

To
HECTOR FORBES OF CULLODEN
this work is (by kind permission)
gratefully dedicated.

To my Sister,
MYRA K. G. WARRAND,
this volume is affectionately dedicated,
in remembrance of our happy childhood,
at Ryefield, Bught and Culloden.

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MORE CULLODEN PAPERS

EDITED BY
DUNCAN WARRAND, MA., F.S.A.

VOL. V. FEBRUARY 1746 to DECEMBER 1747.

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PREFACE.

With the issue of this volume the Editor's task is ended, except for the somewhat remote possibility that "Still More Culloden Papers" may some day emerge from a more detailed arrangement of the residue and from other documents found, while this work was in progress. How nearly the whole collection once came to destruction has already been mentioned in the Foreword to Volume I., and the following correspondence throws additional light upon that subject.

Copy Letter Messrs MacQueen and MacIntosh, W.S., to H. R. Duff, Esquire, dated 30th April 1819.

Mr Blackwood seems impressed with the belief that Messrs Cadell and Davies acquired an unconditional right to the documents lodged by you with them; and that this right may be now exercised by making them up in a new publication, with any other papers of interest connected with Scotland. Mr B. intends to consult an eminent literary character of this place and to request him to make a fit selection for publication under the title of "Scotch Papers."

Being informed as to the nature of the contract between you and Messrs Cadell and Davies, we did not offer any observations on the scheme developed by Mr Blackwood—which has for a separate object to give the public several documents received from you, but which Messrs C. and Davies did not insert in the Culloden Papers.

If the designs entertained by Mr Blackwood meet with the approbation of yourself and Culloden, some valuable additions might be made to the collection, and letters from Lord Lovat, of a very characteristic tenor, might be received from a friend of ours here, addressed to neighbouring lairds. You probably know that Lord Hardwicke has several of the President's letters, and other original documents of value. He will, however, take no interest in Mr B.'s scheme till we ascertain Culloden's and your sentiments. We are etc.

Mr Duff to Macqueen and McIntosh dated Muirtown, 3rd May 1819.

In answer to your letter just received the following are the precise facts in question. In February 1812 I happened to dine at Culloden, and seeing before dinner a large parcel of letters, was told that they had been brought down by the gamekeeper for colfing [wadding for guns]. I at once said that it was downright murder to use such valuable papers so; and Culloden said I was welcome to all in the house, and next day sent a cart full of boxes and sacks. I had at least thirty years before heard Dochfour speak of such papers as being once at Culloden; and I had no doubt the papers sent were those alluded to. In August 1812 I went to London and agreed for the publication of 1000 copies; but it was part of the agreement, in writing still here, that all the originals should be returned by 1st April 1813, when the work was to be out. The work did not come out till April 1815. Messrs Cadell and Davies had right to a second edition on paying me £75 sterling; but certainly not to use the papers otherwise. When I gave over the papers and some bound books, they were in 14 portfolios arranged, and I had put one apart with the most curious letters, that facsimiles might be taken; but I find that no use in the publication was made of Lord Dundas's, Lord Peterboro's or the Marquis of Argyle's, tho' certainly very curious and I must judge they have been made subservient to some other purpose. I may add that I have even found the gentlemen I had to do with in London very unlike what I expected—very uncivil and haughty etc. As I believe I am not known to be the Editor of this work, tho' I wrote the introduction, preface and notes, I have had no correspondence, and it is quite new to me the fact that Lord Hardwicke had any of the President's letters, tho' many must exist that were not at Culloden in copy; as except on particular public business I do not think the President kept copies of his letters. It is somewhat strange that Messrs Cadell and Davies find the papers now of value. It was their constant theme that they were not, and in fact they spoiled the publication by curtailing at first and then making an addenda—they altered my preface in that part to excuse this; tho' they had all the papers in due time and made the first print from an idea

(I could not get out of their heads) that the publication could hardly be short enough to answer its value. I am etc (signed) H. R. Duff.

[P.S.] Whether more than 1000 copies were published I know not. Mr Blackwood's suggestion may come from London by way of having the benefit of further use of the papers without paying me £75. I assure you I made no profit by what they first paid me £525. Of this £130 went in purchases for Culloden including a tea-urn of silver—the rest did not more than pay my journey to London and two months detention there or more. The papers were fully gifted to me without any reserve.

Messrs MacQueen and MacIntosh to Mr Duff dated 5 May 1819.

By this afternoon's delivery we had the honour of receiving your letter of the 3rd current and beg to express our acknowledgments for the trouble you have been pleased to take, in detailing the circumstances under which you came to be possessed of the Culloden papers. We had not the slightest intention of questioning your right to these documents, but having ascertained Mr Blackwood's views, it seemed a duty incumbent on us to render you aware of them, in order that the papers might not be employed in any purpose adverse to your inclinations, and having a tendency to compromise the value of the documents and perhaps the dignity of the family in some degree, by mixing up its memoirs with very opposite materials. Mr Blackwood's plan is not so far advanced that we can talk of it with certainty, but seeing it in progress we could not remain indifferent to the interests to which we have referred.

It appears clearly to us that under your contract with Cadell and Davies, Blackwood is not entitled to execute his present design. He may publish a second edition of the previous collection, but it must be much in the same style and of the same materials. Their unhandsome conduct to you does not merit indulgence, and there would be no propriety in allowing them enlarge their gains (after doing you so much injustice) by a misapplication of the documents.

As Cadell and Davies were bound to restore the papers to you in April 1813, we conceive that their right to a second

edition cannot extend beyond the documents formerly published. In short we think that if considerable profit is to arise from a second publication, it ought to belong to you as a small recompense for the interesting and admirable introduction and other information, under the auspices of which you introduced the documents to the world. We are etc.

It is perhaps only fair to Messrs Cadell and Davies to remark that Major Duff is said to have been of a somewhat irascible temperament, and the present editor possesses some volumes which once belonged to him bearing the suggestive title "Miseriae Legales." If there was indeed any discourtesy on the part of his publishers, the article from the pen of Sir Walter Scott, which appeared in the "Quarterly Review" for January 1816, must in so critical an age have made some amends. It is hoped that the index now given to the original volume may help further to enhance its value.

For the present volume it has been necessary to draw additional material from the State Papers preserved in the Public Record Office, without which some of the letters would have been too obscure.

The Editor's thanks are due once more to the Proprietors and Staff of the "Inverness Courier," and to all others who have in any way assisted him in the production of the volumes.

"Everything belonging to the Highlands of Scotland," wrote Sir Walter Scott, "has of late become peculiarly interesting." The lapse of more than a hundred years has served only to quicken that interest; and there is gradually arising a far greater understanding of the history of our country from the reading of original letters and documents rather than from the study of obsolete histories.

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INTRODUCTION.

“If the ship had happened to have arrived three weeks sooner, with the arms and money I think we should have had such a number of people assembled, as would have deterred the Rebels from coming this Road.” So wrote Lord Loudoun a fortnight after his evacuation of Inverness (Page 3). His correspondent, Lord Stair, was one of the few great men then resident in London who had any real understanding of the situation. To him had been due the idea of the Independent Companies and any help which Highlanders loyal to the Government had up to that time received. It is impossible to suppose that after seven months the authorities continued to misunderstand the repeated requests for supplies. They, like the Duke of Cumberland, trusted no one in the Highlands except “the Church of Scotland as they call it that is the Mess Johns” (Page 36); and they certainly had no comprehension of the patriarchal state of things still prevailing—Burt’s “Letters” were not then published.

What is properly called the Highlands of Scotland is that large tract of mountainous ground to the Northward of the Forth and the Tay where the natives speak the Irish language.

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A Highland Clan is a set of men all bearing the same surname, and believing themselves to be related the one to the other, and to be descended from the same common Stock. In each Clan, there are several subaltern tribes, who own their dependance on their own immediate Chief; but all agree in owing allegiance to the Supreme Chief of the Clan or Kindred, and look upon it to be their duty to support him at all adventures.

The power of this Chief has no foundation in the Laws of the Country. Some chiefs there are that have neither property nor jurisdiction, and the cutting off the present Chief does no more than make way for another,

Those Clans or Kindreds affect to herd for the most part together, not choosing (if they can help it) to mix with other kindreds; tho' sometimes accidents oblige them to take up their habitations in the districts of other Clans; but still they retain their allegiance to their proper Chief.

This description is from the pen of the Lord President ("Culloden Papers" CCCXLIII) and no man of his day better understood the matter or realised the difficulties which must accompany such a system. It is not too much to say that even in the case of Lovat the brothers Forbes may, in 1715 and after, have been greatly influenced by the fact that a Mackenzie as chief of the Frasers was an impossibility. Lovat, tyrant though he may have been, was never unpopular with the rank and file of his clan. Moreover, though the Union had done something to bring the two nations together, England was still for all intents and purposes a foreign country. Even Duncan Forbes as early as 1716 had already shown, by initiating a subscription for the prisoners, whose principles he detested, that the laws of their country were the laws by which they ought to be tried. Again, there was the question of kinship, sometimes remote enough, and the sensitiveness of all Scotsmen to any hardship, real or supposed, which might have its origin south of the border.

The Lord President's great grandfather had spent much of his youth at Beaufort (see Foreword to Volume I.), a fact which in Scotland would not be forgotten, and even Hugh Inglis, in spite of his loyalty to the Government, could find sympathy for a condemned Lovat (Page 175). Inglis was an Inverness man and must surely have been aware of such episodes as the attempt on Culloden, the attack upon Phopachy and other such doings, which the President's sister probably had in mind when she wrote of "that monster of men Lovat." Her son, Doctor Duncan Fraser of Achnagairn, was in a position to acquire considerable knowledge about his chief and it may be presumed that he shared it with his uncle at Culloden. Whatever the President's opinion may have been thirty years earlier, it must surely be accepted that towards the close neither he nor MacLeod were in any way deceived by Lovat. Hoping against hope they had made desperate efforts, firstly to keep the Frasers out of the Rising by any means in their power, and secondly to save an aged kinsman from his folly.

The strategic position of Lovat's country and the extraordinary power which he exercised over his clan made the Frasers a very formidable

obstacle to any plans which Lord Loudoun could make. Their active support in the Forty-five would probably have kept Inverness in the hands of the Government, as it had by their assistance been taken in the Fifteen.

Much has been said about MacLeod in the last volume, since the publication of which the following letter has come to light, written eleven days earlier than that given therein on page 10.

From MacLeod of MacLeod to the President dated from Beaufort 14th June 1745.

My dear Lord

I expected before this time to have wrote you from the Highlands, but soon after I parted with you I had a feaverish disorder and cold lasted for some days but went off as I thought without my doing anie thing for it. I was so well as go a fishing and wett myself, and so stout [foolhardy] as not to shift after; that threw me into a fine smart feaver, that has confined me these 12 days and made your nephew [Dr Duncan Fraser of Achnagairn] ride with uncommon speed from Brodie here. I'm now prittie well again and intend to go abroad to-day for the first time.

I saw Barrisdale as he parted with you he assured me that young Glengarie was not of Lord John Drummond's Regiment, that he spoke most violently against it on all occasions, and against giving anie assistance to recruit it, if such a thing should be attempted, and that he expected to meet him with his Father, Sir Alexander [Macdonald] etc at Glenelg. Since that I know nothing except that their was a common fellow from Moidart here 3 days ago buying meal. I caused enquire at him of his young Chief, he said he was not at that meeting but was expected daily in that country from the South. As Sir Hector MacLean is my near relation I cannot help being concerned for him, tho if whats said here be true, that he is either come with intent to recruit for that regiment or to carry on a treasonable correspondence, I do think he richly deserves the fate he's likely to meet with.

Pray did you get anie St Domingo rappee I sent from London for you. I forgot to ask when I saw you. There was a stone pot full of it.

I dare say their would be a bundle of compliments for you did my landlord know I was writing.

I was glad to hear your journey set you up and enabled you to begin the session in health. I hope your wonted care will carry you threw it in the same way. I ever am, My Dear Lord,

Most faithfully yours

Normand MacLeod.

The Doctor has wrote you in favours of Hugh Fraser who was once secretary here and the only tolerable servant ever I saw about the family, lett me join my word for him as I realy think him a deserveing lad. Lovat will help him to men if he gets ane ensigny and has recommended him to Guest.

If MacLeod and Lovat were then discussing the possible arrival of the Prince (Volume IV, Page 9), the above letter is indeed remarkable. but that of 25th June (Idem, Page 10) would seem to show that such was not the case and that Murray of Broughton was himself deceived. It is impossible altogether to ignore the testimony of Andrew Mitchell as to the frank evidence of Murray at Lovat's trial (Page 165) and his reference to MacLeod's position (Page 167), but excepting the narration of the unhappy Scheviz (Page 170), there is still no evidence to prove that MacLeod did anything worse than to deceive Lovat, when that became a necessity to gain time pro bono publico and possibly for his own immediate safety. Whatever uncertainty, if any, there may have been, he did notable work for the Government throughout the Rising. He "has all along behaved finely," Loudoun told Stair (Page 6), in his account of events following the evacuation of Inverness. Details of that episode, of the location of the Independent Companies in Sutherland and of their retreat to Skye are given very fully in this volume.

Under the circumstances narrated it does not appear that Lord Loudoun could have acted differently, and he and the Lord President at least deserved thanks for keeping the food supplies of Sutherland and Caithness from falling into the hands of their opponents, and for helping further to divide their already scattered forces.

It was in some ways a curious situation. Neither Loudoun nor the President seems to have been really anxious to join forces with the Duke and the Duke was certainly not anxious to receive them, though at one time he had actually ordered them to cross the Moray Firth, but this was

frustrated by the enemy having seized the boats (Page 27). While reinforcements of regulars might possibly have been of use in Sutherland, there may have been reasons such as Prestonpans and Falkirk for not sending them.

Meanwhile by the order of Lord Cromartie, the Lord President's estate of Ferintosh in Ross-shire seemed likely to suffer and did suffer (Pages 12 and 47). This order is in striking contrast with that issued by Murray of Broughton for the protection of the House of Culloden (Page 1).

The surprising of Dornoch on 20th March, when Loudoun was absent on the right of his line (Page 39), became possible owing to a dense fog, which prevented the warships from protecting his left. One of the main objects was to seize the President and MacLeod (Page 45), but they made good their escape and were able to retreat to Skye in some order with a considerable part of their forces. Here they were cut off from news of much of what was passing, depending for information on such friends as the Chisholm, whose real part in the Forty-five is clearly brought out (Pages 52 and 62). On the President's return after the Battle of Culloden the situation (not to mention actual losses as given in Appendix I.) was indeed miserable, reminiscent of Cumberland's ominous words, "but the Jacobite rebellious principle is so rooted in this nation's mind that this generation must be pretty well wore out before this country will be quiet" (Page 71). With the flight of their Prince all Jacobite hopes had vanished more completely than even the President himself at first realised, though his concern for his country was at once manifest.

The accounts of the state of Inverness (Page 123) seem an echo of a hundred years earlier, and the only Highlander of distinction, in addition to the President, whose voice might have been heard in the settlement of affairs was, curiously enough, Sir Alexander MacDonald. He and Cumberland seem to have got on well together. At first there had been a desire for that Prince's immediate departure (Page 79) but later a very different opinion was formed (Page 110); and it is possible, had Sir Alexander lived, that more merciful counsels might have prevailed—he was actually on his way to London at the time of his death (Page 140).

The Lord President survived his friend but a year, his end being hastened by ceaseless toil on behalf of his country. It was perhaps best so, for as Ramsay wrote truly, "he died at a most critical juncture, when a new tide of opinions and manners was setting in strong."

The beginning of a new era in Scottish history was indeed at hand, which might gradually have developed on happier lines, had it not been precipitated by the hopeless loyalty of those who made the Forty-five a possibility.



MORE CULLODEN PAPERS.

VIII. THE '45—FROM FEBRUARY TO APRIL 1746.

(1) THE RETREAT TO SUTHERLAND.

On Tuesday, 18th February 1746, the day after the "Rout of Moy," Lord Loudoun decided that his position was under the circumstances no longer tenable. He therefore withdrew northward, and the President went with him. Ten days later an order was signed by John Murray of Broughton "to protect and defend the House of Culloden and furniture" ("Culloden Papers," CCCXIV.), an act of grace that says much for the esteem in which its owner was held. "The man who sent you the message about the House of Culloden before you left it, and whose style begins with B. is in a good way of forgiveness," wrote Sir Alexander MacDonald to the President, 21st June 1746, in a letter to follow. The "B." does not, as might be expected, stand for "Broughton"—Murray was still at large—but, curiously enough, is almost certainly intended for "Barisdale." The nature of the message is not disclosed. One of the most pressing reasons for not remaining at Inverness is given by the President in his letter to George Ross of 15th May 1746 ("Culloden Papers," CCCXVIII.).

What distress'd us most in this Country, & was the reall cause why the Rebels came to a head after their flight from Stirling, was the want of arms & money ; which, God knows, had been long enough called for and expected : had these come in due time, we could have arm'd a force sufficient to have prevented their looking at us this side Drumuochter. The men were prepared ; severall hundreds assembled in their own Countrys, & some hundreds actually on their march. But, unluckily, the Ship that brought the few arms that were sent, & the sum of Money that came, did not arrive in our road sooner than the

very day on which the Rebels made themselves Masters of the Barrack of Ruthven. It was then too late to fetch unarm'd men from distances ; it was even unsafe to land the Arms & the Money ; so we were forced to suffer them to remain on board, & to retreat with the force we had, to preserve them for the further annoyance of the enemy.

Lord Loudoun's own account of the events which led to his retirement is fortunately preserved in (a copy of) his letter to Lord Stair, dated 2nd March 1746. The original was sent to the Duke of Newcastle, who seems to have returned it after copies had been made for the Government and the Duke of Cumberland (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.).

From the Earl of Stair to the Duke of Newcastle, dated at London, 10th March 1746.

My Lord

I send your Grace enclosed a letter I received this moment from the Earl of Loudoun ; your Grace sees the hurry the letter has been wrote in, but it is absolutely necessary that your Grace should see the situation that things are in, in order to the taking of proper resolutions.

I shall trouble your Grace but with one reflection of mine, which is, that to me it appears to be absolutely necessary that there should be a place d' armes on that side, not exposed to winds or tides, which appears to me can only be Cromarty Bay, which is on all sides land-locked. At present the whole north coast from Montrose to the Murray Fyrth lyes exposed to violent storms of wind either from the east or the west, which may drive away for a good many days the provisions and magazines the Duke brings for his army. It is easy to see in what situation we should find ourselves if the enemy should prevent us in siezing Cromarty & make that there place d' armes, but I shall trouble your Grace no further at present.

I am most perfectly and with the greatest respect,
your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

Stair.

Your Grace will be pleased to return the letter when its read having not had time to take a copy.

The enclosure follows, dated from Dornoch, 2nd March 1746, 11 at night.

My Lord

I have just now a Letter from Capn. Porter of the Speedwell, who brought down the Money to us here & convoyed the Ship with the 1000 Stand of Arms, to acquaint me, That in coming round Tarbatness this Day, his Pilot ran Him on a Rock, on which he lost his false keel, and to desire me to send for the money from him (which we have hitherto been obliged to leave on board him) as He must go immediately into a Dock to refit, which leaves me very little time to inform Your Lordship of my present situation with the Troops, and as I can only in this case write one Letter, I beg you will have the Goodness to make my apology to the Duke of Newcastle, and Argyll.

If the ship had happened to have arrived three weeks sooner, with the Arms and Money; I think we should have had such a number of People assembled, as would have deterred the Rebels from coming this Road; but as It happened, She did not arrive till the 9th, the Day that the Rebels took the Barrack of Ruthven, within 24 miles of Inverness, which put it out of our power to assemble People, that were to come at a Distance, and those that were near, were so terrified, that They would not stir, when They found the Danger so near Them. I put the Strength only in the appearance, for I have no Reason to trust more to the promises of those Gentlemen, than when I writ last on that subject, as Your Lordship will see by the sequel.

And now to give Your Lordship as clear an account of what has happened, as the time will permit. On Saturday was Fort-night [15th February] the advance Guards of the Rebels came into Strath Nairn, within eight miles of me; & next Day the young Pretender took up his Quarters at the House of Moy, seven miles from me. That evening at 8, I called my officers together, and told Them I had got an information, that They had Thoughts of attacking us that night; and as I was afraid of Desertion, I qualified it, by telling Them, I did not believe it; But that it was fit for us to be on our Guard; and therefore ordered Them, with their Men, to repair to their Alarm Posts, at 11 at Night, There to

remain, till I marched them from thence myself. My Guards and out-parties consisted of 300 men, to whom I added two weak Companys, who had not been made up since the Affair of Inverury, in order to make a Chain round the Town, to prevent any Intelligence being sent, of what I was about. I left one Company in the Castle, along with the Garrison; and by 12 I got the Remainder, consisting of about 1500 men, clear out of Town, without any one Man in the Town suspecting, that I was gone further than some Pallisades on the Barn Hill, and some Dikes below That, in order to lie all Night on our Arms. We march'd on three miles in great order, and Silence; There was a near Road turns of, which I could not march with the Body, both because of the Badness of the Road, and because It lead me thro' a more inhabited Part of the Country, from whence I could not have prevented Intelligence going.

There I detached an Officer and Thirty Men to prevent their having any Intelligence that Way, with orders to stop all the People from going that way, and to halt at a place appointed, till They heard me begin the attack, which I proposed to be at Day Break. We march'd on to the Heights above the water at Nairn, when to my infinite mortification, I saw and heard, about a mile on my Left, a running Fire, from the whole Detachment. They saw, or imagined They saw, Four Men; on which They had made this Fire. But the Consequence on the main Body was very bad, for It threw us into the greatest Confusion. I got my own Regiment, at the Head of which I was in the Front, saved from falling out of the road. All faced to where They saw the Fire, They were ten men deep, & all presented, and a good many dropping Shots, one of which killed a Piper at my Foot, whilst I was forming Them. The rest fell all back out of the Road to the Right, a considerable way, in the utmost Confusion; and It was a great while before I could get them brought up and formed; and the Panick still so great, That It was with the greatest Difficulty when the Party came in, which They did in two & threes, That I could, standing before the muzzels of their pieces, prevent their Firing on Them. And when I came to count the Corps (if I may call

Independt. Companies by that name) I found I had lost the Five Companies in the Rear, of whom, after all the Search I could make, I could hear nothing. After remaining an Hour on the Ground, & finding that I had lost one Third of my men in a Body, besides those who had left the Companies, that remained with me; and finding Then the whole Country was alarmed, I thought it improper for me especially in the Condition the Men were, to march on to attack a superior Force, who must be prepared to receive me, & concluded That the best Thing left for me to do was, to march back to Town, which I accordingly did.

The loss of the Five Companies happened in this manner. One of the Mackenzies Companies, which was the Fifth from the Rear, went of entirely from their Officers. The Officer who led the Fourth, a very good man, but very short-sighted, who did not perceive They were running, in the Dark marched after Them, which carried two more Companies after Him, and before They perceived their Mistake, They were got quite away from us; and tho' Capt. Munro [of Culcairn] was with Them, who is almost the only officer I have, He was not able to bring Them up again. The Fifth Company was Mr Ross's, who had the charge of some Boxes filled with Carteridges, as our Carteridge Boxes carry very few. His Company did not disperse, but They halted, in spite of all He could do, at such a distance, that I could not find Them in the Dark till on my March back to Inverness.

I ought to have told Your Lordship my Scheme before I told you what happened in the Execution of it; but the shortness of the Time, & the numberless People that have come to me, with Letters, since I begun, makes it come in this irregular Shape, which I hope you will pardon; for I have very little assistance.

I had very good Intelligence where the Rebels lay in the Country Houses, dispersed at the Distance of Five Miles, most of their principal People in one House next to me, where I really think I should have been without their Knowledge by Day-break, & a very small Guard with them. And if it had pleased God, that the accident had not happened in the March, I flatter

myself, that I should have had the Happiness at one Blow to have broke the neck of the present Rebellion ; But it is past, and I must look forward, and had I men, that I durst trust would follow me, I would strike another yet. It is a cruel situation to have Names of Numbers, that you dare not fight, But now I will go on with my Journal.

That Night, when the Alarm was brought Them from the Firing, which was the First They had, They retired in great confusion Two miles, But, next Day, They advanced nearer me ; and I lost, by Desertion, near 200 Men that Day. I found myself much too weak to fight Them in the Field, & in the most defenceless Place in the world ; and Wednesday [17th February] fixed for making the Attack. In this Situation, I brought the People together. I have all along consulted with, The President, Mackload, who has all along behaved finely, Col. Innes, & Capt. Monro. I stated my case to them ; and They all agreed, after what We had seen, That I was not able to keep the Place ; And I do assure your Lordship that It is my real Opinion, if I had, That It would not have been a Battle of above Five Minutes ; and I should have lost the whole Troops under my Command ; and I am afraid, if They had been made Prisoners, Half of Them would have joined Them ; and I should have put into Their Hands about 1700 Arms, And tho' I expect but little from These People by Themselves at present, They will be of great use, when the Rebels are dispersed, and They, supported with Regular Troops, will hunt Them out, where the others cannot.

When This was determin'd, I would have slipt the Rebels, if I could, & march'd to meet the Duke ; But this was impossible for many Reasons, which Time will not permit me to tell your Lordship. Then I resolv'd to cross the Ferry of Kessock, hard by the Town ; and if my Design had been known, as They had so many Friends in Town, I should have lost Part of my Rear, before I could have got over ; For which Reason, I made all the Appearance of marching East to meet the Rebels ; so That neither the Troops, nor the Town's People had the least doubt of it, till I march'd off, and, as It was I past myself with the

Rear Guard, under the Fire of Three Pieces of Cannon; but lost nobody. But Then I saw again, how unfit It would have been for me to have staid. I lay that Night [18th February] along the sides of the Lake that runs up to Beuely, & fancied to have my Men pretty much dispersed, to put Them under Cover, I posted the Mackenzies at the upper End, as it was Their own Country & they were likelyest to bring us Intelligence; They alarmed us in the Night, but It proved to be Nothing. Next Day [19th February] I march'd, & past part above the Conan near Bran, Part at a Ferry above Cromarty, and Part at Cromarty, There I found, by the best Accounts I could get, That They had march'd out with 3000 of Their best Men after me, Mackdonalds, Camerons, Stuarts, &c. Here I found the Country very narrow; And, if I happened to be beat, could save none of my People; which made me resolve to cross at Tain into Sutherland; where if your Lordship will look on the Map, I will explain my Situation, and here, I think, I shall be able to make a Stand, as I have secured the whole Boats. What you see like a large River, is what here They call a Kile [Kyle] & is a narrow Arm of the Sea, & runs up about 15 Miles above This, & is easily defended, if They don't bring a great many Boats from Murray, which is not very easy; But to prevent That, I have 600 Men in This Neighbourhood; In the Neighbourhood of the Bona, another Ferry, I have 300; And Ten Miles above This, where the Shinn falls in, which River is 4 Miles long, and has Three Fords in it, I have 400 Mackleods, and 200 Sutherlands and 300 more Sutherlands I have got from His Lordship and armed, since I came here. Above That there is a Lake of 18 Miles long, whose Name in the Map is Cromarty (sic) spelt Sinn, but in the Country, goes by the Same Name as the River. At present the River is unpassable everywhere, and They tell me, will probably be so These Three Weeks, as the Lake is quite full. Howe'er Your Lordship sees, I am pretty secure, as I am Master of all the Boats, And if the Duke approaches, of whom I know nothing certain, but have sent in a Man of War an Account of our Situation; And from hence if the Rebels march to meet Him, If

He thinks proper, I can follow in their Rear, to make a Diversion ; or if His Royal Highness chuses to have me pass over to join Him, & sends me some more Boats, which I have mentioned, I can either pass from hence, which is a long Passage, or march to Cromarty, & pass from thence. I have been so often interrupted, That It is now past 4 in the Morning ; And as the Letter must go, I have not Time to read it over. I wish your Lordship may understand it. I should have told you, That the Two Mackenzie Companies dispersed themselves at Beuely ; But I hear Lord Fortross [Seaforth] has collected Them again, with 200 more ; with whom He proposes to join me, as soon as He can.

I am &c

Loudoun.

P.S. I march'd out on the Tuesday [18th February] from Inverness ; and I understand, the Castle, where I left Two of the Independent Companies [The Grants and the Rosses] surrender'd on the Thursday [20th February]. I have heard so many Accounts of This, that I cannot tell you what is Truth. Fort-Augustus is besieged, but holds out. All this Intelligence comes through the Rebels, I laid a great Deal of Provisions in Fort-George, But the Arms, & what Ammunition could be spared, I put on Shipboard.

The above letter, though written in haste, may perhaps be taken as the most accurate account extant, not only of the departure from Inverness, but of the "Rout of Moy," where, it appears, the immortal MacCrimmon was killed in the immediate vicinity of Lord Loudoun. This seems to show that his Chief was not far off, and that the MacLeods must have marched towards the front of the column. It will be observed also that Lord Loudoun lays the blame on his own men—the detached party—for first firing. If this is accurate, the reputation of the Blacksmith of Moy is somewhat discounted, it being difficult to say whether the confusion was caused by his tactics or by his opponents' mistake. In retiring northward, Lord Loudoun hoped to draw a considerable detachment from the Prince's army in pursuit, in which at least he was entirely successful,

The movements of the President may best be followed from a document entitled "Account of disbursements 1745 & 1746," being an "Account of cash laid out by John Hay for the Right Honourable Lord President."

February Tuesday 18	To the horses at Inverness ...	0 5 6
	To a cloak bagg lock ...	0 1 6
	To MackDonald the Runner at Inverness	0 1 0
	To all the servants at Inverness	0 4 0
	To the Bill at Kessock ...	0 8 0
	To the Servants at Kessock and for the Horses	0 3 6

There are no entries for the next two days, but on the 21st the following items appear :—

To a horse shoe at the Bridge of Alness	0 0 6
To a pound of tobacco	0 1 6
To mending his Lordship's boots	0 0 6

From these fragments it would seem that the President was for the time separated from Lord Loudoun, who appears to have crossed over at Cromarty. The following letter to Seaforth is dated 21st February from Nagg [?Nigg]

My Lord

I had just now the honour of your Lops. of the 20th in Relation to the assembling of your people on Saturday and the Desertion of Dachmalluachs and Hiltons Companies of which I suppose these Gentlemen will make me a particular report this day. As to the disappointment which your Lop. seems to think my leaving of Kessock was to your assembling your people I assure you we have lost no strength by that for in the situation I there was, I could neither have supported your Lop. nor defended myself, my men were quartered in a line eight miles long and exposed to continual alarm and attacks where they could make no defence, whereas here I have got them together and am more on hand to support any point where there shall be occasion, than I could have done from thence.

So now I have no doubt that if they are in earnest they will be with you on Saturday [22nd]. I am very sorry that the private men of your two companies have behaved so ill. I shall repeat not of them, but I must know every instance and I own it gives me pain to think what report I can make to the Duke when he arrives and sees them.

The situation I happen to be in at present obliges me in the first place, to think of the General good of the Country, and in the second of serving the Particulars and I do assure your Lop, I shall be ready at all times to give the utmost support to your Lop, that lies in my power, and am with great esteem and regard

My Lord

Your Lordships Most obedient humble Servant

Loudoun.

On the same day he and the President were both at Balnagowan, whence he wrote to Lord Sutherland, asking him to have boats in readiness at the Meikle Ferry (Rev. C. D. Bentinck, "Dornoch Cathedral and Parish," p. 319). On the 22nd he wrote again, intimating the arrivall of the arms, and asking Lord Sutherland to have 300 men sent to receive them (Idem).

The following joint letter was written also on 22nd February from Balnagowan, "12 o'clock." There is no indication as to the person to whom it was addressed, but that it reached its destination is clear from the endorsement, "In H.R.II. the Duke's [Cumberland] letter of Feb. 28th 1745/6" (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.).

Sir

We are much obliged to you for your note dated the 17th. Having been under a necessity to leave Inverness to avoid the superior forces of the rebels, who had got some artillery; we have taken up the ground about this place, where we have it in our power, to meet them, if they do not come with a superior force, such as in prudence we ought not to stand; and if they do to retire further, cross the firth that divides Ross from Sutherland, where we hope to be able to secure ourselves; and in that event we imagine the drawing so many rebels after us, will leave the

remainder, at Inverness, too inconsiderable to resist the Duke. But if the rebels shall not think fit to follow us with a superior force, we shall remain where we are, till we are informed of the Duke's nearer approach, and in that event, if the weather favour, we may either cross over to the Murray side, to join the army, having secured boats for that purpose, or may advance towards Inverness by the heads of the firths or otherways, according to circumstances, or such commands as we may receive from the Duke. Should we be obliged to retire to Sutherland which can only be if the rebels direct the best part of their force against us we doubt not that the Duke may think of reinforcing us, with some troops, to be sent by boats from Findhorn, Nairn, or other places on the Murray coast. If this come safe to your hands, we doubt not you will find means to put it safely in the Duke's, or in the hands of the officer commanding the troops in chief, in his absence.

Loudoun. Dun. Forbes

Later that day (22nd February) intelligence was received which prompted Lord Loudoun to cross his men to the Sutherland side as soon as possible. This was accomplished on Sunday, 23rd.

From Seaforth to the President, dated from Strathconon, Saturday, 22nd February "ten forenoon."

My dear Lord,

Tho' I am here in a kind of Retreat, I am greatly anxious to hear of your Lordship, and Lord Loudoun's Welfare. My certain Intelligence this morning is, that the Castle of Inverness surrendered yesterday, at ten o'clock the Garrison Prisoners of War. They offered to surrender the day before upon being allowed to march with their arms to the Ship. A strong Detachment from all the Clans there under Lord Kilmarnock, crossed Beulie yesterday, their advanced Guard under Barisdale, and Lentren at Adnacraek [?Ardnagrask] last night. I hear circular Letters are sent to all and sundrie in that Neighbourhood to convene and compear against ten o'clock this day, under pain of immediate Military Execution. I regret the Case the more that the Resolution entered into, to be execute this

day, has misgiven by the sudden Retreat, which has left these Gentlemen quite exposed. The more I think of the tumultuous desertion from Davochinaluach and Hilton the greater my Vexation and Anger is, however I hope to live to resent it seasonably upon these Fellows, who were too easily imposed upon. Ferburn is here, who is resolved to share in my Fate through the Highlands. The Bearer has directions (his name Alexr Ross) of the proper way to go, and return safe. Ave et vale

K. Mackenzie.

Compliments to all with you.

The following orders were issued by Lord Cromartie after his advance against Lord Loudoun.

Headed :—Copie Letter the E. of Cromertie to the Chamberlains of Ferintosh [Sunday] 23 Feby 1746.

Gentleman,

By Virtue of His Royal Highnesses Order to me you are hereby required, to furnish in money or provisions one thousand five hundred pounds Stirling, for his Highnesses use, and if this demand is not forthwith complied with, I am to use all manner of Military Execution against the proprietor and possessors of the Estate of Ferrintosh, by burning your Houses destroying your Cattle &c.

To Alexr & Rodk Mackenzies Chamberlains of Ferrintosh

(sic Subscibitur) Cromertie.

Copie Pass, the E. of Cromertie to John Mackenzie.

By George Earl of Cromertie commanding His Royall Highness Charles Prince Regent's Army North of the River Bewley.

Permitt the bearer John Mackenzie to pass and repass from hence to Sutherland, without let or molestation. Given at Dingwall this 24th Feby 1746.

To all Officers Civile and Military whom it may concern

(sic sub.) Cromertie.

By GEORGE Earl of Cromertie, Commander in Chief of His
Royall Highness Charles Prince of Wales's Army, North of
the River Buley.

These are requiring all Officers of His Royall Highnesses
Army, and all others whome it concerns, to allow all & sundry
the Heritors, Tenants, & Possessors of the Shire of Ross that are
employ'd in carrying their farm Meal, to pass to & return from
Inverness to their respective homes, without any molestation
to theirselves, Servants, Horses, &ca ; hereby certifying that such
as countervene these, or give them disturbance of any kind,
shall be highly culpable, & punish'd accordingly. Given at
Dingwell, this 7th of March 1746.

Cromertie.

The last is "Culloden Papers" CCCXV.

(2) IN SUTHERLAND.

Having transported his command over the Meikle Ferry, Lord
Loudoun himself marched to Dornoch, where his own regiment was to
be quartered. The President went to Overskibo, with whose owners,
the Grays, he had a double connection through the Frasers of Achna-
gairn and the Munros of Newmore. He had refused Lord Sutherland's
invitation to Dunrobin on the grounds that he must remain near the
troops for some time, in order to give the best directions he could.
("Dornoch Cathedral and Parish," p. 300).

From the accounts :—

26 February	6 lbs. sugar at Overskibo	...	...	0	9	0
	To a barrel of ale to the servants in					
	Sutherland	...	...	0	3	6
	To the carriage of aquavitae & other					
	things from Ferintosh	...	...	0	5	6
	To his Lordship to be given to Mr Wil-					
	liam Baillie's gardener	...	...	0	10	6

On the day these entries were made, Lord Loudoun sent over 150 men
to Tain, "who about noon made proclamation at the cross . . .,"

and returned (Idem, p. 321), and on the 27th, at "11 and $\frac{1}{2}$," he wrote to the President.—

My Lord

I send you the enclosed for your perusal and approbation, I really think we cannot begin our March too soon and you see I have left you full powers. I think we ought to cross part of our people this night, you have here the MacDonalds and Mac-kays and my People, I have sent for Horses to be ready to transport the Baggage, and whoever crosses first should get 40 Horses and Carriages ready by pressing, for they will get away if any other way is taken. Might not Culcairn cross some of his people this day, if he can quarter them you should send two Boats immediately with Soldiers on board for they can only go with the Tide. Let me find a Letter from you on my return which shall be as soon as possible.

I ever am My dear Lord yours. Loudoun.

The enclosure is unfortunately missing, but this letter, taken in conjunction with Lord Loudoun's letter to Lord Sutherland of even date (Idem, p. 323) shows that there was to be a general muster with a view to recrossing to Ross-shire.

My Lord

I met with Captain Gray here last night, and showed him your lordship's letter, and he immediately dispatched an express to the four companies on the Shin with orders to march. . . .
 Loudoun.

The three letters which follow are from the Officer Commanding the "Speedwell," and the third confirms the fact that Lord Loudoun and the President proposed at this date to return with their men to Balnagowan, but the idea was abandoned on finding that the enemy had not, as supposed, retired to Inverness.

On His Majesty's Service,

To The Right Honourable the Lord President

Speedwell off Tarbet Point

My Lord

26th Feby 1745/6

I received the honour of your Lordship's Letter of the 22nd Instant, and shall do everything that lies in my Power for the

Service. The wind is now inclinable to the Eastward, which is not a proper wind for me to cruize in Tarbet Bay. The Tide will not serve to day for Capt English's [Hugh Inglis] Ship to go into Ferry Oons, and as, tis likely to be dirty weather he is of opinion with myself, that we should return to Cromarty, for your Lordship is sensible it is not time to run a risque. The moment the wind offers fair, we shall return, tho' if Lord Loudoun has not men to receive the arms, I think it would be better, if English did not go in att all, but of that his Lordship must be the best judge, I mean his being secure from any attempt of the Rebels. When your Lordship has occasion for the money you will be pleased to send a Person, with your order for it, who must give me a receipt without which I cannot deliver it. I only mention this that the Service might not be delayed, in case the order should be forgot. The Shark and Vulture Sloops sailed this morning, but as the Wind has shifted I believe they will be obliged to return. Another of His Majesties Sloops joined them this morning, If he has brought any material News I will communicate it to your Lordship. My Compliments to Lord Loudoun, I am with my best wishes for your Lordship's health and Speedy Conclusion of this unhappy affair
Your most Humble Servant

H. Porter.

[To the Lord President]

Speedwell 27th Feby 1746 in Cromarty Bay.

My Lord

I have this moment received your Lordship's Favour of this days date. I shall remain here with English till I hear from you again. I have no news of the Duke, the Men of War did not put back yesterday, and she, who joyned Middleton was five leagues off, and it came on very thick weather which prevented me speaking with her, I guess at her errand by her keeping the Sea all night, I dont know if Captain Middleton wrote to your Lordship that he had an Information from the Admiralty of 1800 of Fitz James's Regiment of Horse and others that were embarking at Ostend, designed for some part of this

Coast, and his Orders were to look out for them. Mr [undecipherable] was with me this morning, who informed me that he was with Lord Cromarty on Tuesday last [25th], when an Aid de Champ, (as they call him) of the Pretenders came with a message from him, to let him know of Fitz James's Men being landed at Peterhead, he immediately draw'd on his Boots and went for Inverness. This Sloop I conjecture has fell in with them, and not being able to give them Battle, came to acquaint Middleton of it. I wish English's Ship was secure for I'm afraid Adm. Byng will want ships to line the Coast. Middleton has stove best Part of the Boats, the rest remain here. I sent two to Ferry Oons. I hope they are arrived, however I believe we shall muster enough in case the Troops should have occasion to cross here. My best compliments waits upon Lord Loudoun.

I am,

Your Lordship's most Obedient Servant,

H. Porter.

This letter (Newcastle Papers) is to Thomas Corbett [Secretary to the Admiralty].

Speedwell, Lynn Road, 8 March 1745/6

Sir

I arrived with his Majesty's Sloop under my command at Inverness on the 9th of Feby. having under my Convoy the Hellen and Margaret laden with Arms and Amunition for the use of the Garrison, which Arms and Amunition I was directed to deliver to the order of Duncan Forbes Esqre Ld. President of the Sessions as likewise five or Six Thousand Pounds, which I had on Board—but the Earl of Loudoun & Ld. President on my arrivall represented to me that the Rebell's Army was in Motion towards them & being greatly Superior to that of Ld Loudoun, were of Opinion that neither Arms nor Money could be secure in Inverness; for which reason they couldn't receive them on Shore & therefore desir'd that I might stay there untill such Time as they knew the Design of the rebels.

On the 17th of February the Rebels were within four Miles of Inverness & that Night Ld. Loudoun took a resolution to cross

the water the next morning at Kessock, which was accordingly putt in Execution by the assistance of a great Number of Boats we secur'd for that Service. The Rebels being informed of his Lordship's Design, marched immediately for Inverness, with three Pieces of Cannon one Six Pounder the others, three [pounders,] the Horses that drew them were upon a full Trott and they arrived with them opposite Kessock about Noon, when Ld. Loudoun & the rear of his Army were embarking, at the same Time the Rebels began to play them upon him but did no Execution—The Rebels then march'd in, & took Possession of the Town.

On the 21st the Castle surrender'd but upon no other Terms than Prisoners at Discretion.

On the 19th I recd. a Letter from Ld. Loudoun at Kessock acquainting me that he had had an Alarm that Morning, & that he had taken a resolution to cross the Water at Cromarty and desir'd that I woud attend him there with the Boats that I had secur'd together with the Ships that were in the Road of Inverness, which I accordingly did on the 22nd. The Same Day I recd. a Joint Letter from the Lds., Loudoun, & President, at Balnagown in the Shire of Ross, informing me that the Rebels were marching towards them & that they were under a Necessity of crossing immediately to Sutherland, without taking time to receive either Money or Arms that was under my Care & therefore desired that I woud anchor or cruize upon the Coast of Sutherland, in order to supply them with both Money and Arms which they stood much in want of. On the 26 I sail'd from Cromarty for the Coast of Sutherland & it being very thick weather & blowing strong Easterly I retired the same Night to Cromarty, the next morning I recd. a Letter from Ld President desiring me to remain there as Ld. Loudoun propos'd to return to Balnagown with his Army, upon an Information that the Rebels had retreated to Inverness, but finding his Information not Good he returned to Sutherland. On the 1st Inst. I recd. another Joint Lettr. from the Lds. Loudoun, & President, desiring me to attend them with the Money and Arms upon the Coast of Sutherland. On the 2nd, I sail'd from Cromarty for that Coast and at 8 o'clock. that Morning my

Pilott ran the Sloop upon a Rock off Tarbett Point. . . .
 I immediately communicated the Accident that had happenn'd to the Sloop, as well as the Opinion of my Officers thereon, to the Lds. Loudoun, & President who, as they were Masters of such Passes in Sutherland that they could defend themselves against 3 Times the Number of the Rebels, sent for the Money on Shore. The Ship with the Arms is in a little harbour in Sutherland called Ferry Oons, guarded by a party of Lord Loudoun's men. On the 4th in the morning I sail'd from Dunrobin Bay in order to proceed to Sheerness: in the After Noon I look'd into Peterhead, where I saw three small Vessells unrigged & his Majesty's ship the Winchilsea at an anchor in the Road—Off Buchanness the same afternoon I saw the Eltham & Shark Sloop at an Anchor.

.
 [I] likewise shew'd him [Commodore Smith] a letter I had recd. the Day before from the Lds Loudoun & President desiring another Sloop to their Assistance, at 8 o'clock I parted with the Commodore off Aberdeen, he standing in shore with the wind at N.W. & blowing hard.

.
 The Last Account I had of the Rebels was on the 1st Inst. by a Person that was sent on Purpose to Findhorne for Intelligence who gave an Account that there were 1600 Rebels in the Town & the Neighbourhood. The Number of the whole is computed to be 9000. By the Great Detachments I have seen in the Shire of Ross & the Adjacent Counties & the undoubted Intelligence I have had from Inverness of Ld. Seaforths men having deserted him & joyn'd the Rebels, as likewise 300 of the McKenzie's having deserted Lord Loudoun & joyn'd as well as the Deserters that left them at Stirling in my humble Opinion they cannot be less than 7000 strong—Lord Cromarty is in the Shire of Ross raising Contributions—Lord George Murray in the Shire of Banf doing the same & sending all the Provisions in the Country to Inverness.

I herewith send you . . . two Joint Letters from the Lords Loudoun, & President, by which their Lordships will see the Necessity there was for my staying so long upon that Coast. I am

Sir

with Great Respect Your most Obedient Humble Servant.

H. Porter

P.S. Lord Loudoun is near 2000 Strong.

Honble. Thos. Corbett Esqr.

By the President's accounts:—

February 28	To Inverchassly's Groom	... ..	0 2 6
„	To crossing Donald McDonald's horse at the Meikle Ferry	... ..	0 0 6
„	To Mrs Gray of Overskibo's Account for sheep meal etc	... ..	2 13 6

On 2nd March, Lord Loudoun wrote to Lord Stair the letter already given, detailing his retreat from Inverness and arrival in Sutherland.

By the Presidents accounts :—

March 3	To Inverchassly's servant that brought some fowls	... ..	0 2 0
	To a man that brought over Donald Mackenzie's horse	... ..	0 2 0
	To a cow bought for the table at Overskibo	... ..	1 13 4

The following letter, though somewhat out of place, may have reached the President in Sutherland. It is from David Erskine, Lord Dun, dated from Dun, 26th February 1746. The Duke of Cumberland had arrived at Aberdeen on the previous day.

My dear Lord,

After a long and troublesome surcease of correspondence, and of being separate from one another, in our being together in our ordinary way, not a small part of my trouble, I take the first opportunity of addressing your Lop, at the same time to open to you, some personal grievances, I labour under, that as you've the opportunity and think proper, you may use endeavours towards my reprieve

When I had the honour of waiting of His Royall Highness the D. of Cumberland, as he passed through this Country, I was not a little surpris'd at the manner I was receiv'd by his Highness telling me, that my conduct during the Rebellion was complain'd of to him, as not perfectly Loyal, and spok'd of two instances, my having had some correspondence with Mr Carnegy, son of Ballnamoon, deputy Lieutenant of this Country under Lord Ogilvy appointed by the Pretenders Son, and with one Mr Ferrier, a Captain amongst the Rebels, who with a Party of them was quartered in my Neighbourhood. I was not a little confounded at this unexpected charge, to which I only repli'd that I gave defiance to my greatest enemies to make good the charge, or to fix on me the least disloyalty, on the contrary when the opportunity offer'd, I should have no difficulty to justify my conduct, and make appear that during the whole Rebellion, the part I had play'd was Loyal and Dutiful. As to the instances mention'd the fact is, that I no sooner heard of Mr Carnegy intending to accept of such a Commission, but I us'd my endeavours to both Father and Son, to dissuade from it, by opening to them the ruinous consequences would attend it, for other means of preventing it were not in my power, what I said convinc'd the Father, against whose will, the Son would needs accept. As to Mr Ferrier, since the Commencement of the Rebellion, I never saw his Face, but once at my House where he came with his party to press and levy men in my neighbourhood, telling me, that out of my interest he believ'd to have some, not being in a condition to master and lay hold of him, I went to him and said that if he attempted to force out of my interest a man, it should be my selfe, upon this I sent notice to some of my neighbours, that if they would join with me I was willing at the head of my Farmers, servants and others in my ground, in case Mr Ferrier should attempt to Levy Men as he threaten'd, to resist and deforce him, but none would join me, not from unwillingness but without having any hopes of prevailing, for at this time as we were unarmed, the Rebels were, and more numerous, Sometime thereafter the Hazard Sloop, came to the Harbour of Montrose and upon

hearing that the Captain was willing to send a shore 30 or 40 of his Men, with some Arms for use of those who would join them I wrote the Captain, and sent my Son aboard of his Sloop to see if anything was practicable to be done with the Captains assistance, with whom at the time, were some Gentlemen well effected who thought the proposal impracticable, and therefore it was dropped, to make resistance being thus impracticable I thought then of leaving this Country, but then all passages either to South or North were blocked up.

My dear Lord in such a situation what could I do that I've omitted, and that I gave the least countenance aid or assistance to any of the Rebels, I defy the Devil himself to charge me with, but with regard to myself I'm altogether easy, for if the Government wants me to be out of the Court of Session, I shall as willingly demitt my office there, as I did in the Court of Justiciary but if it shall be thought or pretended that I have made myself unworthy of it, by my misconduct the time of the Rebellion, I'll stand my tryall to the last, after the most strict Enquiry. But my only concern at present is, about my poor Brother, his Situation : its our misfortune to live in a Country much divided, and where the different Parties as Circumstances favour them do persecute one another with malice, and when one is anoyed as my Brother has the misfortune to be, for no other cause I know of, than that he has continued himself in the office of our Collector of Supply, notwithstanding the frequent and uncommon attempts against him. In our Town of Montrose, there are some persons, both Ecclesiasticale and Civile, that in the present Juncture are very malicious, who without doubt perhaps on different motives, have made Informations against my Brother and me, that its no wonder that the D. has received bad impressions of us, and the Town by repeated landing of some French Ships with arms and men, which by the by could not be helped, the Town being then full of Rebels, this has rendered the Town very obnoxious to the Government, upon which about a score of the Inhabitants are made Prisoners, amongst them my Brother, and I know not how long he may be detained. As to the Issue of a tryall he and we are absolutely easy, but a long confine-

ment to one of his Age of Seventy may prove fatal, besides his Wife and Family are inconsolable, which adds much to his trouble. For what he is charged with we neither know nor can conceive it, unless it be that he has had the Misfortune to have his youngest Son ane apprentice of a Merchant in Montrose, to have joined the Rebels, and to my certaine, upon the suspicion of it, his Father used all means, within his power to have prevented with his authority, threats &c. but the Boy having fallen in Company with Lord Ogilvy, all proved in vain, and he the Boy said if he was locked up in his Father's Garret of 3 storries he wd to the hazard of his wish jump over the Window. What more could a Parent do, My Brother had his other 3 sons in the Service of the Government, two of them dyed in it, the last drowned lately with the Fox man of War and the Eldest is at present a Captain in Generall Anstruther's Regiment, well known for his loyalty &c to many in the Army. In regard of my Brother's conduct in other Respects, he has been so lucky as to keep from the Rebels the Public Money of his Collection, tho' offered and threatered to continue their Collector refused with disdain, and having called from him the Cess Books of the Shire, he would by no means comply till they made him Prisoner two several times, detaining him some days at each, and that he gave the least assistance to the Rebels in any shape, he gives defiance to any to make appear. Its true while the French and Highlanders were masters of the Town and in great numbers, some had billets on his House particularly the Deputy Lieutenant with whom he behoved to converse, since he had no place of safety to fly to.

I endeavoured to have waited of S[ir] E[verard] F[awkener], His Royal Highness Secretary, to have laid before him the Cases, but getting no opportunity, I put in the hands of one my letter to him to be delivered, which if he received and minds of it, will I hope joyne his endeavours to have my Brother released upon the Bail I mentioned in my letter to S[ir] E. that upon any sum to be named my brother shall make his appearance at any time, in any place, and before any court or person, shall be appointed to answer to any charge, shall be preferred against him.

My Dear Lord, what apology shall I make for this trouble and long letter, writ in such hast and hurry, that I doubt if it will read, I have presumed on your good disposition [of] which on former occasions, both my Brother and I have had the experience. Without saying more on that subject I conclude with subscribing with the utmost sincerity

My dear Lord

Your Lops most faithfull most humble
and most obliged Servant

D. Erskine

Waes me for the breach in our Bench, since we left it. [Death of Lord Balmerino].

Returning to the accounts :—

March 4	To a Merchant for six handkerchiefs	...	0	5	6
„ „	To Robert Forbes Groom which he payed out at the Ferry	... ..	0	3	0
„ „	To a pack of playing cards	... ..	0	0	2
„ „	To 2½ pounds of tobacco	... ..	0	2	10
„ 5	To William Baillie's servant that brought some fowls	... ..	0	1	0
„ 6	To my Lord Sutherland's servant that brought wheat bread	... \ ...	0	2	0
„ 7	To Mr Baillie's servant that brought ale over the Ferry	... ..	0	2	0
„ 8	To a pair of creels for carriage	... ..	0	1	6
„ „	To killing a cow that was got from Mr Baillie	... ..	0	1	0

From the Rev. James Fraser, minister of Alness, to the President, dated 8th March [1746].

My Lord

I know not what intelligence your Lordship gets from West Ross; but some have assured me that little is done or talked there, of any consequence, but they have it at the West. The Regt. of McGregors & Mackinnons, who have been all this week quartered on Sir Harry Munro's estate, kept together last night

at his house, and this day marched west, to a review, as they gave out, on the hill of Dingwall, and said they would be back at Fowlis this night. However they brought several sick men along. One was in worse condition than the rest, beg'd to be left till they returned. But they cursed & devil'd him away with them, saying, who knows if ever we come here again, for all this McInnon went two days agoe for Inverness, and has not returned. Their Prince was gone East to Murray, but sent his orders to Inverness. An express came yesterday to Ld C[romart]ie, that gave occasion for dispatching suddenly various expresses. Young P[itcaln]y called yesterday at Fowlis; and when he went off, two chief officers, after shutting the chamber door, expostulated with Geo: Munro, Sir Harry's servant, about his sending intelligence, as they alleadged, and threatened if they heard more of that, that he should be used as a spy, and that house should be no longer habitable. Late at night their Major, Glencairnie's [Macgregor of Glencarnaig] brother arrived, and was overheard to say that the Duke's army were come or to come this day to Elgin; that their own men, who were gone home, were all got back, and their numbers were compleat, to the ammount they expected; that as they were to use now some discipline against desertion two men were hanged yesterday at Inverness and as many were to be shott this day. He said, as with a design to be heard without reserve, that there was a landing of French in Argyleshire. Whether this is designed as a pretence to their own men & others for a motion towards Lochaber, a little time will tell. But they seem to be in a sort of crisis; but whether we, who are here on the confines, may not get a severe sweep, before they leave us wholly, I cannot tell. The boy who brought me the letter, to be just now mentioned, told that he heard at the West that the Dukes army were indeed arrived at Elgin. The letter was from the E[arl] of Cr[omart]ie, with his own hand, and the boy said he brought none other but one to [Mackenzie of] Inchc[oul]t[er]. I'm not able to guess to my own satisfaction, at the mystery of it. But whatever crime may be in it, I design for reasons of my own, to send a man west on Monday with

the trifle required. A copy of the letter & answer is here inclosed. In guessing the reasons of things, we sometimes dive deep for a thing that is only to be found at the surface.

We heard, yesternight late, that 1000 more men were come to Dingwall but thats now contradicted, and the corps that has been this week at Dingwall are said not to be considerable. I would be willing to signify the intelligence that may be got here; but will need to be excused if sometimes it be trifling or uncertain: as I doubtt not but it will be discreetly used so far as concerns my own interest & safety. I am—

Mar. 8th [1746]

Since writing whats above, a friend of mine who converses with rebels, tells me that 800 men were to come over from Ferintosh side to be reviewed at Dingwall but, for ought he understood that all their partys were to return to their quarters till further orders from their Prince. That B[arisdal]e had raised no more McK[enzie]s in the Highds than 80 men, that 30 were raised about Brahan; 30 on Highfields ground, 40 on Kilcoys, 40 on Belmaduthy's, 40 on Scatwells: so he was informed. Their prince is in Murray with the remainder of the French. They tell that 3000 are at sea, with several men of war, that two French ships landed money lately in the Highlds & have escaped. And as to foreign news, that the French have declared war against the Dutch, who require 6000 men from us; and that Brussels is taken. By his account the Dukes army may be now at Elgin. They say the Rebels have in all now 10,000 men, and that Ld C[romart]ie is to insist for the crown rent from all concerned.

I'm presently told, since writing last line, that the same people have actually returned to Fowlis. My author saw the foremost of them.

Follows the enclosure :—

Brahan 7 March 1746

Sir.

I find that you have not yet paid up your proportion of the Crown rents of Ross for Cropt 1744, which amount to 3 shillings

4d, which you will send to me against Monday next. Otherwise I must send a party to take up your effects & quarter upon you till it is paid. I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

sic subscrib. Cromertie

Directed on the back :—

To the Revd Mr James Fraser Minr. of the Gospel at Alness.

Answer :—

My Lord

I wish greater differences, that the world is divided about, were well adjusted. As to the 3s 4d that I ow of Crown rent 1744, it were a pity that your Lordship should get occasion to be offended for so small a subject. Against Monday, the term mentioned in your Lordship's letter, I may probably send one to wait of your Lordship about it I am etc.

The writer of the above letter was the youngest son of the Rev. John Fraser of Pitcalzean, sometime also minister of Alness

In their retreat the Prince's troops used every possible means to obtain money, provisions and other necessaries. During the stay of the detachment at Tain, £60 stg. was exacted from the Burgh, and there were many instances of pillage and what can only be looked upon as revenge, such as Lord Cromartie's orders for the burning of the houses of Inverchasley and Geanzies (W. Macgill, "Old Ross-shire and Scotland," 615, 616, 623, 1222). An order to Alexander Baillie of Dunain, dated 4th March 1746, required him

upon pain of fire and sword to send to the castle of Inverness the number of eight horses with as many cartes before eight o'clock tomorrow morning & signify their arrival to Capt. McLoughlan store keeper in the Castle (Fraser-Mackintosh MSS., Register House).

On 7th March the Duke of Cumberland wrote to Lord Loudoun from Aberdeen that he was to be at Banff with his army on the 10th, on his way to Inverness, though in point of fact he eventually remained at

Aberdeen till 8th April. In this letter he gave "no particular orders," Lord Loudoun told Lord Sutherland ("Dornoch Cathedral and Parish," p. 324). This, however, was not strictly true. The Duke did give orders (possibly with a qualification as to practicability), as appears by Lord Loudoun's answer, which is endorsed, "Copy of a letter from Lord Loudoun to H.R.H. the Duke Dornich March the 10th 1745/6 In H.R.H. the Dukes of March 19th 1745/6" (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.)

May it please your Royal Highness,

I had the honour last night at eleven o'clock, to receive your Royal Highness's commands by yours of the 7th ordering me to embark the Troops and join Y.R.H. at Banff, as soon as I can possibly after the 10th, & to bring all the arms along with me.

Lord Lion has likewise acquainted your Royal Highness that I have in my Possession Boats sufficient to transport them. I received a Letter from his Lordship from on Board the Vulture that he had ordered over to me all the Findann [Findhorn] Boats; but none of them are yet arrived, & I have great Reason to believe that all the Murray Boats are in the Possession of the Rebels.

I send your Royal Highness a Return of the Boats I have. Those marked 30 Bolls are Horse Boats, flat bottom'd & not fit for the Sea, as the Passage is 25 Leagues. The others serve to transport men across the small Ferries, but for the present Embarkation, none of them can be used; but the five marked at Sixteen Bolls & one at fourteen, there are four or five more in Sutherland, which I have sent for. I have likewise four Ships one loaded with Coals from Lieut. General Guest, for Inverness; one with Arms and Ammunition, & some Merchants goods; an other; with some Merchant Goods; & the fourth, light. Those Ships in the condition they are, can not carry at most, above 300 Men.

In this Situation, Y.R.H. will See it is impossible for me to transport the Troops till Boats are Sent me from the South Side of the Firth, & those will not come, unless there are two Men with Arms in each of them.

I send Y.R.H. a Return of the Troops in this part of the Country; besides which, I have been joined by 310 Men in four

Companies from the Earl of Sutherland, besides Sergeants, Corporals & Drums, which they are making up to 400.

I have an order from Lord Sutherland for his men to march with me wherever I require them. But as they are mostly men who have Farms, I am afraid they will march very thin at this Season of the Year whenever they discover they are to cross the Firth, Lord Rea[y]'s will march, at least as strong; but I dare not mention this Scheme to them 'till I come to put them on Board.

I have lost a great many men by Desertion, since the Sunday Night I marched out of Inverness to have attacked the Rebels, upwards of ninety of my own Regiment, mostly of those taken at Preston and I am equally afraid, we shall have a further Desertion, when we are come to embark, but those that come along will be the best.

I should be very glad to receive Y.R.H. orders along with the Boats about those five Companies that have joined me here, whether I am to bring along with me as many of them as I can; or leave them here to defend the Passes; or if I am to take their Arms from them, which will be no easy matter. I shall have everything in as great Readiness as possible, against the Boats arrive. But from hence to the upper Part of the Shin, the Troops are dispersed to the different Passes, at Sixteen Miles Distance. Lord Sutherland's People are the furthest from hence.

I can give Y.R.H. no certain accounts of the Rebels, as all Intelligence to me came through a Country in their Possession where they are very cruel to all those they Suspect. But, I have Reason to believe all the Cannon they took at Inverness, are carried towards the Spay.

I shall not trouble Y.R.H. with a Repetition of the Situation of this Country as I know Lord President who is fully acquainted with it, has done it, I shall be ready at all times, with the greatest zeal, to execute whatever orders I have the Honour to receive from Y.R.H. May it etc

A Return of the Boats in the possession of the Right Honble E of Loudoun on the Sutherland Coast.

Names of Places where the Boats lye.	Number of Boats.	Number of Bolls those Boats can carry.
At the Mickle Ferry.....	2 Ferry Boats.....	30 each
	5	16
	1	14
	1	12
	7	10
At Newton.....	2	10
At Bonar.....	1	30
Total.....	19	122

N.—These Boats will carry four Men for every three Bolls.

Weekly Return of the Right Honble the Earle of Loudouns Regt.

Dornoch March 10th 1745/6.

Companies.	Officers Present.				Staff Officers.			Sergts.		Corpls.		Drums.		Centinels.			Total Effective.			Since Last Return.				
	Colonel.	Major.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutant.	Qr. Master.	Surgeon.	Present.	Sick.	Present.	Sick.	Present.	Sick.	Present fit for Duty.	Sick in Quarters.	Left sick betw'n Inverness and Dornoch.	Serjants.	Corporals.	Drums.	Centinels.	Deserted.	Dead.	Discharged.
Capt. Aeneas McIntosh of Lord John Murray's Regt. [Mackintosh of Mackintosh]	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	1	5	—	1	3	2	1	6	6	2	—	—
Lord Loudoun	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	3	—	1	—	—	26	—	—	3	1	1	26	11	—	—	—
Major [William] McKenzie [Grandfather of Lord Seaforth, so created 1797]	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	9	—	2	2	1	1	11	—	—	—	—
Alex. McKay ... [Son of Lord Reay]	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	31	2	—	3	3	1	33	—	—	—	—
John Stewart ... [Brother of Lord Moray]	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	3	—	1	—	2	—	4	—	—	—	—
Sir Harry Monroe ... [of Foulis]	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	2	—	—	32	—	—	3	2	—	32	—	—	—	—
Lord Chas. Gordon ... [Brother of the Duke]	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	18	—	—	1	2	—	18	—	—	—	—
John Sutherland ... [of Forss]	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	36	—	12	2	3	1	48	3	—	—	—
John McLeod ... [Younger of Macleod]	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	49	—	2	3	3	1	51	—	—	—	—
Archibald McNab ... [Son of MacNab of MacNab]	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
Total	1	1	7	4 (Sic)	7 (Sic)	1	1	1	21	—	18	1	6	212	2	18	21	19	6	232	16	—	—	—

Capitains.

Weekly Return of the Independent [Companies] Commanded by the Earl of Loudoun Dornoch March 10th 1745/6.

Companies.	Officers present			Serijs.		Corpls.		Drums.		Centinels.		Total Effective.				Since we left Inverness and at Inverness.		
	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Present.	Sick present.	Present.	Sick present.	Present.	Present at duty.	Sick present.	Serijs.	Corporals.	Drums.	Centinels.	Deserted.	Dead.	Discharged.	Left behind at Inverness, etc.
Capt. George Monroe ...	1	1	1	4	—	4	—	2	100	—	4	4	2	100	—	—	—	—
[of Culcairn]																		
Capt. Peter [Patrick] Sutherland ...	1	1	1	4	—	4	—	2	78	3	4	4	2	78	—	—	—	—
[Kinminity]																		
Capt. Hugh McKay ...	1	1	1	2	2	4	—	1	82	6	4	4	1	88	6	2	—	—
[Younger of Bighouse]																		
Capt. Alex. Gunn ...	1	1	1	4	—	4	—	2	71	10	4	4	2	81	—	—	—	—
[? of Badenloch]																		
Capt. Geo. McKay ...	1	1	1	4	—	3	—	1	89	4	4	3	1	93	3	—	1	—
[of Skibo]																		
Captain McLeod, Talasker ...	1	1	1	3	—	4	—	1	84	2	3	4	1	86	5	—	13	—
Capt. McLeod, Waterstyn ...	1	1	1	2	1	4	—	—	77	8	3	4	—	85	—	14	—	—
Capt. McLeod, Bernara ...	1	1	1	4	—	4	—	1	82	4	4	4	1	86	—	18	—	—
Capt. McLeod ...	1	1	1	4	—	4	—	0	74	6	4	4	—	80	6	14	—	—
[Macdonald of Castleton was Captain of this Company]																		
Capt. Wm. McKintosh ...	1	1	1	3	—	3	—	1	57	—	3	3	1	57	15	11	—	—
[of Inverness]																		
Capt. Macleod, Guineas ...	1	1	1	4	—	4	—	1	76	2	4	4	1	78	6	2	—	—
Capt. Jas. Macdonald ...	1	1	1	4	—	4	—	1	91	—	4	4	1	91	—	—	—	—
[of Airds]																		
Capt. John Donald ...	1	1	1	2	—	4	—	1	94	—	4	4	1	94	—	—	—	—
[of Kirkibost]																		
Total	13	13	13	46	3	50	—	14	1050	45	49	50	14	1095	41	70	—	—

(Sic)

Endorsed :—Copy of a letter from the Rt. Honble Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Session to H.R.H. dated Overskibo near Dornoch March 10th 1745/6. In H.R.H. the Dukes of March 19th 1745/6.

Sir, -

Having seen your Royal Highness's directions to the E. of Loudon of the 7th together with his answer, which describes truly the impossibility of transporting any considerable number of men from the Coast of Sutherland to Banff, untill such time as sufficient Boats or other Vessells are sent from the southern shore to fetch them, I take the liberty to lay before your R.H. by this messenger, the present condition of this neighbourhood as it appears to me, together with what may probably be the views of the Rebels, & the resolutions we had formed for obviating them.

The Rebels scheme in marching Northwards was obviously to collect their shatter'd Forces to make themselves masters of every thing to the northward of Spey, before your R.H. could come up with them, to amass together all the Provisions they could come at, to force into their service all those whom Prudence only restrained from joining them; and if they could not make a stand against your R.H. at Inverness or to the Eastward of it, to retire into the Highlands by Loch-Ness if they could find Provisions to subsist them, or to the Northward towards this Country & Caithness, where some provisions are to be found, & where because of a multitude of Inlets of the Sea, and Passes, a Regular Army would find it difficult to follow them, & they could spin out the Rebellion many weeks, waiting for the result of the Chapter of Accidents.

This scheme they have so far executed, as to have made themselves Masters of Fort George, & Fort Augustus, & to have prevailed with numbers of men who 'till their Arrival kept out of the Rebellion to join them, & they have employ'd themselves in amassing Provisions; in which service so many of those as have not marched towards your R.H. are still occupied.

Upon their advancing to Inverness with some Artillery, & such numbers as it became imprudent to think of resisting at that place, Lord Loudoun evacuated the Town, and retir'd with-

out losing a man, Tho' the Rebels were so near, that they brought up some small Field Pieces, in time enough to play upon the Boats that transported the Rear Guard cross the Ferry of Kessock; and finding it unsafe to lye in the open Country, scatter'd as men must be in this season (where there are no Towns) & thereby liable to surprise, by their Rapid Motions; He took up the Ground where He now Lyes to the northward of the Inlet of the sea that divides Ross from Sutherland; into this Inlet the River of Shin enters, which has a course of 4 or 5 miles from Loch Shin, and that Loch again stretches about 30 miles more, back into the Mountains; at the Banks of the River where there are Fords, his Lordship has made some Intrenchments, and having broken or secured all the Small Boats, that could be made use of for the Ferrying over Men, He is now in a condition to defend his Posts along the water of Shin, should the Rebels with great Superiority of Numbers attempt to force them; and He is also in a capacity (by the help of those Small Boats) to detach small Parties to Ross-shire to resist the Insults of the Rebels, should they come in greater Numbers than He is able to deal with.

Under the favour of this situation we have remained where we now are, since the 23rd of Febry, & the Rebels marched on our first coming here, a considerable force towards us, yet upon knowing how we were posted, they relinquish'd their design, & have contented themselves since that time with Keeping a Post at Dingwall with numbers, which sometimes were said to be 400, sometimes 1400 & sometimes more; But the precise numbers we cannot with certainty tell; nor is it easy to discover them so as to profit of the intelligence; such is the Fluctuation amongst them, & so quickly do they march and countermarch.

The Business of these there at present is, to amass all the Meal & Provisions they can come at: They have issued orders [to the] Eastern parts of the Shire of Ross to bring in to Inverness 4550 Polls of Meal under pain of military execution; But our neighbourhood has hitherto prevented compliances, & Lord Loudoun has issued intimation that He will consider such compliance as aiding and abetting the Rebels, & threatening to

Demean such as shall comply, accordingly; which will have the Effect, to prevent the Furnishing them with meal, so long as his Lordship remains where He now is; unless they should send a superior Force to Fetch it, which will lessen the numbers, with which they might think of opposing your Royal Highness.

Upon our retiring first to this Country, Ld. Fortrose retired into his Highland Estate of Kintail & Lochalsh, where according to our Information, he has got a considerable number of his kinsmen about him, to Defend that country against the Rebels, & Sr. Alexr. Macdonald who lay ready at the Kyles of Sky with 400 of his kinsmen to come down & Join us, was prevented by the Rebels getting between him and us, & is we presume (for we have had no direct correspondence with him since that time) still in the same situation guarding the Island from their Insults.

Since our arrival in this Country, the E. of Sutherland has furnished 400 & Lord Reay 100 of their Tenants, & Lord Loudoun has armed them, I believe they will be useful for defending the Passes that lead into this Country, which is their own, But I question how far we can depend on their Imbarking, or marching very far out of it.

I have ventured to state our case so far to your R.H., that you may Judge what is fittest, & the most conducive to the service to be Done; If it is your pleasure that we should cross over to the Southern shore upon sending us Boats that can carry us, we shall embark, But then the immediate consequence must be that the Rebels will get the Meal demanded from Ross-shire, together with what more this Country can afford; & whenever we are gone from hence should they think fit to retire before your R.H. without waiting to be broke, they may take up the Ground we are possessed of, & it would take some time to dislodge them from it.

On the other hand if your R.H. shall judge it expedient to advance towards Inverness without us, upon receiving your commands, we can direct our march towards it also, & may advance so as to be within reach of being Joined by Lord Fort-

rose & Sr. Alexr. Macdonald, unless they would weaken the Force with which they would oppose your R.H. by Directing a superior Force against us.

I have no excuse for my Presumption in laying these hasty Thoughts before your R.H. so incorrectly, But my zeal for His Majesty's service & the most ardent wishes for your success. I am, if your R.H. will pardon the Familiarity, with Affection

Your most Faithful etc

Overskibo near Dornoch 10th March 1745/6.

Part of the Duke of Cumberland's letter to the Duke of Newcastle (enclosing the two foregoing) follows, from which it appears that either he did not appreciate or purposely ignored the usefulness of Lord Loudon's force in Sutherland. It is dated from Aberdeen, 19th March 1745/6 (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.).

My Lord Duke of Newcastle

I herewith enclose the copies of Lord Loudoun & the President's letters to me with the return of the forces in his Majesty's pay now under Lord Loudoun's command, By these letters they plainly show an aversion to the imbarking and coming southward, which I shall readily dispense with, as my only view in bringing them South was, that they should not have to say that we refused making use of their assistance. But I think it much more for the honour of his Majesty's forces and of the nation, to finish this affair, without any further use of the Highlanders, than plundering and sending out parties. I propose therefore letting them know that I shall not expect their coming to join me till I get to Inverness.

I am, your very affectionate friend

William.

It may be as well to insert here part of a letter from the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Aberdeen, 28th February 1746, endorsed as private and received by express 5th March (Newcastle Papers). It serves to show the general and unfortunate view taken of

the Highlands of Scotland in general, while the eagerness of some of the Ministers to injure the Episcopalians undoubtedly increased the Duke's suspicions, and added to the sufferings after Culloden.

My Lord Duke of Newcastle

.

 As to the affairs here they are just in the State that I have represented them in my publick letter; but I am sorry to say that all persons who have been intrusted with the power in this part of the Kingdom have turned their favour & trust to those that could bring in members with most ease & not to those that were most zealously affected, for instance L Penmure & Mr: Maule are both brought into Parliament by the Jacobite interest & to favour their coming into Parliament all the marks of favour from the Crown are bestowed upon Jacobites & so it is all over Scotland as I hear. The only people to be trusted are the Church of Scotland as they call it that is the Mess Johns and here in the north they own that almost all the people are Jacobites & led away by the Episcopalls who have meeting houses all over this country. In the South the common people are as well affected as in any part of England. The honestest man I have met with here is L[ord] Leven [Lord] of the Session [and Lord High Commissioner] who is of neither party but wishes to have things put upon the right foot & would be very able. The [Lord] Justice Clark [Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton] is as able and as willing a man as there exists but too much an Argyle man to be trusted with all that will be necessary after this affair, this I say to you & you allone for he is of vast use to me & does all I want with the greatest readiness imaginable. I am sorry to say that the bottom here is bad & that the greatest part of this Kingdom are either openly or privately aiding the rebels & how it may be changed I dont know at least imediately I am your affectionate friend

William

One would have thought to find in the Duke of Newcastle's answer, dated 6th March 1746, and also marked as private (Newcastle Papers), some suggestion by name of others in Scotland, notably the President, who

were loyal to the Government, but such an opportunity was not taken. Scotland was truly unfortunate in its more immediate rulers during the Forty-Five. The portion omitted in this letter consists of compliments and mention of the Duke of Cumberland's good judgment after his short sojourn "in the disagreeable country." This from the Manager of Scots affairs.

Sir

. . . I am truly concerned for the state, yr. R.H. finds things in, in Scotland; where the Rebels are able to support a very numerous Army; and little or no Assistance is given to His Majestys Government. I have long fear'd the Consequencas of that Conduct, which Y.R.H., now, so justly describes; and I am too well acquainted with the management of the King's Interest in the Country, to imagine that the interests of attainted Families (tho' at present in the Hands of unexceptionable persons) can ever be brought zealously to support the Government. The Church of Scotland have always been well affected to the Protestant Succession: The common People in the South, I dare say, are so also: But the divisions amongst the Friends of the Government have ran so high in Scotland, that Both Parties have, in their Turns, courted the assistance of the Jacobites; and that is the chief cause of the present misfortune.

Yr. R.H.'s Character of Lord Leven, who is very little known to me, will make me endeavour to cultivate him, & bring him forward. The Behaviour of Lord Justice Clerk, I own, has pleased me better than any man's in Scotland. There is a Spirit, a sense & a Zeal for the Government, which cannot be put on; But He must be consider'd absolutely in the Light, Yr. R.H. represents him.

The great object will be to pass such Laws, after the Rebellion is over, as may effectually reduce the Power of the Highlands; and thereby disable France from playing this Game upon us whenever they please: and so keep this country in their constant Dependence. This, I think, is the great Point, which every servant of the King ought to have first in view. For this, those Laws, suggested by Y.R.H. may be very proper; and

Others, even of a higher nature, are, and must be, under consideration. But, towards succeeding in this, we must, if possible, get some of the considerable Scotch Nobility to join with us; to prevent it's being call'd a national measure; & a national affront, & Injury. The Duke of Argyle will, I hope, cö-operate with us; and I am not for making Others desperate, that shall be disposed to do so. But I find It is the general Opinion that none of these Regulations can be attempted in Parliament, till the Rebellion is over; and That, under God, depends upon Y.R.H.

Forgive the zealous overflowings of Sir,

Y.R.H.'s etc

Holles Newcastle.

Returning to the President's accounts :—

March 11	To my Lord Sutherland's servants that brought an ox	0 7 6
	To [Munro of] Auchanny's servant that brought a salmon	0 2 6
	To Mrs Baillie's servant that brought ale	0 1 0
	To a cow that the Guard killed without orders	2 1 0
	To MacDonald the runner when he went for wine	0 1 0
„ 12	To salt	0 1 4
„ 13	To a man from Captain MacDonald ...	0 1 0
„ 17	To a servant that brought straw	0 2 0
„ 17	To a boy who brought some beef & tongue	0 1 0
„ 19	To the Mistress of Overskibo in part payment of her account	0 19 0
„ „	To her for a ston of butter & sixpence for carriage	1 10 6

Meanwhile, on the receipt of information that the enemy was approaching Tain, Lord Loudoun requested (11th March) Lord Sutherland to have boats sent to the Meikle Ferry, and three days later asked for more, with a view to crossing troops over—"I hope to make them very sick of their project on East Ross." He also warned Lord Seaforth (15th

March) against any boats falling into the enemy's hands ("Dornoch Cathedral and Parish," pp. 324-326). It would seem from the following that Lord Loudoun must also have warned Hugh Inglis (as well as any others whose ships were within the Little Ferry) to put to sea. Inglis was in charge of the Government cash, and, though his ship was later captured, he managed to escape with all but £70 in copper (Idem, pp. 328-329).

To the Right Honble Lord Loudoun.

My Lord.

Our Ship is ready for sea, as I believe the rest of the ships in this Harbour are, and will in obedience to your Lordships Commands get over the Bar, as soon as Mud and Weather will permit. It blows hard at present from the South east, and as like to continue as ever, while it continues from this Art it's impossible to get out.

I am My Lord,

your most obedt Most obliged Servant

Ferry Oons 17th March 1746.

Hugh Inglis.

(3) THE TAKING OF DORNOCH.

There are several accounts of what befell on 20th March. The 'Scots Magazine' gives the following:—

The rebels having collected a number of fishing boats at Findhorn and two other small places in the Murray frith put four men on board each, and by the favour of a thick fog, which lasted eight days, coasted about Tarbet Ness to Tayne in Ross-shire, where a body of their men lay. There they embarked, to the number of 12 or 1500.
 . . . and on the 20th of March, at eight in the morning, they crossed the ferry, and landed on the Sutherland side, about two miles west of Dornoch, where 200 of Loudoun's regiment were cantoned . . . Lord Loudoun had left Dornoch that morning about five o'clock, and gone westward to reconnoitre the different passes where the rest of his men were stationed, dreading nothing from that quarter, as he had carried all the boats over to the opposite shore, and judged it impracticable to bring any from the Murray frith, three ships of war being stationed there.

From the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Aberdeen, 26th March 1746 (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.).

My Lord Duke of Newcastle

His Majesty must have observed how negligently these Highlanders who are with us do their duty, as well by the Surprise of the posts upon the hills as the last affair that happened at Keith. And I am sorry I have a further proof of this, which is of much more consequence. For by two letters which I send here enclosed, his Majesty will see that Lord Loudoun's people have suffered themselves to be surprised at Dornick from the Murray side by a few boats. All that I can say with certainty of the affair is, that Major Mackenzie has surrendered with that part of Lord Loudoun's regiment which was there, prisoners of war; and that it looks as if Lord Loudoun & the Lord President's army would be entirely dispersed, I am much sorrier for the appearance of the affair than for the thing itself, as I own I have never expected much assistance from them

William.

The two enclosures are as follow, the second being an enclosure to the first.

Anonymous "to the Hon. Maj. Cofield [William Caulfield] or in his absence to any general officer that is with his Royal Highness Haste." The letter is dated 24th March, 5 o'clock in the morning.

Hon. Sir

Herewith comes a letter to Lord Findlater giving an account of the situation of affairs in Sutherland Friday last. The rebels, by means of the Murray boats, which they had carried over, and favoured with a fog, passed the Broad ferry into Sutherland & seized all the boats Lord Loudoun had there as well as the four lying in the ferry, & made a small guard of Lord Loudoun's men, which is said to be Lord Loudoun's own regiment, prisoners.

They no sooner landed one body of their men & made themselves masters of the boats than immediately they went off for another and as Lord Loudoun's men were much scattered guarding the passes on the upper part of the ferry, it was impossible to gather them together in time to oppose the rebels' second debarkation. The Earl of Loudoun himself and the Lord President posted up towards the men, but whether they would judge it proper to make a stand or to retire, Collector Wedderburn, who is my informer, says he cannot tell.

He says there were only 300 of Lord Loudoun's regiment in Dornoch and but a few of these, who were on ane outguard taken, the rest having escaped, that the rebels entered Dunrobin & behaved, as he heard, very civilly, tho' my Lord Sutherland was gone and had along with him Sir Harry Innes & some others & had taken a boat in order to join the Duke.

The letter ends with excuses from the writer for not coming in person.

From James Anderson to "The Rt. Hon Earl of Findlater & Seafield, Aberdeen Haste Haste" The letter is dated from "Boindie," 23rd March 1746.

My Lord

Mr : Wedderburn collector of excise came here about an hour ago and brought the following intelligence, which I thought it my duty to communicate to your Lordship for the service of the Government.

He says he came from Dunbeath yesterday early in the morning and that in the night between the 19th & 20th a pretty considerable party of the rebels, by the help of some boats from Murray and a thick fog which prevailed at that time landed upon the Sutherland side of the mickle ferry and surprised the guard of Lord Loudoun's regiment and took them prisoners some few only excepted who made their escape by flight. The gentleman further adds that he was assured by undoubted authority that Lord Loudoun & the Lord President went up to the guards upon the passes of the Kyle & the river 'twixt Sutherland & Ross, but had no intelligence whether they had made any stand against the rebels or consulted their safety by flight.

He tells me also that the rebels the same day they landed in Sutherland made themselves masters of four merchant ships lying in the little ferry, one of which served his Majesty as a tender, & took possession likewise of the Earle of Sutherland's house, and he expected they would advance to Caithness the next day, where he apprehends there will be a considerable rising. Mr: Wedderburn says the situation was such that it was impracticable for him to communicate the intelligence sooner. . . .

Your lordships most . . . humble servant,
James Anderson.

Lord Sutherland made his escape by boat, and was accompanied among others by the writer of the following document (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.). It is dated at Aberdeen, 29th March 1746, and contains, not only an account of events at Dornoch, but also of Lord Loudoun's operations from the time he left Inverness.

Account of Lord Loudoun's retreat.

Upon the advance of the rebell army to Inverness Ld. Lowdoun, being well informed of the Superiority of their numbers, and haveing lately before experienced how little dependance was to [be] laid upon sundry under his command, after putting two companys commanded by the Master of Ross and [Grant of] Rothymurchus junior into the Castle found it necessary to abandon the town about 10 forenoon the 18 of Feb. As we had seen the Enemy from the top of the Castle some hours before advancing slowly to attack us sundry of their advanced guards were gott into the east end of the Town by the time our Rear had gott over the Bridge, but it being commanded by the Castle and the Ness not foudrable, they could not gett over to attack us, but at same time very allartly drew down three Feild peices by the North side of the City and from the point near Oliver's old Fort, cannonaded us while we were passing the Kessock-ferry, which though it did no damage, yett haveing thrown sundry shott among & over us, it struck a most unaccomptable terror into the Highlanders, which appeared by many deserting us that night, and more soon after. The 19 we

marched to Cromarty & the 20 were quartered near New-Tarbit & the adjacent places upon the north of Cromarty firth, and here the two Mackenzie companys, commanded by Dochmaluach, and Hilton, in one night officers and all deserted us to a man, and went home, here we lay untill Sunday the 23 that his Lordship being informed that a very large body of the Rebels, now joyned by all the Frazers haveing headed the Firths by Bewly & Dingwal, were advancing to attack us, His Lordship then finding it necessary to retrait into Sutherland, we were marched there and his Regiment consisting of about 220 Men were quartered in Dornoch and the adjacent Farms which was the Head Quarters. Here it was determined to make the last stand especially as his Lordship was now joyned by about 6 or 700 of Ld. Sutherlands people, but as there was a long Line to defend nearly the breadth of that part of the island, it was necessary to canton the Men all along it at a considerable distance from one another. To the left in and about Dornoch, lay the Regiment, next to them 3 Companies of M'Kays, then 2 Companies of Macdonalds, then the Inverness Company, then the Monro Company then the 4 Companies of McLeouds, opposite to the three Fours of the River Shin, which from the Lake of that name, falls into the Firth of Dornoch, these fourds his Lordship fortified, placed there his best men as this was the place in which we apprehended to be attact, all along Lough Shin lay sundry partys of the Sutherlands & a considerable body of them at the West end to defend the passes of the Mountains. The Rebels to the number of 2000 or 2500, came into the low parts of Ross-shire and made Tain their head-quarters. Here we lay opposite to one another untill Thursday the 20 of March, when about 9 in the morning in such a thick fogg as we could not see 100 yards we were allarmed that a considerable body of the Rebels were landed about 2 miles to the westward of Dornoch. Ld. Lowdown that morning by 6 o'clock, was gone up about 16 miles to visit the quarters upon the River Shin as indeed all along his Lordship underwent a prodigious fatigue, saw every-thing done himself and constantly visited every quarter.

Upon the alarm being given, the major beat to arms & immediately gott together about 120 of the Regiment the rest being 3 miles distant guarding the Ships that had the money and Stores on board then laying in the little Firth of Ferry-Ouns 3 miles to the Northwards of Dornoch, with these he proceeded towards the place of landing expecting to be joynd by the McKays to see if possible to beat them off. Upon our march we were informed that all at once they landed about 800 men, 300 of which had immediately marched directly upwards to upper Skibo to seise the Lord President who with his own people about 60 in Number under his Son, was quartered there, the remainder had stayed to cover the passage of those that were to follow. We marched on and quickly found ourselves within half Muskett-Shott of at least 600 men, besides the 300 who were gone up above us whom we could not see. Here we could observe 18 Murray boats 8 or 10 of which were landing more men, & the rest under sail returning for others. As the McKay guard of 40 had upon the first landing returned without firing a Shott, so the major it seems thought fitt that we should retire without firing likeways. We retired to Dornoch which they perceiving marched about 500 men after us, here we had time to throw some smal quantity of Ammunition into a Ditch & proceeded to gett, if possible over the ferry of Ferry-ouns, which as it goes about 6 Miles up the Country might have given them some stop & preserved us. But about a mile to the northwards of Dornoch, I don't know what panick saised them that they were for capitulating only informed sundry of the officers who had formerly been prisoners after Preston that they might escape if they could, as they apprehended they would not be included. They, Ld. Charles Gordon, the young Laird of McLeoud & the relator a Voluntier, thought it their duty to take the advantage of that little halt & escape over the Ferry, which the guard of 60 of the Regiment had done before. The Master of the Store-ship [Hugh Inglis] was immediately advertised & had just time to gett the Military Chest on board a small boat and escaped to Sea. The Relator saw the above Officers and soaldiers make up the north side of the Ferry in great disorder and stayed upon

the north-bank until the Rebels by their fire upon four Ships there laying (2 of whom were loaden with London-goods for Inverness & two more with all the spare Military-stores, & the most valuable effects of the people of Inverness, & places adjacent) had obliged them to send their boats ashore one of which they had saized on their side & had them in full possession. The Relator knowing that a Messenger of the Duke of Cumberland's with dispatches from Ld. Loudoun was then at Dunrobin waiting to put to Sea & in all probability not then gone, made for that place in order to escape that way, and acquainting the Earl of Sutherland with what had happened, he finding his people at a distance, & his house indeed not tenable especialy as they had gott possession of 9 smal Cannon on board these Ships so near it, & a large quantity of Ammunition, judged it proper to abandon it and make his escape. So that as quickly as possible his Lordship, Sir Harry Innes, Major McKay the Duke of Cumberland's Messenger, & the relator, gott on board a smal Boat, & with some difficulty the wind being directly on Shoar gott to Sea were next day taken up by the Vulture Sloop of War upon the Murray coast, & some days after landed at Trap [?Troup] in Aberdeen-shire.

Ld. Loudon, before his leaving Inverness had siized or destroyed all the Boats from Nairn, & as he marched along had done the same quite to Sutherland & had all those he had not destroyed in Dornoch firth, but the long continuance of East winds and Foggs had obliged the Sloops of war to leave the coast, and gave the Rebels an opportunity unperceved to bring a large number of Boats from Murray and in the manner above to surprise us which was a providential circumstance which could not be forseen and indeed by all his Lordships care (which was very great) could not have been guarded against.

There first attempt upon landing was to seize the person of the President & as they imagined of McLeod Senior who had loadged with him some dayes before but was then gone, against these two their cheif Vengeance was leveled. The Relator believes (although he cannot certainly say) that the Ld. President did escape, and that along with the McKays he might retreat

into the Mountains of Strathnavern or into Lord Rea's Country, this he thinks most probable. As to the E. of Loudoun who at the landing of the Rebels was then about 16 miles to the Westward along with 400 McLeouds (by much the best body of his Highlanders) its not at all to be doubted if he incline that measure that with them he may retreat westwards, into the Isle of Sky and its not improbable that 200 Medonalds may take the same rout, Although without much Ammunition, less provision and no money, (as we have carried off his Military Chest) any considerable body cannot be long kept together.

As to the present Number of the Rebels all that the Relator knows, Is that in Ross before their passage into Sutherland by the best information their Numbers were about 2500 not exceeding 3000 although they called themselves 5000. That on the 21 by the information of Lady Brodie by a Boat from the Murray Coast that came on board the Vulture Sloop the Pretender was recovered of his Fever was gone back from Elgin to Inverness and had a considerable body about 2000 there about him that all along the Coast from Fochabers to Inverness they were thinly cantoned their numbers very uncertain and he can make no judgment what numbers were at Fort Augustus, which they have made their grand Magazine or what numbers have gone to beside Fort William, but he believes the last are not very numerous, although after the taking of Inverness, especially of Frazers & McKenzies they gott a great addition. On the whole by the best information its the practice of that great body of theirs that when any Clan have gott Spoil enough worth going home with that they go off in a body there depositt it and return sometimes more numerous sometimes less, so that it would be impossible to their Muster-master general if they have such an Officer to tell there numbers at any Tiene perhaps within 1500.

From the Cullan westwards & all along the County of Murray, they have carried off all the Meal & Grain of any kind they can find save what is necessary for their own immediate subsistence & on the Dukes advance will burn all the forage. To the Relators knowledge they have done the same in the East parts of Ross without leaving the people so much seed as would

sow the tenth part of their Lands. The Ld President's Estate of Ferntosh & the Monroes County of Fern-Donald, they have rendered a complete desolation, and he himself on Munday the 17 saw sundry houses on fire on the opposite side about 3 miles above Dornoch which we were next day informed was done by Ross of Pitcalny late Ensign in Ld. Loudouns Regiment but now a Collonel among the Rebels in order to force the Country Men to take up Arms.

The surprising of Lord Loudoun's forces was a great achievement on the part of the Jacobite Army, but it did not in the end produce all the results which had been hoped.

(4) THE RETREAT TO SKYE.

Lord MacLeod, in his account of the affair of Dornoch ("The Earls of Cromartie," II., 397), states that the enemy

so soon as they discovered our being landed retir'd. The county militia went to their respective homes, and the Earl of Sutherland cross'd over the Firth of Murray and went to the Duke of Cumberland's army. The Earl of Loudoun and the President Forbes retir'd with Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod and their men into the Isle of Sky. The greatest part of Loudoun's own regiment was made prisoners of war, together with their Major, William Mackenzie.

Lord MacLeod seems to have been mistaken in supposing that Sir Alexander MacDonald was in Sutherland. He was certainly not there on 10th March, when the President wrote to the Duke of Cumberland, and there does not appear to be any evidence for his presence later, other than Lord MacLeod's statement. His two Independent Companies were, as previously narrated, in position between the Mackays and the Inverness Company, beyond which came the Munro Company, and then the four MacLeod Companies, "by much the best body of his [Lord Loudoun's] Highlanders," guarding the fords of the Shin. As Lord Loudoun himself was on the west part of the line, the arrangements for the retreat from the east parts were probably concerted, hurriedly enough, by the President. It is certain that the MacLeod & MacDonald Companies, and presumably what was left of Loudoun's regiment, retreated to Skye, also

the Munro Company, as appears by MacLeod's letter to the President of 26th April 1746, to be hereafter given. Presumably the Inverness Company also retreated to Skye, though there is no direct evidence of this. The Sutherland and Mackay Companies apparently dispersed for the time into their own country, but rendered considerable service afterwards, the capture of Lord Cromartie and Lord MacLeod being due to the enterprise of Ensign Mackay. The fate of the President does not seem to have been known to the neighbourhood, it being actually supposed that he had gone to Argyll ("Sutherland Book," II., 97). Having a guard of his own men under his son, he escaped capture, and his accounts show the route followed.

March 21 To the Bill at Strathoickall 1 1 0

They appear then to have turned down Glen Einig, the next item being:—

March 22 To the bill & to the maid at Lochbroom 0 17 6

That day they reached "Lochow" [Loch Ewe.]

March 23 To the Bill at Lochow for meal, the
horses and aquavitae 1 1 0
 ,, ,, To aquavitae to the Guard 4 0
 ,, ,, To 4 hired horses from Lochow to
Lohcarron 0 8 0
 ,, ,, To meal at the minister's [Rev. Aeneas
Sage] house for the Servants 0 1 6

On the 24th and 25th the President was at Loch Carron.

March 24 To my Lord Seaforth's servant at Loch-
carron 0 7 6
 ,, ,, To straw for the horses at the minister's
house there 2 6
 ,, ,, To a sheep for the servants at Lochcarron 0 3 4
 ,, 25 To fire for the Guard at Lochcarron ... 0 0 2
 ,, ,, To the servants & hyrers to go about Loch-
broom and Lochow 0 10 0
 ,, ,, To the Minister's daughter at Lochcarron 1 1 0
 ,, ,, To the Minister's maid servant 0 2 6
 ,, ,, To the price of a sack for carrying meal ... 0 1 8
 ,, ,, To Tornick's [?Tournais's] servant when
his Lordship dined 0 2 0

March 25. To cash for a cow to the Guard at Lochcarron, paid the minister 1 10 0

On the 26th the President crossed over to Skye.

March 26 To two hired horses from Lochcarron to Lochalsh 0 2 6
 „ „ To corn to the horses at Lochalsh ... 0 1 0
 „ „ To the Mistress of Auchtertire [?Murchison] for the horses 0 2 6
 „ „ To her to be given to the servants a guinea 1 1 0
 „ „ To the Boatman at Lochalsh for ferrying the horses 0 2 6
 „ „ To a guide from the Ferry of Lochalsh to Broadford 0 1 0
 „ 27 To the Mistress of Correchatachan ... 10 6
 „ „ To the Groom for the horses 2 6
 „ „ To shoeing the horses at Broadford ... 0 3 6
 „ „ To Donald MackDonald the Hyrer ... 0 1 0
 „ „ To a guide from Broadford to “Kamlochdell” for the servants 0 1 0
 „ „ To sheaves of corn for the horses at “Kamlochdell” 0 1 6

“Kamlochdell,” as spelt by John Hay, who kept these accounts, was the President’s destination, not, as generally supposed, on MacLeod’s estate, but in Sleat. In letters, to be hereafter quoted, the spelling is “Kenlochnadale” and “Kinloch na daale,” which shows that the place intended was near Loch na Dal. In his letter to the President of 26th April, MacLeod mentions that Culcairn remained there with the boats, and it thus appears that what remained of Lord Loudoun’s force stayed in that neighbourhood till after the Battle of Culloden, when it again emerged. The following letter shows that there were actually about 800 men still under arms.

From Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Edinburgh, 5th April 1746 (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.)

My Lord Duke

I send your Grace enclosed a copy of a letter I received from the Duke of Athole containing the latest advices of the situa-

tion of the King's affairs in Perthshire. As to which I need make no Observation, further, than to inform your Grace, that before the Hessians marched from Edinburgh, I having discovered, a murmuring among some of their inferiour officers upon account of no cartell being settled, (which I supposed had been put into their heads, by some evill designing persons here), I did then immediately acquaint his Royall Highness of it.

And now, upon observing that the Rebels, had voluntarily abandoned, the seige, or rather blockade, of the Castle of Blair, when the garison was reduced, to great want of provisions, etc. And a report prevailing that the Rebels had on the 29th of March given up the Seige of Fort William, I took the liberty to suggest, to his Royall Highness, that these retreats, looked, as if they proceeded from generall orders, upon a resolution taken by the Rebels to call in all their out Partys and collect their whole strength into one body, in order to meet his Royall Highness the Duke of Cumberland; But whither, they will in that case, come to a fair engagement, or wait opportunities to catch advantages, and in the mean time endeavour to harrass the Dukes army, which is certainly in their Power, and for their interests, and what they have been practising, are matters easier to state than determine; as the Rebels are in possession of the County of Murray and have carried off most of the provisions, though to appearance resolved to dispute the Duke's passing the River of Spey, yet if they should be drove from that Post, it seems more than Probable, that in their retreat they may destroy the Forrage etc. So that upon the march of our army it may be supposed, that they can rely on being furnished with nothing out of that County.

I send your Grace also inclosed a Copy of a particular Declaration of war by the Camerons and Macdonalds against the Duke of Argyll a curious enough piece.

I send also a short Journal of the Seige of Fort William till the 25 March.

There was a report here, which was generally believed, that the Rebels had upon the 29th of March in the Morning, given up, and abandoned the Seige of Fort William; which, I am

affraid was not well founded, and I suppose was occasioned by the Rebels drawing off their cannon from their first batterys, exposed to the Fort, and obliged to raise new Batterys, for upon the 31st of March there were firing of Cannon as formerly heard by those in the neighbourhood of Fortwilliam, But as that Fort has been supplied with every thing necessary by Major Generall Campbell it is hoped the Rebels shall not be able to take it.

By Express from the Isle of Skye, by the way of Inveraray, I hear that Lord Loudoun, Lord President and Meleod with about 800 men, after a distressing and fatigueing March arrived there the 26th of March, in want of money, ammunition and provisions; Major Genll. Campbell is to do what he can to aid them, they are safe from the Ennemy, as there is a ship of war there to guard the Coast. The safest way they can get out of that Isle to join his Majesty's Forces, is by taking the Boats from Sky to Dunstafnage, which is two ordinary days sailing; & often performed in one day, if the wind is favourable. Dunstafnage is 22 miles north of Inverary, from thence to Stirling or Perth the way is known.

I have the honour to be with the utmost Respect

May it please your Grace

Your most obedient and most humble Servant

And, Fletcher

P.S. Since writeing the above (as I wait to lay hold of the Express that brings the Letters from the Army) I have received an Express from Perth by which I am informed that upon the 3rd Instant by 5 oclock in the morning the Earl of Crawford with a party of Dragoons arrived at Blair Castle and was followed by the Duke of Athole and both were made welcome by Sr. Andrew Agnew. That the Rebels were retired to Ruthven that on the 4th the Prince of Hesse sett out from Dunkeld for Blair with all the Cavalry & Hussars, and was followed by 1000 foot.

The enclosure, being "Lochiel & Keppoch's declaration of war against the Campbells of Argyllshire in a letter directed to Alexander Stuart,

younger of Invernahyle & by him published in Argyllshire by letters 20 March 1746," is printed in the "Scots Magazine" for 1746, p. 174.

Returning to the President's accounts :—

March 31	To paid for straw and corn sheaves to the horses	0 5 8½
	To acquavitae to the servants	0 3 0
	To washing of linens at Broadford	0 5 0
April 1st	To a pair of shoes for the Boy [Presumably Fergus Fergusson, see Foreward to Vol. I.]	0 1 8
	To the boy who went for Mr Gordon	0 1 0

In addition to the foregoing, there is a sum of £9 entered as handed to the President at Overskibo; £2 2s to Captain Forbes at Loch Carron, and further sums to him of £1 15s and £7 4s up to 31st March.

(5) A NOTE ON THE CHISHOLM (PART I.).

Roderick Chisholm of Chisholm is stated to have been born in 1697. If this is correct, he would have been eighteen years of age, when in spite of having signed the address of loyalty to George I., he led his clan to fight against him at Sheriffmuir. After his forfeiture, the estates appear to have been purchased in 1724 by James Baillie on behalf of the family, a charter following in 1725 to Mackenzie of Allangrange, who in turn disposed them to Roderick's younger brother, Alexander Chisholm of Muckerach. Subsequently, Roderick's eldest son, as Alexander Chisholm, younger of Comer, had a grant of the estates in 1742, during his father's lifetime. Roderick himself had asked for a pardon in 1725, which was granted in 1727. The above details are taken from Mackenzie's *History of the Chisholms*, where, however (p. 65), it is erroneously stated that "Roderick took up arms again in 1745 . . ." In Fraser-Mackintosh's *"Antiquarian Notes"* (Edition, Macdonald, p. 185) it is also stated that "on the landing of Prince Charles, the attachment of Roderick to the Stuarts could not be restrained, and he, with his clan, took the field." In point of fact he did nothing of the kind. Apart from other evidence, a copy (apparently made in 1870) of a remarkable document shows very clearly how matters stood with him.

This copy is actually among the Fraser-Mackintosh papers in the Register House, and would appear to have been overlooked, as the wording of the second edition of "Antiquarian Notes" is the same as the original (1865) edition.

The document is a copy of a "Memorial for Roderick Chisholm of Chisholm" in 1748. It narrates that by copies of the Act of Indemnity in June 1747, Roderick Chisholm of Comer in Strathglass was among the excepted, and people were of opinion that this referred to him, though his real designation was Chisholm of Chisholm. The memorialist was unable to think that the exception referred to him, though it possibly referred to his youngest son, who was also named Roderick, and was killed at Culloden. The document goes on to give statements which are certainly borne out by the available evidence.

. . . It is equally notour that the Late Honble. Duncan Forbes of Culloden Lord President of the Session came from Edinburgh to Culloden his seat in Inverness-Shire very early in the said month of August 1745, and our Country generally, and truly, were of a belief that the suppressing of that Rebellion in its infancy, & the preventing the ruin of our Constitution & Country were the motives which hurried his Lordship North so Early. It is a fact equally certain & that can be vouched by the Lord President's holograph Letters in the Memorialists hands that upon his arrival, he called by Express for the Memorialist, That the Memorialist directly waited for him, That they Conferred, & that the president communicated his Sentiment, & pointed out what part he desired the Memorialist should act, as a person he thought of weight in the Country and in whom he could Confide & Trust.

That the intercourse and Correspondence twixt the President & the Memorialist, & the Memorialist's Interviews with the President personally were constant uninterrupted & very frequent for the course of many months from the beginning of August till after the Battle of Falkirk which happened about 17th of following January.

References to the Chisholm in Volume IV. should be consulted, and, incidentally, Lovat's letter to the President of 24th August 1745 ("Cul-

loden Papers," CCLVI.) is of interest. In respect of the movements of the Prince's army Lovat wrote—

Your friend the old Chisholm told this to Culcainn this day, as he was coming to dine with me; and I had it from others . . . I spoke to two men that saw them [the Prince's army] pass by yesterday at the head of my country, and spoke to them; and your favourite that spoke to Culcainn this day will send his men to join them, whether he go himself or not . . .

After the Battle of Falkirk, when the rebels overran Scotland, the Chisholm was placed in a difficult position, and it is stated in the memorial that he

did apply [to] the Lord President for his advice & Direction as to what part the Memorialist should act for his safety, which his Lordship was pleased to give in a holograph Letter addressed to the Memorialist's Son [William Chisholm] a Phisician at Inverness dated 16 February 1746 the second day before the Rebels entered the town of Inverness, & that the Lord President Lord Loudoun & the men under his command retired from it Northerly

Then for some time communication between the Chisholm and the President was interrupted, and owing to the distress caused by other clans, some of the inhabitants of the Chisholm's estate joined the Rebels. The Memorialist had then retired, and associated himself with Lord Seaforth in his country, and he was actively loyal to the Government at that time; in proof of which the memorial goes on to quote a letter from the Lord President, "and still in his [the memorialist's] hands."

This letter was dated from "Kenlochnadale, 1st April 1746 wrote on a small slipp of paper sewed in a man's coat, from Sky after the President & Lord Loudoun retreated there."

As previously shown, this was the President's final halting place in Skye; and after his arrival, when he sought for news, it was to the Chisholm he turned.

My dear Chisholm.

Here I am where some time ago I little thought to be; what of all things in the World is most wanted is Intelligence, What is doing at Inverness & in your Neighbourhood, What I expect

from your friendship is that you will give me as good Information as you can of the situation of things to the Eastward of you, & how the force of either side is Disposed : If you think it to delicate to write freely I wish you would send me some sensible man whom you may Intrust & whom I may credite, I will make no other excuse of this freedome But that you know I am yours most faithfully (Signed) Dun : Forbes.

The memorialist does not give the answer sent to this letter, but states that he gave the best intelligence he could.

(6) IN SKYE.

Returning once more to the Accounts :—

April	2	To Donald MackCoiloig, for a pair of shoes	0	1	0
„	4	To the Laird of MackLeod's servant that brought wine etc	0	2	6
„	„	To the two Runners MackDonald and MackCoiloig	0	10	6
„	„	To Captain John Forbes	1	11	6
„	„	To his Lordship in silver	0	2	6
„	5	To Captain Forbes	0	10	6
„	„	To his Lordship in silver	0	5	0
„	6	To the Groom boy to buy a shirt out of his wages	0	3	0
„	7	To 6 pounds of Tobacco	0	6	0
„	„	To Aquavitae to the Servants	0	3	6
„	„	To Captain John Forbes for the Guard...	1	11	6
„	„	To his Lordship in silver to be given to Mr. Forbes Gauger his servant	0	5	0
„	11	To a man that brought Butter, a large cheese & a Black Cock	0	2	0
„	„	To his Lordship in silver	0	2	0
„	12	To 4 creels of oysters	0	3	4

Of the President's letters at this time no copies, if such were made, survive. The following are two of the answers :—

From Archibald Campbell to the President, dated from Inverary, 4th April 1746.

My Lord,

With the utmost concern I perused your letter of the 29th March, all here sympathise with your Lop and your Partner's adversity. In the Situation the Earle of Loudoun was in, I do not see what other party he could have taken, He may have it in his Power to join some of the Kings Forces but I fancy he cannot find it an easy matter to join the Duke of Cumberland for some time.

Major General [John] Campbell [afterwards 4th Duke of Argyll] who makes his Compliments has dispatched a Vessel with 762 Bolls 1 bushel, 1½qrs of Meal for the Relief of the People under the Earle of Loudoun's command, and has sent you Ammunition over land, to be brought you by the Boat, that carried your Messenger.

The General intends a part of the Meal aboard the Vessel that is sailed from this Place, for the Supply of Dunstaffinish and Dowart Castle, but if the Earle of Loudoun shall judge it absolutely necessary for the Kings Services to make use of it there, he leaves him at Liberty. This he bid me this Morning say to your Lop. that he wished much to have the Earle of Loudoun and your Lop with any officers you have with you, to assist him to carry on his Majesty's Service in the West Parts. This he was to have said to yourself in a Letter, if he had not been very suddenly taken ill of a severe fitt of the Rheumatism last night, which makes him the more earnest to have the Earle of Loudoun here, who he knows to be a very good officer. We have this morning accounts from the Country of the Rebels, that your Command retired to Lochbroom and a Party of the Rebels was in quest of you, and that three of your Ships were taken, with any Treasure His Lop had, ebb'd in a Creek near Dingwall. By the last Advices we had from the Army under His Royal Highness, they were not marched from Aberdeen on the 26th March.

The Messenger that brought the Dispatches told us the Duke with the last Division was to move on the 27th. By some accounts we have from Perth, it is doubtful if they marched quite so soon. The first Division was advanced as far as Strathbogie and Keith

Lord George Murray with a Command of 2000 men came to Athole about a fortnight ago, invested Blair Castle, where we have a Garrison of 500 Regulars, fired briskly at first with some small Cannon, which had no effect, however he continued about the place in order to starve them, but the Castle was safe on the 31st, and the Hessians were upon their march from Dunkeld that day to relieve it.

Fort William has been besieged since the 20th March, it is well supplied with everything that is necessary, and the People in so good spirits, it is believed that it will make a gallant defence, and the Rebels may either tyre of it or will not be able to force it till the D. of Cumberland can come to their Relief.

I can with certainty inform your Lop that you can have no meal from Ireland.

There have been large importations from Liverpool and Bristol to Clyde, where it is now sold at 15sh. the Boll in Great and 16sh. in retail. Tho' it is dear I believe you will find it the readiest market to resort to for the Relief of the Country you are in. I wish your Lop and all your Companions a happy turn of fortune and am with great regard

My Lord your Lops most faithfull

Humble servant

Arch : Campbell.

From Seaforth to the President, dated from Kintail, 12th April 1746.

My Lord,

Your Lordship's of the 10th with the account of Fort William &c, and that of the 11th concerning my own Situation came both at the same time to hand. I have a grateful sense of your Lordship's warm and vigilant zeal for my Interest and Honour. Nor is the Design you mention the first of many Tryalls I had, from the Commencement of our Present Troubles to maintain both

against the Secret Wishes and Intrigues of some, and the more ouvert attempts of others. Hitherto I thank God all are rendered abortive without great noise or trouble to such as should support the common Cause. And as long as I can quash attacks from many Quarters, I do not effect giving additional trouble, where I have been once and again left exposed to apparent Danger carried to and left at my Door. Nor would I be thought busie to claim the least meritt where the sincere, however weak endeavours of some must be neglected to aggrandise the monopolised Services of others. Meantime I can assure your Lordship that it can be as confidently reported, that the Practices of all Emmissaries whatever have not had the least success with my People, tho' as they're situated I cannot yet insure them, by any support visible offered them, either from being forced into a Rebellion, or undergoing the most Cruel Treatment, from their Inveterate Neighbouring Enemies even after a Defeat and Retreat.

I continue Your Lordships

K. Mackenzie.

The two letters which follow were perhaps received as enclosures at a later date, but may be here inserted.

Address:—

Au Lieutenant Colonel Forbes
du Regiment de Dragons Gris, à
Bređa
La Hollande

London March 4th 1746.

Sir,

We had a very short and easy passage. I just come from Captain Wilkinson's, but did not find him so left word with one of his Clerks. The Horses are bought, and they wanted men so much that it was thought necessary, to hire men to take care of them if I had not come in good time. Major MacDougal has gone to Scotland. Blair and Bethel are in the Country, but I hear the Recruits are mostly ready. Wauchop is here but I have not seen him to-day. He is just begun to come abroad. My Lord Stair has been very ill for some days past, but now is

on the mending hard. The Rebels have again united their scattered Forces and took possession of Inverness, which my Lord Loudoun was obliged to retire from with his Party into the Shire of Ross. The Duke with his whole Army was to be at Aberdeen on the first of this month. He will certainly attack them as soon as he gets up, so we hope soon to hear of the last blow to this Rebellion, if they continue in the resolution of waiting for him there as they now give out. My Lord Lovat has now declared openly in their favours, and dispersed a sort of Manifesto in the Highland language, which they say has had a great deal of effect on them. I have not been able to get a sight of one of them. Our Convoy of Transports had a very quick passage, but two of them were lost one with ammunition and one with forty one horses of the Guards, they say only four of the Men were drowned. There is as yet no talk of sending an Army to Flanders, and the Hessians who had received orders to embark for Flanders are now countermanded, and a part of them are already on their March to join the Duke. In short nothing of that sort can go forward till the affair of the Rebellion is entirely over. Commodore Knowles has taken two Major Generals and three Brigadiers with a great number of officers on board a french Ship. I hear my Lord Rothes is to go over to Flanders, in which case my Lord Dunmore I suppose will come back, according to his desire. The City of London is compleating the Foot Guard to 100 men a Company at its own expence. They give five pounds a man to inlist for six months, or till the Rebellion be entirely finished. Notwithstanding this great price they have got a set of the poorest fellows I ever saw, whom the old Men in derision call the five pounders. The Duke is in great favour with the People of England. Pinchbeck has made a Medal of him which they say is very like, of which he sells great numbers and makes a great deal of money. You will scarcely believe that Naizon has got Legoniers Regiment of Dragoons, and Kennedy a Regiment of Foot, after so many disappointments. They talk of the two others that are now vacant for my Lord Bury and Colonel Conway. They have got a Farce which they act now wherein Jenny Came-

ron is introduced, when I have time I will go to see it. I dont know what part she Acts in it. The Marriage between Miss Tallakins and Jones of the Guards is now declared, and they have got a very pretty House where they live together in. I must remember to learn where Molly Kerr is gone for Lord Adam's satisfaction against I write again. I have not yet seen young Colonel Forbes. I am Sir

your most obedt humble Servt

David Scott.

Address :—

Lieutenant Colonel Forbes.
of The Grey Dragoons
at Antwerp
in Brabant.

London April 1st 1746.

Sir,

I suspect from a Letter of Hamiltons that came to hand yesterday, that our Letters of late have not gone safe, for he complains that you have had no accounts from England, whereas I have wrote every week since I left you. The day fixed for our Embarkation was tomorrow, but it will not take place quite so soon, but I believe about the end of this week or the beginning of next we shall set out. I was sent down this morning to Gravesend to enquire into the condition of the transports, which are to carry us over. We have three ships for our Regiment but of the worst kind. Your rascal [Horns] Ship was worth all three of them and you knew it was none of the best, My Lord Rothes is to supply the place of Lord Dunmore, and command us in chief, he is to have under him the illustrious Brigadier Bligh. I believe these two Generals are not at all fond of the honour done them. Willy Leslie is putting in for Deputy Quarter Master General, with the Rank of Lieutenant Colonel. Fourteen transports fell down the River yesterday for Scotland with the following four Regiments, Mordaunt's, Houghton's Handasydes, Skelton's, but as the wind has been southerly they could only get down the River. They are designed to reinforce, the prince of Hesse, Framton's Regiment lyes ready to be

embarked for Cape Breton. They still talk of ten Battalions of Foot under Legonier for Flanders, but I have no idea the thing can happen till affairs are settled in the North. I believe everything is ready now that we want, except seven or eight horses, which the Captains will forgive us if we dont bring at all. We have made a push for being made some amends for selling our Baggage Horses at a low price, and being obliged to buy others dearer. This plea has the more weight as we did it by a peremptory order from Lord Dunmore. I begin to wish we were with you, for I dont think it in the least improbable that you will stand a siege at Antwerp, before you are much older, and I should not be pleased not to be present at that performance. I fancy the first Westerly wind you may begin to look out sharp for us. The Promotion is not yet made, but the first day Lord Stair is able to go as far as St James, he is to desire the King to order out the Commissions. [Lord] Glasgow is about to give in a memorial to his Majesty, and designs to demand a private audience. I suppose he will be recompensed for the loss of his hand by a Company of Foot, which I believe he will think but a bad exchange. They talk here of a great Army being formed in the Pays Bas even 100,000 men, but I find it is not very clear, where it is to come from. For my part I believe the care of the Continent will be left to our nine Squadrons. By our last accounts from Scotland the Duke remained still at Aberdeen, the Rebel Party sometimes appeared but were driven back. We dont know what they are doing about Fort William, which they had invested. Their scheme seems to be at present to amuse the Duke, by shewing Partys now and then to him, whilst they try to get South either by Perth or thro Argyllshire. I wonder how they venture to separate so much. They have set up what they call the Fiery Cross, which is to say that they will destroy and burn all those who dont join them. We are apprehensive for the President and Lord Loudoun. The Grants except those who joined the Duke have been forced to sign a neutrality in form with the Rebels, to give hostages, whose names you being a Highlander may possibly read. Dalrachney, Rothiemurchus, Gartenbeg, Tillygoram. I have waited for the

Gazette till the post is on the point of going away. If I stay any longer I shall lose it, so you must be content with the little I give you. I am Sir your most obedient humble Servant

David Scott

Returning to the Accounts :—

April 14	To [MacLeod of] Waterstein's servants that brought a cow	0 2 6
„ 15	To a smith for horse nails	0 1 0
„ 18	To straw & hay for the horses	0 2 6
„ „	To my Lord Seaforth's servant	0 2 6
„ 19	To the Baillie of Glenelg's servant for a roebuck	0 2 6
„ „	To Lord Seaforth's servant that brought a letter	0 2 0
„ 21	To Captain John Forbes for a cow to the Guard	1 11 6
„ „	To ditto for a pair of shoes	0 3 0
„ „	To washing at Kamlochdale	0 2 6
„ „	To [MacLeod of] Drynoch's servant that brought a lamb & fresh butter	0 2 0
„ 22	To Captain Colin MacKenzie's servants	0 4 0
„ „	To the servants washing at Kamlochdale...	0 2 0

(7) A NOTE ON THE CHISHOLM (PART II.).

The Chisholm, according to his memorial, was (as previously stated) at this time with Lord Seaforth, and he claimed to have been the first to let the President know of the Battle of Culloden (16th April). That he did so, the memorial says, was evident from a letter from Skye, dated 18th April, from the President, which letter was still in the memorialist's possession; that it thanked him for his good services, and [was] fully as expressive of his confidence in the memorialist as the former was, and which concluded as follows:—

I have no news to give you in return . . . If you can learn with any certainty what course the Rebels have taken since the Action, what loss they have sustained or what Rout the Regular Troops are pursuing, it will be very obliging to let me know. I am Yours etc,

(Signed) Dun; Forbes,

As shown, there is an entry in the accounts for payment to Seaforth's servant, on the 18th, and it is expressly stated that a letter was delivered on or before the 19th. If one came from The Chisholm on the 18th in this manner, the news of the battle travelled quickly. It is possible that the letter delivered on the 19th was also from The Chisholm, as the memorial states that he answered the President "timely & to purpose." The memorial then proceeds to give the following "just coppie" of the President's letter, dated from "Kenlochnadale," 22nd April 1746.

Dear Sir, I am very much obliged to you for the Information with which you have favoured me, and at the same time concerned for the Danger in which the bearer acquaints me you think yourself to be from the malicious suggestions of some of your weak or wicked Neighbours; Were his Royal Highness or those about him as well acquainted with your Conduct as I am, or were it possible for me to be with him as soon as you wish, no unconveniency cou'd affect you from these falsehoods. But as that cannot possibly be I have chosen this way to secure you so farr as my giving a character of you can; and to make use of your assistance for the public service.

The Inclosed are the first Letters that Earl Loudoun or I have Risqued to the Duke since we came into this Island & I have told him I have chosen you as the safest man by whom they could be put into his hands, and by whom we cou'd have his answer, you will Therefore the moment this comes to you whether by Night or by Day, Take horse and proceed straight to the Duke, & put the two Letters inclosed into his hands, & with the like care and Dispatch Transmitt his Commands to us. I will not aim at ane Excuse [for this] piece of Trouble of which you will easily see the End as well as the necessity I am My Dear Chisholm Faithfully Yours

(Signed) Dun : Forbes.

The Memorial continues that the moment The Chisholm received the despatches he went to Headquarters at Inverness, where he was introduced by the Hon. Colonel Campbell, and well received, and that he delivered his commands to His Royal Highness. Being unacquainted with the numerous military parties then situated between Inverness and his own country, he got a pass from His Royal Highness, dated 25th

April 1746, directing that he should receive all manner of assistance as needed; and while he (the memorialist) was in the shire of Inverness the highest command under the Duke frequently received him in their company and in their camps. The memorial concludes that The Chisholm had made a genuine relation of his conduct, which could be supported by vouchers.

Whatever trouble he had subsequently to face, the prevailing accounts of The Chisholm are so far true that the President was instrumental in creating a favourable atmosphere for him, in return for value received.

(8) THE PRESIDENT RETURNS.

Without waiting for an answer to the letter sent with The Chisholm, the President, as his accounts show, left Skye on the 23rd. John Hos-sack had written, 19th April ("Culloden Papers," DXXX.), urging this, and stating that there was no body of the rebels in the way, also that Captain Hugh Forbes had applied for and obtained a guard of 50 men with officers to protect the house and lands of Culloden.

		£	s.	d.
April 23	To Sir Alexander MacDonald for a cow to the Guard	1	7	9
" "	To 5 setts of shoes to the horses to McLeod's smith	0	10	6
" "	To [MacDonald of] Knocks servants for the horses & Sir Alexander's Groom	0	10	6
" "	To the Landlady of [Kinloch na Dal] ...	1	1	0
" "	To a sack to hold meal	0	2	0
" "	To Donald Ross	1	1	0
" "	To Mr Martin, Sir Alexander's Gentleman	1	1	0
" "	To Sir Alexander's Porter	0	2	0
" "	To a guide from [Kinloch na Dal] to Kyle- lanchan	0	1	0
" "	To a guide from Kylelanchan to [?Edder- carron]	0	1	0
" "	To corn and hay to the horses at Fernick	0	0	8
" 24	To the bill at [?Eddercarron]	1	10	4
" "	To the horses and Hostler	0	9	0

MORE CULLODEN PAPERS.

65

		£	s.	d.
April 24	To the Bill at Kamloch Canechan (sic) ...	1	3	6
„ „	To the Horses there	0	1	0
„ „	To 4 hired horses from Lochcarron to ditto	0	9	0
„ „	To William Baillie for the Guard at Contin	1	1	0
„ 25	To the Housekeeper at Brahan	1	1	0
„ „	To the Porter	0	5	0
„ „	To the Groom	0	5	0
„ „	To a man at Kessock for carrying back Capt. Forbes Horse	0	2	0
„ 26	To the Ferryboat of Kessock & a yole that came to the peer of Inverness ...	0	4	6
„ „	To 4 horses for carrying baggage to Contin	0	10	0
„ „	To carrying baggage from Contin to Cul- loden	0	2	0
„ „	To a pair of gloves	0	2	6
„ „	To the two Hyrers in Town two days ...	0	1	0
„ „	To lyming and threed for his Lordships vestcoat	0	3	0
„ „	To a blackball	0	1	0
„ „	To Donald Mackcoiloig's for 39 days ...	1	1	0
„ „	To Donald MacDonald for 39 days ...	1	1	0
„ „	To Donald MacDonald for his horse from Lochcarron to [Kinloch na Dal] being 45 miles	0	15	0

Under date 20th May 1746 appears an item "To the Mistress of Over-skibo's account discharged by Auchnagairn £6 12s," with 2s 6d "to her servant that came out of Sutherland for it." On 27th May there is an entry "To my Lady Talisker [MacLeod] by your Lordship's order per bill £21."

The President did not at this time return to Culloden. His letters are dated from Inverness, and the accounts also show that he was resident there.

April 29	To Mr Dundass's Servant for one of the Coach Horses	0	5	6
	To the Barber for dressing	0	0	6
	To soleing his Lops Shoes	0	3	6
	To the Groom for the horse that came in about Corn and hay	0	1	0

MORE CULLODEN PAPERS.

			£	s.	d.
May	1	To two bottles of Wine from the Tavern	0	5	0
	do	To Mr Baillie of Ardmore's Servant that brought an ox	0	5	0
	do	To Rapee Snuff	0	0	6
	2nd	To 4 bottles of Wine from the Tavern ...	0	10	0
	3rd	To 6 hankercherfs	0	6	0
	do	To a white iron Canister to hold tobacco	0	2	2
	6	To an Express that went over to my Lord Seaforth	0	1	0
	do	To Rapee Snuff	0	0	6
	8	To Cocles Bought	0	0	6
	do	To post Letters	0	2	4
	10	To Mackdonald the Runner for going to Culloden	0	1	0
	do	To Mr Dundass Servant for one of the Coach-horses, to drink	0	5	6
	do	To the post for carrying drops & a small bundle from Edinr	0	2	0
	12	To the Postage of Letters	0	1	0
	do	To a Chapin of Shrub at Inverness ...	0	3	0
	do	To Eggs	0	0	3
	do	To 4 Leamons	0	1	0
	16	To the Postage of Letters	0	0	8
	do	To 6 bottles of Arrack	1	1	0
	do	To 6 bottles of Rumm	0	18	0
	do	To 3 dozen of Leamons	0	6	0
	do	To a boy to carry a Salmon to Culloden from Inverness	0	0	6
	17	To a blew frock for myself at Inverness	1	8	0
	do	To John Forbes Millar in Ferrintosh his son that brought wild fowls ...	0	2	6
	do	To a man that brought letters from Sir Robert Gordon	0	1	0
	do	To a postage for a letter	0	0	4
	19	To Rapee Snuff 9 oz.	0	1	1½
	20	To a lb. of Shagg Tobacco	0	1	4
	do	To a pair of second hand boots to Fergus Fergusson the boy	0	2	6

		£	s.	d.
May 20	To footing George Harleys boots (the groom's boy)	0	3	0
do	To a pair of Stockings for Fergus Fergusson	0	1	4
do	To blew lynng for his Coat & Vestcoat which the Taylor forgot	0	1	0
do	To a black ribband for your Lop's Stock	0	0	4
do	To a suit of Livery Cloaths to Fergus Fergusson making included	1	18	6
May 21	To the Barber for dressing your Lop's wig 23 days at Inverness	0	2	0
do	To the runner for going to Duncan Forbes at Beawlie	0	1	0
do	To Postages of a letter	0	0	4
do	To 25 days at Inverness board wages ...	1	15	0

"In my house at Culloden," wrote the President, 9th May, to his cousin, William Forbes, "the rebels have done me no damage. I have lost neither spoon, fork nor knife, tho' I left everything to their mercy. My cattle, planting etc have not escaped so well. I am absolutely naked: soled shoes, darned stockings, ragged shirts, fragments of boots are my apparell. You will therefore provide linnen and shoes, the best can be got. After I come, I believe I must put up with Stonyhill for some time" (Hist. MSS., Com., Lang MSS. I. 452).

The following items of losses incurred are from a document headed "Damages committed by the Rebels upon my Lord Presidents mains and domicils" The whole amounted to £571 5s 10d

- 6½ bolls meal given prisoners & Guard.
- 12 bolls meal sent to Inverness.
- 16 bolls meal used locally by the rebels.
- 16 ,, oats ,, ,, ,,
- 1 hogshead port wine.
- 18 dozen French claret
- 4 dozen ,, white wine.
- 3 ,, Old Sherry.
- 1½ ,, Madeira.
- 4 ,, & 7 flasks "Barabar" Wine.
- 16 ,, Scots gallon aquavitae.

- 6 dozen "Bowlls" strong ale.
 Kitchen & pewter vessels carried away by the rebels.
 5 pair plaids & blankets " " "
 4 pair fine linen sheets.
 24 "napries."
 24 bolls oats sent to Inverness.
 74 bolls oats corn & straw given Rebels horses when quartered
 here.
 12 Bolls Barley do.
 14 labouring Oxen.
 4 feed ditto
 5 Cows with calf.
 2 young stots.
 3 Horses stolen by the Rebels.
 100 Barrells English Coal, spent & carried away.
 The frame of the iron Roller.
 The frame of the stone ditto.
 6 Bees Skips and other damages done in the garden.
 Damages done carts and other labouring utensils.
 32 firelocks taken by the Rebels.
 5 "Fusives" & a carbine.
 7 small swords.
 1 fine silver mounted cutlas.
 2 fine saddles.
 The garden chair.
 40 wedders slaughtered for the Pretender's use.
 75 ,, carried away by the Frasers, October 16th [1745].
 6 table knives & forks ivory hilted.
 1 silver spoon.

The President's tenants suffered also, as well from the Government troops as from the Prince's Army. See Appendix I. Moreover the Battle of Culloden by no means saw an end to damages committed, as the following illustrates.

A coppie of my damages by the Troops the night of the batle of Culloden.

Baillie Gilbert Gordon taken from him 800 stons hay at 6d, 80 stons stra at 1½, 20 stons pease stra at 2d, 4 bolls bear at 11/2½, 1 boll white pease at £1.

The Town of Inverness was also involved in very considerable expenses, as appears by the accounts of the then Treasurer, Andrew Murray.

“Repairs & conveniences made for the King’s Army after their entering the Town the 16 April 1746 immediately after the Battle of Culloden.”

Rearing a Flesh Market for the Duke’s Army at the Fort.

Taking down the old Guard House at the Cross.

Plastering & whitening the Town Hall.

Sentry boxes.

A large bench in the Guardroom.

Town Clerk’s Office fitted for the Officers’ Guard Room, including iron for a grate & bricks to cure it of smoking.

Repairs done in the Church, Tolbooth, Town House, when the troops gave access to them.

Repairing glass work of Charity School, Library & Achnacloich’s kiln used as hospitals by the Army.

Men for keeping the streets clean by order of the Magistrate on a message from H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland from 19th April to 23rd August 1746.

Clerk MacBean’s house also taken for a hospital.

Plaids sent for to Badenoch to accommodate the troops.

Fairfield’s kiln fitted also for a hospital.

In June 1747 the Bridge mended, shattered by the guns of the Fort & by the Forts being blown up.

IX. FROM APRIL 1746 TO DECEMBER 1747.

(1) AFTER CULLODEN: MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS.

It has sometimes been supposed that the disaster at Dornoch and the retreat to Skye put an end both to Lord Loudoun and to the Independent Companies. No greater mistake could be made. So soon as circumstances permitted, some of the Companies were ordered to Fort-Augustus; and the districts where they operated may be considered fortunate compared with those upon which some of the regular troops were quartered.

From Macleod to the President, dated from Glenelg, 26th April 1746.

My Dear Lord

Here we are and the storm of wind so high that its impossible for me to bring our Provisions from the Ship, and as it rains hard in the Hills I fear a flood, however, we are to use all possible diligence to get to Fort Augustus, but Monday is the soonest possible for us to be there. Its almost certain the Pretender with very few people with him are in the Wilds of Lochaber, and that Barisdale, Lochgarry, Glenmoriston etc keep the hills with different small parties. If we meet any annoyance (which I do not expect) it must be from some of those in the passes—I know you will do all the good you can, so I need say nothing on that head. We hear Sutherland has got a Regiment, on what footing I do not know, but you will do for your friends as you see proper, only I beg when anie thing is to be done for those whose Service you, I know, esteem, for whom I flatter myself I am one, you give the preference to the Knight [Sir Alexander Macdonald,] for I would rather retyre to bread and milk, than that anything sh. be done for me, and he left unprovided. I am in very bad health, with the utmost attachment Intyrlie yours

Normand Macleod.

11 a'clock. I shall long much to hear from you, Cullcairn remains at Kinloch na daale with the boats, 50 of my men in this Barrack, and 50 more to be added to them when they get arms, 50 of Sir Alexr at the Kyles, to be reinforced in the same manner, or as directed from above, and a sharp look out over the whole Island to catch anie Rebels that may attempt to escape that way.

Macleod had yet to learn that rewards to those who had remained loyal to the Government, or rather to those who had done everything in their power to serve it, were scarcely considered. Lord Sutherland indeed fell actually into disfavour, Sir Alexander Macdonald, had he lived, might possibly have accomplished something for himself and others, but the Lord President's immediate intercession for his country made far too many enemies to leave any hope of even justice to himself. Throughout his march through Scotland the Duke of Cumberland, apart from any

ideas of his own, had not fallen in with men like Forbes. There were those who could represent things as infinitely worse than they were. Even before the Battle of Culloden the Duke wrote, 4th April, of the strong Jacobite sympathies of the whole country, of his own view that mild measures would be of no use and that "the whole of the laws of this ancient kingdom must be new modelled" (Newcastle Papers).

From the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Inverness, 30th April 1746. (Idem).

My Lord

I had the pleasure of yours. I am extremely obliged to you for all the fine things you are so kind as to say. I indeed do that justice to my friends that they feell my disagreeable situation at the same time that it is found necessary that I should ingage and go through with the affair, which I now hope is almost over with regard to the Military operations, but the Jacobite rebellious principle is so rooted in this nation's mind that this generation must be pretty well wore out, before this country will be quiet. I hope the importance of the affair will make people put up with the inconvenience of a Summer Session which will be absolutely necessary for the almost total change of this constitution. L. President has joined me and as yet we are vastly fond of one another but I fear it wont last as he is as arrant Highland mad as L. Stair, or Crauford, he wishes for lenity if it can be with safety which he thinks but I dont for they really think, that when once they are dispersed, it is of no more consequence then a London mob, and but yesterday a Sr. Will Gordon [of Park] wrote to one of the officers to complain that his house has been plundered whilst he was out following his duty (as he is pleased to call the rebellion), they are now dispersed all over this kingdom at their own homes, and nobody medles with them except I send the Millitary force after them. I have got the L. President to direct Sr E. Faulkener in the drawing up a proclamation which I shall take the liberty to publish in his Majesty's name requiring of all the civill Magistrates to exert themselves, in order that these dispersed rebels may be brought to justice, but as one half of the Magistracy have been either aïders or abettors to this rebellion

and the others dare not act through fear of offending their chiefs or of hanging their own cousin, I hope for little from them. I will if possible collect all the papers of hints that I have but they are so undigested and I have neither time myself nor law enough to form them into any order but the Chancellor when he gets them may very possibly find some good if some body else clears the rubbish for him, as the different remarks are in original hands I must beg that they be not produced or lost

I am your affectionate friend .

William.

Since this was finished I received your letter of the 25th I hear Ld. Justice Clerk has writ to you for an order to abolish the meeting houses in Edinborough. I am ashamed that he should desire an order to put the laws of this country in execution and he would not have done it but that the Scottish clergy are in an uproar about it as I have demolished all Mass houses and Meeting houses as we marched allong. Hawley has asked leave to quit this command as he says he has neither temper nor cunning to live with them

From Sir Alexander Macdonald to the President (an official letter).

My Lord

Late last night my Lord Loudoun received His Royal Highnesses the Duke's Letter, and your Lordships at Strathchloy [Glenclunie.] He did not think it proper to return because of his want of money, and that many of our Men are without Firelocks to the number of about 350, of these two articles he has wrote to the Duke and begs you quicken the Answer. This day we marched down through Glen Moriston to this Place, the Inhabitants were apprized of our Motions and the men betook themselves to the Hills, with most of their Cattle, however we have got a good many Cows, some Horses a number of Goats and sheep, tomorrow we march into Urquhart, where Lord Loudon remains Until he hears from Inverness. Strathclonie is within four Miles of the Entry into Glenmoriston and within eleven of Fort-Augustus, where we would have been at this present writing, but for the Letters

which came to Lord Loudoun last night. I write at the Earl's desire, who is just now writing to His Royal Highness

I am

My Lord

your most obedient humble Servant

Alexr Macdonald.

From Livisie within a mile of Invermoriston 28th April [1746] 9 at night.

Your Lordship will run a fresh express to Lord Loudoun as the Bearer must be weary and will want to return home.

From Macleod to the President, dated from Urquhart 29th April 1746, 7 at night.

My dear Lord,

Here we are and thank God you was not of our party att Strath-Clunie, which has knocked me almost quite up, Lord Loudoun hopes for leave to come to Town for a day or two, whether Sir Alexander and I should both attend him there, or one of us remain you will judge, and let us know, because tho' there is no probability of ane Attack, or hardly a Possibility we would never forgive ourselves if such a thing happened, and one of us not present, be assisting in ordering Provision out for our People, Sir Alexr last night and I now, write for Loudoun as well as ourselves.

I am your very sincere

Normand Macleod.

P.S.—Remember what a number of the Men we have here want Arms, and how necessary it is for them to have them putt in their hands. The Crooked Laird with his possey are very fond of us, and he is to give us what flesh meat he can, meal he has none.

The "Crooked Laird" seems to refer to Ludovick Grant, younger of Grant, who had now "leapt with amazing agility off the fence on which he had so long sat" (Dr William Mackay, "Urquhart and Glenmoriston," which see passim). The conduct of the Grants during the Forty-five has been the subject of much literature. The two following documents refer

to the so-called armed neutrality signed by the Grants when threatened, as they said, with military execution by the Prince's army (when in retreat) if they did not rise. Certain Grants were sent to Inverness as hostages where they were found upon the arrival of the Government forces. Their position was illegal.

Endorsed:—Memorial for Rothiemurchus etc Unto the Lord President of the Session 1746.

Memoriall. James Grant of Rothiemurchus, Robert Grant of Dellachaple, George Grant of Tulligorm, Duncan Grant of Achernach, and John Grant of Whythae.

Unto the Right Honourable Duncan Forbes President of the College of Justice.

Humble Shewith,

That the Laird of Grant, upon the first Concoction of this unhappy Rebellion, having sent to Inverness ane Independent Company of 100 men for the Service of the Government in conjunction with the other well affected Clans, to which the memorialists gave their hearty assent and concurrence, and he and his whole clan being in Arms all along, for the Protection of the Country and waiting to be employed by the Government rendered him and them so odious to the Rebels, that they resolved by the most vigorous means, to put a stop to these our Designs (since they had then the power in their hands) having taken the Town of Inverness and no assistance nearer us, for ought we then knew, than the Town of Perth. And accordingly one John Murray, who assumed to himself the Title of Secretary to the Pretender's Son, wrote a threatening Letter, addressed to the Laird of Grant, demanding hostages and the delivery of our Arms, against the first day of March under pain of the Most severe Military execution, which so surprised us all that Mr Grant of Grant, resolved to go south with his Lady and the other Gentlemen who had taken protection in his House and advised that all his People should go along with him, and leave their effects, wives and children to the mercy of those lawless and outrageous Banditty. But upon a General Consultation we and the other Gentlemen of the Country found that the Commons out of sympathy to their Wives, and fear of being rendered miserable, would not accede to this pro-

posall, and therefore resolved to stay in the Country, in order, if possible to obtain Terms of Peace, for themselves and the People, till, by the Duke of Cumberland's approach, it was in their power to declare their sentiments more freely, besides they were afraid if the Gentlemen deserted the Country, that the Commons might be forced to join the Rebels, who could not be supposed to have so much firmness of mind, as not to come in to any measures rather than be burnt and plundered, And to obtain such terms it was agreed to send Deputies to Inverness, (being ignorant of the Laws), to endeavour to ward off that blow till proper assistance came to their Relief. Accordingly the Memorialists having had then, some of them their Sons, and others their Friends, Prisoners in the Castle of Inverness, were judged the properest men to be sent down, and still, after they went, in order to show their unwillingness to agree to any of their proposalls, they shifted doing anything for ten or twelve days expecting the Duke's Advance. Till at last the Rebels resolving not to be any longer trifled with, presented a Paper which they called a Parole, for our not bearing arms nor any of our dependants, against them, which they forced us to sign, by which we were so far from being willing to abide that how soon we heard of his Royall Highness approach, we wrote to the Country in the strongest terms to come up and join him, with which they complied and came as soon as possible, And tho' they could not have the happiness to share in the Victory of that Glorious Day, that restored Peace to the Nation, yet are now in Urquhart where the Memorialists would be, if permitted, in order to execute such order as His Highness will enjoin.

Upon the whole of which the Memorialists being examined by order of His Highness, we were ordered to repair to Edinburgh forthwith, and deliver ourselves to the Justice Clerk, there to await our Tryall, or Furder orders. Tho' it is well known and to your Lordship in particular, that we were never as much as suspected of Jacobitism, and at this time preserved our men and Arms, for the Government's Service, and never paid any Taxes or Imposition, no not the cess, which many in the neighbourhood have done, in obedience to the frequent Threats and Menaces of the Rebels.

May it therefore please your Lop, to take the Premises under consideration and upon finding what is above represented to be just, to use your good offices with His Royal Highness, if we are to be brought to Tryall, that he may admit us to Parole, to stay in the Country till the same comes on, to prevent charges, or other ways to dismiss us, which we are ready to acknowledge as the effect of your Endeavours and his Highnesses Clemency

Dun: Grant
 James Grant
 Robert Grant
 George Grant
 John Grant.

Endorsed:—Copy of a Letter delivered by [Grant of] Rothiemurchus.

Dearest Friends,

As we have your Principles by the Part you acted, and were willing to act since this Unnatural and unhappy Rebellion began we need use no arguments to persuade you to what we and yourselves always, and now think right only as it was by Necessity, and by our want of knowledge, in such desperate Circumstances, as we were then in, threatened by a powerful, bloody, lawless Banditti, wh. we were not able to resist, and to which we were more than any exposed, far from all help, we all agreed that in consideration of the threatening Letter, sent by Mr Murray, demanding Hostages, and the delivery of our Arms, we should come here and obtain the best terms we could for you and your Country, our Critical Situation could allow of, in consequence of which resolution we came, and notwithstanding, we saw 2000 of the keenest for our destruction, here ready to devour, all that is most dear to us, and ourselves close confined, We stav'd off any agreement for 12 days expecting a Relief, till it was told us by the only persons that favoured us most, that our refusing to sign a paper they then brought ready drawn, would be constructed as Trifling and immediately we were to be used as Criminals and our Country men, Wives &c., exposed to Military Execution their Common Term, to which, to our regret and with the utmost reluctance, we yielded, upon our getting an Ample Protection,

which you all saw, and in consequence of which we have been kept Prisoners and indifferently used, till our Glorious Deliverer the Duke of Cumberland, and his victorious Army, set us free, and has cleared a passage for you and us to act like our Ancestors, Men famous for Glorious Freedom and Revolution Principles. Let us therefore Dr Countrymen in the strongest manner our heart can indite, and in the name of God to exert yourselves to the utmost of your powers, and with all expedition to assemble under your Chief's Banner, and repair here with such Arms as you can muster, to demonstrate what you really are, and that it was necessity and Force, that made us and you act so contrary to our real and innate Principles. As this will be your Honour and Safety, and the safety of us your distressed Friends, your hearty and ready compliance will much oblige.

Gentlemen &c.

Inverness 28th April 1746.

The above Copy delivered by Rothemurcus to Sir Everard Fawkener, and he declares the same to be a true Copye.

From Lord Reay to the President dated from Edinburgh 28th April 1746
 ("Culloden Papers" CCCXVI)

My Lord,

I wish this may find your Lop & Earl Loudoun safely arrived at Inverness. I have been very anxious about you since you left Sutherland: meantime I judge it's agreable to you, that you was not disappointed in the confidence your Lop put in some of your Friends. You'l have heard of the threatning Letters I had from the Earl of Cromerty; which, as I could not follow my men thro' the Hills in case we had been attacked, obliged me to come up here. But I find the concert made at Tongue ere I left it has had the desired Success, and his Lop has time now to repent that he did not take your Lop's kind advice. As my People were constantly on their Watch till his Lop was made Prisoner, and that the Rebels in Caithness hindered our getting seed from thence as usuall, I'm much afraid of Ley Land on my estate; and should my Son's Company be called out till Bear seed is over, it may do much harm & make it difficult in my absence to get out the best

men, which would be the reverse if seed-time was over. This I leave to your Lop. My Sons will obey your Commands as far as they can. Pray make my Compliments acceptable to the Earl of Loudoun. I am, with sincere Respect,

My Lord,

Your Lop's most obedient
most affte humble Servant,

Reay.

[Ross of] Inverchasley, Mrs Wm Forbes, Mr Doule & I drunk yr Lordship's health in Luckie Clephans who pledged us most cheerfully.

From William Baillie to the President, dated from Ardmore 3rd May 1746.

My Lord,

The Master of Ross's men are now here and will be att Tayne this night so that according to your Lordships desire I send for orders what they are next to do. They want Arms but the Rebels have left about a score of Guns at Tayne which I suppose they may get and we have near a score more of the Guns my Lord Loudon ordered us from Sutherland, the rest were returned when the Rebels came to the Country. If it was thought proper to order them search for Arms in Coigach and Lochbroom, I believe they would get more than to serve themselves, for such of the people there as were in the Rebellion and escaped, are now lurking at home, as I believe all the fragments of these unhappy people are, for I do not hear that there are any considerable numbers together in any Country whatever. I have the honour of being with the greatest regard.

My Lord

Your Lordships most obedient and most Faithfull
obliged servant

Will: Baillie.

The Company of the Rosses with the Grant Company had been left by Lord Loudoun in the Castle of Inverness, when he retired to the north. Both companies surrendered under the order of Major Grant two days later, 20th February 1746.

The following private letter from Sir Alexander Macdonald to the President is dated from Urquhart 4th May 1746. Though his mention of the Duke of Cumberland is sufficiently indiscreet, it does not appear that he had as yet fully grasped his intentions, and it would seem, in justice to Grant, younger of Grant, that he may also have expected a lenity which was conspicuous by its absence. The full story of the surrender and subsequent treatment of the Grants may be read in W. Mackay's "Urquhart and Glenmoriston."

My dear Lord,

This moment most of the Glenmoriston men came to deliver themselves and their arms to the Laird of Grant to be put into the Duke's Mercy, the rest of the Glenmoriston men are to be here tomorrow morning. I thought proper to let your Lordship know this, as I know will use your utmost efforts for that lenity that will end the disturbances of this Country and quicken His Royal Highness's departure from the Highlands of Scotland in quest of more Laurels. The method of using these men will resolve the whole Highlands as to what they are to expect and what they are to do. I am my dear Lord,

Yours unalterably

Alexr Macdonald.

Mr Grant who drinks your health sends compliments.

The Duke of Cumberland was not likely to listen to anything the President might say as to mercy. See his letter (previously given) to the Duke of Newcastle of 30th April. He wrote to him again on 29th June:—

I have nothing to say new from this country but that to my great astonishment I find them a more stubborn and villainous set of wretches than I imagined could exist. (Newcastle Papers).

From Eric Sutherland, titular Lord Duffus, to the President dated from Pulrossie 5th May 1746. The writer's father, Kenneth, third Lord Duffus, had been attainted for his share in the Rising of 1715.

My Lord,

I heartily congratulate your safe return to Inverness and beg pardon for giving you this trouble at a juncture when you must necessarily have so much business. I have seen my Lord a very ex-

traordinary Scene since you left this Country, and have been surrounded with a set of people with whom it required my utmost prudence to conduct my conversation and behaviour with safety. What still added to my perplexity and unlucky situation, was the suspicion and jealousy of the ignorant people of this Country who I know would take umbrage at my House being so resorted to and for which I bore no small burden. Further particulars would be too tedious to trouble your Lop with, at this time but when I can have the honour to see you I hope to meet with your approbation. What I beg of you at present is your advice whether it is proper for me to come to Inverness at this juncture, when people of all Ranks and Degrees are making their appearance. I have no pretensions of being introduced to his royal Highness but as a dutiful subject who has had no concern in the Public Disturbance, and by my Fathers transgression cannot even be introduced as a person or note or distinction. In these circumstances I humbly intreat your Lop's advice, and tho' you should judge my coming to Inverness unnecessary, yet I beg to know, when and where I may have the opportunity of waiting on your Lop, if only for half an hour which favour shall ever be acknowledged by

My Lord

Your Lops most obliged and obedient humble Servant
Duffus.

From John MacDonell of Glengarry to the President dated from Fort-Augustus 6th May 1746.

My Lord

I have the honour of writing your Lordship this, to acquaint you I have been as dilligent as possible in my power to prevail on my People of Glengarry to deliver up their Arms, and notwithstanding the industry and cunning craft of some people had so good success in this country that I have prevailed upon the Commoners all to surrender their Arms, who are willing henceforth to take the oath of Allegiance to the King and Government. I daresay if your Lordship advise me to it, I would prevail with most the nominall Subalterns to follow the example of the Commons. I do assure them and am ready to show them good example, and

I doubt not to have equal good success in the countrys of Knoidart and Morar, but the time limited is short for Countries at a Distance: The Country of Glengarry is ready upon call (I mean the Common), and any belonging me will not gladly acquiese, I shall be as much their Enemy as any. But my Lord I beg Pardon to use the Freedom, as to tell your Lordship the summons sent was not at all agreeable to the People, I mean the Place for Delivering their Arms. I earnestly entreat your Lop have it altered so that it may be in this Place they deliver their Arms, and your Lop be so good as to obtain His Royal Highness's protection, for my own Family, Servants, Cattle &c. I entirely depend upon your Lordships Friendship and Advice, which I faithfully promise shall be punctually followed and obeyed by me, I put my whole trust in your Lordship's Friendship. I wish to know if your Lordship comes this length if not that I may have the honour of waiting of your Lordship, so as to open my mind more fully wh. would be too tedious to write. It's generally reported here that two ships either French or Spanish have landed upon our West Coast, with money and arms, that the Pretender thinks of maintaining a flying party for some time, the certainty of which I shall soon know and acquaint your Lordship per express. Your cousin my wife begs I make offer of her most humble duty to your Lordship and I most earnestly beg the favour your Lordship be as good as send me a pass for James Stuart to draw Aquavitæ from Ferrintosh, for the use of my family and that of my change Houses for the want of which I lose considerably and is very inconvenient for Passengers. I am with the greatest esteem and due regard

My Lord

Yours Lordships most faithfull

obedient and most humble Servant

John McDonell, of Glengarry.

Glengarry's wife was a daughter of Gordon of Glenbucket and her mother was a Forbes, but the connection with the Culloden family might in its extreme remoteness have been easily overlooked.

The next document appears to have been an enclosure to this letter. It is endorsed:—Copy Advertisement Major General Campbell anent delivering up of Arms,

For Glengarry

By Major General John Campbell.

Whereas the Custom among the Highlanders in Scotland of having arms in their custody, of using and wearing the same has been discharged by Law as tending to disturb the Peace and quiet of that Part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and Whereas the same vain and dangerous Custom has greatly contributed to the furtherance of the Present Rebellion. These are therefore requiring and Commanding the Inhabitants of the Countries and Parishes underwritten to deliver up their Arms to me or any person having my Order viz the Inhabitants of Glencoe, to the Commanding Officer at Castle Keilchurn, Those of Appin, Morevin, Kingerloch and Ardgour, to the Commanding Officer at Islandstalker, those of Ardnurmurchan, Suinart, Moydart, Arisaig, Knoydart, Morir, Tirij, Coll, Rum, Egg, Cana, Uist, Barra, and Ellannamuich to the Commanding Officer at Mingary Castle. Those of the Parishes of Killmunivaig and Killmally in Lochaber to the Commanding Officer at Fort-William, and those of Mull and Ikolumkill to the Commanding Officer at Dowart Castle. Certifying to the respective Heritors or Land Lords there Tenants and Possessors were truly in the Rebellion, that the most vigorous execution of the Law shall be directed if their Arms are not voluntarily and universally, delivered up at the Places above mentioned, in fifteen days after the Heritor is served with a Copy of this order, or that the same is published at the respective Parish Churches, and in order that the Heritors and others may be possessed of a proper Document of their Compliance with this Order, the Commanding Officers in the different Castles are directed to give Receipts for what arms they shall receive, and from whom.

Given under my hand and seal at Inveraray the 23rd April 1746.

Sic Subscribitur John Campbell.

Glengarry himself had not been "out." See "Culloden Papers" CCCCXLIII, from which it appears that he had actually contemplated a visit to Culloden.

From MacLeod to the President dated from Gortuleg 12 May 1746.

My dear Lord

Quite fatigued and very much defeat here I am, as it was the only inhabited place I could find. Sir Alexr. [MacDonald] Stopt a while with me, but is gone on, and I follow him tomorrow morning, if I am not intyrlie knocked up. Poor [Thomas Fraser of] Gortuleg is told he still laves under suspicion, and that there are letters of his own found which give great umbrage. I know not what truth is in this, but I should be sorry he had done anything to forfeit his Protection, as I must remember how useful he was to the Generall Cause, and what Particular Services. of a very lasting Nature he did for you as well as for me, wh. I never can forget, and I know you do not. I really wish for more health to be able to work throw this Campaign.

I am yours

N. Macleod.

From David Ross of Inverchasley to the President dated from Edinburgh
12 May 1746.

My Lord

It gave me infinite Joy to hear Your Lordship keeps such good health, since the 20th March, and of your Lops. safe return to Culloden, Your Lop would hear of my coming to this Place with Lord Reay, and that I was singled out as the only Sacrifice in Ross, for my eldest Son who was here lately computes my loss one way or another to 1000 guineas. I shall apply for redress or be silent as your Lop will direct, and determine me, and as I know your Lop. is readie to write, I begg if your Lop. has any spare time, you may dress me two or three lines of advice, for I'll stay here till the return of this post is due, and if I knew your Lop was to be soon here, I would waite though I have no kind of Business to have the pleasure of kissing your Lordships hand in Edinburgh. I understand [Munro of] Newmore procured the Commissariat of Ross to [Ross of] Aldy. If the Crown Rents of Ross is not to be disposed of to a Peer as formerly and if they will be leveyed by a collector as in [Ross of] Kindeace's time, it would be more Goodness in your Lordship then I've a

title to, if you got me named Collector. I was 10 Days with the Master of Ross at the Hawkhead, and it would seem by the nature of his parole, he must all along continue inactive against the Rebels, which may putt an end to his Company, tho' if he was called upon by his Royal Highness I believe he would submit to his pleasure. As my son, your Lordship lieutenant is by this means idle, and may be so for some time, I submit to Your Lordship whether or not it would be to his interest if he could get into a Marching Regiment. Its my own opinion it would, and its my Choice, but I'll acquiese in your Lops. opinion and though it should be for his getting in to a Regiment I've no way to push him forward or exchange him, but one way, and that is assuredly by your Lordship. I'm half trembling for my presumption and freedom, but I recover when I think with whom I use it, the Best Man (without flattery) on the face of the Earth, May God long preserve him, and with the greatest respect and esteem

I ever am

My Lord

Your Lops. most oblidge most faithfull

- and Devoted readie Servant

David Ross.

From the Governours etc of Aberdeen to the Lord President, dated from Aberdeen, 12th May 1746.

My Lord

As we have the honour to be appointed, Governours of this City by H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland, we could not omitt taking the first opportunity of congratulating your Lordship's agreeable Meeting with H.R.H., after such a long and hazardous situation, in the Service of your King and Country, and in a special manner beg leave to express our unfeigned thankfulness for your late generous good intentions of reliving this City under Rebel oppression, which has been fully communicate to us by one of our numbers. This distinguished mark of your favour we hope shall so influence our Conduct, as we shall never be taxed with ingratitude to such ane Honourable Patron.

Our late Provost [James Morison] gave you the trouble from time to time of acquainting your Lop. with the Situation of this Town as he had opportunity. Your Lop. knows the publick Revenues of our Town must suffer very much for want of due care and management, which cannot be done, without a legal Magistracy and Council, and its therefore hoped His Majesty will make provision for this and other burghs in like circumstances, and as our Representative in Parliament has advised us that application has been made to his Majesty, by some of the Burrows, we have therefore been thinking of a proper method and do find there is some inconsistency in making application either in name of the Old or New Councils, as there are objections to the conduct of a few Members of both, during this wicked unnatural Rebellion. And therefore we as Governours have presumed to make the Application (Copy of which is herewith sent) craving his Majesty may be pleased to grant warrant, to the last Provost and four Baillies (being men well affected) to Elect a New Magistracy and Council as was done in the year 1716, so as to root out all seeds of disaffection out of our Council. And we hope such as have shewen any marks of disaffection, will not be found worthy of that trust.

As there was a Precedent for this in the Reign of his late Majesty (Copy of which we have also herewith sent) and that it was the basis of all succeeding Councils since that time, we hope there can be no objection to that method, whereas if it were deviat from, there might be a handle made, that the alteration proceeded from a conviction that the former method was erroneous. So we humbly apprehend it will be best to make the practise of our burgh uniform and thereby the former rule will be confirmed and established, besides we are fully persuaded, that this will be the most effectual method for settling peace and tranquillity in the burgh and rooting out everything that looks like disaffection of our Councils.

As our Town has been always honoured with your Lop's protection, we thought it our duty to lay this, our Procedure before your Lop. both for your approbation and assistance. The Petition was sent last week to Mr Maule our member, to be

laid before the King We shall embrace every opportunity to
testifie that we have the honour to be with greatest esteem and
perfect truth

My Lord

Your Lordships most obedt and most faithful humble
Servants

Signed in name and at the desire of the Governours of the City
of Aberdeen by

James Morison, Preses.

List of Governours [in addition to Provost Morison]

Provost Cruickshank

„ John Robertson

„ Chalmers

„ Alexander Robertson.

„ Aberdeen

Baillie Gordon

„ Mouat

„ Burnett

Andrew Logie, D. of Gild

Alexander Thomson, advocat

Convener Auldjo

[Captain Crosby was Commandant]

From Andrew Logie, Dean of Gild, Aberdeen, to the President dated from
Aberdeen 12 May 1746.

Permit me to accompany the Publick Thanks, with my own
Sincere Professions of Gratitude & esteem. The Address pre-
sented to his Majesty, copy of which is transmitted to your Lord-
ship, was the only form in our present condition in which we
could send it. The conduct of some, of both the preceding
Council, and of that chosen, the day when their procedure, was
interrupted by the Rebels under Hamilton, has been such, as
although it does not expose to persecution, unless a very par-
ticular enquiry was to be made, yet may most justly exclude
from Confidence and trust.

His Royal Highness orders, respecting the unrigging our
Ships, calling all Boats into proper Stations and guarding the

Coasts are most punctually execute: Our Militia still continue to do regular Duty, and to apprehend all Rebels coming within their bounds, as was strictly enjoined

Permitt me my Lord, with pleasure to remember your Lordships truely Patriot wish "A speedy settlement to our Country with as little Mischief to Scots-men as possible." And to add that your Lordships Family may always continue to be the Decus et Tutamen of their Country. I shall always in highest esteem remain

My Lord

Your Lordships Most obligd. & most Obedt.
humble Servt.

Andrew Logie.

(2) CONCERNING THE INDEPENDENT COMPANIES.

The unusual manner in which the Independent Companies had been brought together, the actual dates when they were first raised, the dates on which they were completed and the commissions of the officers delivered, involved serious questions with regard to their pay.

The following notes (undated) are in the President's handwriting.

The Independent Companies have pay from the date of their arrivall at Inverness and they ought to be repayed as near as can be the reall expense of bringing them thither, to be allowed in their account, when it comes to be regularly made up. Now as some of them were brought together sooner and some later, and as they will come upon the establishment probably of one date anterior to the actuall levying, the pay of which period may go to help the levying etc—if it is practicable by the rules of the Army is it not just that the whole saving of pay anterior to the actuall levying should be brought into one heap and divided equally between them—otherways the captain that brought his company first together for the service will fare worst.

On 13th May 1746 he wrote to John Scrope; to Henry Pelham and to George Ross, the army agent ("Culloden Papers" DXXXI; CCCXVII; and CCCXVIII). To the last he sent a certificate of the dates on which

the officers' commissions had been delivered, their companies being complete, and gave the names of the officers. He also wrote on the same day to the Duke of Newcastle.

Inverness, 13th May 1746.

My Lord

The Correspondence I had the honour to hold with your Grace, has been interrupted for a great while. The sudden retreat which Earl Loudoun and I were obliged to make from this place the 18th of Febr'y. before the Superior force of the Rebels who assembled in our Neighbourhood after flying from His Royal Highness the Duke at Stirling, and the more sudden retreat which we were forced to make from the Post we had taken up on the Confines of Sutherland on the 20th March to avoid an unequal conflict, with a body of the same Rebels, who under the favour of a very extraordinary fog, which lasted two compleat Days, found means to collect Boats unespied by his Majesty's Ships of War, and to land on the Coast, which we were to guard, unobserved by us; made it impossible to give your Grace any accounts of our proceedings, untill we had access to return to this Country by the total de-route of the Rebels, by his R.H., and as the Duke has undoubtedly acquainted his Majesty from time to time, with the accounts he had of us, but more particularly as a journall of our trifling adventures would deserve no attention after His Royal Highness's glorious Achievement, which by putting at once an end to the wicked Rebellion has justly engrossed the Regards of the King and of the Publick, I shall not trouble your Grace with any minute details of our proceedings, but shall content myself with giving you an account, of what has been done, in prosecution of the Trust committed to me by his Majesty, of disposing of Commissions for 20 Independent Companies, which bear date the [blank] Sept. last. After making one Reflection, that the too late arrival of the Sloop with arms and money, which I had long solicited, was the cause, why the Rebellion, gathered fresh strength in this Country, after the Rebels flight from Stirling, had these arms come in time enough to have been put into the hands of men, who were ready prepared to receive them, the Rebels durst hardly have shewn themselves on this side of

the Mountains, but as those arms did not arrive in our Road till the very day, the Rebels made themselves Masters of the Barrack of Ruthven in Badenoch, within 26 miles of us, it was too late to assemble the men we had prepared, and in place of making use of the arms we were obliged to keep them as well as the money on Shipboard for security.

When the blank Commissions for raising 20 Independent Companies came to my hand, I made the most discreet use of them I was able, whereof I from time to time acquainted the Marquis of Tweeddale. I delivered Commissions to 18 Companies of 100 private men each, but not till the Companies were complete, all those excepting one Company [Seaforth's Lewes Company,] which by the Rigour of the Season and deep Snow in the Mountains, was hindered from joining us, were in conjunction with part of Loudoun's Regiment, the force that bridled this Neighbourhood, and prevented the accession of any considerable strength to the Rebels, from thence, until we were overpowered at Inverness. At that time Earl Loudoun left 2 of those companies in the Castle to strengthen the Garrison, 2 more were left with Lord Fortrose, who retired with them to his Highland Estate, to prevent the efforts of Earl Cromartie and the other Rebels, to force his kindred to join them in Arms. And when the Rebels, under the favour of the fog already mentioned, forced a Passage into Sutherland, finding that the whole of those Companies could not possibly be subsisted in the Mountains of that Country, we left four of them there, whose good Services in saving the Hazard Sloop, and discomfiting the Earl of Cromarty, your Grace has doubtless heard of, and with the rest, by forced Marches, through the North West Highlands, gained the Isle of Sky, where they were employed in preventing any accession of strength to the Rebels, untill His R.H.'s compleat Victory, rendered that care unnecessary and now they are by the Duke's order at the upper end of Loch Ness, under the Command of the Earl of Loudoun, and will it is to be hoped, as they are compleat, including the 2 Companys, that were made Prisoners at the Castle of Inverness be useful in following the Debris of the Rebels throw their Mountains.

Regard to the Trust imposed on me by his Majesty, made me careful not to dispose of any of those Commissions, but as the exigency of the Service required. Your Grace will observe that I have given Commissions only to 18 Companys, tho' at different times, Several more Companys of Militia were raised, employed and for the time payd, so that Commissions for 2 Companys still remain blank in my hands. Of this I acquainted the Duke on my coming to this Place, and signified my readiness to put those Commissions in his hands, to be disposed of, if he judged it proper, but his Royal Highness thought it more fit, as there was no present occasion for them, to reserve them for His Majesty's disposition, and they are now in my Custody, ready to be returned to his Majesty, which will produce a saving, or to be disposed of as His Majesty shall be pleased to direct.

The same accidents that prevented me corresponding with your Grace prevented also my returning Lists of the names of the Officers commissioned and of the dates of their commissions without which it seems, the Establishment of their Pay cannot properly be made, and this has been the cause why a stop has been put to the issuing money, for that Account, so that they have in a great measure been subsisted on private Credit. To remove this difficulty I have transmitted to Mr George Ross agent for these Companies, a certificate of the names of the Officers and of the Dates of the delivery of their Commissions, signifying at the same time that the several Companys were compleat, before the Commissions were delivered, this I did after stating the case to H.R.H., whose opinion it was that the fact should be particularly reported, and that in forming the establishment, allowance would be made of Pay, for a reasonable time anterior to the actual Delivery of the Commissions, to indemnify the Officers, for the expense, which the levying of the Companies must have put them to. I am now speaking out of my Profession, and therefore I doubt, not in stile, but as your Grace will guess at what I mean, I am confident you will give such directions, as are fit to be given on the Subject

I have my Lord, for somewhat more than nine months, been moving in a very odd Sphere, for a man of my Profession. The Skill and Bravery of the Duke have at last delivered the Nation from its dangers and me from my Excentricity. I have attended his Royal Highness for some days, and have furnished him with all the rights I was Master of, so that he judges it unnecessary I should follow him any further. If his Majesty has any further need of my service in the Irregular way, I am ready, if not I shall return, without having had much rest to Edinburgh, to my regular Drudgery.

Before I take my leave I must suggest to your Grace, that at the beginning of our unhappy confusions, His Majesty's pleasure was signified to me by the Marquis of Tweedale, then Secretary of State, to supply myself with money for extraordinary expenses, by draughts on Mr Pelham or the Paymaster General, but that Expedient becoming impracticable by the almost total interruption of correspondence, and by other Accidents, I was obliged after expending so much of my own money as I could lay my hands on, to take up small sums here and there, where I could find them on my own Notes; at last Earl Loudoun was forced to pursue the same course, and we were both obliged to borrow from the small sums, that were sent down for the Subsistence of the Independent Companys, and to apply the Money to other necessary and contingent Services. These Accounts cannot possibly be made up till Earl Loudoun is disengaged from the immediate Service in which he is now engaged, but in the meantime I find myself dayly dunned for small sums, amounting in the whole to no great matter, which I was obliged to take up on my own Credite. These I should in [The rest of the letter is missing.]

His letter to John Scrope ("Culloden Papers" DXXXI) is naturally on more intimate lines, and touches upon his own position, whether he should be at "further trouble; or whether it is not more expedient to ly still and be quiet; leaving those of my country who know nothing of the matter, and who have chose to take no part of the risque, to direct as they shall think fit."

The following list gives the names of the officers of the Independent Companies and the dates on which they were reckoned to be complete, that is the time of their arrival respectively at Inverness.

Company.	Complete.	Captain.	Lieutenant.	Ensign.
Munro	23rd Oct. 1745	George Munro of Culcairn	Adam Gordon, younger of Ardoch	Hugh Munro, younger of Achany
Sutherland (I.)	25th Oct. 1745	Alexander Gunn [? of Badenloch]	John Gordon	Kenneth Sutherland
Grant	3rd Nov. 1745	Patrick Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus	William Grant [? younger of Dellachappel]	James Grant
Mackay (I.)	4th Nov. 1745	Hon. George Mackay of Skibo	John Mackay [? of Clashneach]	James Mackay [? of Skerray]
Sutherland (II.)	8th Nov. 1745	Peter (Patrick) Sutherland (Kinminity)	William Mackay, younger of Pitfure	John Mackay of Mudale
Macleod (I.)	15th Nov. 1745	John Macleod of Talisker	Alexander Macleod, younger of Balmeanach	John M'Askill, Rudh'an Dunain
" (II.)	"	Normand Macleod of Waterstein	Donald Macleod, Bernisdale	John Macleod, Osdal
" (III.)	"	Normand Macleod, younger of Bernera (Harris)	John Campbell, Ensay	John Macleod, younger, Gesto
" (IV.)	"	Donald Macdonald of Castleton	William Macleod, Hammer	Donald Macleod, Mill
Inverness	18th Nov. 1745	Baillie William Mackintosh (Termit)	Kenneth Mathison	William Baillie
Assynt Macleod	28th Nov. 1745	Hugh Macleod of Geanies	George Munro	Roderick Macleod
Seaforth (I)	10th Dec. 1745	Alexander Mackenzie of Davochmahuach	John Mathison	Simon Murchison
" (II.)	"	Colin Mackenzie of Hilton	Alexander Campbell, Factor to Seaforth	John Macrae
Macdonald (I.)	31st Dec. 1745	James Macdonald of Airds	Allan Macdonald of Knock	James Macdonald
" (II.)	"	John Macdonald of Kirkibost	Allan Macdonald (Kingsburgh)	Donald Macdonald
Mackay (II)	6th Jan. 1746	Hugh Mackay, younger of Bighouse	John Mackay [? of Clashneach]	Angus Mackay
Ross	8th Jan. 1746	William, Master of Ross	Charles Ross [? Brother to Ross of Shandwick]	David Ross, younger of Inverchasley
Seaforth (II.)	2nd Feb. 1746*	Colin Mackenzie	Donald Macaulay	Kenneth Mackenzie

* This was the Lewes Company, which never reached Inverness.

(3) THE LORD PRESIDENT RETURNS TO EDINBURGH.

By his accounts the President seems to have left Inverness on 21 May.

22 May	To Donald Mackcloage for a pair of shoes to run with	0 3 0
23 ,,	To Captain John Forbes by your Lop's order	10 10 0
,, ,,	To a Man brought a letter from Baillie Fraser Inverness	0 0 6
,, ,,	To a man sent from Brodie House to Sir Robert Gordon's	0 2 0
24 ,,	To the Butler at Brodie	1 1 0
,, ,,	To the Porter there	0 2 6
,, ,,	To the Servants & horses at Elgin	0 8 6
,, ,,	To the Serjeant of the Guard Focabers for half a boll oats	0 8 0
25 ,,	To the Butler at Castle Gordon	1 1 0
,, ,,	To the Porter	0 5 0
,, ,,	To Your Lordship to give the Groom	0 5 0
,, ,,	To the Servants at Focabers	0 3 6
,, ,,	To the Bill at Cullen	1 12 6
,, ,,	To the two Cintenells	0 2 6
26 ,,	To the Bill at Banff	2 5 2
,, ,,	To the Minister's maids at Banff where your Lordship lay	0 5 0
,, ,,	To the Bill at Old Meldrum	1 4 5
27 ,,	To the Bill at Mr [?] Dyce in Aberdeen	2 10 0
,, ,,	To three bottles wine & 8 bottles ale at the Mill of Stonehaven	0 7 0
,, ,,	To the Bill at Bervie	1 3 6
28 ,,	To the Bill at Montrose	2 12 2
,, ,,	To the Servants of the House	0 2 0
,, ,,	To the two Centinells at ditto	0 2 6
,, ,,	To the Ferry at Ferryden	0 2 0
,, ,,	To the Bill at Aberborthick	1 1 4
,, ,,	To the Ferry at Dundee 2 Boats	0 5 6
29 May	To the Bill at Couper	1 19 0
,, ,,	To the Bill at Kinghorn	1 3 9

29 May	To Donald Mackilloage for coming south	1	1	0
„ „	To carry home three horses and himself ...	2	2	0
„ „	To the carrying of the luggage to the Boat	0	1	0
„ „	To the yauil to carry your Lordship to the Boat	0	2	6
„ „	To the Boat for your Lordship	0	10	6
„ „	To Carriage for the Baggage from the Boat	0	0	6
„ „	To crossing the horses	0	5	0
4 June	To 2 years wages to myself [John Hay] from 10 May 1744 to 10 May 1746 at eight pounds per annum	16	0	0
„ „	To 3 shirts to Fergus Ferguson the Boy	0	7	6
„ „	To a pair of shoes to him	0	3	6

With regard to Fergus Ferguson, see Foreword to Vol. I. Since the publication of that account a memorandum has been found, which shows that he on 5 June 1788 (in the time of Arthur Forbes of Culloden, the President's grandson) "delivered the different keys as butler and resigned same to Daniel Young." He was thereafter in receipt of a pension, for the half year's payment of which he wrote to Culloden on 23 August 1788 from 90 Titchfield Street, London. A receipt signed by him on 28 November 1801 shows that the pension was at the rate of £30 a year.

From the Magistrates of Glasgow to the President, dated from Glasgow
2 June 1746.

My Lord

Our Majestrates and City Council have informed me to offer their sincere congratulations to your Lop. on your return in peace and health to our Metropolis, and resuming the Exercise of your high office. We have known with pleasure, your Lop, the brightest ornament at the Bar, we have the happiness to behold your Lop at the head of our Law distributing justice to his Majesty's Subjects, with the most consummate knowledge, and penetration and with the greatest impartiality. Your Lop. has lately in a more critical and important scene, [Letter torn] and confirming your Countrymen in their duty and Loyalty to our most Gracious Sovereign, supporting the establishment and maintaining the

Constitution of Brittain, for all which unwearied Labours and great Services, Your Lop. will permitt me to render the humble acknowledgements of our Corporation. Mr [?] Crosse writes me he has taken the Liberty of putting into your Lop's hands a copy of our memorial. We have experienced your Lop regard and affection to our Community as well for our Industry as our Invariable attachment to our happy Government. We have no doubt of your Lops best office and powerful interest for procuring us relief in our present great distress. I shall ever be proud of being distinguished as

My Lord

Your Lops most faithfull
and very Obedt hum. Servt

And. Cochrane.

Glas[gow]2nd. June 1746.

From the Earl of Dunmore to the President dated from London, 7th June 1746.

My Lord

I had the honour of your Lordship's of the 31st May. I wish I could express how sensible I am of your generous friendship to me and my Family upon this unhappy occasion. I am sorry to find my Letter of the 15th was so long before it reached you. At that time my unfortunate Brother was at Sir Alexander Ramsay's House, without my knowing at that time there was any intention of removing so soon from thence. However I hope he is still at Inverness and that your Lordship's Application will have the desired effect, of preventing his Removal.

But if that should fail (for which I should be extremely concerned) the next thing is, that I desire his Triall may be put off to the last, which favour I flatter myself H.R.H. will not refuse. nor even the first, If my brother is not gone from Inverness when you apply for his staying there. I am with the greatest truth and regard, My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient
humble Servant

Dunmore.

From the Earl of Dunmore to the President dated from Hanover Square
15th August 1746.

My Lord.

I send you a copy of a Letter I received from the Duke of New Castle. It surprises me a good deal to find the Cabinet Council is unanimous in the prosecutions as mentioned in the Letter. I flattered myself I had made some impressions on some of the members and I never doubted but your Lordship's Friendship would entirely put an end to my Brothers Prosecution, and I still hope the best. For I think the Duke of Newcastle acquainting me with the resolution taken in Council upon the affair is intended to put me upon making use of the little time that is left in the best manner I can.

I am your Lordships
most obedient Humble Servant

Dunmore

For further correspondence concerning the Hon. William Murray see "Culloden Papers" CCCXXI-CCCXXIII, CCCXXVIII, CCCXXIX, CCCXXXIII, CCCXXXIV. During the Duke of Cumberland's brief stay in Edinburgh (21-22 July) the President laid the case before him. Murray eventually received a pardon presumably in part at least due to the President's efforts (Idom CCCXLI).

It was considered probable that the President would journey to London during the course of the year and this possibility he intimated to Sir John Cope ("Culloden Papers" CCCXXIV).

Edr 21 June 1746.

Dr Sr,

I have had the Honour of yours of the 12th; & with it a great deal of pleasure, as it satisfys me that you are not as yet got into the fashion of suffering distance of time or place to interrupt friendship, or of joining in with the Cry of Fools, who will take upon them to censure, without knowing what they judge of. I have got at the end of a troublesome task, checkered with various incidents; & I am sensible I meet with many criticks; but as I am conscious I have done, according to the several exigencies, the best that appeared to me to be in my power, I remain quiet, and

despise the Objectors, as I laugh at the Objections; which cannot possibly be judged of, but by such as know the situation in which I was; & these are very few.

You have been truly informed about Lord Loudon and your humble Servt. We have never varied our style, because Truth is stubborn; it will not vary, and those who have a true respect for it dare not attempt to violate it. What impressions may have been given of your Conduct in the North, I, who was at a distance, cannot guess at; but it is to be hoped, that the Duke, who has had experience of the nature of Marches through the Highlands, and whose eyes must show him what sort of Ground the Corryarrick is, must have a more perfect knowledge of the difficulties you had to grapple with, than he had when he left London; & I should think that his Officers who were present at Falkirk would hardly venture to make observations on what happened at Preston; so that it's highly probable, the stile may change, if ever this matter comes to be the subject of consideration. The Duke is at present where he has been for sometime employed, at Fort Augustus, in receiving the arms and the submission of the Rebels; his patience, which surprises in such Years, is equal to his fire, & in all probability will do very great service to the public.

The young Pretender is, I think, still in the Country; and the probability is great, that he will not get out of it; the spirit of the Rebels is quite broke; and it requires no more than some skill to contrive Regulations with Judgement, which under a proper Execution would secure the future tranquillity of this Country. I wish our Resolutions with respect to the Continent may be directed by temper and discretion. With respect to these matters, as I have not sufficient Understanding, I have nothing left but to wish in general that things may be well. If I may trust my observations, I fear we have been rather too quick heretofore.

The remembrance you tell me Lord Harrington has of me, gives me great satisfaction; I value not the opinion of any man, but of him of whom I have a good one myself; and as I must have been senseless, not to have concurred with Mankind in the estimation of his Lordship's Merit, it must surely flatter me much that he is pleased at any time to think of me, or what I am about, with approbation.

It is possible, that when our Term is over, I may think of seeing London once more, to wait of his Lordship, and to renew that acquaintance by which I have been so much honoured.

This will be delivered you by George Ross, who has frequently acquainted me with your goodness to him on my Account, and how much I am indebted to your good-will. If he should have occasion hereafter for your Recommendation to my Lord Harrington, in a matter he has in view, you may safely say that he is honest, and that employing him will be a favour done to me. I am sure, Dr Sir John, I have wrote enough in this villainous Scrawl to plague you wt decyphering it; and therefore that I can do nothing better than to have done, when I have assured you that I am, very faithfully,

Your most obedt and most humble Servant,

Duncan Forbes.

On 12 June he had acquainted the Government with his own opinion of the means to be adopted for the restoration of peace in the Highlands and for the prevention of rebellion (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.) The following notes are in his handwriting (see also "Culloden Papers" CCCXLIII, CCCXXVI, CCCXXV).

Some Considerations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland tending to shew what may be expected to happen, if France should think fit to risk a few Battalions with some Arms and money and a small quantity of Meal, to feed the Common Highlanders who are starving, to be landed on the Western Coast.

It is next to a certainty, that as many of the Rebellious Highlanders as are alive, and not in custody, will immediately join them which in 2 or 3 weeks most form a considerable body. The use of some French Battalions, in this Service—is only to give credite to the attempt, for during the Winter, they can no more act amongst the Mountains than our Regular Troops can, and they may be Hutted near to where they land.

The Rebellious Highlanders who may join them, can roam over the Highlands in the Winter, without feeling much inconvenience as they march without Baggage, their Plaid is their

Tent, and they can carry as much meal as will support them many days. It is to be feared, that all those who were threatened or forced into the last Rebellion will be Volunteers in such a New Insurrection, as their case has not been much distinguished from that of others.

The first operation of the Rebels assembled, will probably be, to range over the Highlands, and give the pretence of Force, to all such as in their hearts wish them well, to join with them, and in this operation they cannot be resisted by the Regular Troops, who cannot at this season march into, nor be subsisted in the Highlands.

Tho' the Cattle in the Rebellious Countrys have been destroyed, which at first must occasion a scarcity of provisions to the French Troops, that may be landed, and even to the Highlanders themselves, yet the stock of Cattle to the right and left of them, have been left intire. Argyllshire to the southward, Ross, Sutherland the Isle of Sky &c. to the Northward, have not been wasted as the inhabitants behaved themselves dutifully. But as that behaviour gave the highest offence to the Rebels, and as the arms by which that offence was given are now taken out of their hands, which disables them to defend themselves or their property, it is more than probable the Rebels will supply their wants, and execute their vengeance by the same Act of Plundering these Countrys adding threats of fire and sword if thereby they may hope to Prevail with any of the Inhabitants to join them.

And if where they find any of the individuals disposed to serve them, they can afford to return their Cattle, or pay for them in French money, there is little doubt they may find a considerable accession of strength.

When they shall be thus strengthened and supplied which may be in the Compass of a very few weeks, they will probably direct their march towards the Eastern Coast, where the Troops as they now lye Cantoned cannot resist them, and must be in Danger of being cut off in Detail.

Should the Troops, that ly amongst the Coast take the party, of drawing to a head at Inverness—Besides the Danger of having their Provisions cut off, and being overpowered by numbers in a

Defenceless Place, where there is no convenient cover for them, the Rebels might take a Fancy to direct their Course southwards, as they did last Autumn, and the probable consequences of such an event are obvious. And should the Troops to prevent these inconveniences, abandon the North and place themselves on the South side of the Forth, the possession which the Rebels must gain of so great a tract of Country would give their attempt too much Reputation, and might encourage numbers, who have not yett putt off the mask in both Nations to declare themselves, especially if France should cause a distraction of our Force, by any attempt on our Coasts.

If it is reasonable to believe, if what has been suggested should happen, if France should, now, when the Duke and the Army are with us, risk so inconsiderable a Force, and expense as has been mentioned.

- Q. What may be expected to be the event, if the Army should be weakened by sending Troops beyond seas, and disheartened by sending away the Duke.
- Q. Supposing the scheme to be laid and agreed to, to send His R.H. with some Troops to Flanders, or supposing it so far executed the course of the Winter that both he and they were there, must it not be layed aside, and both he and the Troops recalled,—upon such an attempt from France, with the success that must in all probability attend it.
- Q. Is it to be taken for granted that the Ministers of France, are so blind to their own interest, or so sparing of a few men and a little money, that they will fail to prevent his R.H. Operations, at the Head of a British Army in Flanders, at so small an expense, not to mention the many other advantages that would accrue to them, from the confusion we should be flung into, allow it to be but temporary.

These notes (also in the handwriting of the President) are attached to a long list of prisoners, whose names are already known.

Transplantation of Macgillvries, Macfies, MacNabbs, Kennedies, Mac Tavishes, &c,

Q. Whether Practicable.

- Q. What can be done by act of Parliament
- Q. The Execution
 How can the individuals be found
 The effect upon the whole
 Ill and well effected
- N.B. The list of such as have surrendered their arms to be considered
 Moidart not theevish—Knoidart so.—but of late.
- Q. May not the end proposed be compassed in another manner.—
 by Bargain.
- Q. If the disarming project take place may not the intercourse
 of Priests be prevented with Moydart, Knoidart, Morar, S.
 Uist, Bara, Glengarry, Strathglass, Glenlivet, Strathdearn &c.
- Q. May it not be made high treason for any subject of Britain,
 to list in the French Service, or of the Service of the Pre-
 tender or of any of his sons.
- Q. May it not be made Lawfull—to try such offence upon a
 summonds, at the M[arket] C[ross of Edinburgh] and
 P[ier] and S[hore of Leith] in Scotland, and by an equivalent
 way in England &c.
 And to direct that upon Conviction, all Estate belonging
 to such offender shall forfeit to the Crown, with all rights
 that shall afterwards devolve upon him.
 Correspondence with such an offender after conviction to
 be Feloney, as also enticing or sending men abroad, to list in
 the French or Pretenders Service.
- Q. What Security can be expected from such to whom amnesty
 may be extended—is taking the Oath any?
 Will it be right to clog the Pardon, with a condition of
 so small value.
- Q. Will it not be a condition that all Gentlemen claiming the
 Benefit of the Pardon, shall appear in some Court to be
 named, within a day limited—to claim the advantage thereof.
 To have a certificate of their appearance &c.
 To have their names Registered.

May not this go to all Persons that are Infett or appearand Heirs to such as were, and to all Sons and Brothers of such—the Commons to be under no necessity of appearing.

May not the term for appearing be six weeks for such as are within Scotland and three months for such as may be at the date of Pardon beyond Seas.

May it not by Act of Parliament be declared that such of the Persons concerned in the Rebellion as shall not within those Terms appear, shall upon summons be liable to be proceeded against in absense and to have judgement upon conviction irrevocably pronounced against them.

If an indemnity is to Pass in Parliament may not a Provision be made, more ample than in the former Acts, for discharging actions against those who acted in support of the Government.

N.B. As the Habeas Corpus Act stands suspended till the 20th November, and as it must take some days to renew that suspension, ought not some course be taken to discharge Prisoners in Scotland, against whom there is no sufficient information, before that term—and to commit more perfectly such against whom there is.

Exceptions:—Prisoners in the Castle.

Genl. Exception:—Popish Priests. ,

All Feus held of forfeiting Superiors to be held of the Crown.

All Tenants at will to have leases.

A day to be fixed for Exhibition of Claims on forfeited estates.

Q. Macdonald of Morar

The Estates of Kinloch Moidart, Barisdale, Lochgarie, Rasay, Lovat Strowan &c. Shian Glengyle &c. Ardprior, Glenmoriston Keppoch, Glencoe &c.

Q. Loggy Almond

[Memoranda:—]

Transportation.

Convicts Pardoned—of Rank.

[Macdonald of] Kingsborrow.

S[ir] [H]ector Maclean.

Mackintosh.

Peter Sutherland.

If the scheme do not begin next Summer when will it?

Arms—where lodged?

Fortifications. Citadel of Inverness.

Price.

Barrack of Glenelg.

Lord Dunmore.

No Ships on W. Coast for intelligence.

Sherrif Clark.

(4) LETTERS FROM AND ABOUT THE HIGHLANDS

(JUNE AND JULY 1746).

On 4th June Sir Alexander Macdonald wrote from Fort-Augustus to MacLeod of MacLeod, who was then at Inverness, telling him that he had given an account [subject not disclosed] to Sir Everard Fawkener, the Duke's Secretary, and that the Duke would see justice done; that the people of Badenoch and Lochaber had given up their arms and were not to be injured, Glengarry's men having suffered for not doing so; that Invergarry was being blown up; and that, some Kintail men having fired on the troops, four had been shot in consequence. The letter (original at Dunvegan) ends:—"Our two [Macdonald] companies are gone to the Long Island where they will find the Prince if not gone off in an Irish meall ship which put in to South Uist."

From MacLeod to the President dated from Inverness 7 June 1746.

My dear Lord

I begin to be impatient att not hearing from you as it will pritty much determine my Motions, Tho' I am far from being well yet and these three days of bad weather I've felt severely. The Knight remains with the Duke at F. Augustus, he went to and returned the same day from Fort William. Loudoun has been in Brae Lochaber, and Badenoch, and is now att Aviemore. The People there have delivered their arms so much to the Duke's satisfaction that they are to be no more molested. Lord George Sackville went to Glenelg, with a Party of 800 men, he came on a

Shealing of the Chisholm in his way and carry'd off a good many of his Cows and horse. Some Glenmoriston Rascals, as its said when he was near Kintail fired on his baggadde men, who fled and they laid hold of some part of it, he imagined it was People of that Country and finding some Arms in their Houses, he burnt what is called the Crow and carry'd away Cattle, Butter and Cheese &c. He has now gone the way of Knodart, Moydart, &c. and with this weather he must have a sad time of it. The Chisholm has left me today. I expect him [Fraser of] Struie and [Fraser of] Dumballoch with all the Strathglass Arms, and the Frasers of that Neighbourhood next week. Poor Tam More [Fraser of Gortuleg] is not yet out of jeopardy.

I've just got a Letter from Will: Baillie, he saw [Grant of] Shewgly, his son, and the Parson [Rev. John Grant] att Cromartie, he says they talk of very strong and good Materials against the Author of their Distress and seem heartily inclined to use them, which I own I do not wonder att. I suppose some of our People here, have wrote you of the Death of William Macintosh, who had some Fishery Post of your procuring for him.

I am intyrlie yours

Normand Macleod.

From MacLeod to the President dated from Inverness 11 June 1746.

My dear Lord

I had your note, and must have been stupid indeed not to have acquainted you, if any alteration happened in the destination of the Lady, but its just in the way you left it. The Lady has the freedom of the Town. Loudoun is here, these two days on furlow. The Duke is well enough pleased with the delivery of Arms in Brae Lochaber, Badenoch and Macintosh's Country, and I believe no more harm will be done to that quarter, Macdonald is so very close I know little of what's doing at Fort Augustus, They now talk of moving very soon South, but Loudoun says he does not perceive that every thing or anything is ready for it. As to their Operations, some mistakes I believe have happened, made by the Officers out on command, which unluckily have always been of the severe side. You'll know unlucky Lovat is

taken on the West Coast. I know not whether he is sent to the Clyde, or to be landed at Fort William The rainy weather or some cause or other (but its neither eating or drinking) has hurt me, and I'm a good deal more uneasie these four or five days with my limbs than I was. I want but the least hint from you to draw me nearer Clarky

I am Intyrlie yours Normand Macleod.

A copy of the Duke of Cumberland's Commission to James Fraser of Castleleathers to administer the Lovat estates so far as concerned the Beaufort portion is "Culloden Papers" CCCXXXI.

The "Lady" was Anne, Lady of Mackintosh, whose letter follows. Her father, John Farquharson of Invercoud, wrote later his thanks to the President for his efforts on her behalf ("Culloden Papers" DXXXIII).

Inverness Joun 14th 1746.

My Lord

It gave me a great del of pleasure to hear McLeod say that your Lop was in good Health, and had gott safe to Edinburgh. I would have wrot before now, but thought it needless to give your Lordship any trouble while I had so littel to say, That it woud be agreeable to your Lordship to know that I had gott the liberty of the Town, to Walke and see my friends, I did not doubt & woud certainly have acquainted you the moment it hapned but I was sure it woud soon reach you from other Hands.

I have now to tell your Lordship that as Marquis Talebairden is taking (sic), I have certain Intelligence that his letters & Papers are taken also, of what consequence that may be to your Friend—I know no one can judge better than your Lordship, but shall say no more on this subject, tho I imagine your Lordship would expect that I should not lose the firste opportunity of acquainting you of this Incident—I cannot promise to entertain your lordship with news, Matters still proceed as when you left us, only the Highlanders are dayly giveing their arms, a few of our Clan that were engadged have several days ago surrendered themselves to Ld. L[oudoun] I shall now conclude with [wishing] your Lordship may do me the justice to believe, that no one is with more real esteem

N

Your Lops Humble Servant

A. McIntosh.

From MacLeod to the President dated from Inverness 14 June 1746.

My dear Lord,

Tho I write this to let you know, there's such a person in being, much out of order and very impatient to be elsewhere, in hopes of finding a cure. I have hardly anie thing worth while to say to you for I know little of the Destination of the Troops or when the Duke moves. Loudoun was here four or five days by way of clearing accounts and very busy with his Tale, but I must own I was very jealous, I do not know how you may feel yourself. I believe he is to be posted all alongst betwixt Fort Augustus and Fort William. He bids me mention a mistake he thinks you made in a report, given in of the Independent Companys, which he wishes may be rectified The Paper is thus titled. List of Officers of the Independent Companys, raised in the North, specyfyng the date of delivering them their Commissions. Their Companys being then compleat. Now the dates you give to their being Compleat, is the days they came into Inverness. Now as to my four Companys they were 20 days compleat, and together before they gott to Inverness. And Sir Alexander Macdonald's two were much longer so, as they remained a long time at the Kyle, and no doubt some of the others that came from a distance, must have been some time compleat, before their arrival in this Town.

Yours,

Normand Macleod.

Lovat is to be this day att Fort Augustus.

From MacLeod to the President dated from Inverness 15 June 1746.

My dear Lord

As I find ane express going to Edinr. I just wrote this note to acquaint you that Coll Macdonell Barisdale with 60 men came to Bernera, Friday and delivered their arms there, and he himself went to Fort Augustus. Its probable he has got terms on promising to do services, which he is surely able to do.

Your distressed

Normand Macleod.

MacLeod's detractors might possibly find satisfaction in the word "distressed" but, as his letters at this time show, he was very unwell and unable to take any active part in passing events. This might account for the use of the word; though Barisdale was almost certainly cognisant of what had passed at Beaufort in October 1745 (see Vol. IV.) Other references, however, by MacLeod to him do not show any particular anxiety. Andrew Lang describes Barisdale as an "infamous coward liar and traitor" but prints his "Narrative" in full, from which it appears that his protection was sent by the Duke of Cumberland through Sir Alexander MacDonald. One of the Jacobite charges against him was that he warned the Lord President and Lord Loudoun of the Prince's approach to Inverness, advising them to retire ("Companions of Pickle" pp. 87, 118, 122).

From MacLeod to the President dated from Inverness 18 June 1746.

My dear Lord

I have yours of the 12th, I own it gives me a good deal of Pain to think Bills &c should be going on for regulating this Part of the Kingdom without your being advised about them, as I think you know more of the Highlands in General, and what would be proper for healing the present breach and bring security and usefulness from them for the future, than all the People now at London put together, and I shall think it good luck indeed, if some blundering mischief does not happen.

I find George Ross has call for all the commissions of the Independents, to alter the dates, of their Commissions, according to your note of their being compleat, which I believe will make it the more necessary for you to advert, to what I wrote in my last, and testifie it, if it is a mistake. For your string of queries I shall answer them as well as I can. Its thought the Pretender is not gone, and that he will probablie be soon taken, and most of the Chiefs that remain, as its known where they lurk. Coll [Macdonald of] Barisdale, Friday surrendered the Arms of 60 men at Bernera, and he was dismissed, since which he has mett Loudoun and [Sir Alexander] McDonald near Fort Augustus, what passed be sure I know not, but 6 men a company of the whole Army are ordered out on detachments, I know not if any of the Independents (who are soon to be but 70s) are to be with

them, there was none of them with L[ord] G[eorge] Sackville, and he went quite wrong and no part of their orders by that were execute. Sir Alexander has been close with the Duke, and is very often called for, and spoke to by himself, consequentlie looked on as a great favourite, and its likely, for he wont write a Scrap to anie of his old Cronies.

The information that came from Harris while you was here, and which you opened when I was at Fort Augustus, proved exactly true. Lovat is att Fort Augustus, close confined, that is nobody admitted to him, its said by some he is to be brought here, and by others that he is to be sent strait to Edinburgh, in his litter. I never could learn why Glengarry's House was burnt, though I have asked the Knight [Sir Alexander Mac-Donald] ten times. Some say it was on finding arms and rebell goods concealed, but what is believed is that he engaged under that Penalty to bring in his People to deliver up their arms, against a day certain, and failed. He was the other day at Fort Augustus with about 80 of them. Will. Murray with all other Prisoners have gone by sea for Newcastle, long ago, which I took for granted you knew. Lord McLeod, [Grant of] Shewglie &c. &c. went all at one time

People here are extremely well pleased with G[eneral] Blackney, and I think with reason. He seems to be oblidging and wishing as far as he has power, to do good natured things. I intended to consult Clarky [Dr John Clerk] att Edinr. I shall not move quite so soon now as I intended, as you hint a desire to the contrary. Tho to tell you the truth, I know not what use I can be of, abed here. I am however rather better than when I wrote last, whatsoever way I feel myself, I will still be in the same manner unalterable yours

Normand Macleod.

Loudoun is at Shire More, in Badenoch but moves soon to the West Highlands.

The unfortunate Glengarry, in addition to his other troubles, was himself imprisoned on the finding of incriminating correspondence. Andrew Lang on the authority of "MS. in Laing Collection, Edinburgh University Library" states ("Pickle the Spy" p. 149) that Glengarry had

in January 1745 disposed his lands to his son, but the following copy of a letter (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.) seems to show that any such arrangement must have been elastic.

The person to whom the letter was addressed is not disclosed.

Edinr. Castle, Novr. 14th 1746.

Dr Sir,

As I am duly sensible of your Friendship towards me and my poor family I hope you'll forgive me for making both my inclination and present situation known to you. Since ever I came to this place I have often considered of the situation of the country and in particular of my own and I am very sensible of the misfortunes the late wicked and unnatural Rebellion brought on this Kingdom of which I have my own share tho' I can say with a good conscience that I had not the least accession to it notwithstanding I now suffer in it as if I had been concerned, and this I owe to some of my nearest Relations who to serve their own purposes thought fit to inform against me. This treatment from my friends and that I plainly foresee that I am not in safety to live amongst such people being fully perswaded that my life would be in danger was I to live amongst them has made me resolve to dispose of my Estate to any person that will give me a reasonable price for it. Wherefore I think it a duty incumbent on me to make the first offer of it to His Majesty so that I beg the favour of you to apply to My Lord Justice Clerk and acquaint his Lordship of this my resolution and to assure him that I am willing upon reasonable terms to dispose of my Estate to His Majesty, and failing that to any of His Majesty's Loyal Friends that His Lordship shall think of. I am sincerely with Esteem

Dr Sir

Your most obliged humble Servant

(Signed) John McDonnell of Glengarry.

This letter duly reached the Lord Justice Clerk (Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton) who wrote to the Duke of Newcastle 15th November (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.) discussing the desirability of taking the offer so as to get as much land as possible into the hands of the Crown, as against the difficulty of making a purchase from a person imprisoned

on a charge of high treason. He had in the meantime, while waiting for instructions made an indefinite reply to the letter, to "the gentleman who brought it."

From Sir Alexander MacDonald and Macleod to the President dated from
Inverness 21 June 1746.

My dear Lord,

Ever since I took leave of you here, I have inhabited Fort Augustus as agreeable a Séjour as any in the world, was there as much Goodness in proportion to their Rank in the other Officers as their Commander is possest of, when I say this I hint only at some of not the first Rank, who were a little severe, as they could not distinguish Persons &c. I am afraid Ile of Sky Cattle will sell ill this year, as Drovers are sent South by the Commanders of Partys, that were employed in distressing the Rebels. As I have only come a jant here to see the Laird and am just to return to the Head Quarters, you can expect no detail, till either the Laird or I, have the pleasure to chat with you. The man who sent you the Message about the House of Culloden before you left it, and whose stile begins with B [Barisdale] is in good way of Forgiveness. Lord Loudoun kisses your hand, and says you have forgot your Northern Friends, he writes by next Post.

I am, as ever

My dear Lord

Yours

Alexr. Macdonald.

[In MacLeod's handwriting]

I am much worse than I was and confined to my Bed by my limbs only, but I will come to you soon and let Clarky try his hand on me. I've wrote you twice of the dates given the Commissions already, and now send you the S—y of Wars Queries on that head, putt on a Petition presented by G. Ross, for a months pay to indemnify the Companys, for raising and subsisting the men before they got to Inverness. Now as to Sir Alexanders two, he subsisted them at the Kyles after they were raised, the first, John McDonalds 7 weeks and James's above five, and this att your own desire, and Sir Alexander says you wrote him that you

had acquainted the S—y of State, that these two Companys were stationed there. It is very necessary you write to Sir E. Falconer about Gortuleg, and putt him in mind of what you said, with regard to him and that very soon.

Adieu.

[Enclosure]

Endorsed:—

Observations on Mr Ross's Memorial relating to 18 Independent Companys and Querys relating thereto. June 6th, 1746.

The Commissions were delivered according to Lord Presidents Letter, when the Companys were compleat and according to the Dates in his annexed List, the Commission first delivered was on October 23rd, the last of the 18, on Febry 2nd. And it is proposed that the establishment of the whole should commence and the pay of the whole be issued from August 24th 1745, by which means they who compleated last would be the greatest Gainers. Whereas considering the Rank in the Army gained by these Officers, and the Nature of Dependencys in those parts, whence it may easily be supposed that no Enlisting money was given, considering too that when Lord Loudoun retreated many of those Companys returned to their own Habitations, I cannot imagine it proper to give them any pay before the dates of their respective Commissions.

Q. If the Duke has not reduced these to Seventys,? yet this memorial desires Pay for them as Hundreds till June 24.

Q. The musters of the Companys? and how any payments to them are to be boocked to, in the Paymasters Account.

Q. How many and what Companys remained? How many and which dispersed when Lord Loudoun and Lord President retired from Inverness?

Q. Whether returns were made from time to time of the Strength of the Companys, and to whom?

From MacLeod to the President dated from Inverness 22nd June 1746.

My dear Lord,

This evening I have yours of the 19th and take this chance occasion to write two or three lines. Loudoun says as to the dates of

the Independent Commissions, he meant, that blame was due both of you. But as you've wrote I fancy no harm will happen. He says he has been so tossed about he never had time to write, and often knew nothing of the Post, had little to write, tho if you were to meet he would have a thousand things to say, All the Companys are with him att Ruthven, except the four MacLeods and two McDonalds who are gone to Sky, and the Lewis Company that has ever remained there. The Militias there are discharged and elsewhere also, except the Argyleshire men. I hope and believe Collonell Inness will be safe, the Tryal was over yesterday but we do not know the Sentence. All the News from that, is great expectation of laying hold of the Pretender soon, and if there is not some truth in a Clatter, we have that four French ships (they dont mention their Force) is come for him, and that he is gott into one of these, He must be found, as it is past doubt, that he with Collonell Sullivan, one other Irish Officer and a few Servants, were very lately lurking in the Long Isle, and its likely Lochiel and John Murray will be found, as they cannot easily gett out of the way. You see me soon

Yours

N. M.

P.S. MacDonald went this evening to Fort Augustus.

From Brodie of Brodie (Lord Lyon) to the President dated from London 1st July 1746 ("Culloden Papers" CCCXXVII)

My dear Lord,

The latter end of last week, I was obliged to go to the Country; else had then acquainted your Lop that I show'd your letter where I thought it proper; & at last the D. of Newcastle took it from me, to show to the Chancellor; and I am told, they do not propose to bring in any Bills relative to Scotland this Session, except the Meeting-house bill, and that for discharging the Highland dress; which, I am just now told, would be brought into our house by the Attorney General in a day or two. For my own part, I am yet, in my private opinion, for the bill; not being convinced against it; but as I understood that your Lo'p & my friend McLeod were against it, I have objected to it, and asked

the Duke of H—— what Crimes had the Campbells, Sutherlands, McLeods, Munro's McKays, &c. been guilty of, that they should be punished by the legislature whilst they were in arms for the Government? which did puzzle; & was answered, the Whig Clans might be excepted; which I said would not do; the thing must be general, or could have no effect. Meantime, I should be glad to be convinced, & armed with proper objections. As to the Meeting-house bill my Lords Tweeddale, Winchelsea, & Sandys, have shown great zeal; & at first insisted on all those forfeiting their employments who have been twice at a Meeting-house since Sept. 1745. But that is over-ruled; only they have this day agreed to incapacitate for the future all persons in Scotland from holding employments that resort to the nonjuring Meeting-houses; and to incapacitate Peers from voting in Elections that have been twice at a nonjuring Meeting-house since Sept. 1745. And in short no such person can vote in the choosing of a magistracy at Edinr & other places, whereby they think they can secure a Whig magistracy.

I have mentioned your Lop's great expenses in this and the last Rebellion; and I find the Duke of Newcastle, chooses to see you here, before any further Scotch laws are made, of which you will be more properly acquainted.

My Lord Stair, who opposes the Dress Bill, bids me make you his Compliments; and the Duke of Newcastle assures me, that, notwithstanding his differing with you as to Mercy, that you are a great favourite of the Duke's.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your's most faithfully,

Alexr Brodie.

From the President to Brodie of Brodie, dated from Edinburgh 8th July 1746 ("Culloden Papers" CCCXXXII)

My very good Lord Lyon,

I am obliged to you for yours of the 1st inst. I think our Ministers do well in not precipitating the projected Bills, which I understand are intended for preventions of any future Rebel-

lion, until the projects are well weighed, & so adjusted as to have the Effect without doing any considerable Mischief. I am not satisfied that what I have heard spoken of, relating to the Ward-holdings and jurisdictions could be of any great Service. The Meeting-house Bill bids fair to put an end to a practice, illegal in itself, which had been attended with bad Consequences. The most important Medicine for the Evil under which the Nation has so long suffered, & from which it has lately been in so great Danger, is the Disarming Bill; which I am told is ordered to be brought in. If this Bill is properly framed, & the due Execution of it judiciously provided for, it may be of infinite service; as it must in time make the Inhabitants of the Mountains as inoffensive & as little dangerous to the State, as their Neighbours in the Low Country; and I hope the Undertakers of this Bill know the Condition, the Temper, & the Manners of the Highlanders, together with the Defects of the former provisions, & the Ways of supplying them, well enough to enable them to make the Scheme now projected complete.

With respect to the Bill for altering the Highland dress, which, if I understand any thing, is no more than a chip in porridge, which, without disarming, signifies not one halfpenny; and, an effectual Disarming supposed, is of no Sort of Inconvenience to the neighbouring Country or to the Government; I do not wonder that you, & a great many wise men where you are, who know nothing at all of the Matter, should incline to it. The Garb is certainly very loose, & fits Men inured to it, to go through great fatigues, to make very quick Marches, to bear out against the Inclemency of the Weather, to wade through Rivers, & shelter in Huts, Woods, & Rocks upon Occasion; which Men dress'd in the Low Country Garb could not possibly endure. But then it is to be considered, that as the Highlands are circumstanced at present, it is, at least it seems to me to be, an utter Impossibility, without the advantage of this Dress, for the Inhabitants to tend their Cattle, & to go through the other parts of their Business, without which they could not subsist; not to speak of paying Rents to their Landlords. Now, because too many of the Highlanders have offended, to punish all the rest who

have not, and who I will venture to say are the greatest Number, in so severe a manner, seems to me unreasonable; especially as, in my poor Apprehension, it is unnecessary, on the supposal the disarming project be properly secured; and I must confess, that the Salvo which you speak of, of not suffering the Regulation to extend to the well-affected Clans, is not to my taste; because, tho' it would save them from Hardships, yet the making so remarkable a Distinction would be, as I take it, to list all those on whom the Bill should operate for the Pretender; which ought to be avoided if possible. It is for these reasons, which my Occupations make it impossible for me to explain at length, that I wish this Clause might be dropp'd; the rather that if any Reasons of State, which I cannot judge of, because I have not been acquainted with them, make it necessary, a Bill to that purpose might be contrived, with much less harm to innocent persons than probably the framers of this project have thoughts of.

I cannot possibly take time to say any more than that.

I am, etc.

With reference to MacLeod's letter of 21st June and enclosure, the President on 12th July wrote as follows:—

Endorsed:—Copy Lo. President to Mr [Henry] Fox, Secretary of War.

Edinburgh 12th July 1746.

Sir,

The Letter you did me the honour to write to me of the 3rd inst, has been delivered to me and I with pleasure lay hold of the opportunity you give me of renewing former acquaintance, even by this way of Correspondence, tho' I must confess I little dreamed the subject of it should be proper to the War Office, not that I ever doubted your talents would raise you to that, and to higher employments, but it could never enter into my head, that my stars would be so whimsical, as to lead me out of my profession, into one, so foreign to it, and that should make it necessary for me to correspond with a Secretary of War, in his office. Since that however has been my fate, I am very glad to see, that office filled by a man whose Accuracy and attention

promises great advantage to the Country in preventing unnecessary expences, at a season when frugality is so essentially necessary for the Nation, and whose Indulgence for a stranger to the Trade, will make him listen with patience to what I may offer, in support of my opinion however ignorantly expressed.

The question to be resolved is whether the establishment for the 18 Companys, raised by me, is or is not to have a date anterior to the Delivery of the Commissions upon their Company's being compleat to the Officers, in consideration of Levy money, or what is the same thing the expense the Officers were put to in bringing their men together equipping them, and entertaining them, until they shewed at Inverness compleat. You seem to think that no consideration is due, and I on the other hand, am at present of opinion, that some, without determining what, is due, and I am confident you will weigh the motives which induce me to be of that opinion, without suspecting that I have anything in view further than justice and regard to his Majesty's Service should there be any occasions for Levies of this kind hereafter which God forbid.

That I may not be too tedious I refer to my Letter of the 12th June, to George Ross, which you have seen, and shall begin with acquainting you that so soon as the Blank Commissions came to my hand, I acquainted the Gentlemen that were to raise so many Companys, as I then had occasion for, that they were to pick up and have in readiness, the men that were to compose their companys against the time that I should call for them, which was done accordingly. Now tho' I could not order the Companys to march to Inverness, until I was supplied with some money and arms, to supply and employ them, It is manifest their officers must have been at considerable expense, to entertain and Encourage them to be ready on a call, and in fact several of those Companys, particularly those that came from the Ile of Sky, were kept together for some weeks, before they came to Inverness to have their Commissions delivered to them, and, as this was the Case, I believe you will with me, think it hard if the officers have no allowance anterior to the delivery of their Commissions.

As this was the case of several of those Companys it was the case of all, that these officers to enable them to take the Field, were obliged to furnish them with such little pieces of Dress, and Highland Accoutrements, as they wanted, to make them appear in some sort uniform, and as these expenses must have come out of the officers Pockets, it seems reasonable they should have some satisfaction.

You observe very properly that the Dependence which Highlanders have on their Chiefs might facilitate the filling up these Companys without Levy Money, and it is undoubtedly so, for without that, no Levy Money however high, could when the Rebellion had got to such a height, that all Communication with the Southern part of the Island was cut off, have brought together so many hundred men, on so short notice. But then, as those, who were employed in these Companys were picked men, in all senses the fittest for Service, it is obvious that many of them might be made willing by Deuceurs of some kind or another.

And tho' in most cases the inclination of the Chiefs facilitated the Levys, yet in some particularly in that of McLeod of Genzies, skill and industry as well as expense were necessary.

McDonald of Barrisdale whom you may have heard of, having some Estate in Assint Marched thither to levy a Company for the Pretender, Finding the People unwilling to Rebel, he began to use force and they fled to the Mountains of the Neighbouring Country. Hearing of this I sent Mr McLeod of Geanzies who had interest with them, to encourage them to keep together and to resist the violence offered, in this he succeeded, and the Company which Barrisdale intended for the Pretender, was hoisted out of his hands, and employed very profitably for his Majesty's Service. In this case you would I believe think it hard to give captain McLeod of Geanzies no consideration for all the Expenses of Levy'ing this Company. I mention this particular to show you, that the making no allowance would in some cases be attended with complaint. This case it is true is pretty particular, but in every one if it were proper to enter into a Detail of circumstances I could shew that the officers have been more or less out of pocket. As to what you mention,

concerning the Noblemens Regiments raised in England and the Campbells that were brought together in Scotland the allowances made to the first I am utterly a stranger to, It is very probable these Noblemen have made no demand on the Crown, for the large expense it must have cost them, but I doubt, whether that is a precedent, that the officers of the Companys, whose wealth is not very considerable, ought to follow. The Campbells were called out on the Foot of Militia, without any Regular Commissions from the Crown, were subsisted during their Service, and then dismissed, In the same manner that E. Loudoun and I, when the Service required it, called out, armed and subsisted, at different times, several Hundreds of Earl Sutherland, Lord Reay, Sir Alexander Macdonald and McLeod's men, besides the Independent Companys, and discharged them without any further payment, when the occasion for such service ceased. But that will not apply to the case of men, that have been listed and dressed for the King's Service.

Those Sir are part of the considerations that move me to think that Justice requires some satisfaction should be made to the officers, for expense incurred by them anterior to the delivering to them, their commissions. As I am entirely ignorant of the Rules and Practice of the Army on such matters, I stated the case to His Royal Highness the Duke at Inverness, before I made out the certificate relating to those commissions, and it was his opinion I should certify the special matter, that is the dates of Delivering the Commissions, expressing at the same time his sentiments, that the Companys would according to custom, be put on the establishment, at some reasonable period, earlier than the date of showing their Companys compleat, what that Period should be, I shall not take upon me to say, but as the Services of these Officers was, if I may be permitted to judge, very seasonable, they ought not to meet with any discouragement. I am very sure very few of them have had many Comfortable night's lodgings, since their commissions was delivered to them, I can scarcely say they had any before I left them and their ease has not been greater since.

The Duke was also pleased to approve of my raising those Companys at Hundreds, whilst the Service required such numbers, and it was his intention to reduce them to seventys so soon the higher numbers could be dispensed with, that reduction took place some time in June, I believe about midsummer, but of this doubtless you will have the regular signification.

I am sorry to find that the Lords of the Treasury, imagine that his Royal Highness subsisted those Companys, and in that opinion have been too sparing in putting money to account, of their subsistance, into the hands of their Agent, which may occasion considerable inconveniencys. But I should hope, that you knowing what is certainly true, that the Duke has issued no subsistance to them hitherto, that inconvenience will be obviated for the future.

I doubt I have given you by a great deal too much work to read this very wretched scrawl of mine, I am thoroughly convinced your Scruples proceed from a principle of Justice and Frugality, which I heartily wish every officer in Stations such as you possess, were filled with, and I hope you will do me the Justice to believe, that no mean or partial view influences the opinion which I freely delivered to you. As I have had the honour to have received a Letter from Mr Pelham, on the same subject, I shall take the Liberty to refer him to what I write to you, and I therefore beg the favour that you will be so good as to shew him this. I doubt not I am trespassing on the Rules of Good Breeding by making a request so familiar, but you will be so good as to pardon a man of my Profession for Errors of that kind. I shall detain you no longer, then till I have assured you, that I am with perfect esteem

Sir Your most obedient and most humble servant

D. F.

From the President to the Duke of Newcastle dated from Edinburgh
19 June 1746.

My Lord,

My Brethren the Judges of the Court of Session, have directed me to lay before your Grace, a circumstance that gives them no small concern, it is that four of their numbers are now so indis-

posed that the Court has not at present the benefite of their Attendance, nor can they hope to have it for some time, which considering the vacancy that happened by the Death of the late Lord Balmerino, reduces their number to ten, of these, nine must necessarily be present together, in the Court of Session to constitute a Quorum, without which the Court can do no judicial Act, and one must attend in what is called the Outer House, for the Dispatch of Business there. Thus if any of the Ten, should by sickness or any unforeseen accident, be disabled to attend, the whole Course of Justice in this part of the Nation, so far as depends upon the Court of Session, must be at a stand, an incident that has not happened, so far as we know within the Memorey of Man. To prevent such an interruption I am desired by the Court, to represent to your Grace the Expediency of moving his Majesty, to name as soon as conveniently may be, a Judge, to supply the place of the late Lord Balmerino, which would obviate the inconveniency dreaded, and leave no Room for complaint, should the accidental ill state of health, of any more of the Judges, prevent the Course of Justice. I am persuaded your Grace will approve of the Liberty the Court takes, of giving this hint which is for his Majesty's Service, as well as for that of the Country, and that you will look upon me, as you have always done, to be

Your Graces most obedt and most
humble servant

To this the Duke replied 3rd July ("Culloden Papers" CCCXXX) intimating the appointment of Robert Craigie, the Lord Advocate, to the vacancy, and at the same time congratulating the President upon his efforts in suppressing the Rising.

His Royal Highness the Duke has upon all occasions done ample justice to the active and unwearied zeal your Lordship has shown for promoting His Majesty's Service and for defeating and disappoining the views and designs of the Rebels. I have already, by the King's order, expressed to His Royal Highness His Majesty's entire satisfaction in your Lordship's conduct; and it is with great pleasure I take this opportunity of assuring you, that the King has the truest sense of the great and useful services your Lordship has performed in this critical conjuncture.

A fortnight later the President wrote to Andrew Mitchell that he had done his duty but that he was

under very great concern for this unhappy country, which is like to suffer, for crimes it is not guilty of, and seems in its distress to have no eye to pity it, nor hand ready to interpose for its relief.

If necessary, in spite of the danger of obtruded advice, he would come south. ("Historical Papers," Spalding Club, i, 328).

That he was not insensible to attacks which had been made upon him appears by the following.

My dear Lord.

I shewed the letter which I had the honour to receive from you of the 12th instant to my Uncle [John Scrope, Secretary to the Treasury,] who was extremely surprised at the contents of it, not being conscious to himself that he has given any occasion for what is therein suggested. He had a Letter from your Lordship from Inverness, and he did not sleep till he had procured an order for the money you desired, tho' Mr Pelham had not then received your Letter to him. As to the other things which were contained in the letter, you being come from Inverness, he did not think there was any occasion of writing any thing by the post, not knowing whether it would be prudent to express himself so freely as you would have expected. Besides he was informed that you was coming to Town and he thought these things were fitter to be talked of by the fireside. He directs me to assure you that there is no friend of his, but what approves of your resolution and bravery and if anybody that he knows has any other thoughts they would not he is sure venture to say so to him. I beg to assure your Lordship that I am with perfect regard and esteem

My Lord

Your Lops most faithful and
Obed humble servant

Hen. Fane.

The following ("Culloden Papers," CCCXXXVI.) from Sir Alexander Macdonald to the President, dated from Fort-Augustus, 29th

July 1746, concerns Flora Macdonald and Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh. Other relative correspondence is in "Culloden Papers," CCCXXXV., CCCXXXVII., CCCXLII.

My Lord,

As my campaigning is now at an end, and begun under your inspection, you might reasonably expect from me some Account of that part of it which has passed since we parted ; but your Lordship will forgive me, as I am no good Historian, and take it in scraps as I have the pleasure to chat with you sometimes when we meet. One thing I will venture to give you a minute detail of ; the misfortune of Kingsborrow, now sent a prisoner to Edinr. When the young Pretender made his unhappy visit to Skye, from South Uist, in a small boat, he landed near my house, in woman's clothes, by way of being maid-servant to one Florence Macdonald, a Girl of Clanranald's family, now a prisoner with General Campbell. Miss Macdonald went and made a visit to Lady Margaret, dined with her, and put her into the utmost distress by telling her of the Cargo that she had brought from Uist. She called on Kingsborrow, who was at Mugstot accidentally, and they had a very confused consultation together; and it was agreed to hurry him off the Country as fast as possible. The method Kingsborrow took was, to meet him about two miles from my house, in the way to his own. He (the Pretender) accosted him with telling him that his life was now in his hands, which he might dispose of ; that he was in the utmost distress, having had no meat or sleep for two days and two nights, sitting on a Rock beat upon by the rains; and when they ceased, ate up by flies; conjured him to shew compassion but for one night, and he should be gone. This moving speech prevailed, and the visible distress, for he was maigre ill coloured, and overrun with the scab ; so they went to Kingsborrow's house, where he lay that night ; and he furnished him a horse to carry him seven miles next day to Portree. There he found, accidentally, a small Rasay boat, into which he put foot and disappeared all at once. A few days after, Genl. Campbell came to my house, which Captain Ferguson had already searched. Kingsborrow was called upon

to assist in tracing the Pretender, which he undertook to do as far as he could, and told the General, that he had seen him, but in such misery that he could not lay hands on him ; and the General promised not to discover what he had done. Kingsborrow was active to the General's satisfaction ; but the Bird was flown, and had got to the main land. The Women about Kingsborrow's house, being examined, discovered the Pretender had been there. When I went to wait of General Campbell, he told me he could not be answerable not to secure him, on the evidence of the women ; but that he should have his choice either to remain a prisoner with him, or go with me to the Duke, and that he would write to His Royal Highness in his favours. Kingsborrow chose to come to this place, and got the General's letter, which he read to us and sealed. On arriving here, the Duke ordered Sir Everard Fawkenor to examine him ; and since, he has been confined, and now sent to Edinr. I used my little Rhetoric with the Duke ; but he stopt my mouth, by saying, that this man had neglected the greatest piece of Service that could have been done ; and if he was to be pardoned, you have too much good sense to think this the proper time ; as it would encourage others to follow his example.

I need not tell your Lordship how much I am concerned for the man's misfortune ; nor need I beg your assistance in a thing I have so much at heart as the Safety of this man, because I have always found you friendly in every thing that concerned me. I am with the usual attachment,

My Dear Lord, Yours,

Alexr. Macdonald.

Along with this is a scrawl from my wife, who does not know that her name has been mentioned.

(5) STATE OF INVERNESS (AUGUST 1746-JANUARY 1747).

From John Hossack to the President, dated from Inverness, 9th August 1746.

My Lord,

If any humanity remains, if any regard to the principles, which make his majesty beloved by his subjects, your Lordships solici-

tude for the publick, will be greatly entertained by the Friends of Liberty. Your Lordship smothered the Rebellion and procured Glory to the Duke of Cumberland, its suitable to your Lordships Benevolence to have several sharers in your eminent services as you have reformed many persons of distinction, they are now taught by experience, and when they may dare to speak may confess their holdings are due to your Lordship.

Your Lordship must look for innumerable solicitations, one I forward enclosed from Colonel Wedderburn. Many persons were led blindly into the Rebellion, through infatuation, who could not even then excuse their conduct. Sir John Wedderburn I believe is one, his numerous family will excite pity.

Yesterday two Regiments have quartered themselves in the Town, we are all accounted Rebels, we have no persons to complain to, nor do we expect redress. Lord Albemarle's movement from Fort Augustus is putt off, Bread and forage is again demanded from this. Old Glengarry, and old Clanranald, are brought to Fort Augustus and detained. Barisdale was last Sunday overnight there, Lord Albemarle saw him twice, thereafter Glengarry was taken up. Sir Alexander Macdonald went yesterday from here for Sky. I have wrote the gentlemen who assisted your Lop. with their money the time of the Rebellion of your readiness to pay them. Some of them can want payment and perhaps choose it till Mertinmass but whats most convenient for your Lop. would be to me a direction if I knew it. [Campbell of] Delnies sent me your Lops. bills discharged : if Mr. Thos. Brody has been paid his letter of receipt to Delnies should have been sent me. John Rigg will follow the direction given him. I believe Alexr. Brody will take or forbear payment: its probable David Falconer will expect payment here because he was advertised your Lop. has paid Geo. Dunbar £80. William Fraser will not I believe choose to be paid but at a term. Mr. Robt. Dunbar and Mr Patrick Grant do not desire to be paid,

May your Lop. assist with Councils that will to conviction
over ballance all opposition. You have the prayers of all good
men.

My Lord

Your Lops. most faithful Servant

John Hossack.

Endorsed :—" Relating to the Ruines of the House at the Kirk by the
Military," and addressed to Mr Thomas Stewart [factor] at Cul-
loden.

Sir,

I can give you little satisfaction with respect to the House you
write of. The Military Gentlemen require that of the Magi-
strates which they can neither grant nor refuse, all is done by
their superior power. I viewed that House some time ago and
observed the Guard, which is daily changed had begun to do
considerable damage. They have now done all that could be
done, except to allow the Roof to stand upon it, which cannot be
long. They have taken away all the timber, Lintels, from
windows, Doors and Chimneys, and window casements, they
have raised and taken away all the deal floors, they have taken
away all the joists, and they have taken away the
Balks of the roof. The Sidewall in which were
the Doors and windows, by the taking away the
Lintels and iron stanchions must fall, and the roof
of course, so that you have no more than Rubbish. But
unless you order the accesses to be closed up with dry stones, the
whole timber of the roof will be soon carried away, and they
have removed themselves to another Guard House. My Lord
President is not the only person who has met with such useage.
Indeed I can give you no advice tho' some time or another these
damages may be enquired after. In the meantime, there ought
to be an examination upon oath, taken of the condition the House
was in when the Guard entered, and of the condition to which
its now reduced, that so the damage may appear I am

Sir

Your Most humble Servant

John Hossack,

Inverness 26th September 1746,

Draft, endorsed:—From The Magistrates of Inverness to the Lord Justice Clerk.

Inverness Novr. 1746.

My Lord

When the Important affairs which your Lordship has in Charge, do not abate your particular regard, We are thankful to God for the Instrument and pray for the support of your Lordship.

We have a sensible feeling, of the dangers to which the Constitution, our Religion, Rights and Liberties were exposed by this late unnatural Rebellion and the Deliverance so near us, gave us greater cause of thankfulness for the Instruments that God had employed than more distant parts could be touched with. We have not yet felt the immediate effects of our deliverance, but as we look upon our Grievances to be of short duration, we were not willing to complain,

We were thankful to your Lordship for giving us an opportunity to acquit ourselves, of the undue Charge against us, for our being contemptuous of His Majesty's Troops and of that power and authority which became us to exercise as Magistrates. But the case will appear to your Lordship in another Light when we tell you that we have not since the Battle of Culloden, been allowed but a restrained Exercise of the Power of Magistrates. With respect to the quartering the Troops they have with their Quarter Masters quartered themselves. They have made the after Change in the Quartering and the many Grievances must have been made by the inhabitants, the Magistrates could not redress them and they received as little from Officers.

We have not the Command of a Prison, Tolbooth, Court-house or Town House. The Town Hall is taken for the Main Guard, the Town Clerk's Office, for the officers of the Guard, and the Guildery Room above it for Orderly Serjeants and we are reduced to a Spinning School in that House for Publick Meetings and Town and County Courts. A Guard House which had been used for the Military Troops and the night watches of the Burgers before the memory of men now living was pulled down and demolished by order.

They required Coal & Candle for their several Guards, which for some time we resisted because it was not due from us, but

apprehending the Refusal might effect the inhabitants in their Private Interests, we submitted, taking an Aid from Mr Cheap, from what fund, or from what cause we do not pretend to Judge. They have required 15 Sentinel Boxes, which have been made for them. These are parts of the burden brought upon the Towns small Revenue which it cannot support. Some of the Best Houses have been used as Hospitals for the sick, the wainscotting and partitions pulled down and distroyed, all the convenient stabling in Town, taken and employed, which deprives many of their means of Living. The commissaries for bread and forage took possession of the great Floors and Lofts, depriving many of the exercise of their Traffic, and without the certain hopes of redress for them. My Lord, this short summary we lay before your Lordship, not as Grievances for Redress, but to shew how little cause there was of complaint against us, We forbear to trouble your Lordship with the grievances of some private Families who as we could give them no redress, went without it.

An instance has been quoted to your Lordship, of Mr Rose. An officer and his lady were quartered upon him, not by us, they got possession but not in a way which was agreeable to him. For the officer and his Lady hade their Passage through Mr Rose's bedroom and as the House did not afford them sufficient accommodation, they took a lodging and Mr Rose provided them with Bed and Bed room furniture. We can not My Lord recollect an instance of any of our people's leaving the Town except Evan Baillie of Aberiachan, who took, and occupies both House and Farm, in the neighbourhood. The House he rented in Town must be his till Whitsunday, and the same quartering which was upon him, remains in his House with necessary accomodation.

We have been often told that we were all Rebels, which we know was given to excuse many a complaint, and therefore gave us no concern because we were not known to the gentlemen. Your Lordship is known to the disposition of the administration of this Town, for many years, the persons that were in it were abhorrors of Jacobites and Popery, and Arbitrary Govern-

ment and have blessed God for a Glorious Revolution, and which we now do. Nothing in our Power to give your Lordship satisfaction, Nothing which your Lordship will be pleased to point to us as our Duty will be omitted, So far as it can be executed by us.

The "Mr Cheap" of the above letter was probably George Cheap, who wrote to John Mackintosh, merchant, Inverness, 11 June 1747, requesting him to get an inventory and valuation of Government stores at Inverness and to inform General Blakeney that he (Cheap) had been appointed to survey and value all the Government stores in Scotland, selling what was not fit for the army. On the same day John Mackenzie of Delvine wrote to the same John Mackintosh, introducing "My good friend Mr Cheap General Guest's correspondent" (Fraser-Mackintosh MSS., Register House).

From the Magistrates of Inverness to the President dated from Inverness 9 January 1747.

My Lord,

There is not any thing that can give concern or uneasiness to your Lordship but will be grievous to us, nor that we wou'd not endeavour to remove, more especially if it was chargeable to ourselves. Misunderstanding betwixt the Troops and us may have been justly represented to your Lordship and shou'd have proceeded from us, But so tender have we been of giving Cause of uneasiness or complaining of any irregular conduct in the Troops that we have bore all patiently believing that as this is the only town in Great Britian that does not share in the Priviledges of our Happy constitution we might soon be on a footing with other dutiful Subjects. We have not hitherto heard of any particular complaint (besides that which we are to mention) led against us but the Common Ephithet which many of the Military People give to the Inhabitants, when they are at all checked in excesses, of their being Rebels which serves them in great stead.

My Lord Justice Clerk did us the honour lately to acquaint us, that he had heard of misunderstandings particularly in the Quartering here which we suppose proceeded from the informa-

tion which had been given to the Earl of Albermarle and since our answer to his Lordship's Letter we have not heard thereof. We are at a loss how to answer your Lop's Expectation because we know not one particular required of us by the Troops here that was not comply'd with. They had not indeed any particulars to ask of us as they saved the trouble to themselves, Coal and candle we submitted to for the time in the manner we acquainted the Lord Justice Clerk, Fifteen Centinel boxes were made for them, They have quartered themselves officers, soldiers, servants, wives, horses and dogs. Their officers do all feed together in messes in Private Houses which requires all the conveniences of the Houses, Kitchen, Furniture, etc. They have taken for their main-guard our Town Hall, Town Clerks Office and Guildry Room and pulled down the old Guard house in the Market Place. We have no Tolbooth Court House or Prison. The soldiers generally the greatest rogues in the British Army. They have taken away all the Portable timber that cou'd be found, gates and doors from Enclosures and Gardens, from all the old houses, even a door from the Church and dug lintals and joists out of the Stone Walls, Broke down the Sepulchers of the Dead, they have carried off Plows and Plow-Irons out of the Corn-fields, Roots and Herbage from the Common Gardens, Broke down Enclosures and Fences, Corns from Cornyards, a shop immediately opposite to the Main guard pillaged of Sundry valuable Merchandise by soldiers lodged about it, several articles were found in their custody and with others they sold them to: And tho the Causes of Punishment are little known to us yet we see Two Three Five whipped every other day nay Seventeen at once. What we Express generally is for Information to your Lop. Besides all this our Town is reduced to the greatest misery for lack of fire and meal. No Inhabitant dare presume to buy a Cart of Peats in the Market, Meal comcing to Market is carried off ere it reach the Meal House and even that which is brought there is so crowded with Soldiers that an Inhabitant cant get a Grain unless ther's quantity enough to answer their Immediate Demands which rarely happens. Many good families are oblig'd to send to

the Country and when they have got a Servant's burden must come into Town by By-ways.—General Blackney in concert with us proposed to remedy this inconveniency but has not had Effect, The Soldiers stroll thro the Fields in the Country day and night and under pretext of searching for illicide goods search all the Loads that come into Town, even some officers do with their swords pearce the straw Loads in the Market Place. Nor do we hear that this strolling and night ambuling has been discouraged. On the contrarie some soldiers who were twixt Ten and Eleven O'clock at night found lurking at the Carse were by Merchants who landed there from the Country brought to the Main Guard, but instead of Thanks Capt. Dunlope the Officer of the Guard answered that he woud support the Soldiers who had not one word to say in Excuse for themselves, and accordingly next Morning General Blackney sent to the Provost to require him to imprison those Merchants, which was comply'd with to prevent other Usage, And after thirty-six hours Confinement and upon their taking guilt to themselves, Genrl Blackney consented to their Liberation but with the threatening that if any Inhabitants did meddle with Soldiers he woud give it in Orders that the Soldiers shoud Run them thorow.

As to the affair of John Anderson a farmer of the Towns Customs (which has given Uneasiness to your Lop.), We think the Military Gentlemen were not called to interfier in the proceedings of the Magistrats in a Judicial Manner with their Inhabitants, Expediency and prudence as well as Justice made it Necessary for the Magistrates to regard the complaint of Lachlan McIntosh which had made a Noise over the Country, otherwise we could not expect to save our Inhabitants from starving for Want of bread, for no Countrymen woud expose their Meal to the Highway leading to the Town nor could he Expect even Sixpense for the Peck in the Rude manner in which he must be used while he is dispensing of it.

The Present Case my Lord is That Lachlan McIntosh in Gallcantra an Honest and Useful Man who had brought some Suply of Meal to the Town did send Three Horses and two Servants with Eight bolls of Meal to the House of Hugh Rose on the

High Road below the House of Castle hill there to ly till he brought as much more, when himself or His wife woud attend the Sale of it, One of the Witnesses in the Process Alexr Young did occasionally see Lachlan McIntosh, who told him he was to send Meal to the Town and that he had just then sent a part of it to Hugh Roses House to wait for the other parcele which he wanted to have at Hand, This Young told he'ed get a good price and woud apprise his Neighbours, which he accordingly did, and amongst others Alexr McKenzie, one of the Farmers of the Towns Customs, who directly informed his Partner John Anderson and they [persuaded] that Lachlan McIntosh was intended to deprive them of the Towns Custom, Were resolved to be avenged on him, and the said Anderson in his Drunkeness brought Young his Informer with him to the Mainguard to acquaint the Officer of Meals Lying below Castle-hill to be convey'd to the Rebels, and thereafter the said Anderson went to bed. When the officer of the Guard had represented and had got orders they sent to Anderson's House to bring him to be their guide, the Messenger got access to Anderson's House tho Late but as Drink had rendered him unable he said he woud not attend them before Morning and accordingly he and his Partner attended the Party to the House of Hugh Rose. The Party first searched Rose' House then requir'd the key of the Barn which he directly opened to them and where in One End Nothing was but the Eight bolls of Meal and three sheaves of Oats saved for a Stall'd cow, lying on the tops of the Baggs, the Party carried off the Meal and it was ordered into Custody here but no Enquiry was made about it nor of forty-one bolls taken from the People of Killiehuiman [Fort-Augustus.] Upon the Hearing whereof Lachlan McIntosh came to Town took assistance to have a Petition writt addressed to General Blackney setting forth his case and craving his meal might be restored or a Price paid him for it, which petition he delivered to the Genl but did not receive a Satisfactory answer; As L. McIntosh who deals partly on Credite coud not long ly out of his money and being acquainted that Anderson had given a Malicious information he was advised to give in his complaint

and claim before the Magistrats and as they could not deny a Hearing, the said L. McIntosh supported his complaint as appears by the Process, first by Anderson's subscribed acknowledgment next by Young's deposition who was Anderson's Informer, from the Tenor of which it appears the Information proceeded from ill-will, and also from the deposition of Wm Cranston to whom the complainer had declar'd the same purpose and all supported by the Deposition of the Complainer.

We have taken Declarations in further Evidence that the Complainer had petitioned Genrl Blackney and that the Meal was not concealed in the place where it lay, which is all that appear'd to us necessary to give your Lordship satisfaction, and we doubt not but your Lop will believe that the proceedings in the Court were fair and Candid which many witnesses can attest if they are required, and besides the Justice that was due to the Complr it was necessary to apprise the Country that the Magistrates woud not Wink at the Injuries which their Inhabitants might attempt to do to the Country. We believe Anderson's chief motive arose from his Interest which he believed was intended to be hurt and the miserable situation of the Town made it apparently necessary to proceed as has been done.

From the whole of this tedious narration your Lordship will see what we and the Inhabitants do bear without Complaint and thereby how Injurious the Military Gentlemen are in their Complaints, A Cobby of the process was some time agone given to Genll Blackney and now a cobby of the Declarations which we transmit to your Lordship.

We believe Genll Blackney might be easier dealt with had he not Persons about him that put matters in a false Light, particularly Captain Dunlope a Scots man who pretends to know our Laws but takes them up at the Wrong End, if Military Law was considered by him he woud create Less trouble. We have served Genl Blackney with a Cobby of this Letter because it is intended for Information and not Complaint.

Your Lordship cant miss to know that the Town under its Late incumbrances had been pillaged of their bed plaids and Blankets which made it necessary for us to have applyd the

Justices of the Peace for their order on some parts of the County to bring in certain numbers of Plaids for the Use of the Troops, it was comply'd pretty well with except Strathspey (in the County) which had absolutely refused, upon which we apply'd to Genl Blackney for a small party to suport the Peace Constables, the Genl refused, Lately one of the Quartermasters desired the Magistrates to provide Blanketting for 300 Recruits that were soon expected upon which the Justices order on Strathspey was renewed and a Peace officer sent therewith but to no effect, whereupon one of the Magistrates in that Emergency apply'd Genl Blackney again but he then also refused and answered that we ought to Provide.

We are most Dutifully

My Lord

Your Lordship's most Faithful, most Obed. and most

Humble Servants

Jo Fraser

Will McIntosh Will Mackintosh

James Fraser Robert Rose

From John Hossack to the President dated from Inverness 10th January 1747.

My Lord,

Our Magistrates are thankful to God for their access to your Lordship & your constant watchfullness over the poor country, their backwardness to complain, and their dread from the suspension of common right, may have contributed much to the arbitrary proceedings of the Military people here, But especially the weakness of the Commander, led intirely by the advice of the most unruilie sett for most part of officers, that ever were in one society. Our Magistrates have no familiarity with the General, if any do go to him upon occasional matters they stand for the minutes they are speaking & part. And if any private person do go with a grievance, he's assured, I can do nothing till I receive E Albemarle's direction, sometimes, I know you to be a Rebell, The poor prisoners, some of whom innocent are not allowed to receive Charity, but in a concealed way, no access to any, but when a Captain of the Guard, of a moderate disposition happens

to be on duty. [Fraser of] Castleleathers compt and reckoning for his intromission with the Lord Lovat's labourings goes on before the Sheriff, his commission recorded in the minutes of the Court is the same as the coppie enclosed and a coppie of the Magistrats letter to the Lord Justice Clerk as they corrected it. Thomas Stewart is not so bad at all as he had been but is better and worse. Doctor Fraser is at Gordonstown where the children are in the smallpox, he sent for Doctor Clerk's letter as he could not so soon leave that place.

I pray your Lordship would take care of that health which all good men pray may be continued.

I am, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithfull Servant

John Hossack.

The tone of these letters is necessarily restrained; the actual hardships endured were probably greater than the words convey. But for the atrocities committed by the Government and by its troops, the Forty-five might well have sunk to its proper level in history; even the President's sister, Mrs Fraser of Achnagairn, who certainly had no Jacobite leanings could write (17 May 1746) to her friend, the Rev. David Ross, minister of Tarbet

For instance the president his people are quite beggared by plundering them by the Troops, and my daughter has not a room in her own house but a very small garet, nor has the honest man the provost one place to bow his knee in save one room to make ready his victuals and lie in. Provost Hosack was kicked and imprisoned in the church amongst the vilest rascality they had there; so was James Murray. In a word time would fail me to write of all the hardships the most firm are trysted with, and how long this kind of thing may continue is what none knows. All these mischiefs is not to be laid to th Duke's charge but to vile informers which they are daily plagued with. This country is so ruined first by that monster of men Lovat and next by the military and lastly by the Sutherlands the cruelties exercised on all that either were taken prisoners or gave themselves up is such as has made all the poor people in this country fly, so that most of the country is leay. I sent down a young lad to stay a while at

Tarbet whose innocency I can pretty well know to. He was Lovat's grievance at Tomich, and compelled to go with others as really forced, but took the very first opportunity to leave them as still having an aversion to the cause and their way. My concern for him arises from a persuasion that he is well inclined. . . . I thought if your sister could afford him lodging for a few weeks it could not hurt her and it will oblige me, nor can I allow myself to believe that you, Dear Sir, would be jealous of my countenancing such as he without my having satisfying grounds for my doing it. If I were so minded there are objects not a few in this country but they do not, yea they dare not come near me more than they would come to their greatest enemy (Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness Vol. XXVI.)

A year later (April 1747) such words as these were common enough in ordinary correspondence "About this season of the year I creep silently out of the town in quest of health and spirits like a wounded rebel out of the field of Culloden" (Fraser-Mackintosh MSS. Register House).

In spite of the epithet, "monster of men," applied to Lovat Lord Hardwicke wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, 4th September 1746, (Newcastle Papers) that there were difficulties in getting a bill of indictment against him in Inverness-shire, where, although he was unpopular people would be in sympathy with him over a treason charge.

(6) THE LORD PRESIDENT IN LONDON.

The scarcity of family documents at this period makes it difficult to follow the President's own movements. That he was in London before 26th August 1746 appears from a letter ("Newcastle Papers") of that date, wherein the writer states that he had not "yet seen the Pre—t he being busy one day that I call'd and in the country the next." He was certainly present as a witness at the examination of Sir John Cope on 1st September and following days ("Report of the Proceedings etc"—London 1749).

It is generally supposed that he was received at Court and that Majesty turned his back on realising that Forbes was a greater patriot than a courtier. Certain it is, however, that he made every effort on

behalf of his country and was consulted on more than one occasion. Writing on 1st September Lord Hardwicke told the Duke of Newcastle that

The several points of public Business, which Your Grace enumerates are all material, but cannot all be immediately determined. That of the method of proceeding against Lord Lovat should indeed soon be so, because, if anything is to be done in Scotland, it ought immediately to be set on foot. It may also be necessary to have any Conference you intend with my Lord President of the Session pretty soon, because I suppose his stay here will not be much longer. However, as I purpose to stay in Town till towards the end of the next week, I shall have a full opportunity of receiving Your Grace's commands. (Newcastle Papers).

The following suggests that the President was not always in possession of relative information. It is dated "Monday Forenoon" and addressed to Andrew Stone, Private Secretary to the Duke of Newcastle.

Sir

As I am unwilling to take up your time by calling upon you I beg to know whether you have had any light, from Sir Everard Fawkener or any others, as to the names and numbers of the gentlemen who were concerned in the Rebellion, and who are not attainted or in custody. If I knew where I might meet you for five minutes, so as not to give interruption to Business, I should gladly call upon you.

I am Sir

Your most obedient humble servant

Dun. Forbes.

From Henry Pelham (correspondent not given) dated from Greenwich "8 o'clock in the morning, Monday." The letter is endorsed as September 29th [1746] (Newcastle Papers)

Dear Sir

You see by the date of my letter that I am an early man here and return letters as soon as I have read 'em.

As Lord Chancellor does not come to town till this evening I

conclude I shall not be wanted till to-morrow. I will certainly be in London by 8 o'clock to-morrow morning, and dine with my Brother [The Duke of Newcastle] afterwards, if he thinks proper. I suppose we shall meet to-morrow evening, if we do I desire you will send me word to my house that I may put off my long-winded friend Duncan [Forbes] till the next day for at present he stands appointed to come to me to-morrow in the evening at seven.

I am Dear Sr
 ever yrs

H. Pelham.

The Lord Chancellor would appear to have paid more attention to the President's proposals than did the brothers Pelham.

From Lord Hardwicke to the Duke of Newcastle dated from Powis House 23rd October 1746 "at night" (Newcastle Papers).

My dear Lord

.
 Give me leave to mention one word to your Grace abt. our Friend Duncan's Proposal of a Declaration of a general Pardon, with Exceptions and limitations. I cannot yet say that I have form'd any opinion upon the Measure in general; but it comes into my mind that King James the 2d published a Proclamation or Declaration of that nature after Monmouth's Rebellion. This I am sure of, that the History says a General Pardon was published, and I cannot find any Act of Parliament for that purpose, or any Title of such an Act in the statute-book. It there was such a proclamation or Declaration, it will be found in the Council-books, and I wish Your Grace could order it to be looked out in a private manner, because it might possibly furnish some hints. I would myself cause it to be searched for, but that I cannot so well do it, without giving a handle to observations and Constructions.

I am, my Dear Lord,
 Ever Yours

Hardwicke.

On 5th December the Lord Chancellor again wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, sending a copy of the projected bill concerning forfeitures in Scotland, which he asked might be passed on to the Lord Advocate, adding a postscript "Your Grace will have the goodness to remember not to mention my Lord President's name." The Lord Advocate was then William Grant, afterwards Lord Prestongrange.

The President seems to have left London a few days later as appears by MacLeod's letter to him of 16th December, which follows later. From Andrew Mitchell to the President dated from London 26th December 1746 (Part of "Culloden Papers" CCCXL)

My dear Lord,

I had the honour of your's of the 16th, which gave me sincere pleasure; as I cou'd not avoid having a great anxiety about you, for attempting so long a journey in an untryed machine, and at so rude a Season of the Year: but I thank heaven, that you are got safe home, and have had spirits to bear the severe shock which the loss of so valuable a friend as Sir A. Macdonald must justly occasion.

As to the affairs of Scotland, I am convinced that no Man in the Administration has had one serious thought about them since you left this place; one only excepted, whose labours for the good of his Country are incessant; but as he chuses to work in the dark, I can give no account of his progress, only that I fear he will be successfull.

You have done an injury to Hercules [John Forbes, younger of Culloden] without intending it. Your motives of action are, to Ministers of State, incomprehensible. Take this for an Example, and be convinced: A Gentleman that I can trust, but who is unknown to your Lop, told me, he happened to be by when your Son was spoke of to Mr Pelham; and somebody said, he deserved a mark of the King's favour. Mr P. said, if you had a son, sure you must know him best; and, had he been fit for any thing, wou'd certainly have mentioned him, as he (Mr P.) and you were upon so good a footing. This is hard & unjust to poor Hercules, who will never be a discredit to any family; and

it is a pity that the father's virtue should be imputed to the Son for folly. I, therefore, take the liberty to propose, that you should write a letter to Mr Pelham, to be delivered by Hercules, & to serve as an Introduction. I will go along with him, or any other of your friends that you please to name; and I need not add, that you will take no notice of the fact above mentioned.

Another thing is likewise fit that you shou'd know, because the Parties concerned imagine you have done them ill offices. My neighbour Sir J. Gordon, soon after you was gone, hinted to me, as if some expressions of yours concerning the E. of Cromarty had retarded the favours he expected from the Crown. I said, that was impossible, because I knew your opinion was that the mercy shou'd be compleat; and that I was well assured, that you had signified so much to the Ministers. He told me, I was mistaken; that his Authority was too good to be doubted, and alluded to something that had passed between the P. of Wales and your Lordship. As he spoke with an air of mystery, I seemed not to understand him, but insisted that he was the dupe of his own jealousy and anxiety, &c. I find likewise, that all the nonsense and stuff that G[eorge] R[oss] has talked is very unjustly imputed to your Lordship; and I make no doubt, a certain Brother of yours [Lord Milton] has had hints of this; which at the same time will serve (if he succeeds) to magnify the talents, interest, and industry of my neighbour.

Amidst your greater occupations, I should not have troubled [you] with these little matters; but that I cannot bear that you, or yours, should suffer unjustly.

.
I ever am, with great truth and affection,

My dear Lord,

Your most obliged humble Servt.

And. Mitchell.

(7) MISCELLANEOUS (NOVEMBER 1746 TO MARCH 1747).

Sir Alexander MacDonald died 23rd November 1746. Six days later Martin MacDonald wrote from 'Armadales to "Mr [John] MackIntosh att Inverness"' (Fraser-Mackintosh MSS, Register House)

I am to writ you the mealancoly news of Sir Alexr McDonald Death . . . you will send for . . . the Taylor youl give him orders to make a short coat of frisd scarlet cloth faced with black cuffs and black west [coat] conformed to the coat and let him despatch it all night and day and to send it with the Bearer and to place to Sir Alexr accompt till Ill see you again which will be very soon God willing.

From Allan MacDonald, younger of Kingsburgh to the President, dated from Mugstot 27th November 1746.

My Lord.

This sorrowful letter brings your Lordship the melancholy news of the Death of Sir Alexander MacDonald of MacDonald. He died at Bernera in Glenelg on his way to London on the Twenty third of this month about eleven oClock forenoon. Your Lordship lost a firm Friend, and alas we have lost our happiness on earth. I was going along with him south where if it was possible he was to get me into the army again. I have now greater reason to leave my Country not knowing on whom to depend here. Soon as I hear of your Lordship coming to Scotland I'll have the honour of waiting on you. I came in from Slate yesterday to wait of Lady Margaret, whom I met on the Road. I cannot express her sorrow on this occasion.

I am

My Lord

Your Lordships most humble
and most afflicted Servant

Allan MacDonald.

MacDonald of Castleton writing to the President, 5th December, ("Culloden Papers" CCCXXXVII) gives his opinion that Sir Alexander "was a downright honest man, true to his friend, and firm to his word. By his death we of his clan lost a father, and the King a good subject." In this letter he made request for the President's good offices in an endeavour to obtain the release of Alexander MacDonald of Kingsburgh, who was still in prison for his association with Flora MacDonald. Kingsburgh had for twentyeight years been principal manager of his chief's affairs and his presence at this crisis was urgently required. It

would have been a gracious act on the part of the Crown to have liberated Kingsburgh forthwith, as some reward for Sir Alexander's services, but in the face of what was believed the authorities were in a difficult position. Lord Hardwicke writing to the Duke of Newcastle, 26th December 1746, was of opinion that the Highlanders had plenty of money and arms, that they expected French assistance in the spring and that the officers of the Independent Companies were ready to join the Jacobites, especially those of the late Sir Alexander MacDonald (Newcastle Papers). MacLeod of MacLeod and the President both desired Kingsburgh's release ("Culloden Papers" CCCXXXIX, CCCXLII).

From MacLeod to the President dated from London 16 December 1746.

My Dear Lord

I hope this will find you well in Edinburgh drudging on att your laborious Task. I find the Secretary att War has prepared ane account which I suppose he transmitts this night to you with a view of what each Captain of ane Independent Company receives on the ~~suposal~~ of one muster or on the suposal of two, and that his opinion is one muster is sufficient and that will probable prevail for Mr Pelham does not remember anie Promise of giving two absolutely but concurring in doing what's thought proper. Att the same time they say, if any person would make the proper distinction of their Services and Circumstances in levying their Companies, these they would make an additional allowance to, that I can easily see is not a proper task for you and what I am sure I would not desire, or think you ought to do. But why my Lord Loudoun (who is daily looked for here) may not do it, I can't tell, and he is the only other that can I think properlie do it. Not to run through the whole eighteen I will only mention the two Macdonald Companies to you, who are dated in your List the 31st December, now I know and so do you, that they were compleat and assembled in the first days of November, and were regularly subsisted by Sir Alexander in Sky and desired to remain there till that Date that you and Sir Alexander called for them and the four Macleods were all together and subsisted by me before the 20th October. Now that money must be refunded or we lose it. For I need not tell you, that we cant or wont return on the Captains for it, and this in-

convenience I saw and mentioned to you, when you told me of the method you had taken in giving in the Dates of these Companies Commissions. But by what they say I think that will still be rectified by Loudoun's giving in a distinct Account of these Transactions as they happened. I have no news to give you. Several mails are due and we expect to hear of a ruffle in Provence and good accounts of his R.H.'s the Dukes negotiations in Holland. We are to part with our privilege of Franking and so are all the offices, by which its supposed the post office will gain £63,000 a year. I'm sure I shall gain the Saving £10 or £12 a year for Newspapers and save some Trouble I'm not fond of. My mind continues as it ought to do, much distressed for our irreparable loss, in one of the best of men and most dear Friend. I ever am yours

Normand Macleod.

Sir Arthur [Forbes] went to Bath Sunday.

From Brodie of Brodie (Lord Lyon) to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Brodie House 27th December 1746 (Newcastle Papers).

My Lord

I beg Leave to acquaint Your Grace that Sir William Gordon of Park who made his Escape cross the Murray Firth from Murray to Sutherland some months ago Is still Lurking by the name of Mr Grant in the County of Sutherland or Caithness, and That when He went Into Sutherland He had The Earl of Sutherlands Permission so to do and assurance of Protection.

All This I know to be True, But If it is known even by my Friend the Earl of Sutherland That I am Your Grace's Informer, It will prove of fatal Consequences to me.

I have the Honour to be with great Respect and Esteem,

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's most faithful
and most obedient sert.

Alexr Brodie.

In spite of the above somewhat despicable information, Sir William Gordon escaped to France. (A. & H. Tayler, "Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Fortyfive," where this letter is also given).

From MacLeod to John Forbes, younger of Culloden, "Lieutenant of Lord Hartford's Regiment of Horse [Royal Horse Guards, Blue] at Amersham" dated from London in December 1746.

My dear John.

Last night I got a letter from the Good-man dated att Stonyhill, he got there this day se 'enight the 13th in pritty good health, but much afflicted with worthy Sir Alexers death. The account of it met him at Durham. For news all we know by the Mails that came yesterday is that the Austrians and Piedmontese are making progress in Provence, some say they go to Aix and some to Toulon. There has been ane insurrection in Genoa, in which a good many Austrian officers were killed. And it was talked that the King said yesterday att the Levee that they brought it on themselves. Old Lovat behaved with spirit at the Bar of the House of Lords Thursday, his Tryal its thought cant come on till Febry. I will step down for a day and see you and Hugh. Let me know how long you abide there and how both of you are. Yours

Normand Macleod.

The President had written 1 December 1746 to the Government, intimating Lovat's request that he should have access to his property, and a letter from the Government to the Lord Advocate dated 20 December ordered the receiving of his rents as if he were innocent (S.P. Scotland, P.R.O.). MacLeod was with Lovat on 18th December as he told the President in a letter of that date ("Culloden Papers" CCCXXXVIII)

I saw unhappy Lovat today. Except for the feebleness of his limbs, his looks are good. He asked me several questions, and particularlie about you, said he was resigned and ready to meet his fate, since it was God's will, asked after his children etc

Macleod writes naturally and there is no allusion to the past.

From Andrew Stone (for the Duke of Newcastle) to the President dated from Whitehall, 3rd January 1746/7.

My Lord

My Lord Duke of Newcastle being prevented by a great hurry of business, from writing himself, to your Lordship as he fully

intended, by this Conveyance, I have his Graces Directions to make his Complements and excuses to you, and to beg that you will allow me to remind you, in His Name, of the Return to be made (if I mistake not), by the Lords of Session to the Order of the House of Lords, made towards the Conclusion of the Last Session of Parliament, concerning the Regulations proposed to be made in Scotland. My Lord Chancellor (as his Grace understands) had some Conversation with your Lordship on this subject, a little before you left London, and that you then gave him hopes, that the Return wd. be made soon after Christmas. My Lord Duke begs that it may, if it can possibly be done, be sent by the Time The House of Lords is to meet after the Recess, (which I think will be on Tuesday the 13th Inst.), His Grace having Reason to believe that from something that was flung out in the House before the Adjournment that if the Return is not made by that Time, it may give Occasion to some disagreeable Motion. As your Lordship will receive this at farthest on Tuesday morning, My Lord Duke hopes you may be able to let him know before the 13th, at what time the Return will be made.

I was very sorry I had not an opportunity to pay my Respects to your Lordship before you set out for Edinburgh. You will give me leave to assure you of my most sincere wishes for your Health and Happiness during the course of many years and of my being with the truest Respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

Most Obedient & most humble Servant

Andrew Stone.

P.S. I have at last the satisfaction of acquainting your Lordship that Messrs. Rattray & Lauder are at full Liberty. His R.H. The Duke returned yesterday from the Hague, having settled everything relating to the ensuing Campaign to His entire Satisfaction. The Operations in Provence seem to go on successfully, tho' we hear no very late accounts from thence, that can be at all depended upon. There is nothing new from the State of Genoa, but the Confirmation of the taking of Savone.

With reference to Stone's postscript, John Rattray and John Lauder were the two surgeons who had been captured "vi et armis," as told in a previous letter, and made to attend the wounded of the Prince's Army. The following is headed:—

Representation of George Lauder Surgeon in Edinburgh.

The Day before the Battle of Preston I was taken Prisoner from Edinburgh by the Rebels to take care of the Wounded in case of Action, and have been detained by them for the same purpose ever since.

The Officers who were made prisoners at that Battle have often told me, they reckoned it a great happiness to the Army, that I and Mr Rattray (who was in the same Situation with me) were there as a great Many of the Wounded both Officers and Soldiers must have inevitably perished, without immediate assistance, and there was not a Surgeon but us to be found.

Amongst the many taken care of by me the following gentlemen were not only dressed in the field but taken care of during the whole course of their cures, viz:—

Capt. Poyntz who had one very dangerous wound in his hand and five in his head,

Major Griffith had a large wound in his head,

Lieutenant Disney had his hand cutt of with a Sword and a shot in his shoulder, and must have dyed with loss of Blood in a very short time without assistance.

Lieutenant Hewitson had two dangerous wounds in his Head, one thro' both Tables of his Skull and a very bad one in his Arm.

Lieutenant Swinie had a large wound on his Face.

Mr. Bishop son to Captain Bishop who was killed in the Action had fourteen wounds, some of them exceedingly dangerous, and must have died without extraordinary Care. I not only dressed him and operated on him, furnishing both external and internal Medecines, as I did to the others, but even found him Lodgings, Nurses and Money for his Subsistance, he being an Orphan destitute of Friends and Money. Besides the above named I gave advice and the first dressings and operations to many more, who were afterwards taken care of by other Surgeons.

Mr Rattray likewise took care of many amongst whom were Captain Sandilands who had Sixteen Wounds.

Mr [perhaps Birnie] who had six wounds and would have died with Loss of Blood without instant help.

Mr Rattray and I, that day likewise operated upon and dressed almost three hundred private Men, two hundred and eighty of which were taken into the Charity Work-house, where they were taken care of by Mr Wood and I, who are the Surgeons belonging to that House, but my charge of them was greatest as I performed the whole operations and furnished the Medicines out of my own Shop gratis. These facts can be attested by the Gentlemen themselves, and by Hugh Hunter Surgeon to my Lord Loudoun's Regiment who I desired some time to assist me with the Private Men, as also by Francis Drummond the Surgeon to Colonel Lascelle's Regiment, who came some times to the Work House to enquire of me concerning the Men of Colonel Lascelles Regiment. Myself and six Apprentices and Students, continued dayly six or eight hours aday with the said Dressings. Colonel Halket will likewise attest that three Days after the Action he came to me, [expressed] the sense he had of the obligation he lay under to me for the care I had taken of the Men, and told me that he understood that there was three or four of his men, about seven Miles in the Country who needed their Legs, or Arms to be cut off, but as the Surgeon to their Regiment was only a Young man, he did not incline that the Thing should be done by his sole Advice, or even that he should be the operator. He therefore desired me to visit them, and to perform the operations if I judged them proper. I went and saw them, thought the operations unnecessary and brought the men to Edinburgh, where they were taken care of.

Besides taking care of the wounded I likewise at my own expense, carryed out to the Prisoners at Colonel Gardiners House, two Dozen of Wine, eight large loaves of bread, and a good quantity of Cheese. After the Battle of Falkirk I took care of Captain Fitzgerald of Colonel Munro's Regiment, who had two wounds in his head and in a bad state of health otherwise,

both he and Captain Halley must certainly be sensible too, that it was by my representation of the bad consequences, it would be to their healths, if they were carried alongst with the other Prisoners, that the one was left at Aberdeen and the other at St. Ninians. I not only dressed wounds of all the wounded men and Militia prisoners at Stirling (which was the Place I was ordered to reside at) but likeways gave them money towards their substance, this can be attested by Mr Simpson, Minister of the Gospel at Falla, who was a Prisoner. I believe both he and Mr Maitland will likeways attest the pains I was att to get a place for a Hospital to them where I might have them better taken of, both as to the Dyet and other ways; but the hurry and confusion the Rebels were continually in at that time prevented their doing anything of that sort, to either their own People or Prisoners. From their Abandoning Stirling till now I was not of the smallest use to either side, having neither Instruments, Bandages, Dressings, or Medicines they having been left in Athole in the hurry of their Flight from Stirling, and brought again to Inverness by Lord George Murray a few Days before the Battle of Culloden. The Lord Presidents Chamberlain and other Servants can bear Witness to the use I designed them for that day.

Anonymous to the President dated Saturday 10th January [1747]

My dear Lord

I cannot Bragg much of my transactions of this week, I fear [MacDonald of] K[ingsburgh] will not be given to the Macdonald Family and I was talked to about his Tryal but not in a Possitive or Peremtorie way. I showed your letter for Mr Fox to Mr Pelham who read it, but I doubt not withstanding what you wrote and I attempted to say, the Companies will gett no more than half a Muster of 30 days, how they'll divide it I can't tell, but I know that if the four McLeods have no more they'll lose about 100£ a companie. and the 2 Macdonalds considerablie more. No doubt you've been told what a Buss is made here about the resolutions you and your Bretheren made in the case of Hamilton. Their is 3 mails come in I know not more than

you'll find in the News Paper. If the Gazette is out in time you shall have it, Savonna is taken, Genoa in its further situation in the hand of the RE bells as they are called, and they deny the story of the check we met with in Provence, att the Opera to-night Lord Cobham said a Courier was come in with accounts of ane Action there, but did not say how it went the whole story may be Apochyphal for ought I know.

Mitchell Sir Harry Munro Rattray and I drink your health
Adieu

From MacLeod to the President dated from London 13 January 1747 ("Culloden Papers" CCCXLIV, reprinted with an additional paragraph concerning the Independent Companies).

My dear Lord,

This day Lord Lovat was brought to the Bar of the house of Peers, to give in Answers to the Articles of Impeachment exhibit against him; which he did; his answers were a denial, but seemed to be well drawn up, and properly worded. He then presented two petitions to the Lords: the first set furth, that the Factor apointed on his Estate had not complied with the Orders of the House; nor had Captn Ferguson restored his strong box with his money, tho' ordered so to do by a Warrant from the D. of Newcastle by His Majesty's Command; saying he was in the same Condition as before, destitute of money to support himself, or to provide for his defence; prayed for relief, &c.

The Chancellor spoke first, and shewed with great eloquence the fitness of all that had been done in Scotland to suppress the most unnatural and unprovoked Rebellion that ever was raised; shewed its conformity to the Laws of England, the laws of Nations, and of Common Sense; mentioned precedents of things done in the Irish Rebellion, after the Revolution and cited opinions of some English Lawyers. The D. of Newcastle made a very proper encomium on what the C——r had said, and told the steps that had been taken, by order of his Majesty, with regard to the money Ferguson had, and with regard to his Estate; and read a part of the Advocate's letter,

shewing he had comply'd with the first Order from the Crown, as well as with that from the house of Peers: he then said, as to the money Ferguson had, he had been ordered to deliver it up; but on his representing that he looked on it as fair prize, belonging to himself and the Seamen with him, it would be hard to rob him of it, till it was known whether it was so or not; which could not be certainly ascertained, till the event of Lord Lovat's Trial; so that matter was to rest there. In the end, he moved for rejecting the Petition. Lord Granville spoke next, agreed entirely with the C——r's exposition of the Law, and said he would even go further, and cited a very learned and eminent Lawyer of our Country, Mr Craigie, who had lately, in the Case of Hamilton, wrote a very fine paper on that Subject; and made an encomium on him in much finer words than I can pretend to remember; but said, that they were to support their own order and dignity, and do justice, without shewing favour or resentment. That the Prisoner had made a legal Demand, and that it must have a legal answer; and that the Petition could not be rejected, but on the supposal of falshood in the Allegation. On which, the D. of Newcastle said, it was on that Supposal he moved it, and referred to the Advocate's letter. The D. of Argyle then said, that the debate might have been much shortened, as it was only allegation, and no proof offered to support it; which the house ought not to notice; said, that something more was couched in the petition than appeared openly, and meant, if possible, to throw dust in their eyes; that if it was real want of Support to defend himself, that the petitioner knew well little or nothing could be got out of his Estate, or any other Highland one, for that purpose, by the unhappy situation those parts had been in for some time past. So it carried, to reject that Petition; on which the prisoner desired to be brought to the Bar; and told the Lords he had heard that it had been thrown out [because] he had no proof of the Allegations in his petition: he said, he came prepared with full and legal proof, and had an instrument or protest in his hand, taken against the Factor, for not complying with the Orders of the house; but that paper was refused. He said some strong things with regard to his unhappy

situation, and read some strong epithets with regard to Ferguson and the Factor, and seemed to be very much moved on the order for his withdrawing the second time. There was a very full house; and his Royal Highness the Duke attended, as did all the members of our house in Town, you may be sure. His second petition was, desiring leave for his Agent, Willm Fraser, to have access to him; which was granted, with the proviso of an Officer of the Tower being present; which proviso was proposed by the Duke of Argyle, and agreed to. I was with Mr Fox today about the companies and I believe its determined they have no more than half a muster or 30 days allowance with the off reckonings, but because of the peculiaritie of the four McLeod companies and two Macdonald ones who had such a distance to march and were so long subsisted in the Iles by order before they could come to Inverness after they were compleat, thirtie days more will be allowed them, on your mentioning these facts either in a letter to Mr Fox or to me which I must show them. I have not been very well and much out of spirits this while which I attribute mostly to want of exercise, so I've none to blame but myself. Sandy Forbes I'm told is to have leave to retyre which his long and faithful service justly entitle him to. Its said the Duke is to cross the seas at the end of this month or the beginning of next.

Several of your acquaintance enquire frequently for you.

I ever am yours,

N. M. L.

If you are to write about these six companies, do not delay it.

From William Dalrymple dated from Cranstone 15 February 1746/7.

My Lord

I should have executed my Promise to you before now if I had not been taken so ill that I have not been able to hold the pen in my hand for some days past. I congratulate yr Lop by-the-by on your being able to come abroad which was no small pleasure to me to hear.

What I have been able to do towards the fulfilling of my promise I have herewith sent, the rest I must leave to a further day. Upon reading it over I begin to think that if I had had

time to cool I should have dressed some passages of it in milder language. But then yr Lop must have had a Sample of my Art rather than of my Ingenuity, as it stands at present you have my whole soul open to yr View without disguise and tho it should be rude I'd rather display it to you as it is than put on the Mask.

The state of the Linen Manufacture of Ireland as well as Scotland is fairly set furth in these Sheets. But as I cannot help contradiction even with my Beggars when Truth and the good of my County is the prize I must premise to yr Lop. that you must expect to have most of your Maxims if not all debated. This being the Case and that I have not vanity enough to hope to convince or to gain Belief from my own Weight alone I propose the following Arbitration in such points as we may differ about, viz I appeal for the truth of every fact that I have already advanced or shall hereafter advance, the minutest fact not excepted, to persons disinterested in the dispute, from these I have reason to seclude all persons holding offices from the Trustees and such likewise as may be in Expectation. It is to those only that I appeal who will neither gain nor lose by the Decision but in common like myself from the general calamity or Welfare of their Country. As to what regards the Glasgow trade I appeal to such men as the Laird of Dougalstone, Robt Tuke, Lawrence Colquhoun, and Wm Cranfurd, Jun; than whom there is not Men of greater knowledge nor stricter probity. As to what regards the trade of London I appeal to Claud Jonestone, to George Auchterlony, to John Currie and Jonestone and Fotheringame, the rest of the linen factors having neither fortunes, trade nor knowledge. As to what regards the Linen trade in Ireland, I appeal to Adair and Jackson, to Smith and Secker, to Jonathan Gurnell and to Joseph Ellis the richest Irish factors in London. If any of these gentlemen give a single fact against me of any Consequence I shall be willing to forfeit your Lop's Friendship and the esteem of all honest men and if you have a mind to do me or yourself Justice in this dispute you will take some pains to find out whether I am the honest fellow I pretend to be or the rogue that wants to impose upon you,

Besides what is now sent when I have time and health I propose to continue what I have begun and to lay before yr Lop. the several sorts of foreign Linen, which of them ought to be imitated and which not, the way to imitate them and give you good reasons for all I shall advance. In treating of these matters I shall show yr Lop. that tho we have a low priced Manufacture of Linen in Scotland yet we have no Manufacture at all of coarse Linen (which is a distinction yr Lop. may never perhaps have adverted to) and that it is impossible for us to attain to it without pains in the first place being taken by the Trustees to alter the method of Spinning in use and the Machine with which they spin. The Hempen Manufacture I shall likewise discuss and the necessity of encouraging proper Machines for the softening thereof. In treating of these things I am very far from assuming to myself any superior Talents above by Neighbours. I know my own Depths and how unfit I am for the enterprise I have begun. Yet at the same time as I have trod a path take it altogether that no man living either did before or since I cannot give myself up for a mere Cypher, and allow that I saw nothing that I heard nothing and that I remember nothing during that whole journey. What smatterings therefore I have picked up since I am now fairly begun I will communicate to your Lops. if you approve of it and as it will be the only System I may say without vanity that you have hitherto had that will stand the Test, I hope to make yr Lop. before I have done with you, what you most ardently wish and what you rave of I dare swear in yr very slumbers, the best Countryman in Scotland.

I am with the greatest Esteem My Lord

Yr Lops most obedt humble Servt

Will: Dalrymple.

The two following letters mention the Heritable Jurisdictions bill for which see W. L. Mathieson "Scotland and the Union" p. 372 et seq.

From Andrew Mitchell to the President dated from London 21 February 1747.

My dear Lord.

As Sir Arthur [Forbes] and Mr Macleod promised to write to your Lop. by the Tuesday and Thursday post, I delayed

writing to you till I should be able to accompany my letter with a copy of the Bill lately brought into the house of Lords, which was printed only yesterday.

What is intended by the Bill, and how far it agrees with, or differs from, the Report of Lords of Session, will best appear from the Bill itself which I transmit to you under two franks, Macleods.

My Lord Chancellor after moving that the reports might be read, made great compliments to the Lords of Session, but added that the remedy proposed by them was not adequate to the evil, and therefore he said he should take the liberty to make some remarks on the Report and to propose to their Lops a Bill etc. He said the Report concerning the impossibility of determining who had rights to Heritable jurisdictions, was to him a convincing argument of the necessity of taking away these Jurisdictions. Then he endeavoured to show from the words of the report that the Judges of the Court of Session were of opinion

1mo That the Kings Justice could not be administered without taking away the Heritable Jurisdictions etc. and 2do they were of opinion that these jurisdictions might be abolished provided compensation was made to the Proprietors. The argument chiefly used to prove that this was not contrary to the Articles of Union, was that the parliament of Scotland had power to have taken them away, which power was now transferred to the parliament of Great Britain, that in all unions the parties were not to be strictly tied to the words of the *pacta conventa*, when the advantages were apparent and mutual, and he instanced the fatal effects of a strict and rigid interpretation, in the case of Lithuania and Poland. He said that the Parlt. of Scotland were so sensible of the danger of these Jurisdictions that they had by degrees indulged the Privy Council with a power of chequing and curbing them, which power was never defined by law, that when the Privy Council was taken away these Jurisdictions should likewise have been abolished, here he quoted a passage from Sir G. Mackenzie, concerning the power the P. Council had over the Clans and other great men. What remarks he made on the report will appear from what he has

adopted or rejected in the bill. Then he said he would acquaint the house 1st with what were not his reasons for bringing the bill, and 2ndly what were his reasons. He did not bring in this bill on account of the late rebellion, that indeed was the occasion but not the cause etc. 2ndly it was no diffidence of the nation for he knew there were many loyal, brave and faithful subjects that deserved to be encouraged, 3rdly. neither was it from any doubts that he had of the noble persons who were proprietors of these Jurisdictions, for many of them were well-known to him, and he knew that some who had the greatest powers of that sort, woud from their great affection to their country and to the R. family, not only not oppose but frankly concur and give their assistance in promoting the bill. He said that whatever might be the past reason of granting these extensive Jurisdictions to subjects, he was always of opinion that it was bad policy to disannex them from the Crown, that it was weakening the tyes between the K. and his subjects, and exposing the peace of the country to the caprice of private men, that it was not sufficient to take from them the Jurisdiction in capital matters and cases of Demembration, for that was rarely executed, it was the ordinary course of Justice and the regular administration of it, that served to keep up the regard and respect due to the sovereign from his subjects in the most remote corners etc. etc.

There was no debate nor speaking, the bill was ordered to be printed on a motion from the D. of Newcastle and I hear it will first be brought into the House of Commons before it be again read in the Lord's House, where I make no doubt it will meet with great opposition.

I hope you Lop. will have leisure thoroughly to consider this affair, and as something will be probably done in Parliament you will give your assistance to render it as beneficial, or at least as little hurtful to the Country as possible.

I thought to have answered yours of the 12th but shall delay that till next post as it is now very late.

Yours affectly.

From Andrew Mitchell to the President dated from London. 26 Feby
1747.

My dear Lord,

In mine by the post of last Saturday, I gave your Lop. as full an account, as my memory could suggest, of my Lord Chancellor's speech, and I can at present call to mind but one thing material which I believe I did not mention, in speaking of the Union, he took notice, how disireable it was, that the laws of the two countries should not widely differ from each other, he added, that he was unwilling to load this bill, but that he had endeavoured to make an inchoation. For this purpose, it was proposed in the bill to give the Judges in the Circuit the power of determining finally small causes that should come before them from the Sheriff's Court, and that in England great advantage was found in the Judges of the Circuit determining civil causes and he expressed great resentment against the authors of some seditious pamphlets that tend to excite jealousy and animosity between the two nations, and said they were punishable by law and that if any more of that sort was published he thought it would deserve their Lop's notice etc.,

I have troubled your Lop with so minute a detail, as it may enable you to guess how far this reformation is intended to be carried, and what are the views of some of the reformers. The speech met with great applause, and I find the subject of it generally relished. The people of this country certainly imagine, that when heritable Jurisdictions are once abolished, they have nothing to fear from Scotland. As this is the case, and you know it is not easy to convince the English nation that they are mistaken, I believe a bill of this sort will pass, though I am informed there will be several alterations before it comes into the House of Commons; it is to be wished that those who are best able would suggest what may fitly be substituted in the place of the Jurisdictions, and were that once properly adjusted, I think no man in Scotland but the Proprietors of the Jurisdictions can have reason to complain. It is needless for me to point out to your Lop. some clauses of the Bill that are justly

found fault with, they will occur to yourself, and I hope you will be the instrument of having them amended. It would be still more impertinent to tell you the various opinions of our own countrymen, some are against it, others violently for it, both equally absurd and without understanding anything of the matter, the more moderate think, that as an alteration in that part our Constitution will certainly be made, they wish that it was done as much for the advantage of the Country as may be, which can only be brought about by the assistance of the ablest and honestest men of the law of our Country, to point out what is fit to be done, and the best manner of doing it, for I firmly believe that the people of this Country do not mean to do anything to our disadvantage, but they are ignorant and diffident of all information.

In answer to your Lop. of the 12th I have seen my Lord Granard since, and he will send a probate of the will, a power of attorney, and the receipt of Mr Graham to be delivered up. The Duke of Montrose has wrote to the Executors of the late Mr Graham, to desire that they will immediately search for the bond and deliver it up. As to the interest on the two bonds the Duke's factors know nothing, as they were paid here by His Grace. Lord George [Graham] some years ago borrowed £1,000 of his brother for which he gave bond bearing interest at 3 per cent, and by a state, which I have seen, of the accounts between the brothers, at Whitsunday next there will be due only a balance of a few pounds by way of Interest. By what I can learn from the D. of Montrose he woud chuse to have everything cleared at or before Whitsunday, but he fears he shall not be able to raise the whole sum wanted, and therefore if it was agreeable to the Executive he woud pay £1,000 or 1,500 at that time and give his bond for the remainder, which will be about £3,000 or £3,500 with interest at 5 per cent, which bond he thinks he shall be able to clear by Martinmas next, as he has already given notice to have an heritable debt paid which is due to him in Scotland. I mention these particulars only by way of hint to your Lop., as a suggestion of that sort will come most

properly from your Lop. and the Executrix will be very safe with the Duke's bond, and this will make his Grace easy as he is much a man of order and method.

My concern for you gave me more alarm than I find there was occasion for, but it gives me more uneasiness that you should have any other sufferings but what are incident to human nature, from which if my prayers could avail, I would have you exempted. I mentioned to you in a former that I believed a certain person had been at pains to give bad and false impressions of you, to a brother of yours, I am sorry to find by what I hear of that Gentleman's behaviour that my suspicion has proved too true. I hear that Gentleman sent to the person who had thus misrepresented you, a long paper in which all the alterations and emendations made by the new bill are contained and those of a certain party say, that my Lord Chancellor not only formed the bill, but also made his speech from that paper, all this I have from good authority, but my friendship with you has rendered me suspected, for I have not yet been able to obtain a sight of the paper.

Soon after I had your first letter the Interloquitor in Capt. Hamilton's Case came to be the subject of every conversation, but with so good a foundation I found no difficulty to satisfy everybody that I had occasion to talk with, both of the Justice of the Interloquitor, and of the falsity of the report concerning the two propositions said to be found by the Lords of Session. So soon as I saw the representation transmitted by the E. of Albemarle I sent purposely to several of the ministers and showed them your Letter, they acknowledged that it was perfectly agreeable to the Interloquitor, but said they had been deceived by a false misrepresentation, and that they did not know whom to trust. As several of your friends promised to write when this affair happened, I did not, the reason was, I had some tenderness for a man with whom I had once some degree of friendship, and was therefore unwilling to be the first informer, but if he was the author of the paper I saw, all my tenderness is gone for ever.

Your Lop. needs be no ways concerned about any reports or even rash words spöke against you, they will serve only to add lustre to your Character, when the truth shall be known; and the rule you have ever followed, of doing your duty, will be a lasting protection and comfort to you . . . I fancy you have been misinformed about the C[hancello]r disapproving of the Return, he said indeed that the remedy proposed in it was not adequate nor sufficient. All your friends speak of you with sincere warmth and affection, and it will not be easy for the Gates of hell to prevail against you—Lady Schaub charged me with many compliments to you—I had mentioned to you an injustice you had done to Hercules [John Forbes, younger of Cul-loden] and hinted how it might be repaired. I wish you woud think of it, and send a letter only of Introduction to him to Mr Pelham. Poor Lytelton is in great affliction for the loss of his wife
yours

A. M.

The mention of Lord George Graham in the above letter is in connection with his will, by which he bequeathed his possessions to Lady Mary Forbes, the Earl of Granard's daughter.

In Andrew Lang's "Companions of Pickle," (Chap. IX) will be found the narrative of Colonel John MacDonnell concerning a certain sum of money landed on the west coast of Ross-shire for the Prince's use. The following letter (State Papers, Scotland, P.R.O.) should be read in conjunction therewith. It is headed:—Copy letter from Dingwall dated Tuesday 10th March, 1747.

Saturday last Alexr. McKenzie of Lentrone and John McKenzie of Torridon, two Rebel officers of Lord Cromertie's Regt. came to this place with a party of men to the number of 16 or 17, armed with Guns Swords and pistols and forcibly carried away Murdoch McKenzie another of the officers of Lord Cromertie's Regt. and march'd with him to the hill above Dingwall where they were joined by some more of their Gang and where they have gon since is yet uncertain. It is said that the reason for apprehending Murdoch is that he might deliver up to these Gentlemen officers some money which he had in his

custody That was landed in Coigach a Port in Lord Cromertys Estate in the Highlands. This ship came to the Highlands sometime after the Battle of Culloden and delivered to Major William McKenzie Brother to the Laird of Culoy [Kilcoy] and to Colin McKenzie alias Roy Brother to Dundonald and to the above Murdoch McKenzie a Portmanteau containing £3000 sterl. and upwards. The Kings troops being then in the Country, The 3 officers divided the money for their own private use But it is now given out that theres an order from the Pretender Requiring these Gentlemen to Deliver up the money to the Gentlemen who still adhere to his Interest in this Country to subsist themselves and their adherents, who are still so audacious as to keep together a small body of armed men and do openly frequent their own houses and other publick places, what greater contempt of Government than to pretend to come by legal authority from the pretender to a Royal Burgh within 6 or 7 mile [sic] of the Garrison of Inverness. Their presuming in this manner to go unmolested portends Destruction to their neighbours who are weel affected in so much that part of the Best Highland Possession belonging to Sir H. Munro [of Foulis] and his uncles Estates will be unpossessed all this term as no tennent in such circumstances will agree to possess them.

This letter was sent by the Duke of Newcastle (through General Huske) to Major General Blakeney on 27th March 1747. The Duke stated that it had been delivered to him by Sir Harry Munro and that

the Behaviour of these Rebels, being unmolested by his Majesty's Troops, did prevent the Tenants in those parts from taking of Farms whereby the well affected Highlands were almost unpossessed. His Majesty was extremely surprised at these Accounts, and I am to signify to you His Pleasure, that you should forthwith enquire into the severall Tracts contained in the inclosed letter and send some of his Majesty's Forces into those Parts . . . to secure all little Parties of the Rebels . . . and give all possible protection to the People . . . particularly to the Tenants belonging to Lord Fortross and Sr. Harry Monro or any other of His Majesty's faithfull subjects, who may want to be protected from the Rebels.

General Huske's letter on the subject dated from Edinburgh 31st March 1747 is as follows.

Sir

Yours of the 27th I am favoured with, and have in obedience to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle's commands forwarded His letter to M. Genll. Blakeney to Inverness. I think it looks a little extraordinary if the information from Dingwall should be sent to His Grace without acquainting Genll. Blakeney of their complaints. I wish it may not be Lord Fortross own people that have committed the outrages complained of, as most of His people was in the Rebellion headed by Lord Cromarty; none of the King's Troops is in that part of the Country as His R.H. the Duke did not think it necessary.

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Lord Stair was so bad for these two days past that his death was expected every hour, is now something easier, but I believe it's impossible he can get over it.

I beg you will assure His Grace of my most humble respects, and am

Sr

Your friend and most humble

Servant

John Huske.

(8) MAINLY CONCERNING LORD LOVAT.

Simon, Lord Lovat, was condemned to death 18th March 1747. Accounts of the trial are too well known to require repetition, but the following letter gives one more version of part of the proceedings.

From Andrew Mitchell to the President dated from London 12th and 14th March 1747

My dear Lord

As I wrote your Lordship an account [not found] of the evidence against Lord Lovat on the 10th I shall now endeavour to give you a view of Secretary Murray's examination as far as my memory can serve. persuaded that you will have a more perfect one from some that took notes at the trial.

In the month of February 1742, he was first made acquainted with the transactions that were going on among the Jacobites in Scotland by the Earl of Traquair who showed him some letters dated at Paris from Drummond of Buchwaldie concerning these affairs; afterwards he had a meeting with the said Drummond, Lord Perth and Lord Traquair, at which they told him that in 1739 Drummond had been sent over to Paris with an association signed by Lord Traquair, his brother, Lochiel, D. of Perth, Lord John Drummond, the elder, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck and Lord Lovat, that he had had several conferences with Card. Fleury and some other of the French Ministers, that the Cardinal had assured Drummond that the King of France would support the interests of the Pretender and endeavour to establish him by an invasion, on Scotland and England at the same time, but that the Cardinal thought that a body of Swedish troops would be more acceptable to the Scots because of their religion, than if any French troops were sent into Scotland and that it was proposed that somebody should be sent from Scotland to accompany the person to be sent from France to Sweden to negotiate these troops; this commission was offered to Murray but he declined it; soon after a memorial was drawn up containing the names of such persons as would favour an invasion, and a computation of the numbers that might be raised to support it in Scotland, and Buchwaldie set out for Paris in order to show this memorial to the French Ministers. That at different times in the year 1742 Lord Traquair showed him letters from Buchwaldie, containing accounts of his progress and success at the Court of France, that some of these letters not being consistent with others, it was thought proper by Lord Traquair, Lochiel and the D. of Perth to send somebody to Paris to enquire into the state of their affairs, that Murray accordingly went thither in December 1742; that at Paris he was introduced to Lord Semple by Buchwaldie, and afterwards had an audience of Cardinal Tencin with whom nothing material passed, that afterwards he took lodgings at Versailles and was introduced by Semple to Monsieur Amelot, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, with whom he had several conferences, that Mr Amelot assured him of his master's

intentions to support the interest of the Pretender in Britain, so soon as an occasion should offer; he told him at the same time that Card. Fleury had intended an invasion from Flanders the year before, but that the design was prevented by an order from Court to Marechal Maillebois to march towards Hanover, that the French ministry were still hearty in the P. cause and that the King had ordered him to assure him that he had the Pretender's interest as much at heart as his own, but that it was necessary to know what assistance might be expected from England and Scotland among the Pretender's friends. Buchwaldie and he came soon after this to London (in the month of March 1743) for that purpose; and in the beginning of April Murray met with the D. of Perth at York, who did not approve of the negotiations at Paris: about the beginning of April he saw Lord Traquair at Edinburgh, and gave him an account of what had passed at Paris, and of Drummond's bussiness in England, that soon after Lord Traquair set out for London, and remained in England till autumn 1743, that on his return, he told Murray that he had had several meetings with Lord Barrymore, Sir Watkin Williams and Sir John Hynd Cotton, that they appeared shy, particularly Cotton did not care to talk on the subject and refused absolutely to sign and seal. That the Earl told him that one, Buttler, was sent into England under pretence of buying horses, but really to sound the intentions of the Party in England in conjunction with Drummond, that they both went away satisfied, and Drummond went to Rome to shew the memorial above mentioned, and to give an account of the negotiations in England. That in the end of summer or beginning of autumn 1743 Drummond returned to Paris with fresh instructions from Rome, that he wrote to Lord Traquair who shewed him the letters; that the scheme proposed then to be executed was, that 3000 French should be sent from Dunkirk to Scotland, under the command of the Earl Marshall, that 1500 of them were to land at Inverness, and the other 1500 in the West of Scotland, who were to be commanded by Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, and that 10,000 regular troops were about the same time to land as near London as possible,

under the command of the Marachal de Saxe, that Drummond after he had given an account of this plan in one of his letters, added by way of postscript that he did not know how the troops under Earl Marshall could get to Scotland; this and other such hints occasioned a diffidence in the managers in Scotland, so that Lord Traquair etc desired Murray to answer Drummond's letter, which he did, and they receiving no satisfaction, it was resolved to send Murray in the spring to Paris. That he set out in April or May 1744 and passed through London, he then went to the army in Flanders and afterwards into Holland and from thence to Paris, that at Paris he was introduced to the young Pretender at the house of Aeneas Macdonald, a banquier, that he afterwards had a private audience of the young Pretender, in which he told him that Semple and Drummond were deceiving him, that not above 4500 could possibly be raised in Scotland, that the country was not well inclined to him, that the numbers they had set down in the memorial were not to be depended upon, that things were not then ripe for a rising; he therefore endeavoured to dissuade him from an invasion, that the young P. seemed resolved to risk it, and said that if the French King did not attempt something soon in his favour, he would venture coming amongst them with a single servant only. That he had much reasoning to the same purpose with Mr Sheridan who promised to endeavour to the utmost of his power to dissuade from the attempt. I do not remember whether Murray returned to Britain in the end of 1744 or about March 1745. He had no notice of the young P's resolution of coming that year till about the middle of June 1745, which he received in a letter, telling him that he would be there in July, in which the signals to be made on the western coast were marked; he communicated this to Lord Traquair, the D. of Perth, Lochiel, and copies were taken and sent to their friends along that coast. The young Pretender had been landed some weeks before he had notice of it and then only by an anonymous letter desiring him to repair to the house of Lord John Drummond, the elder, which he understood and immediately complied with.

In the month of August after he had joined his master he received a message from Lord Lovat, pressing the delivery of certain patents and commissions, which he mentioned to the young Pretender, who directed him to make the best excuse he could, and to tell Lord Lovat that the patent and commission were signed, but had been left with other baggage about 10 miles behind them, on their hearing that Sir J. Cope was marching into that country, but he does not remember whether he wrote to Lord Lovat or only sent excuses by his Lordship's messenger. That at Edinburgh after the battle of Prestonpans he received a letter from Lovat with one to the young Pretender, full of assurances etc etc and there was a hint in the letter, referring him to the bearer of the letter; who had instructions to insist for the patent and commission, that Kelly upon this had orders to write out a patent or commission, he does not know which, but saw him writing it, nor does he know if it was delivered.

That after the Battle of Culloden Lovat met with 10 or 12 chiefs of the rebels at — and by accident, for they did not expect him. That Lochiel was much pleased that they could have Lovat's advice, that then it was agreed to raise 3500 men for the protection and defence of the country, i.e. against the King's troops, that Lovat thought that number sufficient, and as large as could be subsisted, that his proportion was 400 who were to be under the Master of Lovat's orders, that he, Lord Lovat, ordered his secretary to write to the Master in Murray's name, but Murray did not see the letter, that Murray's clerk paid £70 to Lord Lovat's servant as pay for 400 for 10 days, that this was paid in the same room where the chiefs met, but he does not know whether Lovat saw it paid, tho' he was in the room.

That about 10 days after this he heard that only 500 of the above number of 3500 had been gathered, that soon after he left that country, and never saw the prisoner till now. That about that time 45,000 louis d'or had been landed on the west coast out of which he paid the money for the new levies.

Being asked whether he had ever distributed any letters from the young P. which were sent him undirected, he said he had brought three or four with him from Paris, and that he received

others afterwards, but did not remember the number, that each of these letters had a credential annexed—that he delivered one of these letters to Macleod, and sent another to Sir A. Macdonald, but does not know whether he received it, that one went to the Duke of Perth and he sent several to Lochiel.

14th March. Before reading over this account I am sensible it is extremely defective, though I was well placed and extremely attentive at the tryal, but as it is, accept of it for your amusement.

Mr Murray's behaviour really surprised me, he spoke at first a little too fast, but he possessed himself the whole time, and was not disconcerted by the interruptions and rubs he met with, and there appeared an accuracy, distinctness, and consistency in the whole of his evidence which nothing but truth and a good understanding can produce.

He made no use of any papers to refresh his memory and the examination including the interruptions lasted about two hours.

When he had named the three English gentlemen above mentioned, he was interrupted by Lord Talbot in a ruff manner; he happened to say that he had "been directed," on this Lord Cholmondeley said he ought to declare by whom he had been directed. Sir Wm. Yonge said he had had no directions from the managers for that they had examined him only with regard to Lord Lovat, and that what he had now said was entirely new to them. Murray being again asked by whom he had been directed said that after the managers had been with him, a person came to him, who had officiated as their secretary, to know if he had recollected any thing material since he had seen the managers and that that person desired him to give an account of the rise etc of the rebellion when he came before the house of Lords, and indeed the question Mr Noel put to him lead him naturally to do it. The Lord H. Steward desired him to go on without giving offence.

My Lord Talbot with more warmth than knowledge asked several questions, viz whether he was a voluntary witness; he desired the term to be explained, and then said that he never had any promise of a pardon, but if he had had a pardon he must and

would have answered as he had done though in an other situation he should have been sorry to appear as a witness against Lord Lovat etc. Being asked whether he surrendered, he said he did, for he could have killed two Dragoons having arms in his possession and the door shut, but he chose to surrender, tho' he owned he did not then intend to have surrendered. Upon this Lord Talbot said that he neither doubted the gentleman's courage nor humanity etc. It is needless to trouble you with the squabble between the managers and the noble Lord before the questions were put.

Then Hugh Fraser of Dongallan was called, who swore that Lovat had engaged him to accept of a company, that he knew of and directed the clan to rise, that he sent the firey cross about to raise the clan, that Lord Lovat had forced his son, that he believed the clan would not have followed the son without my Lord's directions, that the Prince's health was drunk at his table etc.

Two stewards of my Lords were afterwards examined, they were very tender of their Lord, but they confessed his drinking of healths, ordering of bell tents and other warlike stores to be made and sent his clan after they had marched to Perth to join the pretender, his receiving and entertaining the officers that commanded his men etc etc.

Another witness confirmed several particulars already mentioned, but told that he saw the Master burn his white cockade and that he believed him very unwilling to engage.

Then a blacksmith was called who was so stupid that the managers were ashamed to examine him after he had been sworn, which pleased Lovat greatly.

The house adjourned to Friday, and it was said there would be a motion on Thursday in the house of Commons concerning the naming of members etc but they have not yet made any.

Imperfect as the above account is, what follows will be still more so, as I have it only by hearsay, not being able to attend the tryal.

On Friday an other Fraser who had been his secretary and was wounded was examined and his evidence was very strong,

as to the forcing his son, raising his clan, corresponding with Murray, the P. sec., Lochiel etc.

Two servants of Murray's confirmed the fact of Lovat's meeting with the clans after the Battle of Culloden, and agreeing to the raising his men etc.

Sir E. Fawkner gave an account of what passed between Lovat and him which no doubt you have heard from Sir E. My Lord being asked whether he had any question to put to Sir E. answered no, that he was that gentleman's humble servant, and wished him joy of his young wife.

I need give you no account of the written evidence that was produced as I imagine you may have seen it at Inverness or London, a letter was read of Lovats to Secretary Murray, one to the young Pretender, and one to Lochiel in which he complains highly of Macleod's deserting and deceiving of him, and sets forth at length the horrid imprecations with which Macleod had loaded himself (when Lovat saw him last) if he did not join with the Frasers in the Rebellion. I am sorry our friend was in the house, when this letter was read, it occasions much reflexion and abuse, and as the proper conduct on such an occasion, is extremely delicate, pray give him your advice.

Sir John Strange is to sum up next Monday, and I suppose Murray will again be called to prove the letter etc. The solicitor is reserved for the reply after Lovat has made his defence.

Yesterday I am honoured with yours of the 7th of which I shall make the best use, at present no body thinks or talks of any thing but the trial. The clause about the Baron Courts bids fair to make the whole bill miscarry, the compensation though ever so moderate will amount to an immense sum and no body will be pleased or think himself paid. I shall write soon. Believe me ever yours

A. Mitchell.

Macleod was placed in an awkward position. The last time he had seen Lovat he had for the moment deliberately deceived him with a view to gaining time—also perhaps because he was in Beaufort.

The President was one of the few who knew the truth. At the trial Lovat proposed to call MacLeod as a witness, and leave was given; but,

having been told that questions could be put to the witness by the other side as well, he saw fit to withdraw from this idea: (see D. N. Mackay, "Trial of Lord Lovat," pp. 338 and 247). MacLeod's evidence must have been fatal.

Writing 9 April 1747 William Grant told the President

This day your old acquaintance Lovat, whose real character and history I believe nobody knew better than your Lordship made his exit with great constancy and decency as I am told. (Hist. MSS. Com. Laing MSS. vol. II. p. 392).

On the same date Sir Arthur Forbes wrote

Its astonishing with what resolution and sang-froid Lovat dyed today Tho MacLeod could write you many more things (at least as I suppose), he desires to be excused till Saturday, ("Culloden Papers" CCCXLV).

Whatever MacLeod may have said on this subject has not survived. He had written in very ordinary fashion two days previously, 7 April, to the President from London.

My dear Lord

You've been so silent of late that I imagine either some of my letters have miscarried or that some parts of them you do not like to answer. I write this att Sr Arthur's desire to beg you speak to some of the commissioners of the Customs to re examine Rannie the King's cooper at Leith's conduct during the time of the late Rebellion. Mr Scroop says its what they may do, and I believe they are wrote to about it. If [undecipherable] has been spoke to to take the command in Scotland I wish he would, as I dare say he would do the service well and be agreeable to the country.

We expect great news soon from Flanders as the Duke is by this time in the field. Midly's [Medley] success in takeing and dispersing the French transports going to Genoa gave high spirits att Court. I ever am Yours

Normand MacLeod.

On 11th April Brodie of Brodie, Lord Lyon, wrote to the President from London. The letter is printed in "Culloden Papers" (CCCXLVI) but a long paragraph has been omitted and also the endorsement (which refers to it)—"The Lyon's letter acknowledging his ingratitude to My Father." It is here reprinted in full.

My good Lord,

As Sir Arthur and McLeod write to you so frequently the occurrences here, I need not trouble you with a repetition of them; especially as, since Tuesday last, there has nothing remarkable happened, except Lovat's dying with courage and decency, forgiving all Mankind. He, I am told, blamed your Lordship & McLeod for somewhat; but I have not heard the particular. I hear, he blamed Gortuleg, to whose care he trusted some of the papers produced against him; and said, that Gortuleg was a Pupil or a Spy of your Lop and McLeod. Sir Lud. Grant tells me, he regrated ever having differed with his Family; and that his pro- vocation agt Sir James Grant was, that your Lop told him, Sir James had solicited to take away his Company from him. Meantime this trouble is chiefly to acknowledge with great gratitude your favours in recommending me to your friends of the Town of Inverness, which I am sure will effectually secure my seat in Parliament, without owning any obligation to any body else. My Lord, I do assure you upon my honour that when I reflect upon my former ingratitude to your Lordship it is the most disagreeable idea that can possibly present itself to my view and makes me detest myself. So all I shall therefore say on the subject so displeasing to me is that I hope by more years and experience I am taught not to be so easily bit again, and therefore I do think I may be able to promise upon my future gratitude, when so thoroly convinced of former ingratitude. And so I hope I may sincerely declare that I have the honour to be with sincere respect and regard

My good Lord

Your Lordship's most faithful most
obedient and most obliged humble servant

Alexr Brodie.

Brodie duly represented the Inverness Burghs from 1747 till his death. The importance, however, of the above letter lies in its reference to Lovat and MacLeod, which may serve as an introduction to the following from a copy now among the Fraser-Mackintosh MSS. in the Register House. The document from which the copy was made was itself a copy, being headed "A copy of a letter from S of M n to his Friend att Edinburgh." The writer was Robert Scheviz, sometime of Muirtown, and the letter is dated from Inverness 2 May 1748. Scheviz was one of the witnesses against Lord Lovat—no proof whatever has been found for the assertions he makes. When Lovat was asked whether he had any questions to ask that witness he replied "My Lords, he has said so many false and wicked things that I do not know what questions to ask him or where to begin." (D. N. Mackay, "Trial of Lord Lovat").

Sir,

I was very unwilling to write you on a subject so much to the dislike of some people and which may offend iff made known to them yett for your satisfaction and if possible to clear my own character once unsullied I Laid aside my Scruples and in these few Lines endeavour to regain the good opinion of my Countrymen and Friends and in the old Scots Phrase Lay the Saddle on the right Horss as I find now to my sáde Experience that my being Witness against the Late L[or]D L[ova]t has gone pretty far to Ruin my Reputation as well as my Interest I must in justice to my Selve and to my Posterity Lett the world know the reson which Induced me to become an Evidence and that the facts may be understood and the Candid Reader with Impartiality Judge I must begin this short history of my Life as far back as the year 1741. In that year the L[or]D L[ova]t at the Desire of some of his Political Parliamentary friends resolved to have the L[air]D of McL [MacLeod] in Parliament and tho Sir J[ame]s G[ran]t was L[or]D L[ovt]t Brother in Law and then sitting member for the county of Inverness and made the Interest and Countenance of the M[inist]ry and the Disposal of several Commissions in the Army such was L[or]D L[ova]ts power and address that he got Sir J[ame]s Turned out and McL[eo]d Elected in his place. I was then a voter in that County and much inclined to support Sir J[ame]s G[ran]t's Interest however by

the interest L[or]D L[ova]t had in me the advance of a little money by himself and his Doers and the Pompous promise from the L[air]D of McL[eo]D att this Election this introduced Great intimacies and Friendship betwixt me and the new member and he having been frequently at the L[or]D L[ova]ts howss I was made one of the party known in some Degree to the Political Transactions of the noble L[or]D and his guest. I had Likewise seen and read a good deal of the correspondence betwixt my L[or]D and the new member prior to Augt. 1745. I had also share of my L[or]Ds confidence and received from him some marks of friendship which ended with my not complying with his Will in the affairs transacted in the country in the 1745, after the battle of Culloden I had frequent conferences with the L[or]D L[y]on and another Gentleman of Distinction and then without reserve I told what I knew of my L[or]D L[ova]ts accession to the Late Rebellion. I had then no thought of being made a witness to Destroy the man to whom I owed many obligations. I was so unfortunat to be too open Particularly to the L[or]d L[y]on who in conjunction with m[c]L[eo]D Discovered all my conversation and what they themselves know of my L[or]D L[ova]ts intrigues to those employed in the Governments service I was then attacked from all corners to give Evidence against my L[or]D L[ova]t Particularly by the L[or]D L[y]on and M[ac]L[eo]D they told me it would be the greatest service done to the family of L[ova]t to have the old man beheaded which would save the son, this was the constant language and even inforced by some of those whom I looked upon to be friends to that unhappy family this induced me to make an open breast and not only agreed to be a witness against my L[or]D but I became a Sollicitor advising Severalls to Join with me to be Evidence for the Crown. I gave notice of several persons proper to be brought Evidence against the unfortunat L[or]D att the same time I was put upon my guard not to give up in the list two or three persons because if they were brought to the bar they behooved consistant with truth to mention m[ac]L[eo]d and make him accessory to L[or]D L[ova]ts treasonable practices in many strange instances and iff I had been my Self Examened

upon that point I could have discovered more of that Gentlemans Intrigues than could have hangd him and twenty Lairds but as I apprehend he had made up his peace with the m[inist]ry no questions was asked concerning him when the witnesses were brought to Inverness and Examined by Kil[ravoc]k who then became a violent enemy to L[or]d L[ova]t as appeared by his conduct in accepting an office which must remain for ever a Blot in his Scutcheon and great is the pity considering his family and the unsullied character of his heir and Successur I say when these witnesses were Examined I was very assistant in making up the proper Questions to be put to them, some of the witnesses were sent to prison for not complying others were threatened and even there houses burnt and their cattle Driven away for not attending Kil[ravoc]ks Court, these things having alarmed some Gentlemen in the Government they sent a fresh Agent from Edinburgh to Inverness who they thought hade more law and less violence in his temper than the managers of the new Court att Inverness and he prevailed on Severals to sett out from Inverness to London to be Evidence against the L[or]d L[ova]t. I was then preparing for my Journey but having neither the Language of England nor countenance Enough to appear befor such a Solemn Court to Give a long History of transactions for some years past I waited of a Revd m[iniste]r of the G[ospe]l who very generously sett down from my own notes all I hade to say in clear and Distinct order and to him I was so much obliged for my regular conduct att the bar, on my arrival att London I communicate to my L[or]d L[yo]n what I was to say of which he approved and after being examined by the Sollr for the Crown I and the other Witnesses were confined to a mess[enge]rs Howss till the day of the tryall and what Happened at the tryall it is needless to inform you as you are too well acquainted with itt already, there was one circumstance however that happened in course of my Examination which gives me great pain. I was asked by a noble Lord iff I held any Lands of the L[or]d L[ova]t by tack or other ways, iff I was owing him any money or rent. to which I answered in the negative particularly with Respect to a tak or Rent, the fact is I had a Sett from L[or]d L[ova]t of

some Lands near the Kirk of Kilmorak and give my bill to my L[or]ds Chamberlain for the Rent of these Lands and which I believe stands in his hands still unpaid, this fact I am obliged to explain to prevent the calumny thrown out against me as iff I had willfully perjured my self I never would have answered In the negative had I understood the meaning of the noble Lords question but as I was neither master of the English Language nor understood the English Lord that asked the Question I un-luckily answered in the negative. After L[or]d L[ova]ts Sentence and Execution I had frequent meetings with the Instruments of my Disgrace they made me still believe I was to have a nominall Post for Life but behold the cheat, one of these Persons I have reason to believe Received a Large Sume of monay to be given to me of which he has thought fitt not to communicate a penny to me to this Hour. I was forced for want of money to Remain with a Broken Leg in a privat hole att London to avoid the force of Dilligence from a Gentleman who was once my friend and I believe had no other Quarral att me than my be-coming Evidence agt his friend, Remaining in this unhappy Situation I Received notice from the L[air]d of M[ac]Ld to repair furthwith to Scotland to attend his Election att Inverness that on my arrival att Edinburgh my charges would be paid me and something more for discharging my pressing debts. I sett out from London with my Brother in Law the [?] young L[air]d of D[unballo]ch in a post chaise and on our arrival att Edinburgh the L[air]d of m[c]ld [MacLeod's] doer attended us and from him we received orders concerning our further journey to Inverness where I was to receive Everything to my mind, butt soon after our arrival there we found Major G[ran]t who had opposed M[ac]Ld [MacLeod] give up his pretensions to the Elec-tion because the F[raser]s who had the Ballance of Power in there hands declared for M[ac]L[eo]d not from any real affec-tion for him butt for another consideration which I wish may answer there expectations. For this Situation I was so far from meeting with the kindly Reception I expected from the people of that Place that every Body there Except a few Lookd upon me with an Evil Eye and my very old intimate friends Denyd

my embraces. I immediately Repaired to [Thomas Fraser of] D[unballo]chs hous in my way to my own hous but to my surprise the hous was Surrounded by some hundreds of women and men in womans Cloaths threatening to pull down the hous unless I was delivered up to their fury and nothing could have prevented my falling a sacrifice to there wrath but a Detachment of the Army from Inverness who came just in time to my relief and they conducted me safe to Inverness, no sooner had I arrived there than I was attacked by the Law Artillery Hornings and Captions were my daily companions and nothing prevented my being put in Prison but the Interposition of one or two of my friends, I was promised Great assistance from M[ac]L[eo]d my debts were to be paid my famiily suported but how soon his turn was over all his promises vanished and I will make no other Remarks on his Conduct than to think with others that his Conduct of late years has Rendered him Rather the object of pity than the object of there Resentment, he is neglected by his friends Despised and Rediculd by all Partys and in that unlucky situation I Leave him, but to return to my own case I am now in a Town where I dare not appear on the Street without the Risque of my life I dare not venture to my own Country without the imminent Hazzard of my own Life I am now forced to part with my little interest in that Country att a price far below the value and tho the Suspension of Dilligence Lately procured for me may prevent my person being thrown into goal yet my Liberty is for ever confined, all these misfortunes are brought upon me by my appearing Witness at L[or]D L[ova]ts Trial, happy were it for me had I followed the advice of a Gentleman att London who easily for saw the misery which was to follow my Conduct but unlucky for me I neglected that advice and followed the advice of men of Dissimulation and Treachery who I now see but too late have laid aside all sence of honour and Good principals and Sacrificed these and my Interest to there own wicked ends I am now obligd to avoid greater mischief to retire to the utmost corner of the [possibly Earl of Sutherland's] Territorys and there remain if my Enemy shall allow me during the Remaining part of my Life reflecting with horror and Dettestation

of my own Late Conduct incessantly Praying forgiveness to the two Gentlemen so oft repeated in this Letter who were the cause of my misfortunes as much as there own Eternal Disgrace. I have att Large Sett down by way of Memoirs the Transactions of the times from the 1736 to the 1747 and these I will communicate to you in proper time wherein you will see the naked truth and at the same time Discoverys made of Persons and circumstances that will surprise you, Some of the friends of the family of L[ova]t are become my persecutors I wish they would Examine into the Conduct of some of there own clan partly known by there actions and some still behind the Courtain who were in the Secrets of there Chief and trusted by him and there malice against me ought att Least to Divide and they share of itt, these Gentlemen last mentioned I painted in there true colours in my memoirs. I have thus given you a Short Detail in way of abridgment of my memoirs for your satisfaction and others who may have an inclination or time to Examine into my Conduct and I hope sometime after this to furnish you with a Larger Subject more to your taste than this can be and I ever am

Your obligd and most faithfull & most
obedient Servt

(Signed) R[obert] S[cheviz]

That Lovat's fate found sympathy in many quarters is amply proved. Even Hugh Inglis, a staunch supporter of the Government, could write from London 9 April 1747, to his friend, Gilbert Gordon,

Poor Lovat suffers this day. Severalls of our countrymen have behaved like villains at the tryall.

Two days later, 11 April, he penned the well-known letter, addressed to the same correspondent at Inverness.

My Dr Sir

I wrote you by last post & now as then, can give you but poor encouragement with regard to our fishing. Never poor people were so unlucky as to the sale, still large quantities arriving daily. Rob, Rodger is not yet come up, what has happened in his ad-

ventures is still a mystery to me, Tho' there will be no difficulty in recovering the Insur. I houp. Poor Lord Lovat was beheaded a few hours after writing my last. He behaved like ane old true Duelnach, quite undaunted even to the last. Made several witty speeches, which seems quite agreeable to the bulk of the people. His corpse is to be brought down by the Pleadger, I have been looking out for another sloop, but none to be had worth buying.

I expect to be loaded this insueing week, and if our old good luck continues, I houp to be with you soon. My best wishes to good Mrs Gordon, and all true Friends

I am Dr. Sir

Yours for ever

Hugh Inglis.

This letter for long furnished evidence that Lovat's body actually had been removed from the Tower and brought to Kirkhill, but this assertion has since been disproved.

From Lord Hardwicke to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Powis House, 12th April 1747, "at night." (Newcastle Papers)

My Dear Lord

Your Grace will pardon me for taking the liberty to acquaint you with what I have heard relating to a Story, which runs about Town of leave having been given to carry Lord Lovat's body to be buried at Castle-downie. Lord Findlater tells me it may probably endanger the public Peace in that part of the Country. Highland Funerals are allways attended with vast numbers of People, often tumultuous and riotous; and on this occasion, it is said Industry has been used beforehand to make it so. This information may make it not improper at least to enquire into the circumstances.

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Ever Yours

Hardwicke.

(9) MISCELLANEOUS, APRIL TO SEPTEMBER 1747

The Heritable Jurisdictions Bill, which was passed in 1747, was not the work of the Court of Session, which had declined to comply with an order from the House of Lords to this effect. Suggestions, however, had been made and the President had occupied himself with the matter. The following holograph letter, perhaps to Lord Hardwicke, is dated from Stoneyhill 28 April 1747.

My Lord

This morning I had the very obliging letter which your Lop did me the honour to write to me from Twickenham of the 23rd with a very needless excuse for your not having sooner answered a Letter of mine of an old date, and with a defence still more unnecessary of yourself, against misrepresentations, which you suspect, may have been made of your conduct, in relation to the Bill now pending. With respect to the last, the just esteem I have for your Lop, is too well known to High and Low in the Country, to permit any misrepresentations of your conduct, to find their way to me, and if they did the familiar acquaintance with which your Lop, has for many years honoured me with, and the perfect knowledge I have of your motives and manner of acting, in everything that relates to the good of the Publick, would secure my mind against being touched by any such False Representations, should any Fool be hardy enough to fling them out. The sphere in which my good stars have confined me to Act, has been always narrow, and therefore few of my little transactions have fallen within the publick ken, but if your Lop was as well acquainted with the Principals that guide me, as I am with these that determine you, I sh. not tho' I have the honour to have some Detractors of note, fear that their misrepresentations would stick with your Lop, on the contrary I am satisfied when I leave this World, you would say you had lost a Friend. As to the first, when Recess from the Business of the Court to which I belong, gave me Leisure to trouble your Lop, with a very long Letter, about the Jurisdiction Bill, I know I was writing to a man who had not a minute to bestow on Ceremony hardly two to bestow on the common exigencies of life. I

trusted that your Lop would from the Principle that guides you, not only take it in good Part, but consider it so far as suggested anything for the Publick Service. But I had no notion that your Lop was to sit down to make a regular answer, and I see with some satisfaction, that some Parts of the Bill to which I had objections are altered, the others in Respect to which my Reflexions have not made such Impressions, are not. As to the main scope of the Bill, your Lop knows perfectly well my sentiments. I feel your Lop's motives, and think the end desirable nor have I ever anywhere held a different Language. The only article ever I doubted of on this head, was, the expediency. I proposed my doubts to those concerned in taking the Resolution, as my duty required. But as they are much better judges, than I am, of what is or is not fit to be done, there I left it, and have never signified a different opinion. What your Lop suggests, as matter fit to produce laughter, were to be explained in conversation, I guess at, and I must confess I have heard of some things, that made me laugh in my sleeve, as the saying is, in this Country, and I should have been surprised at them, if anything that comes from that quarter could surprise me.

As to the project, which I consider but as accessory to the main design of the Bill of trying small Civil Causes at the Circuits, I exposed my sentiments to your Lop heretofore. The scheme then devised, of bringing those Causes to be tried in the Form of suspensions has been changed, but then it has been most certainly changed for a worse. Appeals, at the Discretion of the litigious, will produce, much, and what is worse irreparable mischief, to the Lower Class of Mankind. But I have wrote so much on this subject to our Lord Advocate, whose complaisance against his own opinion I blame, but who, I hope, will be so just to your Lop, and to this poor Country as to impart the advices he has received. But I flatter myself this part of the Bill will be dropped in the Committee. If that should not be the case, I look upon the thing to be of so much consequence, that I can venture to conjure your Lop. by those interests which you have most at heart, Your own Fame, and the concerns of the

Helpless, to consider it well before it pass the House of Lords. If my Lord Advocate has omitted to shew your Lop, what I wrote to him, I can send you copys. The Liberty which I have already used, is full Proof, that I believe you look upon me, as being what I most certainly am, your Lops

Most Faithfull and most obedient
humble Servant

From the President [to Henry Pelham] dated from Stoneyhill, 11th May 1747.

Dear Sir

When I tell you that I feel myself hurt, by a Resolution you can alter, you will not wonder that I apply to you. Upon the death of the late Surveyor General of the Customs at the Port of Inverness, I recommended a very honest man to succeed him. Mr Brodie, the Lord Lyon recommended another, and the Competition between us was I presume the reason, that the office was kept vacant since last May. I am now informed it is to be sunk, as unnecessary and as having been created many years ago only to oblige my Brother. If this suggestion has been the cause of Dropping the Office, I am not without hopes that the resolution may be altered, because it is undoubtedly false. The Officer first appointed was indeed named by Sir R. W[alpole] to oblige my Brother, and the Private History of that Transaction was merry enough. But as to the office its self, I had laboured for years to have it granted, as the only possible means, of restraining the unbounded smuggling, which destroyed the Revenue, as well as the large Country which lies on both sides of the Murray Firth, and I take upon me to say that in the hands of an honest man, it must be of very Great Service, whereas without it, or some more expensive Guard the Prevention of Smuggling is impossible. What I write on this subject (Pardon my Vanity) is the more to be considered, that I have contributed more to the support of the Revenue, than any. Perhaps more than all my Countrymen put together, and I hope you know me, so well as to believe, that I Scorn to say what is not true, in a serious matter.

If what I have taken the liberty to suggest, makes that impression upon you which I flatter myself it may, as to the utility of the Office, I believe you will meet with no difficulty from Mr Brodie as to the Nomination of the Officer, having reasons to think he will concur with my Request.

The Information I have had from Publick Report that Earl Loudoun's Highland Regiment is to be sent abroad, gives me some uneasiness, as it leaves the communication, between the attainted Rebels, abroad and their Friends in the Highlands, open, to all intents and purposes. But I am hopeful as that danger must have been foreseen, measures may have been taken to prevent it. I wish effectual ones may.

All I have further to say is to ask your Pardon for my Presumption, and to assure you that I am with a very warm sense of your Friendship

Dear Sir,

Your most faithful and
most obedient humble Servant

As Brodie of Brodie, Lord Lyon, was then nursing the Inverness Burghs his concurrence with the Lord President in the matter of the above mentioned appointment is easily accounted for. See his letter of 9th June 1747, which follows.

Andrew (afterwards Sir Andrew) Mitchell, (through his wife) of Thainston, a great friend and admirer of the President, had already written, 6th April 1747, to him on the subject of entering parliament ("Culloden Papers" DXXXII). In this he was successful, representing Aberdeenshire from 1747 to 1754 and afterwards the Elgin Burghs. He is best known from his association with Frederick the Great at Berlin, at which Court he was Ambassador from 1765 till his death there in 1771. The following is dated from London 22nd May 1747.

My dear Lord

As I wrote to you last night by post, I give you this trouble by an express which goes directed to Mr Tho: Fairholm. The reason of it is fairly this, upon a notice I had from Scotland of an intention to dissolve the Parliament at the end of this Session, I have made enquiry here, and I find that that matter has actually

been in deliberation and may possibly take effect, But as this is not certain I must desire the favour of you not to mention it to anybody) and therefore there is no time to be lost with regard to settling matters in the country. Sir Arthur [Forbes] is still of opinion that if Lord Braco could be secured all will be well, but how to bring this about I must leave to your Lop. and him, who I know have my concerns sincerely at Heart. The great difficulty appears to me to be the breaking of this affair properly to the County, and for fear of giving any offence, the best expedient that occurs to me is, that Sir Arthur may show the enclosed letter which is calculated chiefly for Lord Braco, I have sent it under your Lordship's cover that you may if you approve of it, forward it to him with proper direction, and if you do not, I desire you will destroy the letter and tell me what I should do, or advise Sir Arthur directly what he ought to do, for you know whatever is your opinion will be mine.

I have had much trouble and long waiting before I could procure a proper opportunity to explain my affair to the D. of Newcastle, but I had no sooner done it, than he gave me the strongest assurances of assistance and support, I have since been with Mr Pelham, and he has concurred as heartily as his brother, and gave me leave to acquaint my friends. From both I have the most solemn promises that it shall not be mentioned to any person whatever, but with my leave, and that it shall be declared in any manner that I shall direct. Mr Pelham told me that he had never given his approbation of Sir Archd. Grants offering himself a Candidate for the County, and gave for his reason that Sir Arthur was a man of Character and your relation. The manner that both the Gentlemen mentioned have behaved pleases me much, they have exacted no promises, and therefore bound me more strongly, and when I objected that this affair if the circumstances were known, might not only hurt me but my friends interest in the County, they assured me that no use should in any event be made of the secret that I have trusted them with. Upon the whole I thought it better fairly and openly to tell the fact as it was, than to dissemble or conceal any circumstance, and I think I have reason to believe that I

have succeeded better, than if I had taken the contrary method, and at all events I shall hurt my friend less. The fair and open path has hitherto been my Delight, and I will not depart from it. The D. of A[rgyll] neither knows nor suspects anything of the matter, and I hope before I declare to have my battery so strong that he will not attack it.

The Debate of yesterday was very extra-ordinary, neither side entered much into the question, but the D. of A[rgyll] made the most exotic speech I ever heard, had I not been informed before that he was to speak for the bill I should have thought from his facts and reasonings that he intended to vote ag't it. He began by telling the house that the people of Scotland were against the bill, he then gave a detail to show that the laws of Scotland were very imperfect, that before the union there were perpetual feuds and civil wars among the Nobility, that there was no treason law till after the union everything being deemed treason that the administration and privy council were pleased to construe to be so, yet that the Jurisdictions and powers of the nobility had been useful in preserving the Constitution ag't the attempts of the Crown, he expatiated much on the iniquity of the Privy Council, and the great abuses introduced by the manner of managing the Parliament of Scotland, which he said was not according to the modern manner of having a majority and he told the house that he had advised his predecessor to resign these great powers into the hands of the Crown, he declared that the taking them away was in no sense ag't. the Articles of the Union, he exhorted the Ministry to do more, and to make laws not from the Scots Statute book, but desired to be governed by Acts of the British parliament, he added that by this Scotland would become rich and its inhabitants become industrious, and gave for instance an Estate that he possessed in one of the Western Islands which he had improved from £500 per Annum to £2,500 per Annum. He bestowed great encomiums on the law of England, and praised the Chancellor copiously, and concluded warmly for the Bill. I forgot to tell you that he gave by the bye a very inaccurate and tedious account of the introduction of feudal tenures into Scotland. Upon

the whole the speech seemed calculated to show what might be said against the bill, and of consequence to enhance the merit of voting for it, and the dreadful description he made of Scottish policy and government, set in contrast to the wise policy and just laws of England, must give a high idea of the candour and capacity of the Speaker to an English audience, who generally think every other nation their inferiors. My Lord Tweeddale spoke well for the bill but declared against that clause of it which gives power to the circuit to try civil causes. The Earl of Morton spoke in a very manly manner agt. the bill, and declared that he thought it would not answer the end, he praised his old friend Sir Robert, and lashed both sides with great impartiality. Only 16 voted agt. the commitment of the bill.

We have no news from abroad, three more ships of the fleet dispersed by Anson are taken and brought in.

If your Lop. has leisure to give me your advice with regard to the steps to be taken here. and in what light it should be mentioned to the D. of A. you may if you think it necessary send it to Mr Fairholm with directions to be forwarded by express, and I have told him to direct the packet for a merchant in the City.

There has lately been a jumble in the administration, your friend Chesterfield gave some disgust by his ingenuous acting, but matters are now again adjusted.—there are some reports that Lord Harrington will be made general of the Marines in lieu of Ireland as the D. of Dorset wants to go there—Craufurd has got the Grays and Lord Tirawley the Govert. of Minorca. As I wrote last night to Sir Arthur I think it needless to repeat what I then said, only as I told him in a concise manner and in a sort of cypher of the encouragement I had met with perhaps your mentioning that you are satisfied on that point may be of use, everything else I leave to yourself and hope you will forgive this trouble from

Your affectionate

Andrew Mitchell.

P.S. Our friend Lyttilton has behaved in all this affair as I expected. I send you along with his compliments a pamphlet he had lately published. I think the argument ingenious, and the writing very elegant, but shall be glad to know your thoughts of it.

The first Lord Lyttelton published several works. A note to the above letter in a different handwriting indicates that it may have been his work on the Conversion of St Paul. See also "Culloden Papers" CCCXLIX.

From MacLeod to the Lord President dated from London, 23rd May 1747.

My dear Lord.

I had yours of the 11th with that to Mr Pelham and yesterday I had an hours conversation with him, he is to write you himself, but seems resolved not to revive John Baillies place for the present as there was so many different applications for it and none of the appliers seemed willing to yield to the other and he did not incline to disoblidge anie of them and that the office might be dispensed wt as not extreamlie necessarie. As to what you've said of Loudouns Highland Regiment as I formerlie told you the King has ordered the 30 (paper torn) of addition to five Companies and five ensigns and by what I can learn that is all that is to be done for the present. The ensigns are not I believe yet named. There is an allowance to raise a Dutch Regiment of two Battalions 1600 men: of wh. Lt. Drumlenrigg is Colonell Jo Stewart Lt. Collonell and Jo. Younge Major, and I believe its understood they may list common men Tho they were in the rebellion. The Jurisdiction bill was debated in the house of Peers Thursday. Tweedale was violentlie for it, but is for leaving out the clause wh. gives the Lords of Circuit power to judge in civil cases, the Duke of Argyle spoke near two hours, The judges of these things say it was a very fine, a very learned and a vary artfull Thing, he gave much good advice to those who were or should hereafter be our Ministers, he objected to the time of bringing in this Bill (but now it was too far gone to stop) he showed it would not answer the ends for wh. it was intended

but might joined with other things be a proper mean, he entered into a long detail of our Constitution and History as also of that of England, he showed that these Jurisdictions were at the time of granting them and long after the great ground work of our liberties and the strong Bulwark against Prerogative, now the Case was altered in England and Parliament was the fence of our liberties and it was proper they should be so in Scotland also, and concluded for the Bill wtout saying he would or would not be for amending anie part of it in the Committee. Moray lost his maiden head and really spoke well against it, by wh Sutherland had nigh lost fourty Guineas, for Moray beated 20 Guineas that he would speak and 20 that Sutherlanl would not speak, the money went to his heart and up he gott, said he had severall of these Jurisdictions wh. his family had gott for their Services to the Crown that he had no mind to part with them and therefore he was against committing the Bill. Moreton spoke against it, so did Beaufort and Westmorland. The D. of Montrose was dubious but divided for the Bill, for the Bill Chesterfield Berkley of Straton and Findlater, Baccleugh was the only Scots man joined the three speakers against the Bill and they had 12 Englishes with them four. I saw Mr Scroop yesterday after being with Mr Pelham, and he told me he apprehended, the matter would turn out in that way, and that a man that chooses drawing the [undecipherable] with you now and then, was at the bottom of it, and I do apprehend he is right and ever

am yours

N. M. L.

Its said the C—.t Council are to come to resolutions relative to the Master of Lovat and severall others Mounday.

From the Lord President to the Lord Advocate dated from Stonyhill 29 May 1747.

My Lord.

A Jaunt which my health obliged me to take for a few days in the Country, from which I returned only two days agoe, prevented my receiving and consequently my returning thanks sooner, for yours of the 12th, wch gives ane accott of the Juris-

diction bill as it past in the Committee; Reasoning on that subject is now late, and therefore I shall say little more, on it, then that I am under no small concern, for the Consequences of these parts of it to which I objected: The option wch the Suspender has, to resort to the Court of Session, does not cure my apprehensions, because tho a Suitor really agrieved, may prefer that methode yet a Litigious willfull Suitor, who means only to distress his adversary, and to gratify his own humour, never will, and if such a Suitor appeall capriciously, as he may, from the just sentence of a Baron, in such tryffles as are competent before the Court In most cases the appeall interposed, will be equal to an absolvitor, for lack of means to prosecute; and the small jurisdiction reserved to the Baron will thus be entirely defeated, as weel as the poorer claimants before the other Inferior Courts, must be dissappointed, after he has recovered a just Judgment, if he has not the wherewithall to follow out his rightfull demand, or judges it not prudent to lay out 20 or 30 shillings for the recovery of 5 or 6. The Limitation of the endurance, of this part of the bill, is surely some relief, the effect whereof it is not very likely I shall see; But if the operation of this bill shall be, as I very much fear it will, a stay of recovery of all petty debts, for a term of ten years, where the debiter is litigious, I doubt that term will be thought rather too long: I am confident my Lord Chancellor, does not see this matter in the light in wch. I doe; else he never would have given his consent to it, But either I have been unlucky enough not to explain mysel, or suggestions must have been made to his Lop. by other persons, to whose judgement he trusted, that obviate the difficulty mentioned by me, But which suggestions I could not remove because they were not communicated to me. His Lop. has I am certain, acted with a very safe conscience and from his candour I am hopefull, that if experience shall justify my apprehensions of this part of the Bill, it will not be permitted to leave out the ten years. at present allotted for it.

I am glad my Lord to be assured by yourself, that the charge I brought agt you of too great complaisance, was unjust, because nothing can be more dangerous, to this country, then that turn in

a man of your Lordp's character and abilitys, when the Law or Constitution of it is the Question; what made me suspect it was, that as you and I agreed in opinion, as to the absurdity of this provision, in the bill, and as your Lopp. was on the spott, able to confute and expose any false suggestion that might be offered in support of it, I could hardly conceive how the present could goe through if the proper arguments had been made use of agt. it. But if your Lopp has done all that you could doe, there surely lys noe more blame at your door than there does at mine.

As to the Shirreffs power of sitting in Civil Causes, at any time during either of the vaccations, I confess I am not satisfied with it, noe more than what I am wt. what your Lordp. suggests as to the motive to it, vizt that Shirreffs to be appointed may be at the same time, practising advocats at Edinr. But as any observations, which I have to make on this, or on what else is new in the bill, must come too late. and as I am intyrelly a stranger to what is intended, with respect to these Shireffs, I had best stope short, and end the trouble I now give you by subscribing my Selfe etc.

From Brodie of Brodie to the President, dated from London 9th June 1747.

My Good Lord

I have looked over all your Letters since I came to Town and don't find the name of Mr Hossock in any one of them but your last and therefore when I begged your Lop to explain yourself I meant only to prevent mistakes and not to give any offence which if I have done I am sorry for with all my Heart, Meantime as to my Sentiments of having not the least difference with your Lop as to yielding the Promise of that contested Employment, I refer you to what Mr Pelham has said and Mr McLeod in their Letters to you on this subject.

My Lord Notwithstanding your Lop tells me you are very glad my Election is fixed, I must still entreat for your Lop assistance to make it so.

It is true that Mr Pelham has undertaken for [Lord] Fortrose that he will be for any person that he pleased and it is as true that Mr

Pelham has wrote to him in very pressing Terms. But as he is averse to me, he has been trying Kilravock since he went home, and proposed to Kilravock to set up himself which bait has taken with the Baron a little in so much that he does not absolutely agree to the Duke of Argyll's request in my Favours, states the case and concludes with an appearance of his readiness to obey his Grace's commands. He writes to me at the same time and encloses my Letter to the Duke for his perusal wherein he says—

“Inverness is the leading Burrow and if the President had so pleased, he might in the conversation you had at Edinh of which you wrote to me have plainly told you that you was to have or was not to have that Town which I thought to be absolutely at his disposal.”

He afterwards says

“The President is not sure, or if he is, the Bussiness may be done by you and him without any other.”

My Lord The occasion of my now troubling your Lop is to beg of you to have your Directions to the Town of Inverness ready for me by the time I come to Edinh as I shall not stay above a day there, and shall be there probably when you are throng in the Session that is in the middle of the week, that is McLeod and I are to set out on Saturday the 13th and propose being at Edinh on Thursday the 18th.

I would also be obliged to your Lop if you would signify to Kilravock your inclinations for me that he may believe that your Lop is in earnest for me.

Mr Campbell is in great earnest that my election for this District may be without opposition, Because by the Dissolution of the Parliat his new votes are cut out, and so I think I may be able to carry Nairn County against him, But as he's agreeable to the administration that we should all be in Friendship with one another and assist one another, in our respective districts allotted for us, so I shall be very sorry if I shall be obliged for self-defence to give any disturbance.

My Lord before I conclude I must tell you that I am informed that your friend George Ross has had some scheme in view for the Town of Inverness and for some Friend nay I have been told

of a friend of his in the city who was to give a £1000 to purchase another Town to join Inverness, it being taken for granted by some people that P[rovost] Hossock will not agree to my being the man without my procuring him that contested employment which is not in my Power to do.

For myself I do not believe there is anything in these idle reports, but if there is your Lop can easily knock it in the Head, and if I have your Letter of Recommendation to the Town of Inverness I doubt not of having it with or without P. Hossock's consent.

Once more I beg your Lop pardon for all this Trouble which I hope your wonted Goodness will pardon from

My Good Lord
your most faithful obliged
and obedt humble sert

Alexr: Brodie.

From Lady Margaret Macdonald to the President dated from Mugstot 15 June 1747.

My Lord,

Your former goodness to many of Sir Alexander's friends, has made some of them at present put it upon me to mention them to your Lop. the Prospect of the Regiment to be soone raised for the Dutch Service has made some of our young people hope that it may be in your Lorsp's power to have them preferred to a Commission. In this view my Lord, I take the liberty to mention Lieut. Allan Macdonald, who I believe your Lop. may remember in Capt John McDonald's Company, I wou'd yet bring him more particularly to your remembrance by mentioning him by the title of Kingsborrow's Son, I confess that it is at this time an inconvenient Epethet, tho I hope with your Lop: it won't prove a stumbling block in the Road of his fortune.

Capt: McDonald of Castletown, and Ensign Donald McDonald have already been obliged to McLeod's friendship, their unexpected good luck in being so soon provided for, ought surely to satisfy me, but as I know the particular Regard Sir Alexr had for the young Gentleman, who throws himself under

your Lop's Protection, and that I shall still believe your Lorsp. retains the same kind disspositions towards all his friends, or rather more, as they have nothing now to depend on, but the value then of your Lop's Judgment must always sit upon the memory of so worthy a man as your Late friend who I know on all occasions confided so entirely in your Lop. that I can't but looke on my self and the family he has Left, as being with much Sincerity and Gratitude,

My Lord,

you Lops

Ever obdt Servt

Margt Macdonald.

From Sir Harry Munro of Foulis probably to Andrew Stone, Secretary to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Foulis Castle 2nd July 1747 (Newcastle Papers).

Sir,

Permit me to give you this trouble, the occasion of my writing will I hope apologise for me. Dureing the short time I was in Edinburgh, I visited frequently my young Friend, the unfortunate Son of the late Lord Lovat, I found him in such a temper of mind as became one under such circumstances, con̄scious of the crime he committed, and extreamly sensible of the good offices shown him by His Grace the D. of Newcastle, att the same time his health being impaired by a long and close confinement, not a little anxious to know what was to become of him. I am persuaded that few by this time are unacquainted with the compassionate disposition of His Grace the D. of Newcastle, and others of His Majesty's most honorable privy Councill toward this unhappy youth.

My Friend Sr. Lud. Grant acquaints me that he has wrote to you on the subject I now do, I beg to joyn my request, that the Duke be put in mind to move His Majesty that some resolution may be taken, to grant Mr Fraser his pardon, or if that be thought unproper to order his enlargement, Sir Ludovick Grant and myself being bail to present him when required.

I am with regard,

Sir,

your obedient and most obliged

Humble Servant, Harry Munro.

From MacLeod of MacLeod to the President dated from Inverness, 25th July 1747.

My Dear Lord

I've yours of the 21st this morning, your philosophy is good but as you resolve to be present here, I hope and think we shall have no cause to put it in practice on the Present Ocasion, I hope if you are to use my Chaise horses it will be mentioned by the Moundays Post or the one that comes in here this day Se'enight will do, no alteration has hapened here since I wrote last I find John Maule is greatly in earnest to support me and has wrote twice to his Friend the D. of Argyll on that head. This moment I've a letter from Sr Arthur [Forbes] who has been at Inveralachy, and nothing will make him oppose me but a positive request from the M[aste]r of L[ova]t and he is resolved to attend here, as [Andrew] Mitchell is quite snugg.

I am ever yours

N. Macleod.

The fact that MacLeod who had sat in Parliament for Inverness-shire from 1741 to 1747, was again elected does not point to unpopularity among the lairds who had votes, however powerful the Ministerial "wire-pulling."

From the Earl of Morton to the Duke of Newcastle, dated from Dalmahoy 27th September 1747. (Newcastle Papers).

My Lord

I'm told that the President Duncan Forbes's son is solliciting to have the Government of Inverness Castle which it seems is now vacant; his father's services are well known to your Grace and everybody else, I'm sure I may say he did more to curb the Rebellion than any one Scotchman perhaps I should not be far wrong if I said than all scotch-men put together: but his delicacy is such in what concerns himself or his family that possibly he may not apply in behalf of his son. However as the son has begun his sollicitations at his own hand, I will venture to say that if he succeeds it will be an encouragement to many of the King's

best friends in this part of the world and Perhaps a discouragement if 'tis otherwise dispos'd of. I have the honour to be with the highest esteem

My Lord
Your Grace's
Most obedient and
most Humble Servant

Morton.

If John Forbes, younger of Culloden, were making such application it does not appear from the family papers, which would seem for the most part to have been mislaid or destroyed for the latter part of the year 1747.

(10) THE END.

About the beginning of November 1747 the Lord President became very ill. The following letter (from a copy made in 1837) appears to have been written to his son at that time.

Dear John

I am very sorry for you, the great charges and expenses I have been at in supporting his Majesty in the Rebellion have far exceeded beyond the sum I thought it would have cost when I saw you last. I would advise you to go to London where I believe I may have some Friends yet. Mr Scroop, Mr Littleton and Mitchell are kind hearted and affectionate men, and they will tell the King that his faithfull servant Duncan Forbes has left you a very poor man. Farewell—May the God of Heaven and Earth bless you.

Duncan Forbes.

On 1st December he sent for William Forbes his cousin, an advocate, (of the Pittencrieff family) who later wrote to John Forbes, the President's son, an account of what passed at that time. ("Culloden Papers" CCCL, here reprinted).

Edinr, 17th March 1748.

Dr Sir,

I received your's; and in answer to that part of it, by which you want to know how your Father, on his Death Bed, expresst him-

self with regard to the losses, dammages, & expences which your Uncle the late Culloden, and his Lordship, sustain'd by the two late Rebellions in Annis 1715 & 1745; you'll please mind, that I told you, the second day after his Lordship's interment, that he had, upon the first day of December last, sent for me, and enjoin'd me, how soon you came to Scotland, to communicate to you several particulars which he then told me; and all which particulars, immediately after I parted with his Lop, I took down into wryteing, in way of memorandum; which memorandum I read over to you. But, as his Lordship told the same things to Mr Forbes, Writer to the Signet, which he says he also took down in wryteing, and that you was so lucky as to come in time to hear the same things from his Lop's own mōuth, a very short time before he dyed, you must certainly know the whole as well as I do. However, to satisfy you, I do sincerely declare, upon the word of an honest man, that amongst the many expressions and instructions he told me to be communicated to you, the following was one:

“ You will also tell my Son John, that his Uncle had been
“ a great looser, as he himself was, by their outlays during the
“ Rebellion 1715. That his Lordship was a vast looser by the
“ Rebellion 1745; for that his factor Thom. Stewart had expended
“ about three years rent of his Estate of Culloden on it, and putt
“ him in debt otherwise considerably; which he never discovered
“ untill he returned from London, nor until the death of Stewart,
“ that he himself had thrown out and spent great sums of Money
“ otherwise, whilst the late Rebellion subsisted; which he had
“ not adverted to, nor demanded Payment of, and for which he
“ thought himself highly blameable.”

What is above, is exactly the meaning & substance of what his Lop exprest upon this Article; and I shall not be positive, if he did not express it in the same words. I hope to see you before you leave this place; and if I shou'd not, I wish you a happy journey; and that you may believe that I am, most sincerely,

Dr Sir,

Your affectionate Cousin,
and most obedient faithfull Servt,
Will. Forbes,

On 3rd December 1747 John Hay, the President's steward, wrote to Mrs Ross of Kindeace (Grizel Forbes, the President's sister) the following (copy among the Fraser-Mackintosh MSS).

Madam,

I received yours & am sorry to acquaint you that my dear Lord & Master has been very ill since I wrote you last, and continues so still. God grant by next I may give you better comfort. We expect the young Squire from London every day.

I am writing this in my Lord's Chamber while he is now slumbering If my life could borrow his it would be good for Scotland. All that I shall add is that I ever am Your Ladyship's affecte humble servant

John Hay.

John Forbes arrived in Edinburgh on Sunday 6th December and the Lord President died on Thursday 10th December 1747.

From John Hay to Mrs Ross of Kindeace, dated from Edinburgh 10th December 1747. (Copy among Fraser-Mackintosh MSS).

Madam,

The ever to be lamented, my dear Master Lord President died this morning at eight of the clock and is to be interred in David Forbes tomb & in his dear Brother's grave; I have not words to express the grief that is among all the people here on account of his death—& as for myself I believe I shall soon follow him. The young Squire arrived here Sunday last. I can write no more for grief but ever am the Family of Culloden's & your affecte Servant

John Hay.

From John Forbes, now of Culloden, to his aunt, Mrs Ross of Kindeace, dated from Edinburgh, 10th December 1747. (Copy among Fraser-Mackintosh MSS).

My Dear Aunt

Melancholy are the accounts which this will bring you, no less than the death of your worthy Brother and my Father which happened this morning at 8 o'clock after an indisposition of about five weeks,

His funeral was splendid, being watched by the Magistrates of Edinburgh, the Faculty of Advocates, and the Writers to the Signet, in their formalities—his brethren declining the compliment, lest it should be made a precedent, they therefore attended the corpse with the relations of the family. . . . As he was one of the first of the Scottish lawyers who sacrificed at the shrine of the English graces, so he was unquestionably the purest and most enlightened. Nor can a young lawyer, beginning his course with every advantage, form himself upon a more faultless model. (Ramsay, "Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century").

Among the many letters which were surely received by John Forbes of Culloden at this time none perhaps was more typical of the universal regret than the following from the Master of Lovat, dated from Glasgow, 26th December 1747.

Sir

My concern for the loss you have lately sustained will not allow me to be silent tho' it renders me the most unfit person in the world to offer any consolation. If so just a sorrow can admit of any you must find some in seeing all around you share so sincerely in it. But none does so more, or with greater reason than I do. My obligations to your Father were many. His interest and honest advice assisted me at times when true friends are most needed, but seldom found, nay while he lived I could hardly say I wanted a father. Thus, Sir, in whatever relation of life I consider myself I must be greatly affected. I love my country too well not to have the most sensible feeling for the loss it has made, and even as one of mankind I must grieve to see the world deprived of so great a head and so good a heart.

You will, Sir, excuse my seeming to need rather than to bestow any comfort. I must own it and that I think it in vain to attempt to stifle so well founded a grief till reason and time have applied their slow remedys. Give me leave, Sir, to assure you that I shall alwis show by my actions and when these are not in my power by my good wishes towards you the gratefull remembrance I have of the favours bestowed on me by your Father.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedt faithfull Servant

Simon Fraser.

Part of a letter from John Forbes of Culloden to William Forbes dated apparently in April 1748.

I feel so much your warm and anxious affection towards me, that I thought it best for me to delay answering your letters until I had looked more about me and seen and conversed with my Fathers friends. When I came first to London the Vacation in Parliament occasioned some in whom I chiefly trust to be in the country. I have now seen most of them; and this morning by Mr Lyttleton's [afterwards Lord Lyttleton] particular desire I waited upon him at his house in town, brakefasted with him and had a conversation with him allone of about an hour where in gratitude I own I felt the Father and the friend. He feels so generously for me, that he has left me nothing to feell for myself. He carried me immediately and introduced me to Mr Pelham. I cannot help adding that in the conversation Lyttleton had with me he desired me to be intirely free with him and conceal nothing from him of my situation and circumstances, which I did very sincerely. He now knows as much of them as you and I do and I am convinced it will not be his fault if they are not soon repaired and something done for me

Possibly something may have been done then and there, but at all events on 17 September 1754 a warrant was issued from Kensington (P.R.O, Treasury Out Letter Book (various) 71/253) for the payment of a yearly pension unto "Our Trusty and well beloved John Forbes Esq" of £400 a year to date from 5 July 1753 "making the first payment therefrom of so much as will become due on the 16th of October 1754 next and so on quarterly"—at pleasure, on the Scots establishment.

The following is from the Newcastle Papers and there is a holograph copy among the collections.

From John Forbes of Culloden to the Duke of Newcastle dated from Culloden House 2 November 1754.

My Lord

I have just received His Majesty's Warrant for a Pension of £400 pr Annum upon the Establishment in Scotland for which mark of His Majesty's Goodness & favour to me, I can make

no return, but by steadfastly persisting in the ways and principles of my late Father. Permit me upon this occasion most humbly to return your Grace my thanks for your Goodness in recommending me to his Majesty, and to beg the continuance of your Grace's Protection which I shall endeavour by my Conduct to deserve. I have the honour to be with the greatest Respect

Your Grace's
most obliged & most humble
Servant

John Forbes.

In 1766 by warrant dated from St James, 8 May, he had a grant of £600 a year (to date from 30 November 1765) for life "from the Revenue Duty on Customs of Four and a half per cent in specie at Barbadoes in the Leeward Islands."



CORRECTIONS TO THE ORIGINAL
"CULLODEN PAPERS"
(FEBRUARY 1746 TO DECEMBER 1747).

CORRECTIONS TO THE ORIGINAL "CULLODEN PAPERS."

(CCCXIV. TO CCCLXV. AND ADDENDA DXXX. TO DXXXIII.)

CCCXV.—Not found.

CCCXVI.—Add postscript. "Invarchasley, Mr Wm. Forbes, Mr Doull & I drunk yr Lordship's health in Luckie Clephans, who pledged us most chearfully."

CCCXVII.—CCCXVIII.—Not found.

CCCXXII.—CCCXXIII.—Not found.

CCCXXVII.—The italics on page 286 are in error. The words have been underlined at a later date.

CCCXXXVI.—Not found.

CCCXXXVIII.—For "Hornwa" read "Stornwa" (Stornoway.)

CCCXL.—Not found.

CCCXLIII.—Page 299, line 11. From the words "The Want of Roads" to end is missing.

CCCXLIV. is reprinted in the text (page 148) with an additional paragraph.

CCCXLV.—Not found.

CCCXLVI. is reprinted in the text (page 169) with an addition.

CCCLXI.—Line 16 of second paragraph, for "found" read "formed."
Line 7 of page 314, for "supported" read "suspected."

DXXXI.—Not found.

DXXXIII.—The initial of the christian name is "J" (John.)

APPENDIX No. I.

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)		AMOUNT (Government)		TOTAL (J)	TOTAL (G)
			£	s. d.	£	s. d.		
Clark, Alexander <i>continued</i>	Farmer in Balloch ...	To money and other things taken from me ...	1	10 0				
		To the loss of 7 bolis meal plundered ...	4	4 0				
		To a sheep taken by Kilmarnock's men ...	0	3 4				
		To 7 firlots of meal destroyed by them before the battle	1	1 0				
		To 2 horses that went to Fort-Augustus and a servant	0	8 0				
		To 3 horses that went to the Lochend 4 sundry times ...	0	10 0			11 15 9	
		To 9 hens and a duck ...	0	4 3				
		To fine lint taken by the King's forces the Battle day ...			0	4 0		
		To a case of razors & a whang (strop) ...			0	5 0		
		To a bill of 20 sh. taken from me ...			1	0 0		
		To a lock broken by them the Battle day ...			0	1 6		
								1 10 6
" Alexander	Tenant in Mickle Cullernie	Damage estimated at ...			0	10 1		0 10 1
" Hugh ...	" Balfreish ...	Cash ...	0	3 6				
		To a mare ...	1	10 0				
		Then to eight shillings and sixpence taken out of my pocket ...			0	8 6		
		To one boll & a firlot oatmeal ...			0	12 6		
		To 2 sh. & 8d given them because I had not another firlot ...			0	2 8		
		To a lamb ...	0	2 6				
		To an hatchet ...	0	2 0				
		To a pair new shoes ...	0	1 0				
		To one boll & one firlot oats ...	0	12 6				
		To 4 loads straw ...	0	3 4				
		To cash ...			0	3 0		0 3 0
" Janet ...	Servitrix to Alexander Clark, tenant in Culloden	Lint & several other things taken away			0	8 0		0 8 0
		Money taken from her son ...			0	1 6		0 1 6
" John ...	Tenant in Cullernie ...	16 stones straw ...	0	2 8				0 9 6
							3 18 6	0 3 0

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)		AMOUNT (Government)		TOTAL (J)		TOTAL (G)	
			£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Clark, John ...	Tenant in Cullernie ...	Goods taken away ...	0	3 0			0	5 8		
<i>continued</i>										
„ Margaret ...	Widow of Alexander Clark, tenant in Mickle Cullernie	To 15 stones straw taken to Inverness by Thomas Drummond ...	0	2 6						
		To ½ boll victual (grain), do., do. ...	0	5 0						
		To 15 stones straw taken by the Rebels to the House of Culloden ...	0	2 6						
		To 1 boll 1 firlof victual, do., do. ...	0	12 6						
		To 2 pecks oats per receipt of Alexander Mylne for the use of Lord Kilmarnock's troops ...	0	1 3						
		To 10 stones straw by receipt of ditto ...	0	1 8						
		To 20 do., do., taken to the camp at several times	0	3 4						
		To 1 firlof meal given 4 men ...	0	2 8						
		To 12 dyets to 6 men ...	0	9 0						
		To 2 „ 9 „ ...	0	3 0						
		To 6 „ 3 „ ...	0	2 3						
		To 4 „ 2 „ ...	0	1 0						
		To 1 „ 15 „ ...	0	1 10½						
		To 1 „ 25 „ ...	0	3 1½						
		To bread, squavitae and cash ...	0	1 2						
		To 1 firlof meal in bread ...	0	2 8						
		To 3 hens ...	0	1 3						
		To 1 dyet to 2 men, 16th April	0	0 3						
		To 2 widders (wethers) ...	0	6 8						
		To cash and bread ...	0	0 9						
		To 2 dyets to 9 men ...	0	2 3						
		To cash ...	0	0 2						
		To a dyet to 4 officers ...	0	1 0						
		To 6 dyets to 6 men ...	0	4 6						
		To 1 dyet to 15 men ...	0	1 10½						
		To 1 boll 2 firlots oats ...	0	15 0						

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)		AMOUNT (Government)		TOTAL (J)		TOTAL (G)		
			£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
Clark, Margaret <i>continued</i>	Widow of Alexander, Clark tenant in Mickle Cul- lernie	To horse hire from Inverness to Fort-Augustus at 1½d per mile of 24 miles	0	3	0						
		To 8 horses to the Lochend	0	4	0						
		To a day carrying of hay to Inverness	0	4	0						
		To 2 horses for carrying arms from Inverness to the Field of Battle	0	1	0						
		For a horse hire for carrying oats to Inverness	0	0	6						
Thomas	Tenant in Alterlies	To 3 sheep taken on April 15th by receipt of James Harvie, including 3 taken from Donald Fraser in Brecknish	0	12	0			5	1	8½	
		To a new tartan plaid	0	15	0						
		Money	0	5	0						
		2 hens and a cock	0	1	0						
		9 pecks oats, 4 loads straw	0	8	3½						
		April 21st. To 4 hens taken by H.M. Troops				0	1	4			
		“ 26th. To ½ boll meal & 2 pairs shoes				0	7	2			
		To my wife's napkin worth 9d and 2/- cash taken out of a chest				0	2	9			
		To a bed plaid to Lord Loudon's men in Inverness. This was a bed plaid taken from my servant lass the day of the Battle by two Drummers. (The explanation is obscure)							0	5	0
“	In Balloch	To a guinea taken from my son	1	1	0						
		To peats and timber	0	13	4						
		To meat at sundry times while the camp was about my house and before that	0	15	0						
		To a little pan of brass stolen	0	2	2						
		To 2 wedders	0	8	0						
									0	16	3

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)		AMOUNT (Government)		TOTAL (J)		TOTAL (G)		
			£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
Clark, Thomas— <i>con.</i>	In Balloch	To 1 peck meal & 6 pence taken violently	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		To meat and drink to a trooper	...	...	0	1	1	...	...	...	...
		To corn and straw to his horse per receipt	...	...	0	2	0	...	...	...	...
		To 2 bolls and 1 firlof oats sent to the Castle of Culloden	...	...	0	17	0	...	...	...	...
		To 25 stones straw sent to Inverness	...	...	1	2	6	...	...	...	...
		To 10 stones straw sent to the Castle	...	...	0	4	2	...	...	...	...
		To another trooper, per receipt	...	...	0	1	8	...	...	...	...
		To 2 horses sent to Fort-Augustus	...	...	0	2	4	...	...	...	...
		To 4 horses sent to Lochend	...	...	0	8	0	...	...	...	...
		To 3 horses do., & 1 horse at another time	...	...	0	3	4	...	...	...	...
		To 2 horses to carry meal for the Lochend	...	...	0	3	4	...	...	...	...
		To dishes and other things taken away	...	...	0	1	8	...	...	...	...
		To straw taken away violently when the camp was in the hill & about my house	...	...	0	1	4	...	...	...	...
		To a waggon of straw carried to the camp	...	...	0	5	0	...	...	...	...
		To 1 peck oats to 2 troopers before the battle	...	...	0	1	6	...	...	...	...
		To 1 firlof oatmeal	...	...	0	0	7½	...	...	...	...
		"	In Culloden	To head linens & other things taken away by the King's forces the Battle day
To lint taken away	...			...	0	4	10	...	...	...	...
To 3 hens & a piece pork & 1 peck meal bread	...			...	0	1	0	...	...	...	...
To a new shirt	...			...	0	2	8	...	...	...	...
To resting by the horsemen & washing 4 shirts	...			...	0	2	3	...	...	...	...
To a pewter trencher melted by them	...			...	0	2	8	...	...	...	...
To 2 of the soldiers that went away without paying for meat & drink	...			...	0	0	6	...	...	...	...
To a horse taken by the Frasers	...			...	1	13	4	...	...	...	...
To 50 men, 2 days & 2 nights	...			...	0	8	4	...	...	...	...
								6	17	8½	
									0	14	7½

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)		AMOUNT (Government)		TOTAL (J)		TOTAL (G)			
			£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.		
Fraser, James— <i>con.</i>	Tenant in Chapelton	To 7½ bolls corn, & straw	...	...	4	10	0	...	...	...
		To 1 boll oats and 3 pecks barley	...	...	0	12	0	...	...	...
		To 7½ bolls corn & straw	...	...	4	10	0	...	...	...
		To 10 bolls barley & corn & straw	...	...	6	7	8	...	...	...
		To 5 bolls barley, all corn...	...	...	2	15	6	...	...	...
		To 3 firlots dry oats taken out of the mill	...	...	0	8	0	...	...	...
		To 10 ells white plaid	...	...	0	10	0	...	...	...
		To corn & straw on the day of Battle	...	...	0	12	6	...	...	...
"	In Culchuinach	17th April. To a tartan plaid	0	13	4	20	5	8
		To a half mutchkin—stoup	...	...	0	1	0	...	...	...	...
		To a cock & hen	...	...	0	0	8	...	...	...	...
		To 18 loads straw	...	...	0	13	6	...	...	...	...
John	Tenant in Cullernie	To 3 pecks oats	0	2	2½	1	8	6
		To 15 stones straw	...	...	0	2	6	...	...	...	...
		To 11 hasps	...	...	0	4	7	...	...	...	...
		To the hasp out of the closet they had their straw in	...	...	0	0	5	...	...	...	...
		To a pair shoes	...	...	0	0	8	...	...	...	...
		To 2 pecks meal in bread	...	...	0	1	4	...	...	...	...
		To a plaid given my Lord Loudoun's soldiers	...	...	0	6	0	...	...	...	...
John	" " Wester Urquhill	April 16th. Taken by the Campbells, 2 horses & 2 carts	5	0	0	0	17	8½
		To linen taken away	...	...	0	3	0	...	...	...	...
"	" " Balnaglag	To 32 stones straw to the stables at Culloden for my Lord Elcho's Troops	0	5	4	5	3	0
		To 2 bolls victual oats	...	...	1	0	0	...	...	...	...
		To 16 stones straw sent to Inverness to the Magazine	...	...	0	2	8	...	...	...	...
		To 5 firlots oats sent to ditto	...	...	0	12	6	...	...	...	...

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)		AMOUNT (Government)		TOTAL (J)		TOTAL (G)		
			£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	£	s. d.	
Fraser, Simon— <i>con.</i>	Tenant in Balnaglag	...	To 640 stones straw taken to the camp ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		To straw to 2 horses of Balmerino's troops for 16 nights	...	...	5	6	8	...	...	...	...
		To 16 pecks corn to ditto	...	...	0	10	4	...	...	...	...
		To maintenance to a captain & 50 men for a night with breakfast	...	...	0	10	4	...	...	...	...
		To 1 night's maintenance & breakfast to 5 gentlemen officers...	...	...	0	13	6	...	...	...	...
		To 3 nights & 2 days maintenance to a captain with 3 men	...	...	0	6	9½	...	...	...	...
		To oatmeal to men at different times	...	...	0	4	9	...	...	...	...
		To 4 horses sent to Fort-Augustus at 1½d per mile, being 24 miles...	...	...	0	12	0	...	...	...	...
		To 4 horses sent 3 different times to the Lochend at 6d each time for each horse	...	...	0	6	0	...	...	...	...
		To 16 stones straw to Inverness for the magazine	...	...	0	2	8	...	...	...	...
		To 1 boll corn	...	...	0	10	0	...	...	...	...
		To 16 stones straw	...	...	0	2	8	...	...	...	...
		To a cock & hen	...	...	0	0	8	...	...	...	...
To 1 firloft oatmeal	...	...	0	2	8	...	...	...	...
To meal and meat at different times	...	...	0	7	6	...	...	...	...
To 2 wedders at 5/-	...	...	0	10	0	...	...	...	...
Grant, Alexander	Tenant in Culloiden	The total of goods taken by the Government troops (particulars have not survived)	...	...	...	10	15	5	10	15	5
		Total loss by Rebels	...	...	...	4	1	6	4	1	6
Hood, Donald	Tenant in Hilton of Alterlies	February. To 2 ewes forced from him & killed in the fields	...	...	...	0	6	8	...	...	...
		April 15. To 1 ewe taken & killed	...	...	...	0	3	4	...	...	...
		To ½ boll large white oats	...	...	...	0	5	0	7	18	10
									12	12	0½

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)		AMOUNT (Government)		TOTAL (J)		TOTAL (G)		
			£	s d	£	s d	£	s d	£	s d	
Hood, Donald— <i>con.</i>	Tenant in Hilton of Alterlies	To 4 loads oat straw	0	2 8							
		To 3 hens	0	1 0							
		To a ewe taken from Margaret Macculloch a mailer of mine	0	3 4							
		Another ewe of a neighbour	0	3 4							
		April 20. To 13 pecks oats taken from him by His Majesty's soldiers	0	8 8							
		To $\frac{1}{2}$ boll large white oats	0	5 0							
Hood, John ...	Tenant in Alterlies ...	To a new sack	0	2 0							
		To a bed plaid furnished Lord Loudon's soldiers at Inverness	0	5 0							
		Feb. To $\frac{1}{4}$ boll large white oats	0	2 6							
		To 3 loads oat straw	0	2 0							
Innes, John ...	Tenant in Culchuinach ...	Total losses by the Rebels... ..	0	19 2			0	4 6			
		Total ,, ,, King's Forces			1	8 7			0	19 2	
MacBean, Alexander	In Alterlies	To 4 loads white oat straw	0	2 8							
		To 9 pecks white oats	0	5 7 $\frac{1}{2}$							
		To a dyet for 104 men	0	8 8							
		To a ewe	0	3 4							
		April 21st. To 2 hens taken and killed by His Majesty's Troops... ..	0	0 8							
		To 2 ells plaiding & a shirt	0	2 10							
MacBean, Alexander	In Alterlies	To lint	0	0 8							
		To a plaid to the forces at Inverness commanded by Lord Loudoun	0	5 0							
		Total	1	0 3 $\frac{1}{2}$							

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)		AMOUNT (Government)		TOTAL (J)		TOTAL (G)	
			£	s d	£	s d	£	s d	£	s d
MacBean, Ann	Widow of John Glass at Culloden	Total losses by the Rebels... Total losses by the King's Forces...	7	8 4½			7	8 4½		
" Anne	In Culchuinach	To a blanket To 3 pounds worsted To a bag with a firrot oats			2	7 0			2	7 0
MacDonald, James	Tenant in Leanach	April 15th. To straw Oats... Barley To a peck of barley meal To 2 yards of linen To 2 cogs To 4 loads of straw To ½ boll oats Peats To a plough To 2 bags To a board	0	15 0	0	5 6	0	2 0	0	2 11
" Lilius	In Culchuinach	Taken by His Majesty's Forces, 17th April To a tartan plaid To a mutch To a hen & 19 eggs	0	12 0	5	8 4	3	0 2	5	8 4
MacIvor, James	In Culchuinach	Losses by the King's Forces			1	13 10			1	13 10
Mackenzie, Anne	" "	" "			0	13 10			0	13 10
Mackenzie, Donald	Little Leanach	To 2 cogs To a plate	0	0 6						
			0	0 6			0	1 0		

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)			AMOUNT (Government)			TOTAL (J)			TOTAL (G)			
			£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	
Mackenzie, John ... " Margaret) ... Mackintosh, Alexander	(Abode not given) ... (") ... In Culloden ...	To seven shillings & 8d ... To 10 lbs. of tweedlin yarn ... April 16th, To 6 yards tartan plaid ... To a yard and a half linen... ... To 3 pecks oatmeal ... To 3 hens ... To a shilling taken out of my chest ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
" Anna ...	In Wester Culloden	To 2 hens ...	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	10	
" Donald	Tenant in Cullernie ...	To 1 hen & 3pecks of oats... To straw, etc. ...	5	5	0	0	2	5	5	5	0	0	2	5	
Macpherson, William	In Wester Culloden	To straw etc ... Meal ... To carrying of baggage ... To corn and straw... To 2 pecks of oatmeal ... To corn & straw ... For my own "cloas" For an axe etc ...	0	6	6	0	8	6	0	1	4	1	2	4	0
Miller, James... Munro, Donald	Tenant in Culchuinach ... Tenant in Allanfearn ...	To meat to the Rebels in number 28 with a hen ... To corn & straw to the Lord Balmerino's 2 horses for 16 nights ... To Balmerino's troops at another time 3 firlots oats ... To 1 firlot barley ... To 2 bolls & 1 firlot oats ... To 16 stones straw ... To 20 " , sent to Inverness ... To 24 " , to Balmerino's troops ... To a boll oatmeal ...	0	2	8	1	0	8	0	7	6	0	2	9	1
			0	2	8	0	2	8	0	2	8	0	2	8	
			0	3	4	0	3	4	0	3	4	0	3	4	
			0	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	
			0	10	8	0	10	8	0	10	8	0	10	8	

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite)		AMOUNT (Government)		TOTAL (J)		TOTAL (G)	
			£	s d	£	s d	£	s d	£	s d
Munro, Donald— <i>con.</i>	Tenant in Allanfearn	To a sheep, 2 cocks & a hen To 2 horses stolen, paid £1 stig "taskell" (tasca) money for discovery) for one of said horses To the other horse wanting still	0	4 4			7	13 11		
" Elizabeth	In Balloch of Culloden	To cash taken away from me by His Majesty's Forces To 5 yards linen To 3 shillings taken out of my house	16	6 0	0	5 0			16	6 0
" James	Tenant in Culchuinach	April 16th. To 2 firloths oats To 4 loads straw To 7 loads pears To 2 pecks meal	0	4 0					0	8 0
" John	In Culchuinach	April 16th, Goods taken by His Majesty's Forces Losses by the King's Forces	3	4 2			0	15 8	3	4 2
Murray, James	Tenant in Balloch of Culloden	To 15 stones straw To a boll victual To 4 pecks corn at 2 sh. 8d and 1 sh. for straw per receipt by William Home, 27th Feb. 1746 To 8 pecks corn with straw per receipt of same 11th March 1746... .. To a full meal to 4 men To meal To 2 dyets to 9 men To ditto to other 9 men To 2 dyets to 25 men To 2 dyets to 6 men To a dyet to 5 men & 1 sh. in cash To a dyet to 9 men To a dyet to 5 men	0	2 6					0	14 3
			0	10 0					0	14 3
			0	3 8						
			0	8 0						
			0	2 8						
			0	1 6						
			0	2 3						
			0	2 3						
			0	4 3						
			0	1 6						
			0	1 7½						
			0	1 1½						
			0	0 7½						

APPENDIX I.—Continued.

NAME	OCCUPATION AND RESIDENCE	NATURE OF DAMAGE	AMOUNT (Jacobite) £ s d	AMOUNT (Government) £ s d	TOTAL (J) £ s d	TOTAL (G) £ s d	
Tolmie, Andrew— <i>con.</i>	Tenant in Little Culernie ...	To 2 horses that went to the Lochend 4 times ...	0 6 8				
		To 1 horse that went to Fort-Augustus and an hem (horse-collar) with iron ...	0 5 2				
		To a sack ...	0 1 8			3 9 11½	
		To 15 stones straw taken by the Kings Forces and 1 peck oats & 4 chickens ...		0 3 9½			
		To a big coat, and money taken away ...		0 16 8			
		To a new sheet taken from my man ...			0 2 0		1 2 5½

APPENDIX II.

APPENDIX II.

ACCOUNT FOR MEDICINES, ETC., SUPPLIED BY ALEXANDER MUNRO,
SURGEON-APOTHECARY, FROM 1724 TO 1747.

Accot The Right Honble my Lord President To Alexander Monro,
Surgeon Apothocary.

		£.	s.	d.			
1724							
Janry	5.	Imps. for your Son a Box Ointment	...	...	0	0	4
		Item some Red Precipitate	...	...	0	0	8
	10	Item Herbs for emolient fomentation	...	...	0	0	9
		Item a Glass camphorated Spirit	...	...	0	1	0
	13	Item a small Glass Detergent Tincture	...	...	0	0	5
	15	Item the same for your Son	...	...	0	0	5
	26	Item a vomit for Mrs Wilson	...	...	0	0	6
	28	Item a half mutchkine Sacred Tincture	...	...	0	2	6
Febr.	28	Item for your Servant a dose purging Pills	...	...	0	0	8
March	7	Item a blister for the Head to Mrs Wilson	...	...	0	0	4
		Item a dose Sacred Tincture	...	...	0	1	4
	12	Item the same	...	...	0	1	4
		Item some Camomile flowers	...	...	0	0	6
		Item some Juniper Berries	...	...	0	0	8
April	2	Item a Vomit for your Son	...	...	0	1	0
June	18	Item an Anodyn Plaister for yrself	...	...	0	0	10
	21	Item the same	...	...	0	0	10
	24	Item a pot Universal Balsam	...	...	0	0	8
	26	Item for Yr. Servant a Pectoral Bolus	...	...	0	0	10
July	2	Item for Yrself a purging Electuary	...	...	0	3	6
	5	Item to Wm Comry a purging ptisan	...	...	0	1	6
	7	Item for Yourself a Vomit	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a pot White Ointment	...	...	0	1	4
	10	Item a Glass Lime Water	...	...	0	0	9
	13	Item the same	...	...	0	0	9
	16	Item the same with addition	...	...	0	1	5
		Item the same in double quantity	...	...	0	1	8
	21	Item a glass camporate spirit for a Servant	...	...	0	2	0
Augt.	1	Item the same	...	...	0	2	0
	8	Item the same	...	...	0	2	0
	17	Item the same	...	...	0	2	0

							£	s.	d.
Sept.	25	Item a blister for Comry's Mother	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item a healing Plaister	...	...	...	0	1	4
Dec.	10	Item to Comries Wife 3 Pectoral Bolus's	...	...	...	0	1	6
	12	Item to Mrs Wilson a Burgundy Pitch Plaister	...	...	...	0	0	8
	18	Item for your Son a Vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
	30	Item to Comry a Vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
1725									
Janry	29	Item the Vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a Wafer	...	...	...	0	0	1
		Item Pectoral Bolus's	...	...	...	0	1	8
Febry	8	Item for himself 2 dose Purgng Pills	...	...	...	0	3	0
	11	Item a Cordial Mixture	...	...	...	0	3	0
	14	Item a Vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
	20	Item to the servants Wife a Cordial Julap	...	...	...	0	2	0
Sum here is						£2	14	1	
1725.									
		Account Etc brought over	...	...	...	2	14	1
Febry	22	Item a vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item to Mrs Wilson a Vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
March	4	Item to Comry a Vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
	5	Item Three Pectoral Bolus's	...	...	...	0	2	6
	6	Item two of the same	...	...	...	0	1	8
	7	Item a Blister	...	...	...	0	1	4
	8	Item a healing Plaister	...	...	...	0	0	4
		Item a Cordial Bolus	...	...	...	0	1	2
	9	Item the healing Plaister	...	...	...	0	0	4
	10	Item the same	...	...	...	0	0	4
	11	Item a Large Cordial Julap	...	...	...	0	4	0
April	18	Item to Mr. Murdoch a Vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
June	15	Item for himself a dose Salt of Tin	...	...	...	0	0	6
		Item a Glass Syrup of Poppies	...	...	...	0	0	8
	16	Item a Pot Stomachic Electuary	...	...	...	0	4	2
		Item Eight Wafers	...	...	...	0	0	8
		Item the Salt of Tin as before	...	...	...	0	0	6
	17	Item the same	...	...	...	0	0	6
	18	Item the same	...	...	...	0	0	6
	19	Item the same	...	...	...	0	0	6
		Item sixteen wafers	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item to Hew a Box Detergent ointment	...	...	...	0	0	10
	20	Item the salt of Tin	...	...	...	0	0	6
	21	Item the Electuary	...	...	...	0	4	2

							£	s.	d.
June	21	Item the Salt of Tin	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	22	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
		Item a glass Syrup of Poppies	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	23	Item the Salt of Tin	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	24	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	25	Item a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item Gum Pills six doses	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
		Item two doses laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
		Item a small Glass Cordial Drops	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	27	Item the laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
		Item 16 Wafers	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	29	Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
July	2	Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
		Item the Electuary	...	...	...	...	0	4	2
	4	Item 10 Wafers	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	7	Item 5 doses of the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	6	3
		Item 4 Doses of the Gum Pills	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
	17	Item the Electuary	...	...	...	...	0	4	2
		Item 4 doses Gum Pills	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item 8 Wafers	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
	20	Item a dose Gum Pills	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Sum here							£6	4	10

							£	s.	d.
1725.		Account etc brought forward	...	...	...	...	6	4	10
July	21	Item 6 Doses Laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
		Item 6 Doses Gum Pills...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
	25	Item 3 Mutchkines Stomachic Tincture	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
		Item some steel Carvy	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	30	Item the Gum Pills as before	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
Augt.	3	Item the Stomachic Tincture	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
	9	Item the Gum Pills	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
	12	Item a Glass Syrup of Poppies	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	14	Item the Stomachic Tincture	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
		Item the Salt of Tin two doses	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	17	Item the Laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
		Item the Salt of Tin	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	18	Item the same eight doses	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
	19	Item the Electuary	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
		Item eight wafers	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
	24	Item a glass Camphorated Spirits	...	...	...	...	0	1	4

							£	s.	d.
Augt.	25	Item to Comries Wife a Histeric Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	1	3
	31	Item a Vomit...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Sept.	1	Item for himself a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a Cordial Draught	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item a Purgative Clyster	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item some Venice Treacle	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
		Item a Stomach Cataplasm	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
		Item an Anodyne Julap	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
		Item a Dose Physic	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
	2	Item 4 Wafers	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
		Item the Physic as before	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
		Item an ounce Best Rhubarb	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
		Item the Clyster	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item the same with Addition	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
		Item some Emolient Herbs	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
		Item a Dose Sacred Tincture	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
		Item the Clyster	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item the Purging Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
	3	Item two Clysters	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
		Item some Spearmint Water	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a Dose Matthews Pills	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
		Item the Sacred Tincture two Doses	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
		Item some Tincture of Julap	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item an Anodyn Julap...	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
	4	Item a Cordial Powder...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item 4 Wafers	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
		Item a Glass Anodyn Epithem	...	...	...	...	0	3	3
		Item a Bottle Almond Milk	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	5	Item the same	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Cordial Powder	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	6	Item a nervous Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item 2 Plaisters for the Soles	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
		Item a Cooling Cataplasm	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Sum here	...	...	...	...	£12	5	10

							£	s.	d.
		Account etc brought forward	...	...	...	...	12	5	10
Sept.	6	Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item some shavings of Hartshorn	...	...	...	...	0	1	2
		Item a Glass Syrup of Limons	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	7	Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	...	0	1	6

						£	s.	d.
Sept.	7	Item a dose Tincture of Rhubarb	...	...	...	0	1	8
	8	Item to Comries Wife a Glass Cordial Spirit	...	...	...	0	1	2
		Item the Bolus	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item a Wafer	...	...	...	0	0	1
	9	Item the Shavings of Hartshorn	...	...	...	0	1	2
		Item the Syrup of Limons	...	...	...	0	0	6
		Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Bolus	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item a Wafer	...	...	...	0	0	1
	10	Item a Glass Camphorated Spirit	...	...	...	0	0	6
		Item 4 dose Tincture of Rhubarb	...	...	...	0	5	0
	11	Item the Bolus	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item a Wafer	...	...	...	0	0	1
		Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	0	1	6
	12	Item the Epithems	...	...	...	0	3	3
		Item ditto	...	...	...	0	3	3
		Item the Shavings of Hartshorn	...	...	...	0	1	2
		Item the Syrup of Limons	...	...	...	0	0	6
		Item the Bolus	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	0	1	6
	13	Item a Dose Nervous Pills	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Epithem	...	...	...	0	3	3
	14	Item 24 Doses Alexepharmic Powders	...	...	...	0	6	0
		Item 5 Mutchkines Alexepharmic Tincture...	...	...	...	0	10	0
		Item some Alexepharmic Drops	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	0	1	6
	15	Item the same	...	...	...	0	1	6
	16	Item the Pills	...	...	...	0	1	4
	17	Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item some Antimony for his Horse	...	...	...	0	0	8
		Item $\frac{1}{2}$ Pound Finugree Seed	...	...	...	0	1	0
	18	Item for himself the Pills	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	0	1	6
	19	Item the Pills	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	0	1	6
	20	Item the same	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item the Epithem	...	...	...	0	3	3
	21	Item Dose Anodyne Pills	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item a small Glass Anodyne Spirit	...	...	...	0	3	6
	22	Item a Mutchkine Tincture of Rhubarb	...	...	...	0	4	0
	23	Item the Anodyne Pills	...	...	...	0	1	6

							£	s.	d.
Sept.	23	Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	24	Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Glass Spirit	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
		Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	25	Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Sum here	...	...	...	...	£17	1	7

							£	s.	d.
1725.		Account etc brought over	...	...	...	...	17	1	7
Sept.	26	Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	27	Item the same	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	28	Item the same	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills with Addition	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
	29	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	30	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
Oct.	1	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item some Cephalic Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
	2	Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials 2 Papers	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	3	Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	4	Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	5	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	19
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	6	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	7	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	8	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6

							£	s.	d.
Oct.	8	Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	9	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
10		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
11		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
12		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
13		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
Sum here							£20	9	8

							£	s.	d.
1725.		Account brought over	...	...	...	...	20	9	8
Oct.	14	Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
15		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Almond Milk	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
16		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Tincture of Rhubarb	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
17		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
18		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
19		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
20		Item the same	...	...	...	...	0	1	6

							£	s.	d.	
Oct.	20	Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	21	Item to his Horse some Flowers of Sulphur	...			...	0	0	2
		Item for himself the Gum Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	22	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	23	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	24	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	25	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	26	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	27	Item the Pills 5 Doses	...	...	...	...	0	8	9
		Item the Materials 8 Papers	...	...	...	...	0	7	6
	30	Item to 2 Doses Pills	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
		Item 4 Papers of the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	3	4
	Novr.	2	Item the Pills	0	1	9
			Item the Materials	0	0	10
	Sum here							£24	12	10
										(sic)
								£	s.	d.
1725.		Account etc brought over	...	...	...	...	24	12	10
Novr.	3	Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
4		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	9
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
6		Item a Mutchkine Tincture of Rhubarb	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
		Item a small Glass Cordial Spirit	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
		Item 20 Doses of the Pills	...	...	...	...	1	15	0
		Item 40 Papers of the Materials	...	...	...	...	1	13	4
Decr.	8	Item the Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item a Purging Ptisan	...	...	...	...	0	1	8

						£	s.	d.
1726.								
June	23	Item Stomachic Elixir a Small Glass...	...	...	0	1	0
	28	Item for Comry a Vomit	...	...	0	1	0
	30	Item for himself 6 Papers Valerian	...	...	0	2	0
July	6	Item the same	...	...	0	2	0
		Item the Elixir	...	...	0	1	0
	23	Item the same in large quantities	...	...	0	1	6
Augt.	5	Item some Liquorice Root	...	...	0	0	4
	9	Item a Glass Spirit of Hartshorn	...	...	0	0	6
	14	Item a Box Stomachic Pills	...	...	0	4	2
	19	Item a Glass Spirit of Hartshorn	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a Large Glass Stomachic Tincture	...	...	0	2	9
Sept.	7	Item a Clyster for Comry's Wife	...	...	0	2	0
		Item to himself a $\frac{1}{2}$ Mutchkine of the Elixir	...	...	0	4	0
	11	Item to Comry's daughter a glass Pectoral Mixture	...	...	0	2	6
Oct.	31	Item to himself a paper of the Materials	...	...	0	0	1
		Item some Valerian	...	...	0	0	4
Novr.	1	Item the Elixir	...	...	0	4	0
	3	Item the Paper Valerian	...	...	0	0	4
	8	Item 8 Papers ditto	...	...	0	2	8
		Item 3 Papers Sage	...	...	0	0	3
		Item some Diachylon Plaister spread	...	...	0	0	3
	15	Item 10 Doses Pills	...	...	0	5	0
	18	Item 2 Papers Sage	...	...	0	0	2
	26	Item the Pills as last with addition	...	...	0	5	6
	29	Item a Glass Spirit of Hartshorn	...	...	0	0	6
	30	Item a Composition for the Horn [corn]	...	...	0	3	0
Deer.	17	Item to the Servant a Pint Emollient Fomentation	...	...	0	2	0
		Item a Purging Clyster...	...	...	0	1	8
	18	Item a Pectoral Bolus	...	...	0	0	10
		Item a Glass disientient Spirit	...	...	0	2	6
	22	Item a Glass Elixir for himself	...	...	0	0	6
	24	Item to the Servant $\frac{1}{2}$ Mutchkine Camphorate Spirit	...	...	0	1	6
	27	Item to himself 30 Papers Valerian	...	...	0	10	0
		Item 4 Papers Sage	...	...	0	0	4
		Item the Laxative Pills as last	...	...	0	11	0
		Item some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Stomachic Elixir $\frac{1}{2}$ Mutchkine	...	...	0	4	0
	29	Item some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	0	0	10
1727.								
Janry	1	Item a bottle emolient fomentation	...	...	0	1	6
	2	Item for his son a glass of camphorated Spirit	...	...	0	1	0
	12	Item to Comry's Niece a Vomit	...	...	0	0	8
		Sum here	...	...	£31	5	6
							(sic)	

								£	s.	d.
1727.		Account etc brought over						31	5	6
July	25	Item for himself a Glass of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Augt.	2	Item to Mr Murdoch a Glass Spirit of Hartshorn	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
	19	Item to himself a $\frac{1}{2}$ Mutchkine of Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Sept.	1	Item the same ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Oct.	27	Item a small Glass ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Novr.	5	Item the Laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	0	5	6
		Item a Glass of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
Decr.	2	Item the same in large Quantity	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
	19	Item for Mrs. Wilson some Aromatic Powder	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	22	Item to himself the laxative Pills 3ple Quantity	...	...	...	...	0	16	6
		Item the Elixir a Mutchkine	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
	23	Item some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
1728.										
March	7	Item to his Son a Bottle Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	8	Item a Vomit ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	12	Item to Mrs Wilson a Burgundy Pitch Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
June	18	Item to himself some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item to Thomas Paterson 6 Dose Physic	...	...	...	...	0	7	0
	19	Item to himself Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item a large Pot Basilicon Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	20	Item the Plaister ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	26	Item to Thomas an Anodyne Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item a Purging Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
	27	Item the Anodyne Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item ditto ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item a Glass Astringent Julap	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	28	Item the Bolus as last	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item the Purging Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
	29	Item ditto 2 Doses	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	30	Item a Glass Elixir for himself	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item for Thomas the Julap	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
		Item the Anodyne Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item the Purging Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
July	1	Item ditto ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
		Item the Anodyne Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item the Julap ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	2	Item ditto ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
		Item the 2 Bolus's	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item ditto ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item the Julap ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	3	Item the Bolus's	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
		Item the Julap ... ..	...	...	...	...	0	3	6

							£	s.	d.
July	4	Item a Purging Ptisan	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
	5	Item a small Glass of Buckthorn	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
	6	Item the Ptisan with addition	...	...	...	...	0	1	10
	9	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	10
	10	Item an Anodyne Draught	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item to himself 8 Papers Materials	...	...	...	...	0	4	8
		Sum here	...	...	...	...	£36	9	5

							£	s.	d.
		Account etc brought over	...	...	...	...	36	9	5
July	11	Item to Mr. Thomas the Servant the Haustus	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	17	Item to himself $\frac{1}{2}$ Mutchkine of Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
	20	Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	4	8
	27	Item the Laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	1	0	6
		Item 6 Papers of the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Augt.	3	Item 8 Papers ditto	...	...	...	...	0	7	8
		Item a Mutchkine of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
	9	Item 20 Doses Pills Guilded	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
Novr.	15	Item 6 Papers of the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
		Item 6 ditto of Sage	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	16	Item some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	22	Item a Glass of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
Decr.	12	Item for Mr. Ross a small glass Spirits	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
	27	Item to himself 18 Papers for Tea	...	...	...	...	0	4	8
		Item a Glass of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
1729.									
Janry.	8	Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	1	0	6
		Item a Mutchkine of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
		Item some Diachylon	...	...	...	...	0	1	3
		Item ditto upon Black Silk	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
June	10	Item to Mr. Hew some Powder of Bark	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item some Diachylon	...	...	...	...	0	2	8
		Item a Large Glass Camphorate Spirit	...	...	...	...	0	2	8
	11	Item to himself some Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item the Elixir as last	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
	19	Item 2 Doses of Materials	...	...	...	...	0	1	2
	20	Item to his Son some Diachylon	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
	23	Item for a Servant a Bottle Emolt. Fomentation	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	26	Item some Valerian for himself	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item some Sage	...	...	...	...	0	0	3

							£	s.	d.
July	9	Item some Diachylon	...	...	...	...	0	2	8
	18	Item the Laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	1	0	6
	29	Item the Elixir in double Quantity	...	...	...	...	0	16	0
	31	Item the Laxative Pills with addition	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
Sept.	4	Item to George Ross some disient Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
Novr.	20	Item to himself some Valerian	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
		Item a Paper of Sage	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
	22	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
		Item the Valerian	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
		Item for George Ross a Drying Wash	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item some Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
Decr.	12	Item to himself a Mutchkine and $\frac{1}{2}$ of Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
	26	Item Laxative Pills 240 Doses Gilded	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
1730.									
Janry	7	Item to Mr Baillie a Dose Salts	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
		Item X Doses Cooling Salts	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
	11	Item to Mrs. Wilson a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
							<hr/>		
Sum here							£51	1	6
Account brought over							51	1	6
1730.									
Janry	12	Item to Mrs Wilson some Aromatic Powder	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
May	28	Item to Mr. Baillie a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a Wafer	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
June	1	Item a Dose Sacred Tincture	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	12	Item a Glass Elixir for Himself	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item Gum Pills 12 Doses	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
		Item laxative Pills 50 Doses	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
	14	Item to Mr. Baillie a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item some Camomile Flowers	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	17	Item some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
	23	Item a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item 4 Papers Camomile Flowers	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
	25	Item to himself the Materials for Tea	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item a Mutchkine and $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
	27	Item 14 Papers for Tea	...	...	...	...	0	4	8
July	6	Item ditto 12 Papers	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
	13	Item 4 ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	14	Item one ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
	18	Item 8 of the same	...	...	...	...	0	2	8
	22	Item 14 ditto	...	...	...	...	0	4	8
	29	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	4	8

							£	s.	d.
July	31	Item 6 Papers ditto	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Augt.	5	Item a Large Glass of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
		Item 4 Papers of the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item to Mrs. Wilson a Large Glass Anodyne Spirits	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
October	24	Item 6 Papers Sage for himself	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
	29	Item some Stomachic powder for a Servant	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
Novr.	8	Item a large Glass of the Elixir for himself	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
		Item some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item some Sage	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
	11	Item the Gum Pills	...	...	...	...	0	15	0
		Item the Laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	1	5	0
		Item the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
		Item some Valerian	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
Decr.	18	Item a disient Spirit for a Servant	...	...	...	...	0	1	2
		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	2
	22	Item some Diachylon to himself	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
	23	Item some Valerian	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
1731.									
Janry	6	Item the Laxative Pills 50 Doses	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
		Item a Mutchkine of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
June	20	Item a small Glass ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item for a Servant a Dose Purging Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	30	Item a Mutchkine of the Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
July	8	Item some Emolt. Materials for Fomentation	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
		Item a pot Mercurial Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
		Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
	12	Item a Mercurial Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
		Item some Adhesive Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
Sum here							£66	13	5

							£	s.	d.
1731							66	13	6
		Account brought forward	...	...	...	...	66	13	6
July	13	Item some Red Precipitate of Mercuray	...	...	...	...	0	0	2
		Item a Pot Althea Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
	14	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
	16	Item a dose Purging Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	18	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	21	Item a Purging Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item 3 Wafers	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
		Item some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	5

							£	s.	d.
July	22	Item the last Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	23	Item 2 Mercurial Bolus's	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
	24	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
	25	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
	26	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
	27	Item ditto with addition	...	...	...	...	0	0	9
	28	Item a Purging Ptisan	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	29	Item a Purging Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	31	Item a Dose Physic	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
Augt.	3	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	6	Item some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
	10	Item to himself some Valerian	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item the Laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
		Item to his Servant some Basilicon Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item some Red Precipitate of Mercury	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
1732.									
March	25	Item some Stomachic Powder for Mrs Wilson	...	...	...	...	0	4	6
June	31	Item to himself a Glass of Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
July	24	Item ditto a Mutchkine	...	...	...	...	0	8	0
Augt.	5	Item the Pills	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
Decr.	15	Item a Choppin of Elixir	...	...	...	...	0	16	0
1733.									
Febry	23	Item to Mrs Wilson materials for a Fomentation	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
March	1	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
July	8	Item to himself the Laxative Pills	...	...	...	...	1	15	0
Novr.	7	Item to his Groom a Dose Physic	...	...	...	...	0	2	8
1734.									
Janry	3	Item to himself the Pills in 3ple quantity	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
April	30	Item Gold Leaves 12 in number	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
July	4	Item a Servant a Glass Anodyne Spirits	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
	12	Item a Glass Spirit of Hartshorn	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	24	Item the Anodyne Spirit	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
	27	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Augt	23	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Sept	26	Item Pectoral Materials for 3 Mutchkines Water	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
	29	Item a large Glass Disentient Spirit	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Decr	4	Item a Large Disenssing Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	1	3
	7	Item a Dose Purging Pills	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	10	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	4

				£	s.	d.
1735.						
June	18	Item to George Ross a Glass Anodyne Spirits	...	0	2	3
	21	Item the same ... ..	...	0	2	3
Sum here				£84	13	10
				£	s.	d.
		Account etc brought forward ... ..	...	84	13	10
	28	Item to the Cook a Pot Purgative electuary	...	0	3	9
	24	Item to Mr Ross the Anodyne Spirit...	...	0	2	3
		Item to himself some Valerian ... ..	...	0	0	3
		Item a paper of Sage ... ..	...	0	0	1
July	1	Item the Valerian in large Quantity ... ..	...	0	1	0
	5	Item the Pills as last in less Quantity	...	3	4	0
	10	Item for Mr. Ross some Flower of Brimstone	...	0	0	2
	11	Item for himself some Valerian ... ..	...	0	0	3
		Item for Mr. Ross a Purgative Electuary	...	0	1	8
		Item some Anodyne Ointment ... ..	...	0	0	8
	17	Item some Flower of Brimstone ... ..	...	0	0	8
	19	Item the Electuary for the Cook ... ..	...	0	3	9
		Item 12 Doses Pectoral Pills ... ..	...	0	4	0
Augt.	8	Item a Dose Physic to the Groom ... ..	...	0	1	4
	9	Item Materials for Fomentation ... ..	...	0	0	10
Novr.	7	Item some Diachylon Spread ... ..	...	0	0	5
1736.						
Janry	5	Item to the Housekeeper a vomit ... ..	...	0	1	0
	6	Item a purging Bolus ... ..	...	0	1	3
	7	Item a Pectoral Draught ... ..	...	0	0	9
	9	Item the Bolus ... ..	...	0	1	3
	10	Item a Paregoric Haustus ... ..	...	0	0	9
	12	Item a Vomit ... ..	...	0	1	0
	14	Item a Glass Pectoral Elixir ... ..	...	0	2	6
Febr	3	Item the same ... ..	...	0	2	6
	6	Item 12 Doses Pectoral Pills ... ..	...	0	4	0
	12	Item some Pectoral Elixir ... ..	...	0	1	3
	20	Item the Pills ... ..	...	0	4	0
	22	Item the Elixir ... ..	...	0	1	3
March	6	Item the Pills in double Quantity ... ..	...	0	8	0
		Item a Glass Pectoral Mixture ... ..	...	0	3	0
	14	Item the same ... ..	...	0	3	0
July	31	Item the Laxative Pills for himself ... ..	...	4	0	0

							£	s.	d.
Novr.	4	Item for Mr. John a Glyster	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a Bag and Pipe	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
	5	Item a bottle Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item the same	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
	12	Item a large Gargarism	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
Decr.	25	Item to Mr. Ross a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	31	Item to John Hay a large Pectoral Electuary	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
		Item a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
1737.									
Febr	21	Item the Electuary	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
March	9	Item Mr. Macintosh a Stomachic Decoction	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
		Item a Pectoral Mixture	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
		Item a Blister	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	10	Item the Decoction	...	...	...	...	0	2	6
		Item the Mixture	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
		Sum here	...	...	...	...	£96	5	5

							£	s.	d.
		Account brought forward	...	...	...	...	96	5	5
March	10	Item some healing Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	1	3
		Item Blister behind the Ear	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item ditto for the side	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item some Liquorice Root	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
	11	Item a Glyster	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item a Bag and Pipe	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
		Item an Evening Draught	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
	12	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item the Pectoral Mixture	...	...	...	...	0	3	0
Augt	2	Item to himself the Pills usual Guided	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
		Item a pound Valerian Root	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
Novr.	3	Item to Mr. Hay a Glass Eye Water	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
	10	Item to Mr. Ross a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
1738.									
Janry	19	Item to himself the Laxative Pills as last	...	...	...	...	4	0	0
Febr	4	Item a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	5	Item a Bolus	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
		Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
	6	Item a Glass Pectoral Mixture	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	8	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	11	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	3	6

								£	s.	d.	
Febr	13	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	15	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	17	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	21	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	23	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	26	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	28	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
March	4	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	8	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	11	Item to the Maid a large Glass anodyne Spirit	...	...	...	...	...	0	4	6
	12	Item to himself the Mixture	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	17	Item to the Servant an Anodyne Plaister	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	2
June	2	Item to himself some Diachylon Plaister	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
July	4	Item to Mr John a Diaphoratic Bolus	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	10
		Item a Wafer	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	1
	6	Item some Flowers of Brimstone	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
	7	Item a Pectoral Mixture	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	10	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	13	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	15	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	18	Item a Purging Ptisan for a Servant	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
		Item to Mr. John the Mixture	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	21	Item a Vomit	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
	27	Item the Mixture	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	29	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
	30	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
Aug.	18	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	...	0	3	6
Sum here is								£	109	13	1

1738.

								£	s.	d.
		Account etc brought forward	...	...	...	...	...	109	13	1
Sept.	12	Item to the Cook a Vomit	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a Dose Sacred Tincture	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	10
	14	Item some Styptic Powder	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
		Item some Styptic Tincture	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
		Item an Astringent Mixture	...	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a Styptic Mixture	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	9
		Item an Astringent Electuary	...	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
	15	Item a Glass Astringent Mixture	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
		Item some Styptic Spirit	...	...	...	...	...	0	0	4

							£	s.	d.
Oct.	31	Item Mr. John a Vomit	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item a Bottle Emulsion	...	...	...	...	0	1	6
Novr	28	Item digestive Ointment for the Groom	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
1739									
May	30	Item to himself some Locatillus Balsam	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
June	2	Item the same in less quantity	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
July	3	Item to Mr. Innes a Dose Sacred Tincture	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
	7	Item to 12 Doses of the Powder of Bark	...	...	...	...	0	4	0
	12	The Stomachic Materials for 3 bottles Wine	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
		Item 6 Doses of the Bark	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
	20	Item the Materials	...	...	...	...	0	6	0
		Item the Powders	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
		Item some eye Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	0	8
Aug.	30	Item Mr. Ross a Glass Wade's Balsam	.....	...	...	...	0	1	8
Oct.	2	Item to himself the Pills with Aloes	...	...	...	...	1	15	0
	23	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	1	15	0
Novr.	14	Item to the Servant a Box Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Deer.	12	Item a Dose Physic	...	...	...	...	0	1	4
1740.									
Janry	24	Item to himself the Pills as last 16 Doses	...	...	...	...	0	5	0
Febry	1	Item to the Coachman an Anodyne Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	1	8
	2	Item an Anodyne Plaister	...	...	...	...	0	1	2
	5	Item some Camomile Flowers	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
March	20	Item the Pills for himself	...	...	...	...	1	15	0
April	3	Item to Mr. Hay a Box healing Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	0	3
	4	Item a Glass dissentient Spirit	...	...	...	...	0	2	0
July	17	Item to a Servant Materials for a Fomentation	...	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item some Mercurial Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
		Item a Dose Purging Powder...	...	...	...	...	0	1	3
	28	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	1	3
	31	Item a Dose Mercurial Pills	...	...	...	...	0	0	6
Sept.	1	Item to himself the Pill without Aloes	...	...	...	...	3	4	0
Novr.	8	Item some Diachylon upon silk	...	...	...	...	0	0	5
	15	Item 12 Doses Rhubarb Pills	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
Deer.	5	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
1741.									
Janry	13	Item ditto	...	...	...	...	0	12	0
June	9	Item to the Servant some Mereurial Ointment	...	...	...	...	0	0	4
Oct.	22	Item to himself the Pills with Aloes in large quantity	...	...	...	...	2	16	0
Sum here							...	...	...
							£125	9	4

					£	s.	d.
1741.		Account, etc., brought forward	...	...	125	9	4
Dec.	16	Item to himself a large Cordial Mixture	...	...	0	3	6
	17	Item a Stomachic Bolus	...	...	0	1	0
		Item 2 Wafers	...	...	0	0	2
		Item a Pectoral Mixture	...	...	0	3	6
	18	Item the Bolus	...	...	0	1	0
	19	Item ditto	...	...	0	1	0
	20	Item ditto with a Wafer	...	...	0	1	1
	21	Item the Pectoral Mixture	...	...	0	3	6
		Item some Sage	...	...	0	0	1
	23	Item the Pectoral Mixture	...	...	0	3	6
	26	Item ditto	...	...	0	3	6
	28	Item ditto	...	...	0	3	6
	30	Item the Bolus with a Wafer	...	...	0	1	1
	31	Item ditto	...	...	0	1	1
		Item the Pectoral Mixture	...	...	0	3	6
1742.							
Janry	2	Item a Servant a dose Purging Pills	...	...	0	1	0
	4	Item to himself the Pectoral Mixture	...	...	0	3	0
	7	Item ditto	...	...	0	3	6
	9	Item ditto	...	...	0	3	6
	12	Item ditto	...	...	0	3	6
	17	Item ditto	...	...	0	3	6
	22	Item ditto	...	...	0	3	6
	24	Item ditto	...	...	0	3	6
	30	Item ditto	...	...	0	3	6
March	20	Item to the Cook some Camomile Flowers	...	...	0	0	9
	23	Item a Purging Ptisan	...	...	0	1	3
August	3	Item to the Servant materials for a Ptisan	...	...	0	0	10
		Item to another a Dose Rhubarb	...	...	0	0	8
Nov.	5	Item to the Cook a Vomit	...	...	0	1	0
	20	Item to his Lordship 2 Bolus's with addition	...	...	0	1	1
	23	Item a Squill Mixture	...	...	0	3	0
	25	Item the Groom some antipsoric Ointment	...	...	0	0	8
		Item the Purging Pills	...	...	0	1	4
		Item to the Footman ditto	...	...	0	1	4
	26	Item to his Lordship 6 Doses Pectoral Pills	...	...	0	3	0
	27	Item to Mr. Steel an Anodyne Ointment	...	...	0	1	0
		Item to the Maid a dose Rhubarb	...	...	0	0	8
Decr.	10	Item to the Housekeeper 12 Doses Laxative Pills	...	...	0	4	0

1743.		£	s.	d.
Janry	5	Item to his Lordship the Bolus	0	1 1
		Item 2 Wafers	0	0 2
	8	Item a Glass Disentient Spirit	0	2 8
	15	Item ditto	0	2 8
June	30	Item the Pills guilded as last	2	16 0
Novr.	4	Item to the Groom a Vomit	0	1 0
	5	Item a Pectoral Mixture	0	3 6
	11	Item ditto	0	3 6
		Sum here	£133	0 6

1743.		£	s.	d.
		Account etc brought over	133	0 6
Nov.	11	Item to the Footman a large anodyne ointment	0	5 4
	19	Item to the Groom a Pectoral Mixture	0	3 3
	22	Item to the Footman a Vomit	0	1 0
	23	Item to the Servant ditto	0	1 0
1744.				
Janry	22	Item to the Cook a Dose Salts	0	0 10
Febry	20	Item some Althea Ointment	0	0 4
April	12	Item to the Servant a Purging Bolus	0	1 3
		Item a Gargarism	0	0 10
	19	Item to the Housekeeper some Camomile	0	0 9
June	12	Item for his Lordship a large Pectoral Lochoch	0	4 0
Sept.	1	Item for the Footman's Child a Vomit	0	0 8
	4	Item some pectoral oxymel	0	0 4
1745.				
Janry	4	Item to the Cook a Vomit	0	1 0
	24	Item to Mr. Ross two Vomits	0	2 0
Febry	8	Item for the Postilion a dose Physic	0	1 3
March	18	Item to the Cat a Vomit	0	0 2
April	18	Item his Lordship's Pills with Aloes Guilded	2	8 0
June	4	Item for the servant some Ointment	0	0 6
	8	Item to the Housekeeper a Vomit	0	1 0
	20	Item to the Servant Pectoral Pills 16 doses	0	5 4
	27	Item ditto 12 doses	0	4 0
July	2	Item ditto as first	0	5 4
Augt	6	Item to the servants wife some digestive ointment	0	0 8
	7	Item some healing ointment	0	0 8
	12	Item some Green Balsam	0	2 0
Oct.	10	Item my Lords Pills as last	2	8 0

							£.	s.	d.
1746.									
May	8	Item a Mutchkine of the Elixir	...	...	...	0	8	0
June	1	Item for the Postilion some camphorate Spirit	...	...	...	0	1	4
	5	Item a Dose of Physic	...	...	...	0	1	3
	6	Item some ointment	...	...	...	0	0	4
	12	Item the camphorate Spirit of Wine	...	...	...	0	1	4
	19	Item ditto	...	...	...	0	1	4
1747.									
Febry	4	Item for my Lord a Castor Bolus	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item 2 wafers	...	...	...	0	0	2
	5	Item a large Squill Mixture	...	...	...	0	3	0
	7	Item a Pectoral Solution	...	...	...	0	3	3
	8	Item the Squill Mixture	...	...	...	0	3	0
	14	Item for the Servant a Vomit...	...	...	...	0	1	0
June	12	Item for the maid a Blister behind the Ear	...	...	...	0	0	3
		Item some healing Plaister	...	...	...	0	0	10
	29	Item a Vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
Nov.	4	Item to the Servant a Glass of Anodyne Spirits	...	...	...	0	0	4
	5	Item for his Lordship a Vomit	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item 3 doses of White Vitriol	...	...	...	0	1	0
		Item some Camomile Flowers	...	...	...	0	0	3
	7	Item the Squill Mixture	...	...	...	0	3	0
		Sum here	...	...	...	£141	12	8
1747.									
		Account ete brought over	...	...	...	141	12	8
Novr.	8	Item the Squill Mixture	...	...	...	0	3	0
	12	Item some Volatile Spirits	...	...	...	0	1	0
	13	Item the Squill Mixture	...	...	...	0	3	0
	15	Item the same	...	...	...	0	3	0
	18	Item the same	...	...	...	0	3	0
	21	Item the same	...	...	...	0	3	0
	30	Item a bottle bitter Infusion	...	...	...	0	2	0
Dec.	1	Item an emolient Glyster	...	...	...	0	1	6
		Item a Bag and Pipe	...	...	...	0	0	8
	4	Item the Glyster	...	...	...	0	1	6
	11	Item a Cerecloth for his Body	...	...	...	5	11	½
		Item Embowelling	...	...	...	
		To attendance during the currency of the Accompt				31	10	0	
		Sum total is	...	...	...	£179	15	5½

Edinburgh 17 March 1748.

Pay to Alexr Monro Chirurgion in Edinburgh six months after date hereof the above sum of One hundred and Seventy nine pounds fifteen shillings and five pence and half penny and place the same to the account of (Signed) John Forbes.

To
William Forbes writer to the Signet,

Edinburgh 25th August 1748

Received a Bond for the above Sum by Mr Forbes of Culloden to me

(Signed) Alexr. Monro.

APPENDIX III.
INDEX TO THE ORIGINAL "CULLODEN
PAPERS"

APPENDIX III.

Index to the Original "Culloden Papers."

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