been treated for serving his Majesty's Interest in this place (while the Army Under General Cope was at Aberdeen) by the Enemies of our happy Establishment. I shall therefore make bold to rely on your Lop's Friendship in this affair, which has always been most steady to the objects of it, and which our Town has upon every occasion experienced and entertains the highest sense of.

As yet this place has kept very peacable and free from any Hardships, till within this few days, that those who have not paid up the Cess in Town are Quartered upon by order of our present Governour, how they succeed you shall be acquainted in my next, by the same hand write.

I observe your Lop. is of opinion, as our Election was not compleated, on the ordinary day, a Warrant from the Crown must be obtained, either to continue the former Magistrates and Council another year or for a new Election.

In the year 1716 there was a Warrant sent to the then late Provost and four Baillies, empowering them to choose a New Council &c. which is a precedent, and would in my humble opinion be the best Method at this time, how soon we shall be blest with a Seasonable Opertunity, for the continuing the old Council and Office Bearers another year, would be both inconvenient and might prove hurtful to the Interest of the Town's Affairs, there being many Mortifications and other Funds belonging to the Town, which are under the Management of some of these Office Bearers, and which gives them so great trouble, that its with reluctance they undertake to serve even for one year (tho' the sett of the Town obliges them to it.) and it would be vain to expect them to continue longer, expecially as their Accounts are all cleared and balances settled for last year. And we find it an advantage that these Ballances be received by a new Office Bearer, who is a Spur to his Predecessor, in having them paid in, and laid out again for the Town's benefit. There is besides this imprudent steps taken, to say no worse of it, by some of the late Council to discourage me in what will appear to have been at this critical Juncture my indispenible Duty.

MORE CULLODEN PAPERS

But my letter being already too long, I wont trouble your Lop with any further particulars, but have the honour to be with great truth

My Lord

Your Lops Faithfull & most Obedt Humble Servt.

James Morison Junr.

Aberdeen 29th November 1745.

P.S. There is this Week, 6 Ships arrived from France 2 at Montrose, one at Stonhaive 2 at Peterhead and unluckily one here, there is about 600 men on board them, and its said some large Cannon, and small arms. The Hazard Sloop, is taken within Montrose Harbour. The Severity of the Quartering for the Cess and so little prospect of speedie relief, has made every person pay, almost in Town.

Meanwhile the President had written to the Town of Aberdeen, to encourage their loyalty.

Gentlemen

Mr Forbes of Echt has been with me, and has made such a representation of your zeal for the Service of the Government, and of the good Disposition of many other of the Citizens of Aberdeen, as I am heartily glad to hear of, and shall not slip any opportunities of making it known where it may be of Service to the City, and to them at present as are employed in bringing together what Force we can for our own Security, and for the Protection of such as are neither ashamed nor afraid to own his Majesty's Government, and we soon hope to be in a condition, not only to support ourselves, but to make it safe for our Neighbours to express their Loyalty. When that happens, it is our purpose to March some men towards your Town, to prevent the insult which we are informed you are still threatened with. Mr Forbes will inform you more particularly what we are doing in this neighbourhood.

I am Gentlemen

your most obedient and most humble Servt

Culloden 8th November 1745.

To Provost Robertson and Conveenor of Aberdeen

The following is John Murray's original order for the collection of the land tax in the shire of Elgin.

Holyrood 8th Oct. 1745.

Sir,

You are hereby ordered to Levy and Collect all the Cess or Land Tax payable by the Shire of Elgin due and preceeding Michailmas last, which you are hereby ordered to pay into the Secretary's office at Holyrood, within ten days, from the first Sunday after receipt thereof, and the order you are to obey under the pain of Military Execution to be done against your person and effects.

By His Highness Command

Jo Murray.

[At the foot of above.]

Sir,

The inclosed came to my hand by express with ane to the Collectors of Nairn, Inverness, Ross, Sutherland Caithness, which I have forwarded by express. You'll take care to do your duty in this matter

Your humble Servant

Capt Alexr Gordon.

Excuse bad write being in a Hurrie. The enclosed was struck open at Brechin, upon Suspition.

From the Magistrates of Elgin to the Lord President, dated from Elgin, 8th November 1745.

My Lord

We had the honour of yours of the 18th of September ["Culloden Papers," CCCXLVI.], wherein we notice that the General Service could not then permit of sending any Number of men to lye here, but that in some time hereafter, we might expect such a Force as we wrote your Lop of. Its true since then we have met with no actual disturbance tho' often threatened therewith, untile this day when unexpectedly a few men pretending orders from a certain Lord addressed the Magistrates for a Licence to beat up through the Town for Recruits, being our Weekly Mercate day. And upon being refused they told they had orders for that purpose and would do it upon their

Peril, and accordingly, went through the Town with Drawn Swords and screwed Bayonets, while the Magistrates were in the Council house, concerting what was proper measures to oppose them, and before any tolerable Number of men in arms could be convened, they along with some others who afterwards came to Town, broke open a Public Inn-Keepers Stable and carried off a horse belonging to Mr Thomson, General Supervisor, and afterwards one of them came to the Magistrates then in the Council-House requiring Billets for a pretty considerable number of men on the March from Fochabers to this place, which soon hereafter by certain intelligence we found was false. However, as by all intelligence we can procure a certain party of men said to be headed by the said Lord, is to come here sometime next week, to Levy Men and the Publick Money &c here. This and the hardships we apprehend from them makes us earnestly intreat your Lordship may procure two Companys or thereby to lye among us, in order to assist the well disposed inhabitants who are resolved, in that case, to maintain their Liberty and safety in all events.

Two of our number designed to have waited of your Lordship anent this Affair, but on second thoughts we judged it might be more troublesome to you, than this which we wrote, at the desire of the Principal Inhabitants of the Burgh.

My Lord

Your Lordships most obliged and
most obedient humble Servants
The Magistrates of Elgin.

James Stephen.

John Laing

Rob. Duff.

Alexr. Forsyth

Rob. Allan.

From the Duke of Gordon to the President, dated from Gordon Castle,
29th October 1745.

My Lord

I take this opportunity of inquiring after yr. Lordship's health, and to beg of you to let me hear any news you have in your Country, for at present all Communication between this and London is stoped. I have wrote by the Bearer to Lord Loudon

and my Brother Lord Charles, who I beg leave to recommend to your care and good advice. My Wife joins with me and Sir Robert Gordon in our Complements to yr. Lordship and believe me to be

My Lord

Your Lops most obedt and most hum. Servant
Gordon.

While Lord Lewis Gordon served with the Jacobites, Lord Charles held a captain's commission in Lord Loudoun's regiment.

So far as Lovat is concerned there is not, beyond what has already been given, anything to add to what may be read in the "Culloden Papers." The article in Vol. XIV., "Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness," "Unpublished Correspondence between Lord Lovat, MacLeod, etc.," is of great value.

Perhaps one of the most important points to be noted, and the very one which Lovat attempted to deny, was his absolute power over by far the greater part of his clan, a power which was wrested from all the chiefs as a result of the Forty-five.

the affection of your clan & their attachment to you in the year 1715 and downward will be remembered ; it will not be easily believed that your Lordship's Authority is less with them now than it was at that time ; it will not be credited that their engagements or inclinations were stronger against the Government when the present commotions began than they were thirty years ago when the clan was at Perth. (The President to Lovat, "Culloden Papers," CCXC.)

When it suited him, Lovat was prepared to admit his authority, as he did in his answer.

. . . if your Lordship and the Earl of Loudoun will give me your words of honour that I will not be molested, or my country, but that my person and those of my clan that have staid at home in spite of the endeavours of my Son and his partisans, shall be safe in their persons and effects ; then I will give, not only my word of honour, which is dearer to me than my Life, but any other engagement your Lordship pleases that is in my power, that six men shall not appear in arms in my Country, except a very few that will be in the Hills to guard their cattle. (Idem CCXCI.).

The following is probably from the Hon. Charles Leslie, brother to Lord Rothes. It is dated from London, 19th November 1745.

My Dear Sir,

I wrote to you thrice the french got one of them, another went by a ship I know not whither you got or no. I have wisht myself a thousand times with you, your post has been the only one I have envied, and would have come, I even thought I might have been of some service, such soldiers are employed here. I do not think it vanity to say I am both an older and a better, I need not desire you to recommend me, I know that were it in your power you would. I wish you all success and can assure you, you have done honour to all your Leith acquaintance, for which I heartily thank you. Services to Sir Alexander and Macleod. Will Ross [The Master of Ross] goes tomorrow at eight o'clock. Came to my house at eleven at night. The Company are solemnizing the day and pretty far gone so have nothing more to say, but all happiness attend you. Your sincere friend

C. Leslie.

The Rebels have taken Carlisle, it is imagined that Marshal Wade will be up with them one day this week. he has about 12000 men. Ligonier commands another 10,000 men, that go down the Western Road and rendezvous at Litchfield. There is nobody landed from, of french or Spaniards, little spirit but among the troops, The Land of Cakes almost quite forgott, all reasonable offers have been made, but none accepted, not so much as Lord Lieutenants named, nor the Government friends in the Lowlands armed. You have weight, in God's name give your advice to arm their friends of our Country, for if there is a foreign Invasion of but a few folks there is true hearts here neither (sic) have the honesty to support anything, the King takes the thing as he should, but the m[inistr]y love no resolution, Tho I did not like him Sir Robert [Walpole] had more sense in his little finger than they in their whole bunch. Anstruther is Lieutenant General of Ligonier's Army.

Duncan Forbes Adieu.

Extracts follow from two letters written by Hugh Inglis (who commanded the "Pledger" of Inverness) to Gilbert Gordon (father of Fair-

burn's wife). They are both addressed to "Greigsbys Coffee House by the Royal Exchange, London," and are dated from Newcastle, 28th November and 3rd December 1745.

My dear Sir

I wrott you by every post since my arrival at Inverness & in my last gave you a hint of my intended project in coming here. I left Inverness & came here this day with the Saltash sloop of war. Everything with us is in outmost confusion. L[ord] Loud[oun] has 15 hundred very good men assembled, well armed, which I houp will be sufficient to guard our place and some miles round us. . . . On Tuesday afternoon some few miles from Peterhead we made a large sail twixt us and the land to which wee imediatly gave chase; they finding us too nimble in the heels for them, they ran their vessell (with all their sails standing) ashore nigh the harbour of Peterhead, where I believe she'll end her bones. Wee gave her a full broad side which I believe has done her bussiness. Wee since understand she had on board 4 Companys of Lord John Drummond's Regt which is a part of four thousand men, said to be landed last Fryday in Montrose & Stonehiven. May it be his bless'd will to put an end to this miserable times. . . .

I am my dear Sir Yours

Hugh Inglis

My dear Sir

I wrot you at my arival here last Fryday which I houp came duly to hand. I have since been with the mayor and magistrates of this place to whom I deliver'd the President's letter in my favours desireing I might meet with dispatch in getting a loading of coals for our Town and Garrison, who are in a starveing condition for want of fewal. The colector is so wickedly stiffnecked that no argument is sufficient to prevail with him. The Magistrates are so good as to send an express (at the expense of their own publick fund) to the Duke of Newcastle for not only liberty to imploy a ship or two in that bussiness but likewise desire a convoy should be ordered imediatly as far as Buchan Ness or further if I should incline it. Thursday next I expect a return & till then I can hardly tell what I'm about. The collector here tells me his orders from the Com-

missioners are peremtarly to lay an imbargo on all Scots ships whatsomever and that none of them are to be allowed to take in any merchandize or clear out to any port abroad or coastways and its his opinion that even if the Commissioners allows me freight a ship, it must be an English, & no Scots. If this is the case, wee have drove our hoggs to a fine market. May God pity poor Scotland. In my poor simple oppinion its quite hard that a nation shoud suffer for a few lawless people; however I'le wait patiently till the return of the express and then if things are not agreeable Ile take my land takes aboard. Tho' if there be coals to be had in any other part of Brittain Im resolved not to retourn empty handed, as there must be dismal doings bemongst us if wee want but a month longer. I houpe my friend Mr Reid will consider better than venter here; wee have no less in this river than fifteen Scots ships, some of em has lyen here for 10 weeks past & I belive the honest men will be obliged to sell their Barks for what they can get for them rather than ly up longer. My best wishes to your Landlord and tell him I have orders from the P[resident] & Capt. McIntosh (I mean your brother in law) to draw on him for whatever money I may want. . . For Gods sake heast home. . . .

I ever am my dr Sir Yours while
Hugh Inglis

N.B. .If Im obliged to imploy an English ship it will cost me no less than £15 per keell which in three hundred tuns is £95 ster, more than I have occasion to pay to the honest Scotsmen, a dismal difference indeed twixt an English man and a poor Scots man than ever was known since Wallace days.

Inglis returned to Inverness about 13th December ("Culloden Papers," DXIV.), an order having come "giving liberty to the Scotch ships here to sail for your ports" (Anonymous to the President, dated at Newcastle, 14th December 1745).

From Lord Glenorchy to the President, dated from Taymouth, 17th December 1745.

My Lord

The regard and Friendship I have for your Lordship have made me long extremely desirous to know the State of your Health,

and Situation and the various Reports lately spread about add much to my anxiety. I had not been so long without satisfying myself if I could have found any way of writing safely. I hope this will come to your Hands and that I shall have the pleasure of hearing from you by the Bearers. Your Lordship will judge by the manner in which this Letter reaches you how far you may venture to write. I am tied up by the uncertainty of its fate. I am most sincerely My Dear Lord Your faithfull
 humble Servant
 Glenorchy.

(17) THE INDEPENDENT COMPANIES (iv.).

From the Earl of Sutherland to the Lord President, dated from Dunrobin, 14th November 1745.

My Lord,

The cold I mentioned formerly has now turned into a bloody flux which makes me so uneasy that I am obliged to use my servant's hand.

I am favoured with two Letters from your Lop. of date the 6th & 9th Curt. which was delivered me by James Anderson. These with the former letter your Lop wrote me since the present troubles began, joined with the Messages sent by the Bearer, approving of my conduct in bringing the Companys together for the service of the government and my nomination of officers, wh. your Lop promises to represent at a proper time. This I acknowledge my Lord lays me under great obligations to you in the meantime, and I shall do all in my power to deserve the Character, that I would wish to be given of me.

I have enclosed a Copy of a Petition presented me just now by Mr Scobie Minister of Assint, which further shews the necessity of my getting Arms into the Country, and though I have what will defend my own House, I must look on myself like a bird in a Cage, whereas had I arms (notwithstanding what men I have sent from this Country) I have the happiness to be Master of a number of pretty fellows, and so well affected that I would comprehend no Danger from my neighbours on either hand of me. And as the Nation is in such a stirr I cannot be easie till I get a sufficiency of Arms and ammunition, since I honestly intend them for the Service of the Government, and defence of my Country.

I have likewise enclosed a Copy of a Letter presented me this day from the Presbetry of Dornoch, which I have sent to shew a sample of the people's Zeal, and not out of vanity as to myself.

I am My Dear Lord

Your Lops Most affectionat Humble Servant

Sutherland.

The first enclosure is much defaced. It is a petition from "the distressed in Assent" to William, Earl of Sutherland, narrating that Coll MacDonald of Barrisdale came to the parish & [sent] "fiery crosses through the said Parish, summoning the Inhabitants thereof from sixty to sixteen furthwith" [on pain of]

burning all our houses, and houghing our cattle ; upon which summons the whole Parishioners appeared, and after mature deliberation on Barrisdale's Proposals to us, Your Petitioners got the Parish made an insurrection and opposed Barrisdale's Proposals, with all the other Proposals made your Petitioners to said purpose, and accordingly stood out against all who should oppose His Maj. King George. Your Lordships poor supplicants are daily since both threatened and insulted, and as we are not of ourselves able to defend ourselves and Country against insults of a more powerful enemy, we hereby apply to your Lordship for your assistance of Men and Arms whenever we are hereafter insulted with any enemy that offers to raise ourselves or otherwise demolish our said Country for adhering to our alliedgeance to his Maj. King George, and your Lordships granting us warrant to stint all the inhabitants of the Parish of Assint and give in proportionall subsidies for supporting a proper number of men to guard our said Country will very much oblige

Your Lordship Most humble obliged & obedient Servants
 sic subscribitur William Scobie [Minister of the parish].
 Rod. MacLeod
 Donald Campbell
 Kenneth Mackenzie

The above petition was granted by Lord Sutherland, 14th November, as appears thereon.

The second enclosure to Lord Sutherland's letter is the following.

Headed :—Coppv Letter from the Presby of Dornoch
To the Earl of Sutherland.

My Lord,

At our last meeting we appointed a Committee of our Number to wait of your Lop, and in our name to testify our satisfaction with, and to make our hearty greatful acknowledgments for your Lops early appearance in favour of our happy constitution and Government, and against the present unnatural and wicked Rebellion calculated to subvert both, and as your Lop still continues your laudable and vigourous dilligence for these good purposes, and since our former Meeting, sent a good number of your Countrymen, (the fittest for that Service) to be employed in the Publick Service, we judge it our Duty to make this repeated Acknowledgement of our satisfaction with your Lops Conduct. We are my Lord extremely weel pleased to see your Lops hitherto known steady Adherence to the Protestant and Revolution Interest continued and further testified in a time of danger, and your noble family, shining and like to shine, still, as it always has done, for its Fidelity to that Interest. That it may ever shine that way—That your Lops appearance, and that of all the Friends of the Government in defence of it may be crowned with speedy and glorious success, that your lawful and rightful Sovereign King George, may long live a blessing to these Nations, That God may establish the thrown in His Royal House, and that the present unnatural Rebellion against his Person and Government be soon and happily suppressed, and the hopes of a Popish Pretender and his adherents extinguished is the constant and earnest Prayer of the Presbytery of Dornoch. This in name and by appointment of the said Presbytery is signified and subscribed by

My Lord

Your Lops most obt & most humble servant

(Sic subscribitur) Wil. Rose, Modr

Golspy Novr 14th 1745.

From the Earl of Sutherland to the President, dated from Dunrobin,
20th November 1745.

My Lord,

I return your Lordship thanks for speaking to my friend Dr Fraser your nephew about my health. God be thanked I am much better ; my greatest uneasiness was to be indisposed when occasion might require my going from home. I was resolved to have gone to London but as I saw how affairs were like to goe in the North, stopt me, and I believe the Government wil not disapprove of my conduct. I trouble your Lordship with a copy of a letter writt to me, you may make what use you please of it. I shal serve the Protestant succession while I am able and I am

My Dear Lord

Your Lordships most oblidgd Humble Servant

Sutherland

P.S. My compliments to Doctor Fraser who is bound to attend me by a solemn promise but as he is better employ'd I dispense with him at this time.

The enclosure to the above letter is missing, as also are many of the copies of the President's own letters written about this date. The following is from Seaforth, dated from Brahan Castle, 16th November 1745.

My Lord,

Since Colin brought me your last, I have still waited your Commands. If the snow had not prevented me I would have been this day at Colloden, therefore I have sent a servant for the Lewis Commissions whose names are as follows. Colin Mackenzie, Captain ; Donald Macaulay, Lieut. and Kenneth Mackenzie, Ensign. I would have it a secret till that Company appears in Inverness, as I like to have at least as good a figure as my neighbours notwithstanding the Infatuation of my whole Clan. If Colin brought more than his Company from the Lewis would you approve of it. The Situation of my Estate being next the Common Destroyer of our Cattle makes it more difficult for me than Islanders or others to raise my men, as a strong body must be left to guard the Country.

The two Companys here with their Officers are ready to march, so acquaint me with your orders to them.

My Lewis Factor only waits the return of this, and notwithstanding of the deep Snow I will send him off directly.

I am My dear Lord

Your Lordships Most affectionate Humble Servant

K. Mackenzie.

From Seaforth to the President, dated from Brahan Castle, 25th November 1745.

My Lord,

If Mr Colin Mackenzie had not told me he was at Culloden, and informed you of what is passing here, I should before now have writ to your Lordship, besides the rage and anger I am in against severall of my namesakes, distracts me so, that I may neglect my duty to the best of Friends. I have sent strict orders for the men to return that deserted by misconduct, and the Insinuations of a vicious Neighbourhood, I hope my Lewis Factor will be soon out, tho' that depends upon the weather. The Minister of Fotherty [Mr Colin Mackenzie] in his namesakes absence, is my Fac Totum, pays the men &c. Donald Macleod of Bernera, Baillie of the Harris is gone South with a score or two of men, I fancy thats kept a secret. If there's any news stirring thats not in the papers I beg to be informed, and am

My Dr Lord

Your Lordships Most affectionate Humble Servt

K. Mackenzie.

P.S. Ferburn has the assurance to come here, but he shan't gett a smile from me. Some people never forgive or forget.

From Seaforth to the President, dated from Brahan Castle, 5th December 1745, 8 at night.

My Lord,

The men I expected down last Saturday were stop'd by the Storm, but are just now arrived here, I have not seen them. However I am informed, that together with what men I have already here, they amount to above five hundred. I propose sending the two companys Saturday to Inverness, and shall then

wait of you, and may bring back the Officers Commissions with me to Town. As all Macleods men got Arms I expect I shall likewise get what number of Musquets I think necessary—for the Country's Defence In which case I shall order the rest of the men to follow as you direct. I have ordered my Servant to make dispatch, as none will stir till I receive your answer. If Inverness is crowded the Companys may be ordered on this side of Kessock, where they shall be ready at a call, and may serve for better purpose than shut up in a Town.

I am My Dr Lord

Your Lordship's Most affectionate Humble Servant

K. Mackenzie.

Seaforth's first two companies were called into Inverness on Monday, 9th December ("Culloden Papers," DXIX.), and MacLeod had brought 400 men on 15th November (Idem DV.).

From Sir Alexander MacDonald to the President, dated from Mugstot, 30th November 1745.

My Lord

Yours of the 23rd. I got. My Philosophy is much troubled to see men who have tasted the Doceurs of the Government, Lovat Cromertie &c. fly in the face of it, when they cannot distress it, do it who will, and to see others who have not been fed at its expense and bred perhaps with some prejudices, at the Reigning Family so sensible of the Folly of the present great scuffle, that they don't hesitate to do what they can to bring it to the issue it deserves. I need not tell you my Lord that I am of the last class, for tho' I had a very handsome present from the late King, it was at a time when I could not be grateful, and when I was easily persuaded there was not even justice done me. When I compare myself and some others, with the first sett I mentioned, I am tempted to think that mankind is not of one species, I am uncharitable enough to believe that severals have given up thinking, entirely. My Wife yesterday produced a Nymph, and I travel to the Coast next you of this Island after tomorrow. The Laird would let you see what I wrote last, as I hope he will do now. Matters in this Island are just as when I wrote last to him, You can't expect any news from me, if it is not news

that about 60 Knoydart men, are come home and thirty one of McKinnons, four of these last were disarmed by Lieutenant McDonald at the Kyle ; their Guns are marked Scots Fusiliers, the rest brought no arms. One James McDonald of Ardnifuiran was sent by young Clanranald to recruit, was forced to return with 60 men he was bringing South, when the snow came on. He was in Arisaig within these four days, waiting for my Vassal Barry, who took some money from the Spanish Vessel which unloaded some arms there, and promised to repair Southwards, very fast with his men. I am told these arms have been carried by boats from Barry, and lodged in the Main Land at Arisaig, if I can by any means find out where they are I'll have them or the Guard of them shall have the Sky Arms with those they keep. I am told old Clanranald is like to stagg [? staig] notwithstanding my admonitions, what makes me suspect him most is that I have not heard from him, since that ship came to Barry, and that the people of my Uist inform me, that Clan: endeavoured to persuade everybody that there was no such Vessel. I wrote to him lately and I hope it will have some effect, as it ran in a friendly strain that represented danger inevitable. The Sinews of War is much wanted the flesh however (of Cows) has not yet failed. I have nothing to add to this and the Lairds, but what you know that I am

Yours

Alexr Macdonald.

From Sir Alexander Macdonald to MacLeod, dated from Mugstot, 30th November.

Dr Laird,

Glad to hear you are well, I wonder you dont tell me whether any of your Men are to return and when, and I am more surprised that neither the President nor you mention whether any firelocks are to be had from Inverness for the fetching, I forgive him, but I blame you. To send the Companys to Inverness, when they are called for without weapons is impossible, at least very indecent, and if I arm them I keep few, very few implements of War behind, do, God love you represent this matter to D. and Loudoun, 'tis hard that of a thousand men which I could put together of my own, (including the 2 Companys) I cant

arm 300 properly. Powder is scarce I'll send for a back burden or two of it, when I can get to the Kyle, which will be soon for I travel on Monday, Margaret having yesterday morning sett me and her daughter at liberty, she rested but indifferently last night. Your men in the Island can be of no use to you or me, because without any arms, and several of those at Kyle are so. However I had a letter from [MacLeod of] Hammir and another from S. Ulinish desiring orders. etc. I desired they should have 60 in readiness at a call, and I will call for them to remain a fortnight with my men if I should send home some of my own, for I think it is proper for both they should be somewhat together. I'll easily contrive to remit the sea Epistle under your Cover. Tall [MacLeod of Tallisker] might have made the Post bring some few flints but of this a scold at himself. As write to our friend, I shall only remit my compliments to Lord Loudoun by your mouth. I am as ever

Dr Macleod

Yours much

Alexr. Macdonald.

About the 14th of December the Hound sloop of war arrived, but she brought only arms for Lord Loudoun's regiment. With her, however, came the Master of Ross and John Forbes, the President's son ("Culloden Papers," DXIX., DXX.).

(18) MACLEOD'S EXPEDITION EASTWARDS.

On 1st December Lovat announced to the President that his son had marched, and on 3rd December because "the Frasers . . . had form'd a sort of blockade of Fort-Augustus," Lord Loudoun with 600 men "in the severest frost I ever remember to have seen march'd thro' Stratherrick, part of Lord Lovat's estate on the south side of Lochness to the relief of Fort-Augustus. He met with no opposition, supply'd the place with what was wanting, & return'd to Inverness the 8th instant . . ." ("Culloden Papers," DXIX.). The force which accompanied Loudoun on this expedition was probably the same as he took with him to Beaufort, when he had with him the two Sutherland companies, the Grants, the Munros, Lord Reay's company, and 100 of his own regiment, together with Seaforth's two companies [which had been called in on the 9th]. (Mackenzie, "History of the Frasers," p. 412, quoting the "Sutherland Book.")

On "Tuesday the 10th [December] Lord Loudoun, with 800 men, marched out to Lord Lovat's house of Castle Dounie, to obtain the best satisfaction that he could for the peaceable behaviour of the Frasers; and at the same time the Laird of MacLeod was detached with 500, composed of 400 of his own kindred, & 100 of the MacLeods of Assint . . . towards Elgin, in their way to Bamf & Aberdeenshire, to prevent the Rebels recruiting there; and they were to be followed by as many as could be spared from Inverness after settling matters with my Lord Lovat," who was brought to Inverness on the 11th. (The President to Lord Tweeddale, 22nd December 1745—"Culloden Papers," DXIX.). In a letter of 10th December to Lord Findlater, the President stated that the number under MacLeod was "between 5 & 600 men," & that they marched out that day. (Idem DVIII.). It would appear by the letter from Hugh MacLeod of Geanies which follows that the balance over 500 men may have been made up of Munros, and that he had marched his company on the 9th, the main body following on the 10th. Three days later, Culcairn's company of Munros, or the balance of it, and the company raised in Inverness by Bailie William Mackintosh followed (Idem DXIX.).

& these were to be followed successively by other small bodys, & by Loudoun himself, when the matter with Lovat was finished. But instead of delivering the Arms at the time prefixed, excuses were made, & fresh promises; which continued from day to day till last Thursday [19th], when Lord Loudoun, finding himself deluded, clap'd sentries on the gate of the house where he resided, resolveing to committ him next morning to the Castle; but in the night time Lovat found means to get out at a back passage, which was not suspected (as, indeed, his attempting ane escape, in his state of health, was what no one dream'd of), & to be conveyed away, probably on Men's shoulders; but whither, we have not as yet learn'd.

This unforeseen accident has made it improper for Loudoun to detach any more Men after those that have march'd towards Aberdeen, or to follow them himself, untill we see what turn Lovat, now at liberty, takes with his Clan; or until some more force, which we expect join us at Inverness.

MacLeod's orders were to march to Strathbogie, if he thought his original force sufficient, without reinforcements, and other very explicit directions were conveyed to him by the President in a letter of 13th December (Idem DXI., No. DXIII. is the ostensible letter.)

The following despatches were received by the President in the course of the expedition. See also "Origins," p. 135 et seq., and p. 289 et seq.

From Hugh MacLeod of Geanies to the President, dated from Forres, 10th December 1745.

My Lord

I had the honour of your Lops. of the 9th Curt. this day, I received Lord Loudoun's Commands yesternight. I wrote his Lop. a return and in obedience to his commands marched my Company here this day and tomorrow for Elgin. My Men were poorly accommodate in Nairn, tho' I know not if the Magistrates could have helped it, as I find its a poor Town. I have left several of my men sick there, and some of them dangerously ill, and was recommended to one Mr. Clark a Surgeon to attend them. I reckon their indisposition is due to cold. I have given them all Money for Shoes, and I wish a proper way were fallen to furnish them who wants it, some Cloaths.

I am much vext as four of Culcairn's men deserted me this day from Nairn, on hearing of there coming forward. I have written him this day to send them to Inverness to be punished, and to send me other four men in their place. I had thoughts not to say anything of them to Lord Loudoun, till I got Culcairn's Answer, without your Lop. desires me. All the rest of the Men are here except such as are sick. I am much obliged to your Lop. for what you was pleased to let me know of my Rout as I did not otherwise hear of it. I am with the greatest regard.

My Lord

Your Lops. most obliged and
Most faithful humble Servant

Hugh MacLeod.

P.S. As I must want a good Serjt. I wish Lord Loudoun sent me Will: Clerk who was in Mr Harry Munro's company and whom I formerly mentioned to Your Lop.

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Forres, 12th December [1745], 11 o'clock.

My dear Lord

I forgott to mention the commissions for my people that you may fill them up. What you will think proper to do with the two additional ones I must leave with yourself but I must att present use a little of ane art which I detest (Tho' att present its much in Practice) so far dessemble with them as to make them believe they are to have them; the order they stand in at present is as follows

John MacLeod, Talisker, Captain.

Alexr MacLeod [younger of] Balmeanoch, Lieut.

John M'Askill, Rouindounan [Rudh 'an Dunain] Ensign
in place of Will: MacLeod Hammir in whose name
the ensigsie was given out

2nd Company which you'll fill up and send me sealed with
someone when Loudon Marches.

Normand Macleod [of] Vaterstyn, Captain

Donald MacLeod, Barnistle [Bernisdale], Lieut.

John MacLeod, Ostill [Osdal], Ensign.

3rd Companie

Normand MacLeod [younger of] Bernera [in Harris],
Captain

John Campbell, Ensay, Lieut.

John McLeod, [younger], Gesto, Ensign

4th Companie

No Captain yett named

William MacLeod, [son to] Hammir, Lieut.

Donald MacLeod, Mill, Ensign

There is no News papers or Letters with anie thing in them suffered to come to Elgin, here, or to Brodie, I hope you of Inverness have the same fate, as I think its very good news. Ane Express with a Letter to Lady McIntosh, ane other to Lovat and a 3rd to some other Lady in Town, lay att a little Ale House near Brodie, the night before last, and the fellow was so stupid as not to give any Information of it till the Express was gone, else some one might have taken a reading of them, as these

Letters would be delivered last night, they are heard of, or now if they contained anie thing agreeable to them. If no notice is taken of them, its a good sign. I am just setting out for Elgin, will long to hear of you and ever am yours

Normand MacLeod.

The Captain of the 4th MacLeod Company was "Donald MacDonald Esqr" ("Culloden Papers," CCCXVIII.). This was MacDonald of Castleton, whose wife was a daughter of MacLeod of Hammer (MacKenzie, "History of the MacDonalds," p. 278).

MacLeod reached Elgin 12th December, and continued his march on the 15th, the Munro and Inverness companies arriving on the 16th, on which day Munro of Culcairn wrote from there to MacLeod, stating that he would cross the Spey next day, and asking for advice. (Letters at Dunvegan.)

From MacLeod to the President (and to Lord Loudoun), dated from Fochabers, 15th December 1745, 9 at night.

My dear Lord

We Marched this Morning as I intimated in my letter of this morning, but Mr. Grant who had not then Collected above 460 of his 700 and those not well armed, receiving a Bambussle from hence of intelligence, of 5 or 600 desparate men to oppose us, chose not to stirr from his quarters, and after my receiving the inclosed 2 Miles from Elgin, sent Sir Harry [Innes] to advise me to return there, he came in point of time when I was chattering with the Duke of Gordon on this side Spey and the greater Part of our men att my back, which was very easy, for we saw nothing but the backs of about 180 men marching or rather running away towards Cullin in disorder enough, and a pitiful Guard on the Boats, who fled fast enough on firing four shott not at them for I ordered to fire over them, The Duke immediately sent over the Boats and here we are after drinking both your healths and so on. Rothiemurchus and [Grant of] Dalrachny have been here since, and Mr. Grant is resolved to act in conjunction with me, or anie one having Lord Loudoun's Orders for the Public Service, to that End he marches with 500 men to Keith tomorrow, and next day to Strathbogie, which must alter my route so far as to make me go to Cullin tomorrow

and from thence to Banff, where we are vastly wanted, and where I remain till further orders. This will certainly procure intyre quiet as far as we go, wh. I hope both of you will approve of tho: I am so little of a Military Man, that I know not but were I such I ought to be stigmatised severly for deviating one point from the route and orders sent. The Boats here will be secured, either by a Party left here, or by the Duke of Gordon as he chuses, which I'll acquaint you of tomorrow, and I'll desire Culcairn to follow me, as I want his directions much, and that you desired me do so. I shall long allmost hourly for direction and intelligence from you. You've both many compliments from the Duke and Dutchess, as I slept little or none last night you may if you will excuse my not making 2 copies of this scrawl, as I am without compliments and all the Friendship I am Master of Intyrlie yours

Normand Macleod.

Mr. Thomson is extremely usefull and I need not paint Sir Harry Innesses zeal and assidousity to either of you. The packett for Sky, Lord President will be so good as forward.

From the President to MacLeod, dated from Culloden, 17th December 1745, 11 o'clock.

My Dr. L.

I am glad to see by yours of the 15th at night, which came hither this morning, that you have not been diverted by rumours to pass the Spey, and as the Laird of Grant, was to March to Keith, & Strathbogie, I for my part think you, as you was circumstanced had nothing left to do but to march to Cullen and Banff. I have sent yours to Lord Loudoun who will be here as soon as he can, and after his arrival you shall have the directions you want, in the meantime as you may be impatient, I venture to fling out my thoughts of what you may be preparing for, untill the arrival of the orders, which will be a few hours after this. In the first place if you have not already done it, you will immediately get all the information you can, as to the places where any considerable number of arms may be lodged, and where any number of the Rebels may be assembled, and if they are within your reach you will do what you can to surprize and disperse them,

and secure the other, and this if you can receive any such information will take some time. In the next place if the Rebels are not dispersed, but have retired before you in a body, towards Aberdeen or any other place, when you have good information, that they are not likely soon to get such a reinforcement, as shall be able to resist you, you ought to put yourself in readiness to follow them, the moment, you receive E. Loudoun's orders, which will be soon after you get this, as I have already said. In the third place if the Rebels have not marched off in a body, but have disposed themselves, you probably will have orders to march for Aberdeen, but in that case as some force must be left in Strathbogie, if the Grants undertake to remain a few days, there, the whole that are with you may be ordered to Aberdeen, if not such force as you and Culcairn shall judge sufficient, will be ordered to be left in Strathbogie. In the fourth place you will draw up ane Abstract of all the Creditable Intelligence you have, not only from Aberdeen, touching the condition of things there and to the Southward, but also from your Neighbourhood, touching the Transactions there. In the forming of which Abstract you may take Mr Thomson's assistance, and transmit it, with ane account of your own Situation, and what has happened since you wrote last, by the Bearer who will deliver you this, to Lord Loudoun if he meet him on his March. if not, to me at this place. The use of sending this Messenger, who is a very clever footman, being to prepare you for the Directions which you shall soon receive, and to prepare those despatches on your part, to be returned by him so soon as the orders come from Loudoun. We have no news, things are not yet absolutely settled, with Lord Lovat, today or tomorrow will put ane end to it, and Loudoun cannot leave this till it is done. The Mr. of Ross and my son arrived last Saturday Night [14th] from on board the Hound Sloop of War, which brought arms for Lord Loudoun's Regt, and nothing else, I have heard nothing of Macdonald, but when I do you shall know, the Letters I shall forward, as you direct, I have let Sainty have some pence as he is soon to March, this is likewise for Culcairn, to whom give my services, I am my Dr Laird Yours &c.

From the President to MacLeod, dated 17th December 1745.

My dear Laird,

I despatched you a Courier this day by 11 oClock with my Provisional notions, since that time Lord Loudoun has been with me, and as you will see by the enclosed has agreed to what I hinted, except that of leaving a party at Strathbogie, and as he is so soon to follow, if you carry that respect which I apprehend your March will procure amongst with you I incline to think he is right—You will therefore if there is no body of men in your way assembled, considerable enough to require a march to dissipate them, and if you do not receive information of a number of arms to be seized, that may be ane object sufficient to occasion your lingering a few hours to look after them, march as quickly as may be to Aberdeen to relieve that City, and its neighbourhood, from the oppression under which it now groans, which from a Messenger Straight from thence we see is great, and you will when there give countenance to the Gentlemen of the Town, and of the neighbourhood, to put on foot such Guards for their own Protection and for the Security of the place as they shall incline to, only you must lament that we cannot hitherto supply them with arms, and the Remittance which we expected is not yet arrived. It is highly probable that the Retreat of the Men of War, that came to Spey side, may leave you a clear stage at Aberdeen, where we were told that the posse was for the greatest part pressed men, and very insufficient, and its also possible that the News of your proceedings may Alarm them at Perth, so as to move them to Detach, should this last be the case, we have gained the material purpose, and arrived at all we could reasonably wish, because it will leave them incapable of doing more dangerous mischief to the Southward. But then to this you must have a very attentive Eye, your Information must be as exact as possible, of what may be approaching you from the Southward, and you must avoid coming to any Engagement at a disadvantage, because the first success is of great consequence, and because Lord Loudoun will speedily be up to sustain you. Supposing you should be obliged to retire a few miles, which, though I mention possibilities, prompted by prudence, I hope will not be the case. As

Earl Loudoun's letter is to Culcairn and you, so is this, I hope you are before this together, not only for the Necessity of the Service, but from what I wrote in the forenoon, and what I said by word of mouth by Mr. Gordon, Culcairn's Lieut, who left this at 3 o'clock this afternoon. Should you be at any distance send him a copy, of Loudoun's and this, and between you, you will direct your course accordingly. I do not see that considering the Situation at present, with Lovat, Loudon can march any Troops from this sooner than Thursday [19th], 2 Companies will I think march that day and 2 the day following, and with those with Ammunition &c, he will be with you as soon as possible, but this you and Culcairn must only know. I need hardly tell you that frequent Correspondence is absolutely necessary, I presume you have settled the Security of it, with the Duke of Gordon, if there is anything deficient in that respect pray mend it, or let us know how it stands, that we may [do so]. I presume the moment this arrives, the Messenger whom I dispatched in the Morning will be returned, and that others will not be wanting, every days march. That I wish you success you know, I am yrs &c.

P.S. As Loudon scruples to pay the Grants, I doubt whether they will go forward, or stay where they are,—You have also ane ostensible Letter.

The ostensible letter is "Culloden Papers," DXVII., which means nothing at all. It is endorsed "Copie ostensible letter to MacLeod same date."

From the Earl of Loudoun to MacLeod, dated 17th December 1745.

Dear Sir

I had this morning the pleasure of yours of the 15th, with ane Account of your having passed the Spey, and the behaviour of your Neighbours, and before I proceed to give you further Directions, I must approve of your Dilligence and Activity on this occasion, and tho' it was not according to your Orders, I do approve of your going by Cullen, since the Laird of Grant has marched to Strathbogie. I have, here, had a long Conversation with the President, and we have both agreed that it is

necessary for Culcairn and you, to march on to Aberdeen for the relief of that Place, The President thinks you should leave a Garrison at Strathbogie, I think otherwise and my reason for it is this, that I am to follow you directly, with a Force sufficient to make that matter easy, if they should think of reassembling there, after you are past, but this I will leave to yourSelves as you see cause on the Spot. If the Laird of Grant should think it right, and for the Safety of his own Country, to keep possession of it, I should think he did well. As I am in haste I refer you to the President, with whom I have talked fully of the Precautions you are to take, to prevent a Surprise and the Conduct you are to observe, in case the Rebels should march a superior Force against you, I am most faithfully Dear Sir your most Obedient humble Servt &c.

P.S. What I write to you or Culcairn I mean for both.

From MacLeod to Lord Loudoun, dated from Banff, 20th December, 5 in the morning.

My dear Lord

The Post came in from Aberdeen about one this morning, but no News Papers. They were all burnt att Dundee. Angus Fife, and so North to Aberdeen are oppressed in the most Terrible Manner, and every sort of Violence committed that can be thought of. Were there Arms for the People in Aberdeen and that we can become masters of it till you come up theirs numbers that would be very fond to Serve as Volunteers for they seem to be quite tyred of their New Masters. I am just setting out and Most Faithfully Yours

Normand Macleod.

Theirs a small Party left by Culcairn att Phocabers wh. was all we could do to keep the Communication open. The Duke of Gordon is certainly well inclined but he has odd People about him which I fear prevents his doing anie thing.

On 17th December, Culcairn was at Fochabers, his men much fatigued, and he wrote asking MacLeod what he wanted him to do. On the 18th, he and Bailie Mackintosh had reached Huntly, and the men were being rested, as appears by a letter from Grant to MacLeod, dated from

that place. The next day Grant wrote that as he found he was not meant to go beyond Keith, he would return, and that the Munro and Inverness companies would join MacLeod at Inverurie, which Culcain confirmed by a letter of even date to MacLeod, dated from Old Rayne; he would be at Inverurie on the 20th. A letter, unsigned and unaddressed, but dated 20th December, gives the information that there were only 500 of the enemy at Aberdeen, ill-armed and without cannon, and that they could all be taken if 300 men were sent to the Bridge of Dee; but that there was a rumour of 200 more coming as a reinforcement to the rebels (Letters at Dunvegan).

The following is from the President's letter to Lord Tweeddale, dated 22nd December 1745 ("Culloden Papers," DXIX.).

On the 19th it was resolved, by Mac Leod & Captn Munro, to march forward the next morning; the first from Bamf to Old Meldrum, which is within 12 miles of Aberdeen; & the last from Strathbogie to Inverury, which is at the like distance from Aberdeen; & it was part of the plan that Mr Grant should march alongst with Capt. Monro; but we have had just now information, that Mr Grant has alter'd his intentions, upon a surmise that some of the Highlanders, returning from Perth, were likely to harass his Country; but whether this information is true or not, & whether Mac Leod & Captn Munro have advanced without him, is more than I at present know with any certainty.

Unfortunately, documents dealing with the engagement at Inverurie on 23rd December are missing; perhaps the surprise and confusion admitted of few. On that very day, Lord Kintore had written to MacLeod that he would be glad to see him at Keith Hall, and would do all he could to accommodate his men (Letter at Dunvegan). MacLeod's information as to the enemy's numbers and movements appears to have been faulty, and he allowed himself to be surprised by a superior force, including some of Lord John Drummond's French troops, under Lord Lewis Gordon. This obliged him to retire towards Elgin, whence on 25th December he wrote to the President the two following letters.

My dear Lord

Yours dated att one oClock this Day I have this moment, I can return no satisfying answer to your Queries till tomorrow morning, for which I detain your Cleaver Fellow and send this Elgin

Man with the enclosed Letter for the Officers I sent off this day and who are or now att Inverness. I am just in the Situation I wrote in from Gordon Castle.

Yours

N. MacLeod.

My Lord

I wrote the Moment and since that ane honest man, a Sergeant of my own, brought in my money, which I had alongst with me, and which he cut out of my Clogbag after the Enemy was in possession of The Town, and the House where it was. Pray dispatch ane express to Sir Alexander with the enclosed Letters which will much oblige yours Normand MacLeod.

I hear of no cash lost now, but 7 £ of Silver Talisker had of me for incidental Charges on the Road. The Bearer goes to stop the men at Inverness.

On the same day, Grant wrote to MacLeod that he much regretted to hear the news [of the defeat], that he wished they had all marched together, but that he was not encouraged to do so (Letter at Dunvegan).

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Elgin, 26th December 1745 "past four."

My dear Lord

I got yours about 9 oClock last night and as I could give no exact account of our numbers and the Situation of the Men I delayed writing till now Our Numbers of my four Companys are about 70ys besidest Serjeants and Corporals and so is Gensie's and Culcairn's, Captain McIntosh has made me no report of his, but surely they are mostly in Inverness, and a good many of mine are come that way too for I'm almost sure we did not leave behind us in whole, killed wounded and taken 70, we brought 7 or 8 wounded Men alongst with us, I assure you the ruffle has not abated one Bitt of my Spirit nor of that of the better sort of the People that are with me, but what must and does vex me to the Soul is to see a kind of Pannick and Diffidence of us gott amongst the Common People, which is improved as much as possible by a Parcel of Vermin in this Place. I do and so does the Officers all we can to stop it and I hope they will soon recover themselves, but it will not be by stopping here

I fear, so that you will consider what we shall do without loss of time. We are quite destitute of Ammunition and the men of my four Companys that are here want about 30 Firelocks, As to stopping on the other Side the River it would have been impossible considering the condition the Men were in and that the 3 (three) Companys and $\frac{1}{2}$ (half) that were quartered out of Town, went off as soon as the firing began and never halted till they were here, and many of them not then, I am no judge of the Numbers of Men but Culcairn assures me The Enemy was between 8 and 900, they give themselves out for many more. All I know of them since Monday is that they sent Tuesday, and ordered Billets for 1200 at Strathbogie, and as many for this Night att Phocabers, but its likely that was a Bravado, for no certain account is yet come, that they've marched in anie Body that way att all. Yours wrote att 6 at Night I got this morning by 9, I hope all it contains is true, for my share I do not doubt of it, Culcairn tells me he wrote to Lord Loudon, whose letter I saw to Culcairn, Sir Harry [Innes] and Mr Thomson are gone to Spey Side to reconnoitre for us, and I've wrote D Gordon the News, and desiring his Boats opposite to Garmouth to be sent to this side, which I hope will be complied with. Had I my Men together again and in the Spirits they were in crossing the Spey, I should be as merry as a Cricket, but for Banffshire and Aberdeenshire, which I must pity, as they will certainly be most desparately oppressed, till they can have relief sent them, Mr Maitland, Pittricky is taken, and young [Gordon of] Ardoch but neither of them hurt. They placed a strong Guard round the Town immediately after the Action and buryed their own Dead directly, so we do not know their Loss. Whatever orders Lord Loudon sends me some Ammunition should come, forthwith, and I wish either of the two officers I sent to Inverness, knew when ane Express were sent that they may acquaint me of their success with the Men fled that way, because if they cannot be brought to reason I will sett about filling up the Companys in ane other way without a moments Delay, your advise and Directions I shall always be glad to follow, and long for, which with the Compliments of the Season from all here, is all from yours
Normand MacLeod.

Sir Arthur [Forbes] was obliged to leave his own House and went down through Buchan, so I did not see him, a Cousin of his Captain Forbes, was in the Action and behaved very well.

MacLeod's information that his force was destitute of ammunition, a state of things for which the Government was mainly responsible, is something in his favour, having regard to his defeat at Inverurie. The following is from the President's letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated 26th January 1746 ("Culloden Papers," DXXVIII.).

The want of arms to put in their hands & of money to subsist them made it impossible to call in a further force from the well affected clans to Inverness (which is in some sort the key of this country) for its security; whilst with the troops already on foot, we might have proceeded southwards by the coast, to have straiten'd the rebels; and our uncertainty of the strength or intentions of the rebels who escaped from England & who might (so far as we could see) have thoughts of directing their course this way, obliged us to content ourselves with securing this post, keeping the disaffected in this neighbourhood in awe & protecting the country on this side Spey from the levying men and money projected by the rebels.

At the time of MacLeod's reverse there were "18 companies of 100 each actually afoot; whereof seven with MacLeod . . . six with E. Loudoun at Inverness, & five more on their way to it" ("Culloden Papers," DXX.). MacLeod had his own 4 companies, the Assint company of MacLeods, the Munros and the Inverness Company. Lord Loudoun had the Grants, the 2 Sutherland companies, Lord Reay's company, and the 2 Mackenzie companies. The two companies of the MacDonalds, Lord Reay's second company, the company of the Rosses, and Seaforth's Lewes company were still to come. They are respectively shown as completed on 31st December, 6th January, 8th January, and 2nd February ("Culloden Papers," CCCXVIII.).

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Forres, 29th December 1745.

My dear Lord

I have yours of 27th 10 att night and Loudouns. Mr. Thomson could and so will the Bearer inform you of my Situation, wh. is not att all a desirable one, I own it makes me all but mad to

be so disgraced by my own People, and it is the more severe that I am conscious to myself, I do not deserve it att their hands, and it was what I did not in the least look for. It is probable Talisker or Vaterstyn will be with you tonight, and by that time we shall certainly know what we are to expect from the remains of my People, and likewise of the other Companys here. The Situation this Disgraceful Frenzy puts all this Country in, I need not paint and no doubt you and Lord Loudoun will think of applying a proper remedy without loss of time. If I can att all recover the Men their Senses I will endeavour to hold them here, till a proper Reinforcement and further orders arrive. If that defyes me I cannot tell what to do, I am

Most Faithfully yours

Normand MacLeod.

From Macleod to the President, dated from Forres, 29th December, 6 at night, under which is written, "For God sake lett not Major Mc——ie command what you send this way." Over the address is written, "I pay this express as I do every I send forward myself."

My dear Lord

I received the inclosed from Elgin which are of little import, but I was desired to forward the two Letters for Sir Harry Inness by Express, which is the Cause of sending this Express, I resolve to send Talisker home to Sky, and he will be att Cul-loden by dinner tomorrow, to him I shall referr, only I have about two hundred of my four Companys still, or rather more, and I have reason to think the Panick and desertion is over with them, I hope its so with the others, also, but a particular account shall be sent to Lord Loudon with Talisker of the State of all the Companys. I will only hint to you, what you will make your own use of, and manage as you think proper, that is if you detach people this way, I wish the McDonalds may be amongst them, and if a good cause can be had for it, I wish the Inverness Men were part of those defended their own Town. I am afraid my Friend Genzies Men have not yet recovered their Senses, tho they were hardly ever fire burnt, I ever am yours

Normand MacLeod.

Lord Loudons detachment who came with the Ammunition march back tomorrow, if orders from you do not stop them, which I wish it had for a day or two, as they create great confidence and spirit, and those of my Son's Men that are here did service by reproaches and other ways amongst their Countrymen.

From Hugh MacLeod of Geanies to the President, dated from Forres, 30th December 1745.

My Lord

I had the honour of your Lops of the 27th Curt. The Desertion of our Men considering how well some of them behaved at Inverurie gives me much more uneasiness than what happened there, and the more so, that I think in part it might have been prevented. There has not any of my Assent Men left me since I went over Spey till Yesterday, that some of them went to Nairn, expecting that the rest were to follow, this considering the behaviour of others and the pains taken on all our Men by the Inhabitants of the Town we were in, is much ; if we are not to go to Nairn, I shall endeavour to get them to return, though I know it will not be easy to keep them on this side of Inverness, as severals of my Men who were sick at Nairn on their Recovery went home. I resolve as your Lop. directs to send a Serjeant with another, on whom I can depend to Assint, to endeavour to get those who have gone there to return, and as most of the men I got from [Munro of] Culrain have gone away, and Severals of them with their Arms, I send him a list of them (noticing the day and the place they went from) with one of my Serjeants, and I expect he'll get them or others to return, and I know that your Lop. writing to him anent this may be of use, I shall be at all pains to get my Company full and on all occasions shall endeavour to do my Duty. I am With the greatest Esteem

My Lord

Your Lop's most obliged faithfull Servt.

Hugh MacLeod.

From Donald MacLeod [presumably of Bernisdale, Lieutenant of the 2nd Company] to MacLeod, dated from Scatwell, 30th December 1745.

Hon: Laird

I have not drudged more in my life than since I parted with you though with little success in my undertaking, I could not cast up with one Man came in the way and did all lay in my power to stop their passage yet they found ways. I found out after crossing the Ferry, that most of the Deserters have been disarmed some by my Lord Seaforth's orders such are safe, and to the number of 45 or [more], and did all I could in securing them arms, spoke to the Gentlemen of the Mackenzies such as Fairburn, Killcowie and Redcastle who promise to use their interest in recovering them. Notwithstanding of what I have done or that you are not to be idle in itt. I have wrote to Fairburn of this date to provide the two Glenelg men that this goes by, in guns, and forward six more guns to Inverness for six men left there, and to secure all that he could find till my return, for I cannot learn that above twelve of them have carried their arms by this Place. The Glenelg men have gone by the Bonna and possibly have boats there likewise, and there will be worse recovering of them. I expect to be up with ten more the day, whom I expect to return, since they are now beginning to be sensible of their folly, as I learn on this Road. I will use all diligence to execute your orders, and till further insight I am your honours most humble Servt.

Don: McLeod.

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Forres, 31st December, 12 o'clock.

The Bearer is ane accidental hand and I promised you give him sixpence. N. M. L.

My Lord,

The Inclosed is ane answer to a letter I wrote with Culcairn's advice directed to the Commander of Troops in Aberdeen, desiring the wounded and Prisoners might be cared for, and that I would remitt by Bills money for their Care and Subsistance, how soon a list of Each was sent me, how far this was right and regular you will inform me, as also what further I ought to do.

I am sorry for these Gentlemen he names as I fear they will be but scurvily used. I have no very certain intelligence from the other side Spey, but I believe they have 2 or 300 men scattered over the Country about Strathbogie and no nearer. I was very sorry to hear of the grumbling of the Macdonalds. I am sure if it goes to ane height it will vex their Chief vastly, but if they be marched this way I hope to put them in good humour soon, I am most faithfully yours,

Normand MacLeod.

Follows the enclosure, reprinted from "Culloden Papers" (DXXII.). The letter is holograph, but the message to Castlehill is in another hand.

Address :—

To the Honourable the Laird of Makleod att Duncan
Forbesse's House near Inverness these.

Aberdeen, Decr. 27th, 1745.

Sir,

I receiv'd your Letter by express last night, dated from Gordon Castle ye 24th. All the care in our power has and shall be taken of your wounded Men ; & all the Prisoners yt were taken under their Arms shall meet with all the Civility in our power. But for Regent Chambers, Forbes of Eight, & Maitland of Petrichie. who have acted the infamous part of Spys & Informers, and the two last especially, who have given a great deal of bad advice to a certain great Man who shall be nameless, it is neither consistent with my honour or inclination to treat them as Prisoners of War. I shall take care to order supplies to be given to all the Prisoners who want them, & the wounded men are as well taken care of as our own.

I shall send you a list of the Prisoners & wounded, with any useless papers & letters, as soon as possible; and any other thing yt we can reasonably agree to, shall be done with pleasure. I think I have now answered the most material parts of your Letter. You will much oblige me in offering my Compliments to Ld Charles Gordon; & I am,

Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

Lewis Gordon.

As I do not know where this will find you, I think the most proper direction is to Duncan Forbes's House.

Colonel Colbert desires his compliments to be made to his Brother Castlehill.

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Brodie House, 1st January 1746.

My dear Lord

I've yours this Evening and I am joined by Mrs Brodie and Miss with two more of my Clan in wishing you a Frequent Repitition of Happy New Years and that we may not be troubled with such a year as that which is now ended. I am sorry I did wrong in writing to Lord Lewis, but Culcairn's assuring me it was right and always done on such occasions, joined with the compassion I felt for the wounded, three of whom I spoke to, but could not bring away moved me to it. His Impertinence I own surprised me, (especially to you, as it lay quite out of his way to mention you att all,) even young and rash as he is, you may be sure your Directions will be followed in what I shall do for the future. I own I fear for these unlucky Gentlemen, and yett I would think they hardly dare risk using them ill for fear of the consequences. I reviewed all our Troops today and including Loudoun's Detachment of 50, we are but 724, but Culcairn and Captain McIntosh will immediately have a strong Recruit, and I hope mine will not be long of coming from Glenelg and Talisker very soon after. I approve of your Doctrine of Dispatch and have wrote a strong Letter to him. Dispatch the Bearer therefore to Sky without attending the Post, and write to the Knight what you please, Talisker hinted you expected soon to see him with a Body of men. No news from the Eastward. Its said [John Gordon of] Avochy has twixt 3 and 400 men scattered about Strathbogie. These without a considerable reinforcement will not I believe choice to visit us

I am Most Faithfully yours

Normand MacLeod.

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Brodie House, 2nd January 1746.

My dear Lord

The enclosed pieces of intelligence came to me this morning from Elgin. I take the most probable account to be, that of the 700 att most att Strathbogie, and I dare say they have not att present anie immediate view of visiting us, this side Spey. The Elgin Post says he saw the Prisoners &c moved from Aberdeen and sent on the Road to Perth with a Guard. The lye of the day, is that L[ord] J[ohn] Drummond has taken Stirling
I ever am yours
Normand MacLeod.

The enclosures are missing.

From Sir Alexander Macdonald to the President, dated from Mugstot. 2nd January 1746.

My Lord

The retreat of the Highlanders does not at all surprise me. I look'd for it sooner as the French assistants so much talk'd of did not appear & that they found no friends in England. If there is any sence at all among them I figure they'll disperse & not attempt impossibilities any longer. I am sorry for the Laird's Brush as he lost some clever fellows & yet I rejoice because it does him & his men honour: if his deserters (who were ferry'd from Lochcarrin to Troternish by Seaforth's men) are not ere now in custody 'tis none of my fault, as I wrote instantly on receipt of his letter to his Baillie & to such gentlemen of his as remain at home, to secure them. On Tuesday next [7th] I sett out for Sleat where if your note by Niel More does not prevent it I shall soon have together the number I mention'd in my note from the Kyle. I shall remit the deserters to Inverness under an Escort. I am as ever

My Dr Lord Yours Alexr Macdonald.

From the President to Mrs Ross of Kindeace, dated from Culloden, 5th January 1746 (Copy from Fraser-Mackintosh MSS., Register House).

My dear Grissie,

Last night I had your kind letter inquiring after my health, which I thank God is much better than I expected considering

the confinement the weather subjects me to, & the disagreeable situation on many accounts in which I find myself. But it is to be hoped this will soon have an end.

I detained your servant over night, in hopes that by arrival of the Post I might have had some news to give you. But as the Post which should have come in last Monday is not yet arrived I choose rather to dismiss the lad, to prevent your uneasiness at his stay than to keep him for so uncertain an event as that of the Post coming on. The high probability however is that he is detained by the way by those who do not like that we in this Country should have the news he has to give. But perhaps in this case no news may be taken to be good news.

I am glad to hear from your servant that you enjoy ordinary health & that you are well enough to keep close quarters in this sour weather. I heartily wish you a happy year & am dear Grissie

Affectionately yours

(Sgd.) Duncan Forbes

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Forres, 8th January 1746, "11 of clock."

My dear Lord

I had the pleasure of yours yesterday morning, and having nothing extraordinary to say, I detained the Runner till now. I find that Meal comes in but slowly here which makes our Men grumble, and that they raise the Price, and I cannot say that I find the Gentlemen about very ready to send in Parcels to stock the Market. I can easily get 50 or 100 Bolls to buy if I please at Lord Loudoun's Price, but as I'm quite Ignorant how long I am to remain here its what I cannot venture to do without his Orders or Desire. It will be necessarie you let me have Directions about this without Delay, as there is a General Imbargo on Shipping, God knows how a supply of Meal can be sent to Sky to Sir Alexander's People and Mine. You will probable know if there is any Remedy, and how to get it applied. I am mighty sorry the Toothache has gone your way for I found it a most plagueie Companion. I fancy it made you forget the request about my Son—As I long much to see you and have one

hours Conversation, I can with the Assistance of the Lyons Cart and my own Horses be with you in a Morning by Eleven of Clock, if you approve and I am not to move Eastwards for some Days. I have not heard of your Son more than if he were in Flanders, My compliments to him.

I ever am unalterable yours

Normand Macleod.

During MacLeod's stay at Forres he was admitted a burgess, as appears by the town's records, 15th January 1746. The following of his officers were also then admitted, viz., Captain Normand MacLeod of Waterstein, Lieutenant Alexander MacLeod, younger of Balmeanach; Lieutenant William MacLeod, son to Hammer; Lieutenant John Campbell, Ensign John M'Askill, Ensign John MacLeod. After these came certain of the officers of the MacDonald Companies, viz., Captain James Macdonald of Aird, Captain John MacDonald of Kirkibost, Lieutenant Allan MacDonald of Kingsburgh, Lieutenant Allan MacDonald of Knock, Ensign Donald MacDonald of Captain John MacDonald's Company; Ensign James Macdonald of Captain James Macdonald's Company. Then Captain George Munro of Culcairn and Ensign Hugh Munro; and lastly servants of MacLeod, of Mr Baillie, of the Lord Lyon, and of Captain MacDonald.

Anonymous to the President, dated 20th January, with enclosure, dated 8th January 1746.

My Lord

McLeod having discovered marks of a deep concern and affliction from the Desertion of some of his Men, it seemed to me reasonable to draw up a Letter of address which should not only confirm him of the fidelity of the Rest of his People at home, but also proclaim to the World how much they detest the ingratitude of these Vermin for soe I must call them that forsook the best of masters, and as your Lop. on many occasions has given proofs of inviolable kindness for my Chief, I thought fit to send you a true Copie of this address, since I believe the disappointment he got from some, might keep him back from speaking to your Lop., or any other Person of those of his Clan, who have different Sentiments from the ignoble Herd of the Commons. By advice from South Uist of the 17th instant I

understand a Captain and Lieutenant Mathesons were then at Barra ready to carry off good quantity of money and Arms to the Mainland for the Service of the Young Pretender. The great McNeile of Barra was likewise ready to embarque with six score men, for their escort till they Join the Highland Army. Whether they will wait orders on the Mainland or march with soe small a guard I know not, but it is my opinion if a strong Corps made up of the troops at Fort Augustus and Fort William with some well affected Highlandmen should march with expedition and secrecy to Moydart they would give a good account of men, money and Arms. If you have any difficulty to remember my hand MacLeod will inform you that I am

Your Lordships most humble Servant

As you have been pleased to acquaint us, that you are satisfied with the gallant Behaviour of your Men, on their being attacked at Inverury, We think it incumbent on us, to congratulate with you on that occasion. But at the same time, are sorry that you have too just reason to complain afterwards of the shameful desertion of some of Them, when they were out of all Danger. However, this, very bad as it is, it may be some alteration to your Grief, that the common Highlanders, have from time to time, universally persisted in this pernicious unaccountable Mistake, as if it circulated in their Blood, and was conveyed down from Age to Age, That they have an absolute right to give up the Cause they espouse, and forsake their Leaders, soon after they see the Face of an Enemy. But of all those Miscreants who have been a disgrace to our Nation, none seems less excusable than those Fugitives, who shared so much in your Bounty and Generosity. For tho' some Chieftains content themselves to furnish their People, only with the bare necessaries of Life, you always supplied yours with every other thing, necessary for them, which renders the Disappointment they gave you more shocking, and surprising, as it was so little deserved and expected. Meantime since all who will hear this sad Story, and even yourself, may be suspicious, that the Rest of your People at Home are of the same Stamp and Kidney, We beg and intreat (while Innocent) we may not be put in the same Category with Persons whose errors we Disclaim, Detest and

abhor, On the Contrary your Intrepid Courage, Constancy and Resolution in defence of your King and Country, beyond any other of your Rank, known, to us in the Isle of Britain has animated and inspired us to follow your Example. And if your pleased to afford us the opportunity, we can yet bring to the Field Numbers of your men that will Sacrifice their Lives and Fortunes in your Service, and will not part from you, nor deviate from the Principals you have espoused, but with the last Drop of our Blood, and this (if you put it to the Trial) our Actions will Shew. As we are determined not to survive the Loss of our Priviledges, Liberties and Properties, whatever our situation may be, we neither can, nor will forget, we are with
Pleasure Your most etc

Jan. 8th 1746.

Sic subs. Will. McLeod of Hammir
Alexr. McLeod [?Fasach]
Alexr. McLeod, Ferrinslea
John McLeod of Bay
Evan Beaton, Donnerich,
Donald McLeod, Medle [Meadale]
Rory McLeod, Gesto
Normand McLeod [?Summerdale]
Suin McSuin, Roag
Dugald McSuine, Vaten [Vatten]
Donald McLeod, Lindle [Lyndale]
Neil McLean, Edinbane
Alexander Macleod, Ullinish
John McLeod, Unish
Charles McSuine, Bernisdale

All tacksmen and heads of families in the barronies of Glenelg, Harris and Minginish would subscribe this address with equal zeal & alacrity if they had the oportunity

From: John MacLeod, younger of Raasay [who afterwards gave such material assistance to the Prince in his wanderings] to the President, dated from Raasay, 28th December 1745.

My Lord

It is with reluctancy that I give your Lordship the trouble of reading this Letter, and at a time when you must be much

hurried with matters of much greater moment, but the common inclination of doing myself justice I hope will excuse me.

I am afraid your Lordship may think that I was of Intelligence with my Father in the folly that he has committed, yet it is certain I not only refused to be of the Party with him, but endeavoured as much as possible to dissuade him from dipping in so ruinous a Scrape. I cannot desire that your Lordship should take this allenary upon my Word, I appeal for the truth of it to Sir Alexander MacDonald and Laird of MacLeod, by whose conduct I resolved to regulate my own, I hope upon enquiring into my Conduct your Lordship will find no reason, why I should not be honoured with the same notice that you have formerly been pleased to take of me. I am with great esteem

Your Lordships most Obedt Humble Servant

John McLeod.

From James Morison, junior, to the President, dated from Aberdeen, 15th January 1746.

My Lord

I was honoured with your Lop's favours of the 17th past. If providence had ordered matters so as the Laird of McKlaud had come to Aberdeen, he had a just title to all the Marks of Esteem the Town could have put upon him, and would certainly receive the same as a token of gratitude for his good Intentions of reliving us from oppression. All the Avenues leading out of Town, were so strickly guarded while he was at Inverurie that it was with difficulty we could acquaint him of the 300 French &c, that had joined the 600 Rebels, that were here before. A great many were seized on suspicion of going with Intelligence of which my Servant was one. McKlaud's Resolute Behaviour in running to the Enemy with so few of his men about him and the stand they made with not one half of their little Army against 900 till they were overpowered by Numbers is much to his honour, and satisfied the Rebels themselves, that nothing but the taking of him at a Disadvantage could have made them successful and nothing but the Success, could justify the dangerous attempt of attacking the McKlauds,

and at last there is nothing to boast of by them for its prettie certain 60 of them were killed and upwards of 20 wounded. There is no Armed Rebels in this place at present, but before they went off, it seems a great many of the Inhabitants met and agreed to pay £1,000 ster. upon Account of a Demand made on the Town for a certain number of Men, for which they have given Bills on Edinburgh, for one half, and about 60 of the Burghers accepted a Bill for the other half, payable 1st of Febr'y. In the meantime there is a possie gathering up levy-ing monie and imprisoning the Tennants that refuse to pay, and its reported James Petrie is at Peterhead collecting from these Lands in this Country (in those parts) who had not paid before.

I am much afraid the Highlanders if they retreat this way, will doe great Damage in our Town. And it would be of vast Service to us that Lord Loudoun could preserve our Place from the Distruction, wh. that event so visibly threatens it with, especially those in it, who are Friends to the Government, or the Damned Whigs (as we are commonly styled by Its Enemies) by his Lop. sending here as many of his Troops as he can spare, (if the Situation of the North cannot admit of his bringing his whole Armie so farr South.) We depend on your Lops interest in this Matter, that all assistance will be given us speedily wh. can be done in consistencie with the general good of the Nation. We are at a great loss here to know what's doing, anyway beyond the Forth, none of our outposts getting further than Kinghorn, so it would be exceedingly refreshing, to hear what's doing in our Armies, or if any Foreign Troop be coming to Scotland from Holland, if the Dutch be in Scotland, or any other News your Lop. is at Liberty to communicate. The Bearer who is a Friend of mine, is a sincere well wisher of His Majesty's Interests and to whom I refer for other Particulars of our Situation and remain With the highest Esteem

My Lord

Your Lop. most obliged & obedient Servant

James Morison. Jun.

From Sir Alexander Macdonald to the President, dated from Portree,
15th January 1746.

My Lord,

I have been as busy, as Talisker will tell you, to relieve my friend the Laird, his supply is equipping and will be with him as fast as possible. I have got an unhappy cold, that makes my bones troublesome to use, and I am forced to go home and recruit a little health instead of seeing his men and my Escorte for them over the Kyle, however they'll go in a proper way as [Alexander MacDonald of] Kingsborrow goes to see them ferry'd. I got the money you sent by [Hugh Macdonald of] Balshair; could there be as much sent by Donald Martin of Bealloch, who goes lieutenant to the Escorte as far as Kessaig, I would make no demands soon, tho' the expense I have been at (& you can't guess why) is shameful, but could not well be avoided. My hearty service to the Pledger [Hugh Inglis] and if you rememb̄er me to Lord Loudoun I shall be only as ever

My dear Lord Yours

Alex Macdonald.

From Sir Alexander Macdonald to the President, dated from Mugstot,
20th January.

My Dear Lord

When I wrote last I was much out of order, I got a villanous cold looking at the Laird's supply & I know not whether a liquid remembrance of him & some other did not help it forward. However by parting with a lucky dose of blood and spewing I am now well enough except that my shoulders and bones ake less than they did, so that the next from you will find me in Sleat. I have the men of this part of my Estate 200 in readiness to march on a minute's warning & there are sixty at the two Kyles always in readiness & a hundred in Sleat equipt. This is to a trifle all that can be properly cloath'd from this Island tho' the corpora are pretty numerous beside. These men are all at their homes except the men at the Kyles Let me know if I should bring 100 more from Uist: if this last is done they must be constantly subsisted.

I hope Tallisker & Kingsborrow have done as well in remitting the Laird's supply as if I cou'd have been present. I am as ever

My Dear Lord's faithful Servant

Alexr. Macdonald.

From MacLeod to the President, dated from Forres, 21st January 1746, 1 o'clock.

My Dear Lord,

I shall send you the Dunvegan Post, this night or tomorrow morning. Enclosed is the Knight & Rasey's Letter, what the unlucky young Man says is certainly true, both as to his own Conduct and his Father's.

The McDonalds say the sum Bellshar carried to Sir Alexander was either £100 or 100 Guineas but are not quite positive. Jamie Fraser will probablie have his Receipt, which is a sure evidence.

I've had a Visit from Gordonstoun this Morning, he has no news, but a Letter from over Spey he got Last Night, says 500 of the Rebels were returned to Aberdeen, and that they said they were to be followed by 500 more, he seems neither to believe the first or last part of the Story. Sir Robert and Culcairn salute you.

I ever am Yours

Normand Macleod.

From Sir Alexander Macdonald to MacLeod, dated from Mugstot, 20th January.

My dear Friend

By John MacLeans knife and a powder I am too well acquainted with ; I have got much the better of an ugly cold. My bones are yet a little restless. I travel to Sleat how soon I can in order to be nearer a Call. God love you for your care of poor John Brollum, my service to him, his wife has a daughter whose name is Margaret, and the Mother recovers finely.

This little House has been a Hospital since I came home, all the Infantry colded (even Susan) but all mending.

Yours

Alexr. Macdonald.

(19) LETTERS FROM THE SOUTH (JANUARY 1746).

The correspondence of the President with the Government may be read in "Culloden Papers," *passim*. His repeated requests for arms, cash, and credit had up to the commencement of the year 1746 received little attention. Towards the end of December he wrote strongly to the Earl of Stair ("Culloden Papers," DXX.),

You see, My Lord, I write with some emotion; and it is no wonder, for I must look upon myself as the cause of all the sufferings of those who I have prevail'd with to risk everything in defence of the Government, should the Rebels prevail over them; & that for the want of those supplies which I persuaded them they should have, & which had they received, or if they shall yet receive in time, everything must be safe.

In regard to the Independent Companies he wrote—

. . . & there is not one of the Companies given, but to such as undertook the service when in this Country it seemed the most desperate. And if the remaining Companys shall be disposed of, they shall be given in the same way.

. . . . I have done what I think every honest man ought to have done; and upon this single principle, that I thought it was my duty.

The copy of the letter from which these extracts are given is missing. The date given in "Culloden Papers" is 22nd December, but it may be the one which was answered by Lord Stair, as follows:—

From the Earl of Stair to the President, dated from London, 9th January 1746.

My dear Lord

I am by this Letter to thank your Lordship for your letter of the 24th December. I am perfectly satisfied of the disagreeable Situation you must have been in not hearing anything from hence during the Course of so many weeks. I thought that what I felt upon that occasion could not be so well expressed, as by shewing your Lordship's Letter to his Majesty & his Ministers, which I did; by that they might see very clearly, how very disinterested your views were, to serve the King and your Country against the Pretender, and how very useful your endeavours had been for that purpose in conjunction with Lord Loudoun.

Your Lordship will see what in consequence has been done here, by the inclosed Copy of my Letter to Lord Loudoun, which will abridge my Letter to you and give me little more to say, but that I ever am with the greatest esteem and affection

Your Lordships most faithfull Friend and Servant

Stair.

Your Lordship will have heard that some days ago the Marquis of Tweedale has demitted his Employment of Secretary of State for Scotland.

To Ld. President.

Headed :—Copy of a letter from L. Stair to Lord Loudoun.

London 9th Janry 1746.

My Lord,

In answer to your letter of the 25th wh. I received here from Inverness on the 30th at night, in less time than any letter ever came, I immediately made application to His Majesty, Mr Pelham, and all those concerned, in the different Offices, who have given all the Dispatch imagineable. The money and Arms demanded are on board the Sloop, which is ready to sail, you have the detail of the particulars from other hands.

I insisted very much that there should have been a day fixt from which the off reckonings of the 20 companies, should have been made current, in order to the providing of Cloathing to the said Companies, but your Mem. of order and form say, that it is absolutely necessary, that there should be a Certificate from your Lordship, Lord President, or both, of the time of raising such Companies, that there may be an establishment made out of the said Compys. and when that is made out, the off reckonings, should be current in course. This will only be a retardment of some weeks and in the meantime you may enter into agreements for Cloathing of the said Companies, in the same manner as the new Regiments here have done, which is, the off reckonings as far as they go, making a part of the Payment of such agreement, the Government paying the rest, if the Companies happen to be broke, before the off reckonings amount to the sum of the agreement.

I inquired here about Broad-Swords, for your Companys, which I own is a very necessary Article, but there is no such thing to be found ready made.

I am sorry to find by yours of the 25th that your Party sent towards Aberdeen has been surprised, but I suppose long before this time you have found means to set that matter right again. I own to you my opinion would always have been preferable to every thing to have disarmed the Frasers, and to have secured my Friend Lord Lovat, which I should have imagined would not have been disagreeable to him. Before this time the Troops from Newcastle are arrived at Edr, what the movements of the Rebels will be in consequence of that, we do not yet know. If the Rebels should join and in consequence retire on Perth to wait a new supply from France, my opinion would be, to embark six Battalions from hence, to be landed at Aberdeen, to act in conjunction with your Lordship by which means the Rebels would be deprived of the subsistence they might otherwise draw from Aberdeenshire, Banff and Murray, and of the facility of recruiting their Army. What measures will be taken I do not certainly know.

We have had a great Frost for some days which frose up the Rivers in Holland but it has thawed since last night, and continues so to do, with the Wind at S.W. I shall finish my letter at my return from Court, whither I am going.

Since writing I have seen Wilkieson, who tells me that he can agree with a Man at Birmingham for furnishing fourscore Hilts per week, for mounting the Blades which your Lordship has already for your own Regiment, at the same time Mr George Ross says, that a man here in Town has undertaken to furnish a thousand complete Swords at nine shillings a piece for the Independent Companys. I have told both these Gentlemen that it is my opinion that they ought to go on with those contracts.

I believe the intention is to send down from hence three or four Battalions by Sea, to be landed at Aberdeen, to be joined there by some Battalions from Mr. Hawley's Army in Scotland, and by your Lordship from Inverness, because tho' the thaw continues there is no certain dependence to be made on the time

of the arrival of the Hessians, who besides are very useful where they are, and not at all wanted on this side, tho' from time to time, our Fears of an Invasion from France are not quite vanished, but every reasonable man must agree, that the Danger is quite over.

Our Court has talked of late with our Allies abroad, the Proposals on all sides, seem probable to carry on the Alliance against France with advantage, even without the Assistance of any British Troops abroad. Your Lordship easily perceives of what an immense weight it must be to have such a number of Troops ready to be employed against France, when it shall be thought proper.

Hawley is to have with him in Scotland fifteen old Battalions besides Horse and Dragoons. Your Lordship and the President are to receive your directions from time to time, as to your Military operations from him, or from the Person, who at the time shall command his Majesty's Forces in Scotland. This will considerably abridge and diminish your uncertainties and disgusts.

I am etc.,

The position at this time of Lord Stair, and, indeed, of Scotsmen in general, is brought out in the following letter ("Culloden Papers," DXXV.), the writer of which seems to have had some acquaintance with Hawley.

My Lord,

I take the opportunity of the sloop which the government sends, to assure you of my best wishes, & to congratulate you upon the figure you make in this part of the world; who are surprised to find a man, without views, standing up for the rights & libertys of his country, just upon the brink of falling into eternal misery and confusion.

It would be presumption in me to pretend to inform you of numberless transactions here, who assuredly have these accounts from better hands : but I wish to God your interest or persuasion, joined to the opinion the world has of your disinterestedness, and the knowledge they agree you have of your country, cou'd be convey'd here, to second good Lord Stair's, in the many though fruitless attempts his Lordship has made to save, if pos-

sible, the ruin of the north, and effectually finish the rebellion before the spring. But, at present, any proposalls from Ld Stair are, I am afraid, neglected, lest by their success he should gett power, which is not the interest of the present ruler; who, although not publicly declared, yet privately manages the Scots affairs, with the same despotism he ever has done.

We flattered ourselves here, that the Duke was to go to Scotland himself; but that seems now to be no longer believ'd, and the whole burthen [is] left upon Hawley, and your old friend Hugh, his aid-de-camp. No mortal disputes Mr Hawley's genius for the management of a squadron, or prosecuting with vigour any mortal to the gallows; although, at the same time, they wish that he had the lenity to make converts, or the absolute force to make all fly before him. But he has only 15 Battns, some of these extream weak, and Ld Cobham's dragns, to join those who distinguish'd themselves at Preston. This moment an express tells us, the rebels are march'd to attack Stirling. As, probably, Mr Hawley will go to relieve it, before this reach you the fate of Scotland may be determined, on which our other schemes depend. For it will appear odd to you, that this great kingdom is by trifles either raised to a prosperity that exceeds impertinence, or falls from the smallest adversity below compassion. Wee at present beginn to breathe, as the rebels have retired to Scotland, which, to the generality here, is the same as Norway; and that they no longer are in terrour from the invasion, and now indeed countermand (as we are told) the Hessians and our own 18 squadrons, and are become so brave, as to think of sending troops to Flanders, and by May next to invade France.

Lord Stair, in his letter to Lord Loudoun, which no doubt you'll see, has discuss'd all the matters of business; so I have no more left, than assuring your Lordsp, in my low capacity,

I am very much your devoted slave,
and most humble servt.

Jo. Forbes.

London,

January 9th 1745-6.

P.S. Since Lord Tweeddale resigned they have talk'd of nothing but numbers of changes i.e. the Broadbottoms to be sent a packing, but at present they say they have compromised matters by their agreeing to a prosecution of the warr abroad.

With reference to Lord Stair's remarks (in his letter to Lord Loudoun of 9th January) about Lovat, who was now at large, John Hossack, in a business letter to the President, dated from Inverness, 7th January 1746, wrote

I am told wrights were sent to Glenstrafarar for lining and make a convenient room there for his Lordship. He is at Gort-legs house, a guard of 60 men there.

On 10th January 1746, the President wrote (Hist. MSS. Com., Lang MSS., Vol. I., p. 452) to his cousin, William Forbes, in Edinburgh,

My Lord Lovat, who has for many years been complaining of colds and feavers . . . has mended, as I am told, much in his health since he made a moonlight flitting into the mountains. I wish his march may be found to have been as prudent as it has proved medicinal.

On 11th January 1746, the Duke of Newcastle wrote to the President ("Culloden Papers," CCCVIII.).

The Marquess of Tweeddale having resigned the office of one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, and his Majesty having been pleased to direct, that the Correspondence with Scotland should be carried on by My Lord Harrington and me; I could not but take the first opportunity of assuring you that I shall have a particular pleasure in renewing a correspondence with your Lordship . . . his Majesty was pleased to order that 1000 stand of arms should be immediately sent . . . with a sum of money for the payment of the Troops. . . . His Majesty has been pleased to appoint Lieut. General Hawley . . . to be Commander in Chief of the Forces in Scotland.

On 14th January, General Wightman wrote to the President from Edinburgh (Idem DXXVII).—

I write this chiefly to begg your coming hither, that you may be a checque upon the D—ke and the J—ce, and may take the

Government of this Town till we get a new constitution of Government. All the inhabitants will petition for a Commission of Lieutenancy to you, which will put you upon a Par with the D—ke, and enable you to do more, to put spoaks in his Wheel as formerly, when you was Ld Ad—t. Your Country calls upon you at present loudly to act for it; I beseech don't be deaff to it, by staying longer where you are than you needs must.

General Wightman did not like the Justice Clerk, Lord Milton, concerning whom he wrote some days later (*Idem* CCCX.), to the President, sending an account of the Battle of Falkirk with a special messenger,

that I may ascertain myself of a Letter from you, and give you an Opportunity of writing to your friends with more Liberty than you can do under the J—ce's Cover, who, you know, loves to peep, and, like all Tyrants, is jealous of every one, even of his own tools. I send you also herewith a corrected copy of the Edinburgh Packet, which contains the Speech, printed Ao 1725, in which I declare against Partyship in the strongest terms: In which Sentiment I still continue.

After having said this, you'll be surprized to hear, that I supped with Ld Arn—n [Arniston] when he passed through Newcastle, and am become acquainted with his Son the Solicitor; and at the same time am declaredly antipode to the J—ce; in so much that I do not so much as see him, much less speak with him, on account of his misbehaviour to me when he was a Refugee at Berwick, notwithstanding the Civilitys I shewed him, and the Services I did him when he was at Newcastle; and this I do deliberately & resolutely, though I very well know that he is at present drunk with Power. The Marquis having demitted, the Duke comes into the same Situation he was in before the Patriots prevailed against Sr R. W—le; and consequently the J—ce is once more depute Vice Rôy.

The following anonymous letter appears to be from one of a cadet branch of the family of Clerk of Penicuik, the coat-of-arms on the seal being a fess chequy between two crescents in chief, and a boar's head in base, all within a bordure, with the legend, "Sat cito si sat tuto." It is dated in January 1746.

My dear Lord President

I write this time in great haste to tell you that I still continue in great health, without even the complaint of hot water. I am less wearied when I come home at night after a day's walking than I used to be these last two Winters when carried in a chair. I have no news to write as we are only in expectation. I have it from good hands, that both Armies seem to be in good Spirits. I am in some concern for our Friend Jo Rattray tho' he was pressed out by the Highlanders, and carried vi et armis out of his bed, yet I do not know what construction may be put upon his staying with them so long in this Country. At the same time if he comes off he must go to Prison. I have never heard from him. They talk here of Peter Haldane or Harry Hume to succeed Lord Balmerino, but I believe we know nothing of the matter. Adieu.

No successor to Lord Balmerino was appointed till the following summer, when the Lord Advocate (Robert Craigie) was made a Lord of Session. John Rattray and George Lauder, whose case is mentioned later, were both forced out by the Prince's army as surgeons to care for the wounded.

(20) AFTER THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK.

The possibility of the Prince's army retreating to the neighbourhood of Inverness was early realised by the President; and the temporary check to the Government caused by the battle of Falkirk (17th January), with the resulting elation of its enemies, added materially to his difficulties. There is more than one account in the "Culloden Papers" of Hawley's defeat, who, General Wightman said, seemed "to be sensible of his misconduct, for when I was with him on Saturday [18th] morning at Linlithgow, he looked most wretchedly, even worse than Cope did a few hours after his scuffle, when I saw him at Fala."

From Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk to the President, dated from Castle Grant, 21st January 1746.

My Lord

What I am now to offer to your Lordship's consideration is not to propose any measure of action. . . . But what I am to submit to my Lord Louden & your Lop is . . . to associate

all the chieftains and principle members of the Loyall clans, and other principle people of the King's friends in the North, to exert themselves for the publick service by a strong address to the King. Haveing mentioned this to My Lord Findlater and Mr Grant, all of us agreed your Lop. was the proper judge of its expediency.

Tho' it is late in respect to the Rebellion, the first threaten attack upon our constitution by a formidable invasion from foreign Powers, gives not only a new and naturall use to it, but may render it both more necessary and somewhat usefull, as it renders it more honourable for the King and all concerned in proportion to the degree of danger at the time when it is done.

As there hath been a deficiency of powers and provision to authorise and employ the King's friends in the North for action; many of whom, your Lordship knows have been ready to act heartily . . . some such measure as is here proposed may contribute to the honour of the King & the vindication of the country.

Tho' it is presumable your Lop has later and better intelligence of affairs in the South than we; yet it would be unpardonable at such a time, not to mention what is materiall of what we hear. Last night we had returns from Badenough and Strathdoun, which confidently affirms that almost all Capoch's men are returned, and many of the Camerons returning dailly; that severalls of the Frasers, and those who went with Cromartie, have passed north ward within these few days, and more upon the way in the same course, and nine of Cluny's Mcphersons certainly came to the country last Friday. That five men are come to Strathdoun who have deserted with their arms, who left Stirling last Thursday the 16th, when there had not been one gun fir'd against the Castle, nor any battery raised for that purpose; and they assert there is dailly considerable desertion. And one from Aberdeen who left it last Fryday says there is not one military man in that town, nor in any part of the Country nor Mearns.

I am with esteem and respect

Your Lordships most obedient and most humble servt.

Arch. Grant.

From Seaforth to the President, dated from Brahan Castle, 22nd January 1746.

My Lord

I had the honour of yours of this day's date. I suppose the resignation you mention [Lord Tweeddale] won't give your Lordship great pain. I am not sorry that our Perth neighbours have crossed the Forth, because I must beg leave to differ from your opinion about their retreat and must believe they shall rather make a moonlight stretch to get into some winter quarters without risking an action except advantageously in the woods, which you see they skulk about. Upon the supposition of a north visit which I dont look for so suddenly, I so far approve of your Lordship's hint that I had the same thoughts long agoe, but as I have no administration, civill or military, except a firm and unvariable attachment to my King and country I dont presume to offer schemes. Meantime I'd humbly think your Lordship's dependence in such a case shou'd not be mainly upon the remotest friends, but as the cause must be common, that all imbark'd with the Government or who may dread ruffian bands shou'd associate as one man, tho' I am at a loss to know how they can act in any other shape than self defensive. However their mutuall understanding or junction wou'd put the adventurers to a stand. I shall long for the next account, wishing and hoping you have proper land as well as sea intelligence, that people may not be mislead or surprised in any event. I have not heard one word from the Lewis since my factor went thither, which I can impute to nothing but to cross winds, making a passage impracticable. I am uneasy but I can't help it. I hope Mr Forbes has got the better of his leg. I am just going to drain my purse to the Collector of the cess which nothing wou'd induce me to but that I understand My Lord Loudouns pressing demands wont bear a delay or exchange. I offer his Lordship my compliments. I am

My dear Lord Your Lordships most affectionate
humble servant

K. Mackenzie.

Headed :—Copie of part of Letter to Lord Seaforth [23rd January] 1746.

I am glad to hear your Lordship has had the same sentiments as I have had about assembling the Possie of this Neighbourhood to resist a Common Danger, which may approach us. But you have omitted to say what you have resolved to do. It is because your People are most remote except those of the Isle of Sky, that I gave the first notice of this to your Lop, which became practicable only upon the assurance we have received, that some Arms and some money are on the way for us, and I am desirous to know what your Lop, thought was fit to be done because I would regulate my views and Propositions accordingly. Since the number of arms now sent, do not I doubt exceed 1000,—and those must be proportioned in the out giving, amongst those that are able and willing to make use of them, for the Defence of the Government and for their mutual Defence. When we know your Lops Sentiments, those who are nearer, at least whose men are will be acquainted in course. I know it, and am sorry for it, that your Lop. has no employment Civil or Military, and I am so far in the like Case, that I have no employment that can entitle me, to meddle in those matters. But your Lop. has and has shewn it very much to your honour, and for the Service of both, ane unalterable attachment to your King and Country, as you very properly express it, which gives you ane undoubted title to advise, and to act. I have often told your Lop I act under no other Character, and would never desire better advisers on such ane occassion, than such as act from the like Principles and under the same Title. I have this evening wrote a Letter to Sir Alexander MacDonald which will be forwarded tomorrow, desiring him to have some of his and McLeod's men in readiness, and proposing, what [Mackenzie of] Davoch Maluach told me yesterday, your Lop. had spoken of a resolution, for mutual defence, between the Tennants of your Highland estate, and those of Sky &c. and wh. I dare say will be agreed to, so soon as I have your Lops Resolutions I shall proceed in mentioning the necessity of having more men, to others, whose men are nearer. My humble Duty to My Lady.

I am My dear Lord Intirely yours &c.

Headed :—Copie Letter to Sir Al. MacDonald 23 Janry. 1746.

My dear Knight

You can hardly conceive what concern it gave me, to learn by your last, that your health was hurt, as that happened in the service of your Country at a point of time when there is further occasion for that Service. Last Tuesday [21st] a Kinghorn Boat despatched from Leith, the 17th brought us Dispatches from London and from Edinburgh. From London the Duke of Newcastle writes, that the Marquis of Tweedale has resigned, that the King is well satisfied with our behaviour in this part of the World. That Hawley commands in Scotland, that the Hessians are ordered for the Firth of Forth, and that a supply of Arms and money is ordered for us. And a Letter from London says that the Speedwell Sloop of War, was dispatched from the River the 11th with these particulars. From Edinburgh we learn, that the Highlanders from England having called to their assistance there friends from Perth, had invested Sfirling Castle, the Militia that passed the Town having retired. That they had taken possession of Falkirk, and had advanced a Body of 1000 or 1200 men to Lithgow. That they had collected Boats to Transport their Artillery (wh. as far as I can learn consists of 6 pieces of cannon) across the Forth. That on the eleventh a Detachment of 300 in Boats from Leith, burnt and destroyed these Boats, and killed or wounded about fifty of the people that guarded them. That on the 14th General Hawley detached Genl. Husk with 6 Battalions to Lithgow, who concealed his March so well that he must have surprised the Highlanders, but for the Treachery of an Innkeeper, who gave the Highlanders notice in time enough to escape, before they were surrounded. That General Hawley followed the next day, with 6 Batt. more and some Dragoons, and upon his approach the Highlanders quitted Falkirk also and retired to the other side of the Carron, where they were making Dispositions as if they intended to stand the fate of an Attack, which Hawley was resolved to make having got up a Field Train of 10 pieces, and having been joined at Falkirk by 1200 Highlanders from Argyllshire, and by the Regiment of Volunteers under E. Hume [Earl of Home]. It was the opinion of Edinburgh, on the 17th, that either that

day or the next, a general action müst happen, as they were assured the Highlanders and their Prince were determined to put all to the issue of a Battle, before the Hessians and some other Troops that were expected dayly should arrive. But I must confess I should conjecture otherways, because the inevitable destruction that must happen in the case of a defeat, Stirling and the Forth being behind them, and the Argyllshire Highlanders with Humes Militia, and the Dragoons being good enough hands in a chase, whatever figure they might make in sustaining ane attack, ought in my apprehension to deter the most adventurous, from risking an Action on that Ground, what I therefore at present Imagine, is, that they may have chosen the Party of retiring behind the Forth, perhaps as far as Perth, to wait the Issue of the expected Invasion from France, but I have no notion that Hawley will suffer them to remain there long, as in his Letter to us, he does not seem to have the same opinion, of their Prowess that other Commanders have had. His force consisted some days ago, of 14 old Battalions and about 3 Regiments of Dragoons besides the Argyllshire Highlanders, and the Militia I have mentioned, and if the Hessian foot which are in number about 4800 are arrived, he may surely do anything he pleases, or that the Season will permitt. Having thus my Dear Knight told you all that I have heard, the result whereof that things are just at a Crisis, it comes to be ane important consideration what is fit to be done, what you and I and everyone who thinks, as we do, ought to wish, evidently is, that those unhappy, men, might take the Resolution, instantly to disperse, in order to consult their own safety and should not dream of maintaining a war any longer, wh. in all Human Appearance can have no other effect, than to secure their own Distruction, to draw some Innocent People who have hitherto been quiet, into the same condemnation, and perhaps to distress some Persons in the North, who are lately become the objects of their Resentment purely because they did not dance to their Pipe. Now the most effectual and indeed the only means to compass, what we thus wish, appears to me to be instantly to assemble such a Force, at this Place as shall obviate or Extinguish all Hopes in them, of making any stand

in this country. I take it for Granted General Hawley when his Hessians arrive, perhaps before, will make Perth too hot for them, and in the Highlands they cannot possibly subsist in a Body, could they retire to this Country and make themselves Masters of it. And they might maintain themselves in it some-time and do abundance of mischief, because the Regular Troops, could not in this Season quickly follow them, but if there was a sufficient possie here to lock them out, there would be no other party they could possibly take but to separate, and be quiet. Now as we soon hope to be able to arm ten or twelve hundred men, besides the Force already on Foot and to subsist them, what we have thought on, is as quick as possible to bring together to this Neighbourhood, that, or a greater number of the possie from Sky, Seaforth, Sutherland, etc. who are to serve on longer, than till the present [trouble] is over, and are with the Companys now here, to direct their Force indifferently for the defence of any of the Countrys that may be threatened by the Gentlemen who are not of humour with any of us ; such a disposition, would, I should think dissipate any purpose of keeping together in a Body, after they are obliged to leave Perth, and would affectually secure any one corner against resentment the only means to compass, what we thus wish, appears to me and indeed, it falls in with an overture which Caberfey [Seaforth] was making sometime ago of an Alliance offensive and defensive for the present occasion, between himself and the Chiefs of Sky, to assist each other in case of any attack totis Viribus.

Now my dear Knight if you think as I do, what I earnestly entreat is that without losing a moment you will come down to us, with 400 at least of your own and MacLeods trusting to it that you will meet with the support and concurrence, I've been speaking of, and I beseech you immediately you will by a Clever Fellow, let me know your Resolutions, because I shall make my call upon other People accordingly. It needs not be an objection that the Island will be thus left naked, partly as you may acquaint the ships of War with your Expedition and require their Protection, and principally as we shall all, and particularly Seaforth's people, who ly next you, be ready to fly to

the assistance of the Island. There is one other difficulty which I confess I can not so well remove, but I know who can get the better of it, and that is the disagreeable thought of leaving Lady Margaret alone, in the midst of such bustle and hurry, were I in your case I must own this would give me some uneasiness, but at the same time from Lady Margaret's Character, I imagine she would push me on to finish with honour, and for preventing Mischief to my Friends and Country, an undertaking which I had entered upon so worthily. This I doubt not will be the case with you if your Health do not prevent it, which I earnestly pray God may forbid, should that unluckily be otherwise you will consider whether the People will follow Kingsburrow or any other. The money you call for shall be sent by the Gentleman you mention, who is to head MacLeod's People. My blessing to Lady Margaret and her Infantry. I am my dear Knight thoroughly yours etc., etc.,

P.S. Since writing I find I have been mistaken in my conjecture about the Highlanders risking a battle. The Particulars I do not know, otherwise than as I have related them in a schedule enclosed in the ostensible letter to you in which if I have been rightly informed the success will not inflame their courage.

The battle of Falkirk was fought on Friday, 17th January 1746.

From Hugh Inglis, captain of the merchant ship, "The Pledger," dated from Inverness, 24th January 1746, to "Mr Gilbert Gordon Merchant at Greigsby's Coffee House nigh the Royal Exchange, London."

My Dear Sir

The inclosed was writt some time past & shoud have gon by last packet boat, But mist the oppty, as many others did. Inclosed you have a letter from Mrs Gordon, to which I Referr you to as to her Situation. We still continue here in a miserable condition our fears still incress of getting a visit from the P. & his Army at least a part of them. Last night a Packet Boat arrived from Leith. The news brot here by the Skipper is that on Wednesday the 15th inst, General Hally & his Army left Edn. in full march to Falkirk, in order to attack the Pr: then

said to be at Torwood, and for certant a bloody battle has been ere now. Should the P. be worsted its ten thousand to one he'll make his retrate this way & such as do not imediatly join him will be used in the severest manner ; its a pity that the Govt, do not think it worth while to bestow a man of War on this place. Where must your Aquentances & Mine run too? however this is not a subject to dwell upon ; its hard to know whose hands this may fall in. We have had excessive rains for some days past, little or no fish got in the River, however our loss is, already considerable, in not having a Sloop for that purpose. I'm still in the notion of setting out for London. I wish youd purchase me a protection & send it by the first oppty, Either Sea or Land which you think safest. I houp ere now my friend Mr Reid is Ready to sett out, & I houp you have sent by him a few hops sugar & flour.

I intend to have a comoning with such as are concerned in the Pleadger. She must be Chapt off, I cant think of bestowing more of my time in her, Ile content myself with a less Vessel & fewer owners, if possible, & I believe will turn out more to my own & others Satisfaction. Never was such times in this poor Corner of the World, as now. The little peny money thats spent amongst us by the Military hardly keeps us in Peats & Fish. You'l not forget Sugar & hops. Both are at very high price. May God grant us a happy & blyth meeting I am my Dr Sr,

Yours

Hugh Inglis.

From Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, to the President, dated from Edinburgh, 21st January 1746.

My Lord.

I sent yesterday an express to prevent your being too much alarmed.

Friday our Generals at Falkirk with 12 Regiments foot, Ld. Cobhams Dragoons and the 2 broken Regiments of Dragoons, besides the Glasgow Regiment, and about 1000 from Argyllshire, including 3 Companys of Lord Loudouns, being informed and seeing the Rebels march in 2 Columns by the South of the Torwood Towards Dunpace, Drew out our Army before their

Camp which was on the North West of Falkirk, and perceiving the Rebels marching on towards the high Ground, on the Muir to the South of Falkirk our Army marched that way, the whole Dragoons in the Van, ordered to take up the high ground, and the Foot to follow join and support the Horse, A Dreadfull Storm of rain and wind from the South, happened at this instant, in the teeth of our Army, as they mounted up the hill, bad Roads and uneven Ground put our folks quite out of Breath, when the Armys drew nigh their right was covered by a Morass, and their left reached only to our Center. The Dragoons were ordered to begin the Charge and were well led on by their Officers, received the fire, then reeled and many of them fled, numbers of bye Standers running off with them, struck a pannick, and people at some Distance observing such a Run, concluded all gone, and scattered terror even to this Town. But to proceed, so many of the Dragoons being fled, our left Wing exposed gave way, without being I may say attacked, at least most of them. The Rebels did not make use of this Advantage by following in pursuite. Two Regiments on the right; Barrells commanded by Lt. Colone| Rich, and Legoniers foot, by Lieut. Colone| Stanhope, both under command of Brigadier Cholmondeley made a noble stand, firing in platoons, and saving the fire of the front Rank, whereby they kept the Rebels at a distance, advanced on them and fired till the Rebels thought proper to run off, up the Hill as fast as they came down. General Huske had during this time rallied a great body of Foot behind these Regiments, as Brigadier Mordent did the Remainder of the Foot near Falkirk. The Highlanders observing this retreated over the Hill leaving our Army in full possession of the Field of Battle, and I am told by the Country people that most of them fled two miles by different routes, a pannick having taken them in their Turn. To return to our Army, our artillery was early deserted by Captain Cunningham of the Train, and the Horses employed in that, and every one of the Army horses and all ran off at the first fire and route, and no use was made of the Artillery. With difficulty horses were got to carry off three of the 10 Cannon, another was by the Grenadiers rolled to the Camp, but no Horses could be got to

bring it further. The rain continuing and our Arms being thereby useless, The Provisions being carried off to Lithgow to save the Army, our Generals were obliged to abandon what Tents and Cannon, they could not get time to carry off, and march to Lithgow which was done with order and met with no disturbance. Our friend Sir Rob Munro is killed, the Story current is that he was only wounded, and that after all was over as his Brother was dressing his wounds he and his Brother and a Servant were murdered by the Rebels, but I cannot affirm that this is true. Our loss is not computed above 200, the Rebels thrice that number, our greatest Loss is Reputation. The Argyll men were not engaged, had orders to possess some farm houses and cover the Camp, which they did. Our Army returned thither the day after, as did that of the Rebels towards Stirling. We are preparing for another March. I have my own hopes that the Duke of Cumberland may be here soon to animate the Army. Excuse this, I believe true, though confused account. My compliments to Lord Loudoun and all friends I am

My dear Lord

Yours most sincerely

And. Fletcher.

Hawley's defeat cost him his command, a disgrace which he would appear to have kept in mind after the Battle of Culloden. He was succeeded almost immediately by the Duke of Cumberland.

The following are ostensible and private letters from Sir Alexander MacDonald to the President, dated from Mugstot, 31st January 1746.

Address : For the Right Honourable

Duncan Forbes of Culloden Esquire

Lord President of the Session.

My Lord

The accounts of the Fight twixt General Hawley and the Highlanders are not so magnificent from our Neighbourhood as from the City of Inverness. The People who left that Field to get home dont talk of five thousands and a total Route on the contrary they own their own side lost a great many men, but they are apish enough with having kept the Field &c I am glad to

hear the Laird is so well, a sight of Talisker will refresh him. The House is no longer a Hospital even the young Toast has got well, from being very like to tip off. [MacNeill of] Barray has been for some weeks in Readiness to go Southward, Clanranald who vouchsafed me a Letter lately, will not go even to Torwood,

I salute Mr Forbes.

I am My Lord

Your most obedient humble Servant

Alexr. Macdonald.

Address :—For the President.

My Dear Lord,

The Bad weather which kept the Post from being here till two o'clock this afternoon, kept me at home for some days past, I am however quite strong again, and will be able for travelling or so whenever this Fellow returns. Matters with regard to the recoiling of the Highlanders have turned out in such a way, that I think we have no reason to expect to see them very soon, their Business is forward if they can, and G. Hawley's Retreat to Edinburgh, and so quick a one will detain them on the other side the Forth for some time ; be this as it will I march with the number I mentioned to you formerly whenever I have orders from you, that are not confined to conjectures. I have no men to bring but my own, as the Laird has already got away all his men, that could be equipt in Clothing. He writes to me to bring his men, and he does not know that tho' he has Men, they are not men of War without Plaids etc., and this is no Squib thrown at my good Companion as I am much in the same Situation, however the Number I formerly mentioned is ready at a call. I have little scruple in leaving this Island whenever you judge it of general use, but I know it will be used like Glenelg from which a deal of Cattle has been stolen, as I from the beginning wanted to receive your Commands, lay them on out of your positive Friendship, and I obey with the same disposition. I go forthwith to Sleat and leave Kingsborrow here to bring me up the Men of this Country on the

Smallest Notice. The idle Post's edition of Torwood has set all the people agog. I shall be impatient till I see this fellow's face again. I am as ever My Dear Lord much

Yours Alex. Macdonald.

Lady Margaret is in love with a man that lives 2 miles from Inverness.

The following letter from the Newcastle Papers (British Museum) was written from Mugstot by Sir Alexander MacDonald to Clanranald, 25th January 1746, and he was at great trouble to produce arguments which would keep another MacDonald chief out of mischief, and in respect of MacNeill of Barra, the letter is singularly disinterested. That estate would, in the event of MacNeill's forfeiture, have fallen to Sir Alexander as superior.

Dr Clan

Notwithstanding that I hear from Time to time that you are on the Wing Southwards I never will despair of you till you are gone, neither will I till then cease to give you all the Information I have. It is not new to you that the P. after penetrating a little beyond Darby thought proper to wheel about in order to return to Scotland, The Reasons of this Resolution were strong, The Army under the D. of Cumberland was very near & much more numerous, No french Succour was like to cast up, & no Accession of Strength to his Army from the Men of England. Upon his turning Tail the Duke with his light horse & Grenadeers mounted, pursued whatever he was able but (to the P.'s honour who has not so good an Officer in his Army as himself) cou'd not overtake, except once that the P's Rear & some of the Duke's Men had a smart scuffle at a village called Clifden where as all was acted by fireing the Highlanders suffr'd most. As they were forced to make very long marches they dropt a great many men, the Garison left at Carlile surrender'd at Discretion to the Duke above three weeks ago, the Duke's Cavalry was hourly expected at Edinr on Monday was a fortnight on which day a Kinghorn boat sail'd from Lieth with dispatches for the North, that Day the first Division of Wade's Army was marching into Edinr under Lt. General Hawley, the Lieth & Edinr Carts haveing gone to fetch in their Baggage, The P— was

then either at Hamilton or Glasgow with the Débris of his Army from which there has been (& no wonder) a very great Desertion. By Mr. Mc Allester's vessell in ten Days from Kintyre I learn that the small Army at Perth consisting of 3000 march'd out of that Place & met the P— near the Forth & that they retur'n in a body to Perth. Whether they will make a Stand there or get into the Highlands & disperse I know not. My Opinion is that they will endeavour to keep in a body 'till they see the fate of the Invasion which has been carrying on at Dunkirk Ostend & Calais, the Number of Troops that shou'd have been embark'd in these Ports is 12,000 & should have sail'd the 5th of last month, the gros of them were to be put aboard of Open Boats & to land in Kent Essex etc, there was no Account of their being landed when the Kinghorn boat sail'd & it is dubious if they can put to sea & very dangerous for them to land, for the Government besides their strong guard of Men of War in the Channel under Admiral Vernon have Arm'd above a hundred small vessells Cutters Sloops etc., these have taken many empty Ships & a number of Fish Boats & other small Craft going into Dunkirk & Calais to take men on board & they peep frequently into these Ports to see what is a doing. The People along the Coasts of England are arming & looking out Sharpe & have removed all eatables 20 miles from the Sea, The Army to oppose their landing is more numerous than themselves. I do not see the french can propose to get Masters of England with so small a force & without that they now can do no Service to the P— at such a Distance from him, the Half of 12,000 wou'd have had a strong effect in August last. I know not but the Precipitat Retreat of the Highlanders from England may make france lay aside thoughts of invading & indeed the Invasion wou'd now seem to no purpose if they don't land in Scotland, nor do I know whether the Peace which the King of Prussia has clapt up with the Queen of Hungary & King of Poland after beating both their Armys near Dresden will make the french King shy to part with any of his Troops, you see this Peace makes him 70000 enemys more this year in fflanders & on the Rhine.

[MacNeill of] Barray has done all he cou'd to make me a Present of his Estate tho' I never coveted it; there is no man but knows that Arms and money were landed with him & the Government People know that he took a part of both, his Reviews & Weaponshawings are no Secret to them & he need not expect to escape a Tryal; if he is attainted it will not be in my Power to give his Estate to his Son as I know the Government don't suffer to shew any favours in that way without resenting it; it is pitiful to see the poor Gentleman imposed on by a very underling Ambassador who is happy if he gets a Company of Foot when he returns as the reward of his Zeal in ruining Barray. There is but one way left to save him & that is that he bring what Arms he got directly to me, this I am afraid he'll not do & yet his people will soon be forced to give them up. As the Government looks on me as their zealous friend this thing if immediatly done wou'd give me a Pretext of keeping Barray free of any Molestation, if it is delay'd it will not signifie to do it Months hence when it must be done. Wou'd it not be Charitable in you to make him meet you at [Macdonald of] Boistil's & both of you to give him your best Advice you see I wou'd gladly not gain by his folly. I hope in God you and your Uist men have kept your fingers clean of that Barray Cargo—you see the P—— lost if a miracle does not interpose & for any man to lose himself now & without a blow wou'd be a miserable Circumstance. I forgot to tell you that the Kinghorn Boat brought an Order for laying an Embargo on any ships in the North of Scotland outward bound with Beef Pork or any other eatables & this in order that the Army coming North in pursuit of the Highlanders may be the better subsisted. Hay of Ranas, [Gordon of] Glastirim & some other Gentlemen have gone to their Homes from the Prince but whether to reclaim the men of D. Gordon's Countrey who have all deserted I can't tell. There is a Report that Clunie MacPherson, [Macdonald of] Lochgarie & [Macdonald of] Ardnabie were killed at Clifden, but this is not certain. The 6000 Hessians which were embark'd at Williamstat & destined for Scotland were not landed when the Boat sail'd from Leith. If I have not the Pleasure of hearing from

you I shall fancy you dead or that I have lost a friend. I am with real friendship & Esteem my Dr. Clan

Your Affectionat Cousen & most humble servant

Alexr Macdonald

P.S. Lose no time if you have any Kindness for Barray in seeing him & if he loves himself he'll be allert. [Macdonald of] Lairgie is still at Home.

In expectation of the arrival of cash and 1000 stand of arms, Lord Loudoun and the President informed Hawley on 26th January that they had "sent messengers into the Highlands, to have in readiness as many of the well affected Clans as we shall be able to arm and subsist when the vessell arrives. With these we propose to secure Inverness; and with the Troops now on foot, to march whithersoever the service may require . . . we cannot think of altering our present disposition untill the arrivall of the arms expected put us in a condition to augment our force, & until we receive further directions from you . . . ("Culloden Papers," DXXIX.).

From James Morison to the President, dated from Aberdeen, 6th February 1746.

My Lord

It being certain that the Highland Camp Broak up and Marchd Northward from Stirling on Saturday last [1st February] upon hearing of the Duck's Moving to give them Battle, I have taken this opportunity to let you know that many of the Gentlemen have returned here, and give out that the Bulk of their Forces are to push forward to Inverness and attack Lord Loudoun, and then raise as many more of the Clans as possible, that L[ord] P[itlig]o, L[ord] G[eorge] M[urra]y, & L[ord] O[gilvie] are coming this way with about 2000 Men. Its wisht Lord Loudoun may be on his Guard. Friends think that his coming this way would be safest, but your Lop: and he will best judge of that, I know an express was sent off yesterday informing of this, but lest any accident should have happened I thought best to send another and

I remain

My Lord Your Lop's Faithful
& very humble Servant

James Morison, Junr.

From John Urquhart of Cromarty and Craigston to the President, dated from Cromarty, 6th February 1746.

My Lord

I cannot express how much I am obliged to your Lop. for your Good Advice and the trouble you took to write me so long a Letter, as I had the honour to receive yesterday from you. I thought everything had continued quiet in Aberdeenshire and I heard nothing of any Ships Arrival at Peterhead, wh. I can scarce believe to be Spanish, tho' the Biscayners doe Sometimes sail as far Northward. It is great happiness to live just now in a quiet Country, and tho' I have Business of some Consequence to me at Craigston, I will continue here until I hear of something decisive happening, and that quietness be reestablished in Aberdeenshire, where I only meant to stay ten days or a fortnight. It will be a new mark of your Lops friendship if you will acquaint the Bearer Mr. Logie (for I would not have your Lop. take the trouble to write me yourself) when you think it may be fit for me to go, and do my Business in that Country, and he will drop me a line from Inverness. When it pleases God that our country is quite settled, and your conveniency permits Mrs Urquhart and I will be exceeding glad to have the honour to see your Lop. in our House, in the meantime and always, I have that of being with the greatest esteem and respect.

My Lord

Your Lordships most obliged & most
obedient humble Servant

John Urquhart.

From Ludovick Grant, younger of Grant, to the Earl of Loudoun, dated from Castle Grant, 6 in the Morning. Feb. 10th 1746.

My Lord,

The enclosed was writt last night and designed to have sent James Grant my Chamberlain of Strathspey with it, but the Rebels are soe near me that I cant spare so useful a person from this place. I am preparing for my defence the best I can, and shall always be ready to exert myself, There has no further intelligence, than what is enclosed, come this morning.

All here join in Compliments to your Lordship the Lord President and all Friends with you.

I ever am with truth

My dear Lord

Your most faithfull & obedt. Humble Servant

Lud. Grant.

P.S. Mr Grant of Elchies who is Collector of the Cess of Murray came here yesterday morning with his Men he has with him £142 10s sterling of the Cess of Murray, to give your Lop. he will send it to Forres if your Lop. will please send a receipt for it and ane order to some person to receive it.

The enclosure is missing.

On 17th February 1746, the President transferred to Lord Loudoun the sum of £633 8s stg., to be applied to the payment of the troops, and for which Lord Loudoun was to account to the President. (Mackenzie Deeds, Register House).

From the Earl of Sutherland to the Lord President, dated from Dunrobin, 8th Feb. 1746.

My Lord

Your Lops letter by the Bearer Alexander Fraser of the thirty first January I received the 7th Current, and this will be delivered you by James Anderson, to whom I have given Commission to talk to your Lop, about several things if your time will allow. I shall not trouble you farther by writing than to add that I shall have the two hundred men your Lop. wants ready against the time they shall be called for, for wh. purpose I gave immediate orders on receipt of your Lops, to have them ready at an hour's warning and for the greater expedition told them, I shall go with them myself and not ly sleeping at home when our King, Religion and everything is at Stake, for all what my Enemies may have told to others I will bring the above number that I believe the like of will not be seen at Inverness, and if more had been called for would not have drained the Country. For it would have been easier for me to have brought out 800 than to have sent out 100. I am My Lord

Your Lops most obedt. Humble Servant

Sutherland.

P.S. I send your Lop. enclosed a paper [missing] wh. I hope your Lop. will think of.

CORRECTIONS TO THE ORIGINAL
"CULLODEN PAPERS"
(FEBRUARY 1744 TO FEBRUARY 1746).

CORRECTIONS TO THE ORIGINAL "CULLODEN
PAPERS"

FEBRUARY 1744 TO FEBRUARY 1746.

(CCXLV TO CCCXIII AND ADDENDA CCCXCIX TO DXXIX.)

CCXLVII.—CCXLIX.—Not found.

CCLIII.—Not found.

CCLV.—The date is 24th August 1745.

CCLVI.—Line 29, after "every way" insert :—I have been so very ill since I wrote to your Lop yesterday that I can hardly sit stand or speak, occasioned by three small boyls that are come out on my body that torment me to the highest degree. I never knew what pain was before. I have sent in for plaisters to Doctor Menzies of the same kind that Doctor Fraser ordered for the other that I had on my shoulder which is near well. This pain join'd with that in my legs keeps me from rest so that really my dear Lord life is both uneasy and burdensome to me, and I shoud not regrate to leave the world tomorrow, provideing I left my children and friends well but whether I be sick or in health I shall etc."

Line 4 of P.S., for "Abertaif," read "Abertarf."

CCLVII.—CCLIX.—Not found.

CCLX.—Page 215, line 26, after "Gortuleg" insert :—and I send your Lop a copy of his letter inclosed.

CCLXV.—Not found.

CCLXVIII.—There is a postscript :—This moment I learn by an express from the Lyon that Glenbucket who gave it out that he was to way lay & disarm your friend Culcairn and his Monros thought fit on his approach to Banff to leave the town with 170 men which was all David Tulloch & he had there between them.

CCLXXI.—Page 225, line 32, transfer "how soon his reign commences" to after "Island," line 33.

CCLXXII.—There is a postscript :—N.B. were it not that Potosi affairs require my attention I would accompany Ld. Loudoun and be

a Bonus Genius about you in this critical juncture, which is the part I now act here to the Mayor, who unluckily for the town & his Majesty's service goes out of office today succeeded by a man of no education, a mere tradesman, attached to Mr Blacker's party in opposition to Mr Ridley's.

CCLXXIII.—Not found.

CCLXXXI.—Not found.

CCLXXXII.—Page 234, line 3, for "yours" read "ours." They has been partly erased.

CCLXXXIII.—Not found.

CCLXXXVII.—Not found.

CCLXXXIX.—Not found.

CCXCIII., CCXCIV.—Not found.

CCXCVI.—Not found.

CCXCVIII.—Though the copy is in the President's handwriting, the letter is from Lord Loudoun.

CCXCIX.—This also is in the President's handwriting. Line 6 of postscript, for "my Lord's" read "Macleod's."

CCC.—In the President's handwriting, but certainly from Lord Loudoun.

CCCII.—Not found.

CCCIII.—The date is 1st December.

CCCVI.—Page 262, line 23, for the asterisks read "Avas's [Alves']".

CCCVII.—Line 2, transfer from "The enclosed Packets" to "May be opened" (line 6), to after the postscript. Page 264, line 6, for "class" read "close."

CCCXCIX.—After postscript add :—I hope your Lordship will be pleased with the enclosed order.

CCCIV.—Not found.

CCCCVI.—Not found.

CCCCVII.—Not found, except the postscript which appears with CCCCXII., and should be transferred to CCCCVII.

CCCCIX.—Line 5, for "guide" read "guard."

CCCCXI.—The date is 20th September.

- CCCCXII.—The date is 20th September, and the postscript [20th August] belongs to CCCCVII.
- CCCCXIV.—Not found.
- CCCCXV.—Last line of page 383 delete “ill.”
- CCCCXVI.—Dated from Inverness. A postscript reads :—I have ordered this Inverness Post who conveys this to be escorted by a party of Cluny’s Highlanders from Ruthven to Blair.
- CCCCXVII.—Not found.
- CCCCXXI., CCCCXXII.—Not found.
- CCCCXXIV.—Line 9, for “compress’d” read “compass’d.”
- CCCCXXV.—Line 16, for “and” read “as.”
- CCCCXXX.—Not found.
- CCCCXXXIV.—Page 398, line 9, for “Macglash” read “Macglashan.”
- CCCCXXXV., CCCCXXXVI.—Not found.
- CCCCXXXVII.—First line of second paragraph, for “into” read “out of.”
- CCCCXXXVIII.—Not found.
- CCCCXLII.—Title, for “Advocate” read “President.” Letter not found.
- CCCCXLIII.—CCCCXLV.—Not found.
- CCCCXLVII.—Not found.
- CCCCLII.—Line 7, the word where the asterisks are shown appears to be “Auldcholicam.”
- CCCCLVI.—There are two identical letters, both signed. A postscript reads :—I have this moment your Lordship’s of the 20th of September, and I hope what I have wrote above answers every part of it fully.
- CCCCLVII., CCCCLVIII.—Not found.
- CCCCLIX.—Line 5, read “other wise and well-affected chieftains.” Line 26, for “when” read “where.”
- CCCCLX.—Not found.
- CCCCLXI.—This letter is printed in full in the text, with the missing portion added.
- CCCCLXII.—Not found.

- CCCCLXVI.—Line 12, for “ready toward twenty hours,” read “ready four and twenty hours.” For “Blaan” read “Braan.”
- CCCCLXVIII.—Line 8, for “Sterart” read “Stewart.” Line 24, for “from Lochiel” read “with Lochiel.” At end of letter after word “stir” insert :—I asked him severall other particulars. Largie and Lamon are both at home, tho he seems to think their tenants are gone.
- CCCCCLXIX.—Not found.
- CCCCCLXXI.—This letter is given in full in the text with the missing portion added.
- CCCCLXXIII.—Line 7 from bottom of page 427, where asterisks occur read “Sheugly.”
- CCCXXVII.—Not found.
- CCCCLXXIX.—Not found.
- CCCCLXXXI.—Not found.
- CCCCLXXXIV.—Not found.
- CCCCLXXXV.—Not found, but the letter is from Lord Loudoun.
- CCCCLXXXVI.—Line 21, for “Balmanach” read “Balmeanach.” Page 439, line 10, where the blank occurs read “Lo[ch]ness.” Line 13, read “Caberfey.”
- CCCCLXXXVII.—Not found.
- CCCCLXXXIX., CCCXC.—Not found.
- CCCCXCII.—CCCCXCIV.—Not found.
- CCCCXCVI.—CCCCXCVIII.—Not found.
- CCCCXCIX.—The date is 1745.
- DI.—DV.—Not found.
- DVII.—DVIII.—Not found.
- DIX.—Line 14, for “when McLeod’s” read “where McLeod’s.” Page 454, line 4, for “hired” read “levied.”
- DXI.—DXIII.—Not found.
- DXVI.—Not found.
- DXVII.—Headed :—Copie ostensible letter to Macleod.
- DXIX.—DXXI.—Not found.
- DXXVIII.—DXXIX.—Not found

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