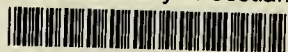


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ATHOLL
CHRONICLES

CHRONICLES OF THE
ATHOLL
AND
TULLIBARDINE
FAMILIES

COLLECTED AND ARRANGED
BY JOHN, SEVENTH DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T.

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOLUME III



EDINBURGH
PRIVATELY PRINTED AT THE
BALLANTYNE PRESS

1908

NOTE

*The first four volumes of the "Chronicles"
were issued in 1896.*

*In 1907 they were revised and, by the
addition of a fifth volume, continued
to the end of 1906.*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME THE THIRD

| | PAGE |
|--|-----------------|
| LORD GEORGE MURRAY | 4 |
| 6 TH SON OF 1 ST DUKE OF ATHOLL | |
| AMELIA MURRAY | 4 |
| WIFE OF LORD GEORGE MURRAY | |
| JOHN, 3 RD LORD NAIRNE | 15 |
| PLAN OF THE SKIRMISH AT CLIFTON | 113 |
| LORD JOHN MURRAY | 37 ^o |
| 8 TH SON OF 1 ST DUKE OF ATHOLL | |
| JOHN MURRAY | 412 |
| AFTERWARDS 3 RD DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T., ELDEST SON OF LORD GEORGE MURRAY | |
| LADY CHARLOTTE MURRAY | 413 |
| DAUGHTER OF 2 ND DUKE OF ATHOLL (SUCCEEDED AS BARONESS STRANGE, 1764), WIFE OF JOHN MURRAY, AFTERWARDS 3 RD DUKE OF ATHOLL | |





LORD GEORGE MURRAY
6TH SON OF 1ST DUKE OF ATHOLL

b. 1694. *d.* 1760



AMELIA MURRAY
WIFE OF LORD GEORGE MURRAY

b. 1710. *d.* 1760



ATHOLL CHRONICLES

SEVENTEEN hundred and forty-five will ever be memorable as the year of the last rising in favour of the Royal House of Stuart.

Thursday, July 25.—Prince Charles Edward landed at Borodale in Arisaig, accompanied by seven gentlemen, the principal of whom was William, Marquis of Tullibardine (elder brother of James, Duke of Atholl), who had been attainted after the rising of 1715, and had not been in Scotland since the unsuccessful attempt in Glenshiel in 1719.

In the following account of this rising of 1745, the two brothers, being rival Dukes of Atholl, will, to save confusion, be described as “Duke William” and “Duke James.”

General Sir John Cope to Duke James.

ED^R, Aug^t 17th, 1745.

My Lord,—I am honoured with y^r Grace's letter from Blair Castle of the 14th of Aug^t, wherein y^r Gr/ has been pleased to promise all the Information that can be procured, and every assistance y^r Gr/ can give in those places where your Interest lys. Y^r Gr/s countenance will be of great use to his Majesty's Service, and that your people may be employed in the most effectual manner, I would humbly propose to y^r Gr/ that they should be enlisted to serve with His Majesty's Troops for three months only, and not to serve anywhere but in Scotland. These two considera-

tions I hope will be an Inducement, and the capitulation I promise shall be strictly observed, and for which they shall have all the security can be desired.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,

My Lord, Y^r Gr/s most obed^t Humble Servant

J^{NO} COPE.

Duke James to General Sir John Cope.

BLAIR CASTLE, Aug. 17, 1745, 8 a clock.

Having got a violent inflammation in one of my eyes, you must excuse my writting to you in my own hand.

I have had several accounts this day relating to the invasion. *The first* was from a Gentleman, one Robertson of Woodsheal, in Rannoch,¹ who tells me that he mett with a man on Thursday of the name of Cameron who was endeavouring to seduce severall of the inhabitants of Rannoch in to the service of the Invaders, threatning upon refusall to set fire to their houses and lay waste all about them.

The second is the enclosed letter from McPherson, Barack master, Ruthven.

Att the *same time* I received the enclosed letter from the L^d President, and *lastly* the two Macdonalds came to me with the enclosed letter from Alex^r Macdonell of Keppoch, head of a particular Clan of the Macdonalds, who has severall followers; and *since* I have had an account, but I cannot assert it with any truth, that two companies of the King's Troops wer made prisoners; this report is not to be much relied upon.

You have here enclosed the information of the Macdonalds and Keppoch's originall letter wrote to them, to which I refer you.

As you see by McPherson's letter that the enemy pitch their standard on Monday, I should imagine ther was no time to be lost in guarding the passes, and as this is one of the most considerable into the low countries, I would submitt it whether it was not necessary to march a body of troops this way, as so many attempts have been made in my neighbourhood to seduce the people, and as this country is entirely unprovided with all sort of arms, it is impossible to answer what effect force may have to induce a defencless people. I shall expect your answer, which

¹ Woodsheal is in Glengarry. Duke James meant that Robertson of Woodsheal was in Rannoch when he wrote.

will enable me to proceed in the most proper method. If ther were two or three hundred arms sent here, with a few of the Regular Troops, it might be a means to preserve this country, and to prevent detachments of the Rebels from marching thro' it. I am, &c. ATHOLL.

N.B.—That Robertson of Woodsheal is constantly with Struan, and it is to be hoped Struan will not embark in this affair.

I have thought proper to enclose you Commissary Bissett's remarks upon the affair of 1715.¹

*Information of John MacDonald, Younger of Dalchosnie in Bunnaroch, of Captain John Murray's Company.*²

That upon Thursday the 15th August currant Cameron of Kinlochleven, Cameron of Blairchierr,³ Cameron of Blairmackalt,³ Cameron of Glennevis, Cameron (alias Macal^{on vice}sur³) of Strone, heads of the several tribes of the name of Cameron, came from Lochiel's country and entered Rannoch with a party of their servants and followers to the number of above 24, and went from house to house on both sides of Loch Rannoch, the North side belonging to Sir Robert Menzies, and the South side to Struan Robertson, and intimate to all the Camerons, which are pretty numerous on both sides the said Loch, that if they did not forthwith go alongs with them, they would that instant proceed to burn all their houses and hough their cattle. Wherupon they carried off of the Rannoch men about one hundred, mostly of the name of Cameron, amongst which there were nine of the Recruits that were listed by him, the informer, for Captain Murray's company, and had been duly attested—to wit, Archibald Campbell, Duncan Cameron, Angus Cameron, sen^r, John Cameron, sen^r, Dougal Campbell, John Cameron, jun^r, Alex^r Cameron, Duncan Cameron and Angus Cameron, jun^r. Likewise that there was an express sent from Alexander MacDonell of Keppoch, who, Thursday the 15th, intimate to Alex^r MacDonald of Dalchosnie, the informer's Father, and to Alex^r MacDonald in Drumchastle, both on the Duke of Atholl's lands of Bunnaroch, that if they did not immediately go and join him, Keppoch, they would be proceeded against with burning and houghing as above, and the same messenger that made this intimation, at the same time delivered

¹ Public Record Office, London.

² Of Lord Loudoun's Highland Regiment.

³ Have been unable to identify these names.—(A.)
Blairchirne?

them, Alex^r MacDonald of Dalchosnie and Alex^r MacDonald in Drumcharry, a letter directed to them from Keppoch requiring them to be at his house upon business of importance upon Friday the 16th.

Signed at Blair Castle the 17th of Aug^t 1745.

JOHN MACDONALD.¹

Monday, August 19.—The royal standard was raised at Glen Finnan on Loch Shiel by Lord Tullibardine, and the same day a considerable number of the neighbouring Highlanders joined the Prince.

Tuesday, August 20.—Sir John Cope wrote from Crieff to Lord Tweeddale, the Secretary of State, mentioning that Duke James had moved from Blair to Dunkeld, not thinking himself safe at the former place.¹

From the following letter, written by Lord George Murray to the Lord Advocate, it appears that at this date Lord George entertained no idea of joining Prince Charles.

Lord George Murray to the Lord Advocate.

DUNKELD, 20 Aug. 1745.

My Lord,—I wrote to you this day by the Perth Post. I now, (as I know it will be acceptable to your LoP to hear anything of moment,) I send you this by express to let you know that this night about 9 a clock Glengarry came here to wait upon my brother, as he had given him assurances he would upon this critical occasion, and wee all go tomorrow morning to Crieff to wait upon the General.

Your LoP will have much better intelligence of what passes in the North than I can pretend to give you. What Glengarry tells us is this—That Lochiel and Keppoch attackt the two companies of the Royal betwixt Fort Augustus and Fort William; there were 4 or 5 private men of the Regular Troops killed, and the rest, being 82, taken prisoners. Captⁿ Scott was slightly wounded in the top of the shoulder; But they have not attempted anything against Fort William or Fort Augustus, and Glengarry is positive they neither will nor can. They have no cannon

¹ Public Record Office, London.

but smal things of a pound bore. The ship that brought the Invaders is gone, and they are not above 12 or 16 that landed with the young Pretender, and nobody belonging to this country except my eldest Brother. Lochiel's People, Keppoch's, ClanRanald's, Appin's and Glenco's are the people that are joining and gathering to a head. Glengarry says he cannot answer for it but some of his people will be with them, but is positive many of them will not, for he had assurances from them to the contrary, but thought it best to retyre out of the Country himself, as he had reason to believe there would be attempts made upon him, and as he had given my brother Atholl assurances of his coming to him if anything of this nature should happen. Y^{rs} &c. GEORGE MURRAY.¹

The Lord Advocate (Robert Craigie) forwarded Lord George's letter to Lord Tweeddale, and wrote concerning Glengarry as follows :—

The Lord Advocate to Marquis of Tweeddale (extract).

EDINB, 22 Aug^r 1745.

I have also intelligence, that I think is highly probable, that the Lady Glengarry, who is a daughter of Gordon of Glen Bucket's, went last week to her Father's house, and staying but one night, brought her Father to Glengarry, and tho' I know Glen Bucket to be a keen Jacobite, yet I know him to be no fool, and I believe *he* hath induced Glengarry to give up himself, rather than any promises to the Duke of Atholl. Glengarry is but a weak and indolent man, and constantly drunk, and I believe Glen Bucket thought it better for the Family that he should be with the Duke of Atholl, to save his forfeiture, than all the assistance he could give to this rebellion.¹

Thursday, August 22.—Lord Tullibardine, who had now assumed the title of Duke of Atholl, issued orders from the camp at Lochiel to the Atholl vassals to be ready to join the Prince when he should arrive with his forces in their district.

General Cope rendezvoused his troops at Stirling, from whence he marched on August 20 with an army of about

¹ Public Record Office, London.

2000 men, composed of two companies of Lord John Murray's Highland Regiment (43rd, now 42nd), five companies of Lee's (44th), Hon. Thomas Murray's Regiment (46th), ten companies, and eight companies of Lascelles' Regiment (47th); also four field-pieces and a great deal of baggage, which took above 400 horses to transport. His route was by Crieff, Amulree, Tay Bridge, Trinafour, and Dalnacardoch.

Meanwhile Duke James had sent orders to Gregor Murray at Coinneachan to raise the Glenalmond men, and join Cope as he passed, which he accordingly did at Amulree. When the army reached Tay Bridge, Gregor and his men left, and proceeded to Blair, to get further orders from Graham of Fintry, the factor. He accompanied them back to the army, which they rejoined at Dalnacardoch; but as Cope would allow them no pay with which to support themselves, they dispersed there and returned to their homes.

Monday, August 26.—Cope's army arrived at Dalwhinnie, and on the same day Prince Charles (who had set out from the west about four days before) reached Letterfinlay, with what Highlanders had joined them.

Tuesday, August 27.—The Prince's forces advanced to the pass of Corryarrick, where they hoped to encounter Cope. That general, however, most unaccountably declined an engagement, and instead of marching west to Garvamor to intercept the Prince, made the best of his way north to Inverness, where he arrived on the 29th. As he passed Ruthven Castle he took along with him two companies of Guise's Regiment (6th), who formed the garrison, leaving only one sergeant and twelve men in charge of the barracks. At Inverness he was further reinforced by some companies of Loudon's new raised Highland Regiment, and by 200 Munros. Prince Charles, finding that Cope had avoided him, and left the south road open, at once resumed his march.

Wednesday, August 28.—His Royal Highness reached Garvamor. From there a party was detached in quest of Cluny Macpherson, younger, and took him prisoner within his own house. He had recently been appointed a captain in Lord Loudon's Regiment, but, like many of his brother officers, he afterwards joined Prince Charles.

Thursday, August 29.—The Highland forces marched to Dalwhinnie. The same day Lochiel, with 200 men, made an attack on Ruthven, but the sergeant's party left in charge made so stout a resistance that Lochiel gave up the attempt, after losing one man killed and two wounded.

Friday, August 30.—The Highlanders reached Dalnacardoch. From there Duke William sent an express to his cousin, the Hon. Mrs. Robertson of Lude (a daughter of the late Lord Nairne), desiring her to repair to Blair Castle and put it in order, and also to do the honours of the house when His Royal Highness should arrive.¹ Fintry, evidently wishing to show the Prince attention whilst at Blair, ordered some grouse to be killed on the occasion, addressing the following letter to the head-keeper at Dunkeld:—

Robert Graham of Fintry to Alexander Crerar²

BLAIR OF ATHOLL, *Aug. 30, 1745.*

Alexander Crerar,—if you have no necessary business at Dunkeld, I think you should come up here tomorrow, and if possible to kill some fowls by the way.

ROB. GRAHAM.

Saturday, August 31.—Prince Charles arrived at Blair Castle, and Duke William, after an exile of twenty-nine years, took possession of his estates, to which, except for his attainder, he would have succeeded twenty-one years previously.

¹ See vol. v. *addenda* xxi.

² Alexander Crerar, "fowler" to Duke James, was father of John Crerar, head forester and keeper with the fourth Duke.

The forces who accompanied the Prince consisted of only about 1800 men.

| | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Camerons of Lochiel . . . 650 | Macdonells of Keppoch . . . 220 |
| Stewarts of Appin . . . 220 | Macdonells of Glengarry and |
| Macdonalds of ClanRanald . 205 | Grants of Glenmoriston } 500 |

Commissary Bissatt to Duke James in Edinburgh (sent by McLaren, a Garden man).

BLAIR CASTLE, the 31st of Aug^t 1745.

May it please y^r Gr/,—The young Pretender, your Brother, and the Highlanders, came here about three o'clock in the afternoon this day. They all as yet behave verry civilly, and I expect they'l continue so dureing their stay here, which will be till Munday morning. From this they are to go to Perth by way of Dunkeld.

I rode out two or three miles and met them, and spoke both to your Gr/s Brother, and such of the Cheftanes as I was acquaint with, and settled matters so with them, as that I was to get the men all right quartered in the Country about, and served in provisions, which I have done, and on the other hand they are to pay for all they receive.

They have not many horses, but I have, with Nicolas's¹ consent, allou'd them the park where the Hay was cutt, immediately above the Wilderness and be west Banvie, to prevent their overunning the other inclosers. Yet I am more affray'd of tomorow's night, when, as Lady Lude tells me, the Duke of Perth, Lord Nairne, with other Low Country gentlemen, and their men, are to joyn with 800, amongst which there will be many horses.

The Highlanders doe not yet exceed in number 2000, and they'l scarce be so much, two thirds of which are the poorest naked like creatures imaginable, and verry indifferently armed; I doe not think the one half of their guns will fire. Some of them have guns without swords, and some swords without guns.

The young Gentleman himself seems to be good natured, but I doe not think that he hath verry much in him, and your brother is still the old man as he was; he looks as if he were of greater age by ten years than he is.

¹ Nicholas Harisone, farm grieve.

There are with them five or six gentlemen, that came over in the ship with them, old aligrougus¹ like fellows as ever I saw.

All Glengarrie's men are of the number. They say that they are commanded by Glengarrie's son Angus, but I have not seen him yet, and am not sure if this is fact. But I'm sure that both Barastell & Lochgarrie are with them, for they dined with the rest here this day, as did Keppoch and ClanRanald. I caused kill a cow and one of the large sheep for them last night. Your Brother seems much pleas'd with all that yr Gr/ hath done at this place, and is also, by the character that I and others have given of Mr Harisone and his daughter, much satisfyd with them.

I shall be sure to give yr Gr/ dayly accounts of what passes while in this country.

I thought there had been pine aples in Italy, but it seems not, for we hapened this day to get one up from Dunkeld, whereof the young gentleman did eat, and said that it was the first that he had ever seen. Your Brother wanted much to know what was become of the Brass pieces that were here, and I told him that I knew not, that I had never seen them since the 1715.

He also enquired narrowly if there was any armes in the house, and I assured him there was none, nor as many in all Atholl as would arm the half of a company. I have the honour to be, may it please yr Gr/

One of yr Gr/s servants,

THO. BISSATT.

Lady Lude is here with them, & behaves like a light Giglet, & hath taken upon her to be sole mistres of the house.

The intelligence of Cope's evasion of the Highland forces at Dalwhinnie, and of the consequent march of Prince Charles upon the low country, only reached Edinburgh on August 31st. The alarm was increased next day by the Duke of Atholl's coming suddenly to town on his way from Dunkeld, which he had left on the approach of the Highlanders.

It was reported that his Grace had been compelled to take this step with greater precipitation than would have otherwise

¹ Allagrugous = grim.

been necessary, by receiving a letter from his brother, the Marquis, calling upon him to deliver up the houses and estate which he had so long possessed unjustly. The venerable Thomas Ruddiman, who gave currency to this rumour by means of his paper, *The Caledonian Mercury*, was obliged during the same week to acknowledge it false, beg the Duke's pardon, and pay a fine of two guineas, besides being imprisoned for two days.¹

Commissary Bissatt to Duke James.

BLAIR CASTLE, the 1st Sept. 1745.

May it please y^r Gr/,—Litle hath occur'd since my last, only I find your Brother hath writt circular letters to all the Vassalls, and a number of them are mett this day in obedience thereto at Aldclune. What they'l resolve upon I know not. I hear that young Ballechan,² Kynechan,³ and Blairfety⁴ have determined to joyn, and are at this meeting, where I'm affray'd they'l not be good instruments.

I thought the highlanders would leave this place tomorrow, But I hear your Brother is to keep them for four or five days, that he may raise and press the Atholl men; mean time I see all this poor country will be eat up and ruin'd. They have parties out on every corner, that it's scarce possible any letters can escape them. Jamie Bissat sent the letters that came from Ed^r by the Innerness Post for y^r Gr/ by Alex. Morisone⁵ for Tullibardine, and at about ten a clock at night last night, passing through Glen Almond, he was seiz'd by Woodsheall⁶ and carried prisoner this day to this place, and all y^r Gr/s letters broke up. He rode upon Lady Jean's mear, and coud have easily made his escape, but he was so terryfyd, upon Woodsheall's shooting after him, that he stood and delivered up himself and his letters.

The Innerness post was also seiz'd last night, but luckily he got his bagg put out of the way, and I am trembling least a letter I sent for y^r Gr last night be Intercepted.

John Roy Stewart came here post this day. He hath come from

¹ Chambers's History of the Rebellion of 1745-46.

² Robert Stewart, younger of Ballechin.

³ David Stewart of Kynachan.

⁴ James Robertson of Blairfettie.

⁵ His Grace's cook.

⁶ Donald Robertson of Woodshiel.





JOHN, 3RD LORD NAIRNE

b. 1691. *d.* 1770

France in a Dutch ship, which happened to anchor in her voage to Leith at Newcastle, where he came out, and when she came to Leith he says she was search'd, Intelligence being given of his being in her, but mis'd him by his coming out at Newcastle as above said. It's given out here that he brought good news for thir people, to witt, that both the Kings of France and Spain had writt by him, John Roy, that they were to stand by the young Gentleman here as long as they had a man, but I believe this only contrived to encourage those already joynd to stand by him, and others to joyn.

I hear my Lord Glenorchy had raisd his men in order to be sent to joyn Gen^l Cope, but that they all with one voice declined goeing, and threatned, if he insisted, they would joyn the other side. Whereupon he was obliged to lett them allone, and he went off for Edin^r and left them.

In a word, I find it a difficult matter to find a persone at present that can be trusted, and am affrayd I shall not be long able to continue in this country.

I have the honour to be one of yr Gr/s Servants,

THO: BISSATT.

Thomas Bisset^t to Humphry Harrison (sent by Donald Gow).

DUNKELD, 1st Sept., 5 o'clock afternoon.

Sir,—I have never yet heard one word from the Commissar, or any of the Folks at Blair, which makes me think that they stop all that they catch with messages, as I am Informed that the Highland Army came to Blair yesterday at noon.

I have got no sure Intelligence what number there is of them, but some say that there came to Blair about three thousand, and that they left behind 2000 waiting Sir John Cope.

About nine this forenoon I was verry Impatient for some accounts to send His G: and I made a step over to Invar to see what I could pick up. I returned a little after ten, when I heard that L^d Nairne was at M^r Scot's and had sent for me. I immediatly went to M^r Scot's, where L^d Nairne, M^r Mercer of Aldie, and the young Laird of Gask, was going to take their horses and set out for Blair to join the Rebell Army. L^d Nairne took me by the hand and told me that he was sorry I did not come sooner, that he had first drunk the Duke's eldest Brother's health, and then His Grace's.

¹ Nephew to the Commissary.

He also told me that His G: has hitherto behaved verry honourably, and that he wou'd not repent it, and desired if I wou'd see His G: before his Lop: saw him, to tell him as much.

L^d Nairne said that he was sure the Duke had given me orders to be Civill to the Highlanders when they came here.

They sent for M^r Humfrys¹ and asked if he had any Pine aples ready, upon which M^r Humfrys brought one and a mellon, which L^d Nairne ordered his servant to carry alongs.

L^d Nairne sent for M^r Cornfute,² M^r Donaldson,³ the young Commissar,⁴ and Jamie Johnston,⁵ and gave them all their morning Drink.

His Lop: and his Company was in top spirits.

The Duke of Perth is to join the Rebells tomorrow with some hundreds of horses, and all that he can raise on foot as I hear, and the Earl of Airly they tell has allready sent all his men to Blair to join. In short, you cannot Imagine what ane alteration there is on the people here within this four and twenty hours.

For my own part, I don't know who to seek Information or Intelligence from. I have dispatched Crerar to see what Information he can bring me. I was at all the pains I cou'd in giving him directions how to go cautiously forward, but I am not sure if I can confide in him.

If it had not been the charge of the house I wou'd have sculked out myself on foot. I have got no accounts as yet what time the Rebells will be here. Jamie Johnston told me that he heard L^d Nairne say that if the Pretender's son did not expect more to join him in England then in Scotland he wou'd never make the attemp. Jamie tells me also that L^d Nairne told him that the Earl of Marshall is dailly Expected to land with some Thousands from Spain.

Baillie Spence and the Minister have left this Town. His G: may think that what I have writt is scarce worth while to send an express with it, but this is all I have learned since Sandy Morrison left this, and I shall without fail send His G: what Intelligence I possibly can pick from time to time.—I am,

Sir, y^r most humble Servant,

THO: BISSETT.

¹ The gardener.

² Rector of Royal Grammar School.

³ Merchant in Dunkeld.

⁴ James Bissat.

⁵ Boatman at Inver and innkeeper in Dunkeld.

*Thomas Bissett to Duke James (by Alexander Crerar).*DUNKELD, *Sept. 1st, 1745, Eleven a clock at night.*

Your Grace will see by the Inclosed that it is allmost Impossible to send y^r Gr/ any Information. As this goes by Alex^r Crerar, he can inform y^r Gr/ of all the accounts I got since I dispatched Don^d Gow at five this evening, who I am affraid will be taken by Duke of Perth or L: Nairne's people. Y^r Gr/ sees by the Commissar's letter that Sandy Morrison is taken prisoner, and the Inverness post's letters for y^r Gr/, together with a letter from me, acquainting y^r Gr/ of my Intelligence, is laid before the Pretender's son.

THO. BISSETT.

*Lord George Murray to Duke James (by McLarcu, a garden man).*TULLIBARDINE, *1st Sept. 1745.*

Dear Brother,—The Bearer came here about an houre ago. I would have forwarded the Inclos'd so as it readely would have overtaken you before you had got to the Ferry, but as probably you will have some return by the bearer, I thought best leting him go on (as the Comissary bid him) after he had rested two houres. A man just come from Glenalmond tells me that severall people in Armes are passing that way up & down. Your Cook was taken at the Newtoun, Glenalmond, out of his bed at midnight by five or six people on horse back. They have taken him, his horse, & Clogbag, & went for Amulrie. The man at the change house told the person that is come here he did not know one of them. I think it was a pritty odd road for your Cook to take at this time thro' the Hills.

The young Ladys desire their humble Dutys & seem much pleas'd with their journey. My wife is much as she was. I hope she will be reliev'd by bleeding. Adieu. Yours

G. M.

“Whilst the Prince was at Blair, he went into the garden, and taking a walk upon the bowling-green, he said he had never seen a bowling-green before; upon which Mrs. Robertson of Lude called for some bowls that he might see them, but he told her that he had got a present of bowls sent him, as a curiosity, to Rome from England.”¹

¹ Bishop Forbes's “Jacobite Memoirs.” The bowling-green was immediately on the south side of the present long-passage wing.

From Blair, Duke William sent the following orders to Glenalmond :—

*Duke William to Gregor Murray of Fogfield.*¹

CAMP AT BLAIR, 2^d Sept. 1745.

This is to Impower and authorise you, Grigor Murray of fogfield, upon sight hereof to raise for his Majesty's use my Tennants and Wadsetters of Glenalmon, which I desire & require you may do with all expedition and Dispatch, to join the army under his Royall Highness' command friday next at Perth, or wherever the Royall Standard may be for the time, and this you are to perform with all Dilligence & care as you shall be answerable.

ATHOLL.

*Warrant by William, Duke of Atholl, for raising the Balquhidder Men for King James's Service.*²

CAMP AT BLAIR, 2nd Sept. 1745.

This is to Impower and authorise you, Alexander Stewart of Glenbucky and Robert Murray of Glencairnaig, to be aiding and assisting to one another in raising for his Majesty's service my Vassalls of Balquhidder and Tennants there upon my property, which I desire and require you may do with all expedition and despatch, to join the Army under his royall Highness' command friday next at Perth, or wherever the royall standard may be for the time, and this you are to perform with all dilligence and care as you shall be answerable to

ATHOLL.

“*Monday, September 2.*—The Prince left Blair and went to the house of Lude, where he was very cheerful, and took his share in several dances, such as minuets and Highland reels. The first reel the Prince called for was ‘This is no mine ain house,’ and a Strathspey minuet.”³

¹ The English of Coinneachan. This letter was captured amongst Gregor's papers in 1746.

² MacGregor Papers. The Balquhidder people had already risen on their own account before this date.

³ Bishop Forbes's “Jacobite Memoirs.”

Tuesday, September 3.—The Highland army marched from Blair to Dunkeld, where the Prince lodged in his Grace's house.

Lord George Murray to Duke James (at Edinburgh).

TULLIBARDNE, 3rd Sept. 1745, Six at night.

Dear Brother,—I wrote to you this morning from Stirling, & I hope Lady Jane & Lady Charlot got safe to Edin^r. I was not a little deficulted when you left this place, & gave me the charge of your Daughters to bring them in to Edinburgh, for, to spake the truth, I was at that time resolv'd to take a step which I was certain you would disprove off as much when you knew it, as it would surprise you to hear it.

I never did say to any person in Life that I would not ingage in the cause I always in my heart thought just & right, as well as for the Interest, good, & Liberty of my country.

But this letter is not wrote with a view to argue or reason with you upon the subject. I own frankly, that now that I am to ingage, that what I do may & will be reccon'd desperat, & tho' all appearances seem to be against me, Interest, prudence, & the obligations to you which I ly under, would prevent most people in my situation from taking a resolution that may very probably end in my utter ruen.

My Life, my Fortune, my expectations, the Happyness of my wife & children, are all at stake (& the chances are against me), & yet a principle of (what seems to me) Honour, & my Duty to King & Country, outweighs evry thing.

If I er, it is only with respect to you. I ow obligations to no body else (I mean the Court of London), & if you find you cannot forgive me, yet sure you will pitty me.

Think what a weght there is upon my spirets, my wife really in a dangerous state of health (for it is no feign'd illness); she has been bled since I begun this letter, & God knows how she will be able to suporte herself in her present state of health, & the load that is on her spirets by my being determin'd to venture our all at this juncture. But I must do her that justice to say that tho' she is much against my rashness (as she calls it), yet when she found me determin'd, she did not dispute with me upon it. For now that we have been together above seventeen years, I

can say, tho' sometimes she might differ in opinion with me, she ever has yielded to my resolutions. And the present prooff she has given me of her acquiessing to my will, makes so deep an impression upon me, that nothing but so strong an atachment as I have to the cause I am to imbark in, could make me do what in all appearance must disturb her future quiet & Happyness. I laid my posetive commands upon her at parting yesterday to send to Stirling for me this morning, &, as she realy was exceedingly distress'd both in body & mind, she wrote me the truth, tho' she knew my purpose.

I will not venture to recommend her and my children to your protection. All I shall say on that head is, that a man of worth never repented of doing good natur'd offices. After what I have said, you may believe that I have weighted what I am going about with all the deliberation I am capable off, & suppose I were sure of dieing in the atempt, it would neither deter nor prevent me. I shall conclude with declaring that if ever it should be in my power to be of use to you, I would imbrace the occasion with a greatfull heart, & wish for nothing more then to be able to show you that I am, Dr Brother,

Y^r most affect^d Brother & Faithful humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

As to the rents of this place that are unpayd, I have given my wife a bill of £90 sterling of Borlom's, indorced to you, as I know there is a bond owing to his wife, which it will compenset so far. And my stoke of catle & furniture here, &c, will do much more then clear the bygone rents till Mertimess nixt. My wife ingages to do all in her power to see to the payment of our debts, which are mostly on Heritable Security.

There was twenty pounds I got of my son's money from Mr Harison, of which I laid out £8, 12s. Sterling, including the guinea to Cummen at Blair. Mr Harison will get the Black Stone horse sold, which will fully answer the rest. Adieu.

I forgot to tell you that I never spoke or interfeard with any of the Atholl Men, but now they are up (as I hear) you will excuse my doing my best, both with them & others.

Wednesday, September 4.—The Highland army moved south from Dunkeld and took possession of Perth.

The Prince dined at Nairne *en route*. On reaching Perth His Royal Highness was joined by Lord George Murray.

Graham of Fintry to Duke James.

DUKELD, 4th Aug^t [should be Sept.] 1745.

May it pleas y^r Gr/,—I wrot on Saturday and Munday last, which I hope cam to y^r Gr/s hands. The Highland army cam from Blair to this place yesterday, and marched this morning for Perth.

I do not hear of mutch damage they have done in this country.

The Strangers that lodged in the Castle at Blair and in this house seem'd extreamly pleased with their entertainment, as indeed they had very good reason.

The accounts y^r Gr/ had of them before you left Dunkel I think seems to have been prity just. They asked me no particular questions, neither did they desire me to joyn or assist them in any thing.

There had no Athollmen joyned them this morning when they marched from this place, but I hear of severalls will.

I should be glad to hear from y^r Gr/, and to obey your commands as far as I can, & am with great respect and Sincerity, Y^r Gr/s most obedient humble Servant,

ROB: GRAHAM.

Duke William to Baron Reid and other Vassals.

DUNKELD, 4th September 1745.

Gentlemen,—As I understand that you and the rest of my Vassalls and tenants do not bestirr y^rselves with that activity that becomes Loyal Subjects for the King's Service, and that, according to my Circular Letters, directed to you from Blair, I warned you of the dangerous consequences of disobeying my commands as y^r Superior, but rather then you should pretend ignorance by any excuse whatsoever, I once more desire and require you peremtorely on sight hereof to raise in arms all the men you can, and meet at Pitlochrie against the time formerly concerted, & joine the King's standard with all speed.

Your disobeying of this will oblige me immediatly to call for a strong detachment from his Royall Highness, to use you with that hostile rigour that all Rebels & disaffected people to their King & country deserve.

ATHOLL.

'See Addenda, pp. i, ii.

*Lady George Murray to Duke James.*TULLIBARDINE, 5 *Sept* 1745.

My Lord,—I take the liberty of writing y^r Gr/ a few lines to acquaint you that before L^d George went away (where I need not name, because no doubt y^r Gr/ will have heard of it before you receive this) He gave me a Letter for y^r Gr/, but recommending to me at the same time that it might go by a sure hand, & be safely deliver'd, there being, as he told me, a Bill in it, so can't venture to scnd it at present, hearing that the roads are full of loose people.

The step which L^d George has taken y^r Gr/ may be perswaded most deeply concerns me, but as it comes ill from a wife to blame her Husband, I must endeavour patiently to suffer what I cannot help; & what, with uneasiness of mind & being still indispos'd, will I hope plead my excuse for so confus'd a scroll.

Being y^r Gr/ to forgive this trouble, I ever am, with great regard & respect,

My Lord, y^r Grs most aff^{ate} Sister & most humble Servant,

AMILIA MURRAY.

I hope the Ladys got safe & well to Edin^r. I begs leave to make offer of my most aff^{te} humble service to their Laps.¹

*Lord George Murray to Duke William.*PERTH, 9 *Sept* 1745, *Monday*, 10 *fornoon*.

Dear Brother,—The Prince certainly marches tomorow, and for God's sake, cause as many of the men as possible march for Dumblane, so to be there tomorow, being Teusday, or early on Wednesday. If you could be yourself at Tullibardine to confer with H.R.H. tomorow about midday, it would be of infinite consequence for the good of the cause; but if you cannot be there so soon, the Prince will leave his directions for you in writeing, which will be to this efect:—He being to push forward with the utmost expedition, you are to act with a seperat body, and to quarter at Blair Castle.

The Highlanders that His Hyghness is posetive will join you from the north and west, with the remender of your own men that you cannot get

¹ See *Addenda*, pp iii-vi.

sent off with Lord Nairn, &c, will soon be as stronger body then that which he crosses the Forth with. I recon Strickland goes up to you. Your Bagage and servant will be this day at Tullibardine. If you come there you will order it to Blair, and I have horse and cartes, &c, at your command. Perhaps you may soon be in a condition to come down and take up your quarters here, espesially if you hear that Cope imbarks for Leith. 100 bolls of meall goes up to Dunkeld this moment; money, meall, &c, will be apoint-for you as far as posible, but the particulars you will know at Tullibardine. Yours,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Pray keep Mr N. Macglashan with you for despatches.¹

Duke William to Commissary Bisset.

BLAIR, *Sept. 9th, 1745.*

Sir,—By your upright and carefull diligence, authority, and influence with the young Commissary, your son, to whom I join my good friend Mr James Scot, as you'l acquaint him, I expect, demand, and positively require that the Dunkeld company of men, formerly consisting of sixty good men, come up here against tomorrow night, without farther delay, as you and your son will be answerable to me at your peril, since our King and Country's cause can allow of no further idle excuses or imposing pretences, to frustrate my just expectations, which I expect will be readily comply'd with as you regard your own honour and safety. Therefore, don't imagine that people of honour are to be sham'd off with pitifull stories. You must be here tomorrow morning, and be sure your son come along with the men in the evening; and remember that I depend upon him, as you will oblige one who has always endeavoured to serve and protect honest men. I am, Sir, Your aff^{te} humble Servant

[ATHOLL].

Tell your nephew, Thomas Bisset, that I would have him come up along with you to settle the concerns of my house at Dunkeld, to his and every body's just satisfaction, as well as my own; he must bring along with him what sadle horses fitt for service, either in the parks or stables, with the two best work horses, and remember that I here recommend that

¹ Blair Drummond Papers, Book of Menteith.

no arms be hid or left in the house or about the town, which can be usefull to me or the men that are coming up. Forget not, on this occasion, that I shall always be your good friend if you give me sufficient proof that you deserve it.

This goes, with a flying seal under cover, to Mr Scot. Tell Chas^s Stewart the Barber, if he does not come to serve me, he must go out as a Soldier.¹

Lieutenant-Colonel Spalding of Glenkilrie to Duke William.

GLENKILRIE, y^e 10th Sept. 1745.

May it please your Grace,—I had the honour of two letters directed by your Gr/ to me; the one came to my hands the third, and the oyr^e the eight instant, and I may verrey freely say that I did exert myself, as farr as my present state of health and situation could alow, to obey y^r Grace's commands. I am verrey sorry that I have to say that there is greater difficultie to raise the men of this Countrie than ever I see'd before, and that it seems to me that nothing will raise them to purpose without a pairty, but it will be understood twixt this and tomorrow night or Thursday morning who will goe out voluntirly. Mr Ogilvie, younger of ^{Rte} ~~Sh~~anavey, spoke to me yesterday, and told me his Father is engaged with L^d Ogilvie to answer for his lands in Glensla. I desired his son to raise his fayr's men in Glenshee and the neighbourhood theire; he promised to me to doe so, and to goe forward tomorrow the eleventh, but he expects to be an officer, (I mean a subaltern comission). I encouraged him in his demand, and I doubt not but he will impliment his promise if the men rise for him. Mr Murray of Soilary went off in the afternoon yesterday with a few in order to hasten more to follow him; I expect some mor hase followed this morning. There shall be nothing neglected that lyes in my power in this matter. I am sorry that my bad state of health hase not allowed me to wait of y^r Gr/ shooner, but I would fain think and hoope that my distemper may shoon wear over, so as that I may have that honnour and pleasure.

I think y^r Gr/ or any man els needs not doubt of my activity and good inclinations to that good cause, and my constancy in serving that noble and illusterous family of Atholl. I doe think, with submission, that Mr

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Murray of Soilary is a person qualified to command a company, for I found him abundantly frank to join in that service. I can say no more at this time until I see how the country raises, and then I believe some more gentlemen will go along with them, & in the meantime I wish all prosperity & success to the just & honest cause.

I am yr Gr/s most humble & most ob^t servant,

AN. SPALDING.¹

During the time the Highland army lay at Perth, Lord George Murray and the Duke of Perth were appointed Lieutenant-Generals.

Duke William had returned to Blair, where he was engaged in raising the Athollmen. Lord George paid him a visit there, and after a stay of a few hours returned to Perth.

A sum of £500 was demanded from the city of Perth, and paid on the assurance that nothing else should be asked, and all supplies paid for.

After a stay of a week in Perth the Prince marched for Edinburgh.

The following account of the march was written by Lord George:—

Wednesday, Sept: 11th.—The small armie march'd out of Perth in very good order, & the towns people seem'd very well pleas'd that so good discipline had been kept, in so far as that none of them had the least reason to complain of any disorder.

Upon the march to Tullibardine, where the armie was to halt & refresh & the Prince to dine, Sr John McDonald,² wither it was that he had drunk too much that morning, (which was frequently his case), or that he had a naturall Brutality, was very rude to L^d Geo: Murray, Keppoch being present. The pretence he took was his being ill mounted, & said he was ill used in not being better provided. He was answered that tho' it was not his business to provide horse for any body, yet had

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence. See *Addenda*, pp. vi, vii.

² An Irishman and a French officer. One of the seven gentlemen who came over with the Prince.

he told him of his want, he would have indeavourd to have got him a better; & turning to Keppoch, to change the discourse, L^d George Murray said, to save time he had orderd two or three of the cartes with bread a nearer road, so that the men might have some victualls whenever they stopt, for he believd there was chees, small beer, or milk enough at his house to serve them all. Sr John McDonald said that show'd he understood nothing of the mater, for it was not in his power to alter the order of march in any thing, so he ought not to have order'd them cartes off, except it had been so express'd in the order of march. Keppoch said he believ'd Sr John must either be drunk or mad, if not both, & it was best taking no notice of him.

Some time after the Prince came to Tullibardine Mr O'Sulliman¹ came from Perth, where he had staid some houres after the others, & brought with him the old Provost of Perth, and another Burgar, prisoner, under pretence that the Post Master's wife (for the man himself was not in town) had not pay'd twenty pounds sterling to which she was taxt. This was a very foolish & improudant step, for it could not but be look'd upon by the town, who had pay'd the money demanded of them, as a breach of what had been promis'd them, that neither they nor their goods were to suffer by the Prince's Armie.

L^d Geo: Murray spoke & compleand of it to the Prince. Sr Thomas Sherrodon,² with knit brows, said if they did not show them kind of people their power when they did not obey what was order'd they would p . . . upon them. Thes were his very words. However L^d Geo: Murray after diner made another atempt, & with abundance of dificulty got the provost Liberat. He also spoke to a Lady³ that was there to see the Prince about a Horse to Sr John McDonald, & she made him a present of a very pritt one, furniture & all. The Prince got to Dumblane that night, tho' a good many of the men, as it was very leat, lay all night about the Roman Camp at Ardoch. L^d Geo: Murray stay'd to come up with them early nixt day (*Thursday, Sept: 12th*) to Dumblean, where the Armie Halted that day, & the Highlanders lay in the park of Keir.

Nixt day (*Friday, Sept: 13*) they march'd pritty early thro' Doun &

¹ An Irishman.

² Had been the Prince's tutor. Mr. O'Sullivan and Sir Thomas Sheridan both came over with the Prince.

³ Probably Lady George.

to the foord of the Frews upon the Forth. L^d Geo: Murray marching at their head in his Kilt. They expected that the two Regements of Dragouns that was then at Stirling would have disputed the pasage of the River, but they did not appear, & when the Highland Armie (who were not above two thousand men) pass'd the River the Dragouns left Stirling and march'd southward.

The Armie Halted at Lecky, and besides a great many sheep that were brought in to them, they run to the Hills & kild a number of others, belonging to the country people, tho' the Duke of Perth & a good many did all in their power to hinder them, by rideing up & down the Hill & bringing them off from runing down the sheep. The armie lay that night at Tuch.¹

Nixt day (*Saturday, Sept: 14*) they march'd early, & pass'd by Stirling, holding about a mile to the south side, not to be in reach of the cannon of the Castle. As the Van march'd through S^t Ninians the Castle fired some Cannon at the Royall Standard, which was in the Center, but did no hurt.

The Armie drew up near to Banakburn to refresh, & got Bread, chees, & beer (for payment) from Stirling, that town having opned their gaits upon a message sent them.

After a halt of about two houres they march'd forward, passing thro' Falkirk & lay upon a learge field of Broom on the east side of the Parks of Calander.

They had intelegence that the 2 Regements of Dragouns were incamp'd on the west side of Lithgow betwixt the Town & the Bridge of

It was resolv'd to attempt to surprise them, & L^d G: Murray with a choise detachment of a thousand men, Having Locheall, Keppoch, Clan-Ranald, M^r Macdonell son to Glengary, & Ardsheall (who commanded the Appen men). They march'd in exceeding good order, not a whisper to be heard, & just at Dane of day (*Sunday, Sept: 15*) they gott to the Bridge, but there they heard the dragouns had gon off at seven the night before.

Partys were sent to Borostouness, & to search for Armes & Amounition, & the Prince & the remender of the Armie came to Lithgow about nine in the morning. In the afternoon the armie marchd, but did not go above three miles. M^r O'Suliman, who went with the horse to reconaiter,

¹ See page 29.

& choise a fitt place for the Armie to incamp & ly all night, did not incline to be out of sight & at any distance; whither this proceeded from his not knowing the country, or too great caution, is not material, but the most of the officers observ'd it then and always afterwards that he never expos'd himself.

It was the loss of presious time to incamp at least three miles short of what was intended.

Nixt morning (*Monday, Sept: 16*) the Armie march'd, and, for the same reasons as the night before, they halted after marching about three miles and drew up in a Park on the east side of Kirkliston. In the afternoon they march'd towards Edinburgh, and when they came to Corstorphen, the Van halted & the rear march'd first, holding upon the west side of Corstorfine, as they could not go the nearest road to Edinburgh by reason of the castle.

The Armie camp'd upon a rising ground (at Gray's Mill) near the Hill foot, betwixt two and three miles from Edinburgh. Here L^d Elcho join'd, and in a litle time thereafter came a deputation from Edinburgh, the Prince haveing sent to summon the town to surrender. The terms proposed to them were to open their gaits and deliver up their armes, and that the contribution demanded should be moderat & settled afterwards. The Magistrats who had been sent out returned to report these terms.

About midnight a thousand men were detach'd to see to get in to the town, for as the Dragouns had left it and that there were only Militia within, it was certainly not tenable, and the town's people would have been fools to have made resistance, being abandon'd by the Military, as they must run a great risque of being plunder'd had the Highland Armie gone in by forse. The Detachment got into Edinburgh about Daybrake (*Tuesday, Sept: 17th*) at the Nether Bow Port, at the time it was opned to let in a coach, but there were fifty places they could have scal'd the walls with lethers, besides they had brought powder to have blown up one of the gates had there been resistance. They march'd to the town gard, whom they disarm'd, & there was not the least abuce or disorder committed.

The rest of the Army march'd by day brake, &, making a sircumference by Dideston, they drew up in the King's Park.

The Prince went and took up his quarters in the Abie.

*Extract from Duncan MacGregor's Journal of the Clan MacGregor's Transactions, 1745-46.*¹

Friday, Sept. 13.—We marched to Thornhill and the Ford of Frew. Our enemies threw thousands of "Crow's Feet" into the ford to stop us from going thro', but all in vain. We came that night to Seton's of Touch. He left the House personally, but ordered his Lady to invite Glencarnoch & Lochiel to her house, and she gave the Camerons & Macgregors three great oxen & so many hundreds of oat loaves, pots and cauldrons to boil the beef in, and we were greatly envied by the rest of the Clans. When Glencarnoch & Lochiel were at breakfast in the morning they heard shooting on the brow of the Hill. Lochiel said to Glen, "What shooting can be in the Hill?" Glen answered, "I shall tell you; the Camerons are shooting sheep in the Hill." "God forbid," said Lochiel, "it is the Macgregors." Glen replied, "I shall lay you one hundred guineas it is not the Macgregors." Upon this the two left breakfast, and drew their pistols, vowing if they were Camerons Lochiel would shoot them, & if MacGregors that Glen would shoot them, & by great fortune as they were passing the head of the Avenue, there was a Cameron with a sheep on his back. Lochiel fired, and shot him in the shoulder; there he fell. The two went a good way, & they found not a MacGregor yet.

During the march to Edinburgh Lord George wrote to Lady George :—

FROM THE CAMP AT THE PARK AT KEIR,
Thursday [Sept. 12], 10 at night (much fatigued).

I have once more an opportunity to write to you before we pass Forth, which we will do tomorrow morning. Our Main Gaurd is in sight of the Castle of Stirling, where, & thro' all the town, there is much light. I suppose they will not sleep so sound as I shall this night, for we have no fears of allarms.

I'm sorry I have taken off all your horse, but I do not like to oppress the poor people by taking theirs; for whatever excuse we may have for our baggage, we have non for taking them to Ride.

I pray God preserve you & your children. One comfort, I don't

¹ MacGregor Papers.

expect to be forfit; I can prevent that; I bless my stars it's in my power.
Fairwell, my Dearest, my best friend. Yours for ever,

GEORGE MURRAY.

I had a letter to-day from Lady Marie¹ about the Dutchess' horses being taken from Moncreiffe. Amidst my hurry I spent above an hour about it, and have orderd them to be restor'd. But for want of a servant being sent with the letter to atend, I wish there be no mistake.

Duchess Dowager to Duke James.

MONCRIEF, *Sept. 12th* [1745].

My L^d Duke,—I'm very glad to hear Y^r Gr/ & Ladys are well at Edin^r, as grived to hear of L^d George's misfortunes. I've never heard from his Lop: since, nor Marquis Tullibardine, but L^d Nairne spoke to M^r Anderson, that they were all surpris'd I had left home, & desired to let me know y^t if I w^d return I should meet with no disturbance, but I was happyer here, & had entended Sunday evening, when I left Huntingtoure, to gone to Falkland y^t night, & from thence determin'd either to gone to Edin^r or Halkhead, but I found it too late to go on my journey when I came to Bridge Ern, wher I staid y^t night, & nixt morning M^r Moncrief came there to me & gave me a kind invitation to this place, where we've been very happy, only my Lady Moncrief & I had a party for our horses yesterday morning, & are robed of them, w^{ch} I was not unwilling to part with rather then those ruffians should stay.

My Lord, 'tis presuming too farr to offer y^r Gr/ advice about y^r disposing of the young Ladys. I beg y^r Gr/to consider there youth, & how unfitt it is with all there good sence to leave them so much to themselves. & y^r Gr/ knows, whatever deferences are in y^r family, the Duchess of Atholl has a conferm'd character in vertue.

I'm not to enter into y^e subject of what's past in a letter, but beg y^r Gr/ to consider of this affair; 'tis serious, my Lord, & tho' y^r Gr/ should another year think fitt to bring them down, yet to leave them now so far from both parents seems a neglect y^r Gr/ may repent of. I beg it of y^r Gr/ out of real love to them, & tho' y^r Gr/ may think to go quicker, yet can certainly find a proper person to attend them to London. I beg y^r

¹ Lady Mary Murray, his half-sister.

Gr/s pardon, & know you'll belive my sincerity. And with Mary's most humble service to y^r Gr/, I am,

Y^r Gr/s most obedient & most humble Servant,

M. ATHOLL.

Douglas came safe here about noon. Y^r Gr/ will have heard of our happy deliverance, for w^{ch} we have great reason to bless God, & I hope to get home tomorrow.

September 12.—Mr. Maule wrote to Duke James from London, saying it was the Duke of Argyll's opinion that he should continue in Scotland as long as it was safe for him to do so, as it would have a better look, and he could procure intelligence from his own country and restrain the ill-affected and encourage the well-affected, Also that he should write to the Duke of Newcastle regretting Lord George's step, and promising all assistance to Government.

Extract from a Report of the Movements of the Highland Army, written from Edinburgh, September 12, 1745, by Captain Vere, the noted Government Spy.

They have four Brass cannon with them that they got at the Duke of Atholl's house, and twelve swivel guns that they brought from Lochabare with them.

There are great numbers of them perfect hurd boys, without arms, stockings or shoes, about 14 or 15 years of age.

They have Brass hilted swords tyed about them with straw ropes, and, as they are no better than a bandete of thieves and robbers, plundering the country every where they come.¹

John Stewart, Younger of Stenton, to Duke William.

STENTOWN, *Sept^r y^e 15, 1745.*

My Lord,—Y^r Grace's of the thirteenth current came to my hand yesterday's forenoon, by M^r Laird; and, in obedience to y^r Lordship's

¹ Record Office, London.

commands, I went to Dunkeld, but to no purpose, for I plainly see that the whole inhabitants there are quite degenerat from their ancestors, and not one spark of Loyalty among them; and, as the bearer can inform y^r Gr/, not one man of them will stir without force, and even then there is neither gun nor sword to be had; the Laighwood men are on the same footing, and have neither arms nor willingness. As for Inwar and Little Dunkeld, Charles McGlashan tells me they have delivered four men as their quota to M^r Mercer of Aldie.

Now, from what I have said, I leave y^r Grace to consider what is to be done with those unwilling people without arms. This is all occurs to me at the time. I wait y^r Gr/s further orders; and, with all sincerity and due respect, I ever am, My Lord,

Y^r Gr/s most humble, & most oblidged Servant,

JO. STEWART.¹

William Spence and James Bisset² to Duke William.

DUNKELD, *Sept.* 15th, 1745.

May it please your Grace,—We were honoured with y^r Gr/s favours of the 13th, desireing our raising and bringing up to Blair the Dunkeld Company ag^t Munday. We flatter ourselves that the humour and refractory temper of the Dunkeld people is not unknown to your Grace, that nothing but force, with your Grace's presence, or the presence of your officers with a party, can or will pull them from their houses, and that tho' we were to embark heartily in the cause, neither of us could influence or induce them to rise voluntarily; as we have no weight with them, they reckon themselves as to us independent, nay more, looking on us, upon account of our little trading, depending rather on them. As this is therefore the case, and that we have laid down a resolution not to dip or medle with the Interest of either party, we are inclined to think that even the advising, much more the forcing, is incompatible with the offices we bear, and the oaths we have taken.

We beg therefore your Grace will excuse us, put no hardships upon us, but allow us to live in peace, in terms of the Proclamation and Manifesto.

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² Baron Bailies of Dunkeld.

We both join in wishing your Grace health, happiness, and the continuance of that kindness you have shown our town, and us in particular. We are your Grace's most obliged humble servants

W^m SPENCE.

JAMES BISSETT.¹

Rose of Kilravock, writing on September 14 to Grant of Grant, stated that Duke William was lying ill from a fall from his horse at Blair. No other mention is made of this occurrence.

The second week of September a battalion of Athollmen, under the command of Lord Nairne, set out from home to join the Prince in Edinburgh. Their route was through Glenalmond to Crieff, and then *viâ* Dumblane to the Forth. They marched into camp at Duddingston on the 19th.

Duke William accompanied the battalion as far as Dumblane, whence he returned to Atholl to take up his duties as commander of the forces be-north Forth during the Prince's absence. On his return journey he spent one night at Tullibardine.

Robertson of Eastertyre to Duke William.

BALNAGAIRD, 15th Sept. 1745.

May it please your Grace,—My son tells me he has had the honour to wait off your Grace this day, and tho' he had no time to be equip^d in y^e way I could wish it, in order to overtake your Grace, he goes as he cam from Business. He was bred in the merchandise way, and writes a pretty good hand, and understands Book keeping.

If your Grace please to employ him in that shape, and to attend your Grace's person, I hope he will give content, and when it comes to Action, I hope he'll play the man. I recomend him to your Grace's care.

May Almighty God preserve your Grace, and grant success, which is the earnest wish of him who is, with greatest Respect & Esteem, May it please y^r Grace,

Y^r Grace's most humble ob^t Serv^t

JO: ROBERTSON.¹

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

*Duke William to Lord Ogilvy.*TULLIBARDINE, 15 *Sept* 1745.

My Lord,—This night my Lord Nairne, with a bode of Foot, and Lord Kellie, with some Fife Gentlemen, were to croass the Forth in order to joyn his Royal Highness.

As formerly, he has thought fit to give me the command on this side of the River Forth, I cannot but think it's proper that you should march what men your Lod^p has readie to Dunkeld, to joyn me tomorrow night, or as soon as possible, where you may mett some of the clans who are coming up, and allso be usefull in helping me to raise more men than I have as yet got out of that countrey; besides, it does not seem as yet safe for your Lordship to march after the Prince, unless you cou'd have met with the above detachment this night; therefore, I believe you will do very good service to the King by coming to Dunkeld or Blair.

As your Lo: lyies near to get Intelagence of the Enemy, I hope you will lay yourself out for sure information of them from time to time.

Pray let me heare from you so soon as possible; in the mean time, I am, Yours, &c.

[ATHOLL].¹*Duke William to Lord George Murray.*TULLIBARDIN, 16 *Sept*: 1745, *ten o'clock in the morning.*

Dear Brother,—Just now I had the pleasure of yours, dated yesterday morning from Lithgow, and am glad to find by it that H: R: H: and his armie is well and hearty. I went to Dumblain with my Lord Nairn and about a thousand men he brings up to the Prince, who were to pass the Forth last night; I am perswaded they will be no plunderers, being honest brave men, tho' dishertned for want of arms.

I am much surpris'd that Secretary Murray has omitted to send me, as he promised, the Regent's pour to command in the most regular manner; I hope you'll get it soon sent me by some trusty personne, with money to defray the charges of a considerable number of men, who, I presume, will yet be quickly got together in these parts to follow H.R.H. with the rest of the Clans, who, it's said, will be soon with us; and Lord Ogilvie, he and all with me, God willing, may ere long be able to join you

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

efectually, but armes and money is much wanted, of which I desired Lo : Nairn, Kynochan, and Blairfaite to fully inform our young master. I am, &c. [ATHOLL].

This night I am to be at Dunkeld on my way to Blair.—Adieu.¹

Elizabeth Campbell to Gregor Murray of Coinneachan.

MILLN RODGE, *Sept. 17, 1745.*

Sr,—My husband has bin this fiftin days in search of siven cous that was stolen out of the Bres of Lioeyn, and hei has got two of them, and is gone a gene in sherch of the rest, and if his sone would return to his busines hie wold be satisfied to get a man or five pounds, but hie is shure that his Grass the Duke of Atholl yould not deseir his son and monye tou, but if Mungo be determined to go, and wants his father's faver, hie will sie to get his indenters Discharged from his master, which will be iseyr to be had nou then after, which if hie dous not get whill the Hilland men is in town it will return on his father and afterwards be his oun los, and my frind lives this to your care, and wei live him to be drected by God and his oun mind, for I should be sorey if hie shou'd due ane thing that shou'd be for his oun los. this withe my serves to your self and Mungo, and I ever am your Humbell Servant,

ELIZ: CAMPBELL.²

Duke William to Lord Ogilvie.

DUNKELD, *Sept. 19th, 1745.*

My Lord,—I wrote your Lo^p on the fifteenth from Tullibardin, to which I have the answer by your express, who left your Lo^p this morning at Cortochy.

I thank you kindly for your Lordship's good will towards helping me in raising more men, which I hope may be done without compultion.

The letter your Lo^p sends me is from the Prince Regent's Secretary, Mr J: Murray, dated the 15th instant, who informs me that his Royal Highness desires you shou'd march forward to joyn him with all expedition, believing that you and the Mar men were 800 strong; therefore I intreat your Lo^p will make no delay in setting out for that end, as I shall

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence. *See Addenda, pp. vii-viii.*

² This letter was taken amongst Gregor's papers, February 1746.

likeways do, as soon as it is possible to get any considerable number of men together who may be fitt for his service, to which I can add no more, being, with perfect respect, my Lord, Y^r most ob^t & most humble servant,
[ATHOLL].¹

Duke William to Secretary Murray.

DUNKELD, *Sept.* 20th, 1745.

Sir,—Late last night I had the honour of your's, dated the fifteenth, under Lord Ogilvy's cover; there is here inclosed a copey of my answer to his Lo^p's letter, with a copey of the answer to my brother George's Letter of the same date with your's, for I am afraid it came not to hand, tho' sent by him who brought the accounts he sent me.

I hope his R: H:'s situation is mutch changed to the better from what it was then, since we are rejoycing here on repeted tho' indirect accounts that the Prince is in Pocession of the capitoll of his Antient Kingdom.

I heartily wish we cou'd frequently have sure Intelagence of your situation, by which it wou'd be mutch easier for us to direct our motions.

Pray, with my most humble deuty to his R: H:, let him know that nothing shall be neglected can possibly be done by me for his Service, and shall lose no time in Joyning him when any sufficient number of men can soon be got together.

I am told that some of the Clans are soon to be in these partes, so pray remember nothing can be done with them nor others to purpose without Armes, Amunition, and Money, which is principally wanted. Above a third of what you sent mc was given to the detachment passed Forth with my Lord Nairne; if the earnest desire I have to be with you is considered, one must be supported in unavoidable charges, besides on vcrbal orders I cannot shew suffitient Power to act in sutch a manner as is regularly fitt for his Highness's Service; Since that's my only Veu, I would rather receive Posative Orders, than be forced to act without a Perfect concert. I am, Sir, Your most humble & most ob^d S^{vt}

[ATHOLL].¹

To return to Cope and his army, who had reached Inverness on August 29th. After resting in that town for a few days

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

he marched for Aberdeen, which was reached on September 11th. Cope had sent an officer back to Edinburgh to order transports for his army to be despatched from Leith to Aberdeen, which he found waiting for him, and accordingly he embarked his troops, and set sail for Dunbar, where he disembarked on the 17th, the same day that the Prince entered Edinburgh.

Friday, September 20.—The Highland army marched from Duddingston to meet Cope. The strength of each army was much the same, *i.e.*, from 2500 to 3000 men.

This day was spent in various movements, and at night the two armies lay on the field half a mile apart, with a morass between them, not far from Tranent.

Lord George in his papers related the following anecdote:—

“In going through Tranent a rediculous insident hapned which shows how superstitious the Highlanders [are]. A large sow cros'd the ranks, & in a moment there were 20 durks in the beast, who fell down dead with makeing such squekes as may be imagined. A litle before they had got the lenth of that village, a hair getting up, severalls of the men shott at it and kill'd it. A poor country man, being near by, beleived they were shooting at him, which put him in no small fright till he was told what the matter was.”

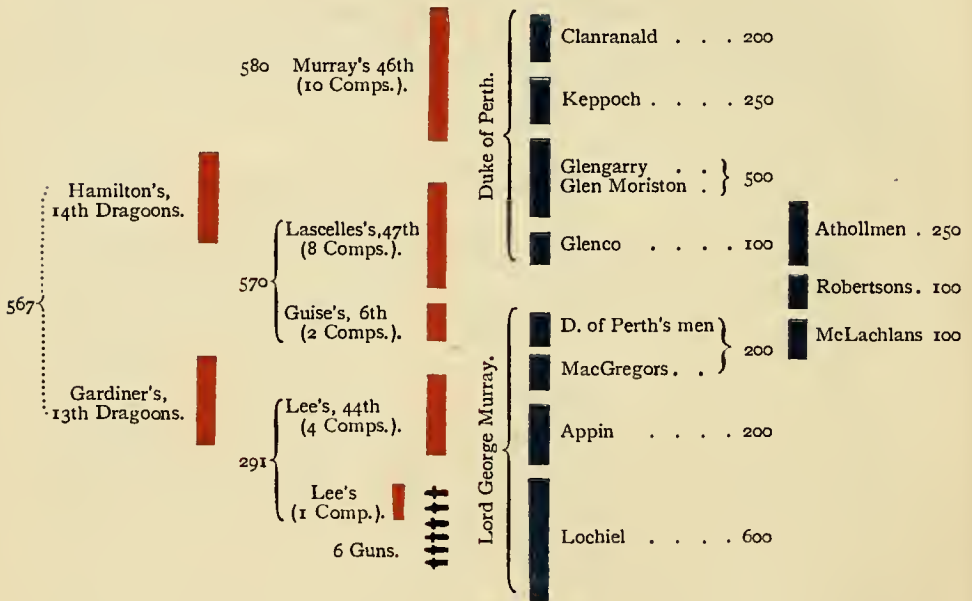
Saturday, September 21.—The battle of Prestonpans was fought. This action has been so frequently described that it will suffice here to say that the Highland army marched before 4 A.M., crossed the morass, formed line to their left, advanced immediately and charged the English troops, who, after one hurried fire, turned and fled; the action only lasted a few minutes. Immediately afterwards Lord George marched with the Camerons to Cockenzie and took possession of Cope's baggage and baggage-guard.

Cope himself escaped, and, accompanied by the Earls of Home and Loudon and some 400 dragoons, fled to Coldstream, which he reached that night.

A hundred of the infantry got safe into Edinburgh Castle, and seventy more made their way to Berwick.

The rest of his army were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, whilst the battery of six guns, the tents, baggage, and military chest fell into the hands of the victors.¹

The armies are believed to have formed line of battle thus—



One company of Lord John Murray's (43rd) and four companies of Lord Loudoun's Highland Regiment, 183 in number, were at Cockenzie with the baggage. The above numbers are taken from the *Scots Magazine*, and do not include officers, sergeants, or drummers, who would probably number 300 or 400.

¹ A wonderful victory considering the Highlanders were undisciplined and ill armed, and possessed neither artillery nor cavalry.

General Cope's loss at Prestonpans has been variously stated. Lord George Murray put it at 600 killed, 600 wounded, and 1100 prisoners unhurt.

Officers Killed—6.

| | | |
|---------------------------|---------|-----------------------------|
| Dragoons (13th), . . . | Colonel | Gardner of Bankton. |
| Guise's (6th), . . . | Captain | Holwell |
| Lee's (44th), . . . | „ | Brymer |
| „ . . . | „ | Rogers |
| T. Murray's (46th), . . | Ensign | Forbes, son of Edinglassie. |
| Lascelles's (47th), . . . | Captain | Stuart of Physgill. |

Officer Wounded and Escaped—1.

Gardner's Dragoons, Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, wounded in wrist.

Officers taken Prisoner—77.

| <i>Gardner's Dragoons (13th).</i> | | <i>Lord John Murray's Regiment (43rd, later 42nd).</i> | |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|--|
| Lieutenant | Grafton (<i>w</i>). | Captain | Sir Patrick Murray of Ochertyre. |
| Qr.-Master | Young. | Lieutenant | Farquharson, ¹ younger of Invercauld. |
| „ | Burroughs (<i>w</i>). | Ensign | Campbell, son of Barcaldine. |
| „ | West. | | |
| <i>Hamilton's Dragoons (14th).</i> | | <i>Lee's Regiment (44th).</i> | |
| Lieut.-Colonel | Wright (<i>w</i>). | Lieut.-Colonel | Halket, younger of Pitferran. |
| Major | Bowles (<i>w</i>), 11 wounds. | Captain | Cochrane, ² son of Ochiltree. |
| Cornet | Jacob (<i>w</i>). | „ | Chapman. |
| „ | Nash. | „ | Tatton. |
| Qr.-Master | Nash. | Lieutenant | Sandilands ³ (<i>s w</i>), 28 sword-cuts. |
| Doctor | Trotter. | „ | Drummond (<i>w</i>). |
| | | „ | Kennedy. |
| | | „ | Hewitson (<i>w</i>). |
| <i>Guise's Regiment (6th).</i> | | | |
| Captain | Poyntz (<i>s w</i>), hand cut off. | | |
| Lieutenant | Cumming. | | |
| „ | Patton. | | |
| Ensign | Wakeman. | | |
| „ | Irvine. | | |

¹ Afterwards married Amelia, Lady Sinclair, daughter of Lord George Murray, 1745.

² Afterwards Governor of the Isle of Man, 1751.

³ Master of Torphichen.

| | |
|------------|--|
| Ensign | Hardwick. |
| " | Archer. |
| " | Dunbar, son of Sir George of Mochrum. |
| Qr.-Master | Wilson. |
| Doctor | Young. |

Hon. Thos. Murray's Regiment (46th).

| | |
|----------------|---|
| Lieut.-Colonel | Clayton. |
| Major | Talbot. |
| Captain | Reid. |
| " | Cochrane. |
| " | Scott. |
| " | Leslie (<i>w</i>). |
| " | Blake (<i>w</i>). |
| Lieutenant | Sir Thomas Hay of Park (<i>w</i>), hand cut off. |
| " | Disney (<i>w</i>). |
| " | Wale. |
| " | Wright. |
| " | Simms (<i>w</i>). |
| " | Haldane (<i>w</i>). |
| " | Birmie. |
| " | L'Estrange. |
| Ensign | Sutherland. |
| Adjutant | Spencer. |

Lascelles's Regiment (47th).

| | |
|---------|------------|
| Major | Severn. |
| Captain | Barlow. |
| " | Forrester. |
| " | Anderson. |
| " | Corbet. |
| " | Collier. |

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Captain-Lieut. | Drummond, younger of Megginch. |
| Lieutenant | Swinie (<i>w</i>) |
| " | Johnston. |
| " | Dundas. |
| " | Herron (<i>w</i>). |
| Ensign | Stone. |
| " | Cox. |
| " | Bell. |
| " | Gordon. |
| " | Goulton. |
| Doctor | Drummond. |

Lord Loudoun's Regiment.

| | |
|----------------|---|
| Captain | Hon. Alexander Mackay, son of Lord Reay. |
| " | Munro, yr. of Fowlis. |
| " | Hon. John Stuart, son of Lord Moray. |
| Captain-Lieut. | McNab, yr. of McNab. |
| Lieutenant | Reid, yr. of Straloch. |
| Ensign | Grant, yr. of Dalrachnie. |
| " | Ross, yr. of Pitcalnie. |
| " | McLaggan, son of Minis- ter of Little Dunkeld. |
| Doctor | Hunter. |

also

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Lieut.-Colonel | Whiteford (<i>w</i>), Marines, a volunteer. |
| Major | Griffith, Master-Gunner, Edinburgh Castle. |
| Lieutenant | Carrick. |

Total officers prisoners—77.

Notes.—Those marked (*w*) were wounded in the action.The above returns are copied from the *Scots Magazine* for 1745.

The loss sustained by the Highland army is believed to have been—

4 officers and about 30 men killed.
6 „ „ 70 „ wounded.

Officers Killed.

| | | |
|------------------------|------------|---------------------------|
| Keppoch's Regiment . . | Captain | Archibald Macdonell. |
| Appin „ . . | „ | Robert Stewart. |
| Lochiel's „ . . | Lieutenant | Alan Cameron of Lindevra. |
| „ „ . . | Ensign | James Cameron. |

Officers Wounded.

| | | |
|--------------------------|---------|--|
| Glencarnock's Regiment . | Captain | Duncan MacGregor, brother of Glencarnock. |
| „ „ „ | „ | James MacGregor, son of Rob Roy. |
| Duke of Perth's „ „ | „ | Malcolm MacGregor, of Craiguie. |
| Lochiel's „ | „ | Cameron. |
| Unknown „ | „ | Macdonald. |

One other, name and regiment unknown.

After the battle the Highland army returned to their quarters in and about Edinburgh.

The well-known songs, “Tranent Muir” and “Johnie Cope,” were composed in commemoration of this victory.’

Immediately after, the following commission was sent to Duke William :—

Charles, Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, &c, to our Right Trusty & Well Beloved Will^m Duke of Atholl.

We, Reposeing especial trust & confidence in your Loyalty, courage, and good conduct, do hereby constitute and appoint you, in terms of y^r former Commission from His Majesty, to act as commander in Chief of the King's Forces, (we finding it necessary to remain in the southern part of the Kingdom,) benorth Forth, so long as we shall continue on this side; & hereby authorises you to do whatever you shall think most

'See Addenda, p. 1x.

condusive to His Majtys interest, & requiring all his Majtys officers to obey you.

Given in our Camp att Pinkey this 22^d of Sep^t 1745.

CHARLES, P.R.¹

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

EDINBURGH, 24th Sept. 1745.

D^r Brother,—I'm sure you would not blame me for not writeing, did you know the fatigue and various Dutys I have been oblig'd to undergoe, and am still subjected to.

I thought sending a person off the Field to tell you by word of mouth was better than any accounts I could write of our Batle.

I can now tell you for certain there can never be 500 men assembled of M^r Copp's Armie again, perhaps scarce the half.

Our loss may be about 36 killed and 50 wounded; Theirs, 600 killed, as many wounded, and 12 hundred prisoners besides, for of whole and wounded we have actually from 16 to 18 hundred prisoners, of which above 80 officers. The inclos'd print is not very correct, and take it altogether is pretty tolerable. I send you a list of his Highness' Privy Councile. We expect money & everything else will be got ready now, and those of the Councile who will act for ordinary are pretty well versed in affairs, and quite staunch.

Balgowan and Abercairney and others in our Country will furnish you with all the money can be got by them, and I expect some may be sent you soon from hence.

Nothing vexes me at present so much as that your men are much fewer in number than was expected, and of these few severals have deserted since they passed the Forth; I shall send lists of those by next, & intreat, if possible, you may make up our two Batalions 500 each, & wish M^r Mercer, (who will soon have a commission sent him), had one of the same number, in which case you could go to Perth for your own head Quarters, and take up the Cess and other taxes of Perth, Angus, and Fyfeshire; this I write as my own sentiment.

We have got above 1000 stand of more arms more than we want at present; 2000 targets and 500 tents are furnished by the town of

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Edinburgh, which, with what we have got from Cope's armie, will serve near double our number.

Being vastly wearied & sleepy, I conclude with my hearty wishes that the latter parte of your life may be as fortunate as the former was cross. Adieu. I am unalterably yours,

GEORGE MURRAY.

There is a young man, George Scot, sone to Mr James Scot at Dunkeld. if he is alive, he should improve himself in a good hand of write and Arithmetick. He would be very usefull, & you would have the goodness to assist him.¹

(*Enclosure.*¹)

LIST OF H.R.H.'s PRIVY COUNCIL.

President—

DUKE OF ATHOLL.

| | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|---------------|----------|------------------|
| Earl of | Wemyss. | Sir James | Stewart | of Goodtrees. |
| Lord George | Murray. | Mr. Andrew | Wauchope | of Niddry. |
| Viscount of | Strathallan. | Mr. Hugh | Hamilton | of Boggs. |
| Viscount of | Arbuthnot. | Mr. John | McLeod | of Muiravonside. |
| Viscount of | Kenmuir. | Mr. John | Stirling | of Keir. |
| Lord | Nairne. | Mr. Archibald | Stewart | L. P. |
| Lord | Elcho. | Mr. James | Graham | of Airth. |
| Lord | Ogilvie. | Mr. John | Murray | of Broughton. |
| Lord | Cardross. | | | |

The following orders to Gregor Murray of Coinneachan were seized amongst his papers when he was made prisoner in 1746 :—

By William, Duke of Atholl, &c., Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces benorth the River of Forth.

These are requiring and ordering you to raise a man on the Merk Land of our Property of Glenalmond, and to march with them to this

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

place, so as you and they may be here friday next the twenty seventh curr^t, as you shall answer upon your and their peril.

Signed at Blair Castle
September 25th 1745

ATHOLL.

*Strowan's Orders to Woodsheal.*¹

[EDINR], Sept. 25, 1745.

Alexander Robertson of Strowan does hereby order M^r Robertson of Woodsheal and his company to joyn if they please with Keppoch's men in any occasion that may happen till further orders from me.

ALEX^R ROBERTSON of Strowan.

“At this time Struan was verging on fourscore ; he had been present as a spectator at the battle of Prestonpans, being too old to join as of yore in the actual shock of battle. After the combat was over he was persuaded to return home, and was driven back to Rannoch in Sir John Cope's carriage, and clad in Sir John's fur-lined coat and wearing his chain, these having been captured amongst the spoil.

“There was, in those days, no highway from the post-roads to Mount Alexander, the Chief's house, and after the carriage had been wheeled as far as it could thus be conveyed, it was carried by clansmen the rest of the way. This carriage was long preserved at Mount Alexander, and unfortunately was at last broken up for firewood through the ignorance of a house-keeper, who was unaware of its historical identity.

“There is an interesting tradition current that Struan's bodyguard on his return journey home was commanded by Robert Ban Robertson of Invervack.”²

¹ Record Office. It is, however, believed that they joined the Atholl brigade.

² D. Robertson's "Account of Clan Donnachaidh."

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

EDINBURGH, 26 Sept. 1745.

Dear Brother,—This goes by Sheen Menzies, who with a hundred men gaurds so many of our prisoners to Lougaret, which is the place thought most proper for gaurding them for the present. As they know if any of them should attempt to make their escape, the prisoner being retaken after such attempt will immediatly suffer death, it will make them in my apprehention be upon their good behavior and under absolute comand. There must be an exact list of their names, and the different regiments they belong to, and tho' they be quartered thro' all the toun of Logerate, yet twice a day they must be revewed. The gaurd you place at Laugaret may be in your House, and the Court Room will hold a considerable number of the prisoners, & the jaile is at hand if any of them should be obstreperous. Tho' there be no arms but Lochaber axes, it will suffice; and all the country to be warned if any of the prisoners should be found any where half a mile from Logaret, to be looked upon as endeavouring to make their escape.

You will please give directions to provide meal, for it is thought that two pecks o' meall in the weak to each prisoner is full allowance; but, if you think it proper, for one of the pecks, you may order so much mutton a week to each as will answer to the other peck. Of all things, you must find a proper person to have the charge of the prisoners, and be cap: of the gaurd, and one to be provisor.

You can order in meal from any part of the country where it can be gott, & give receipts for it in His Highness' name.

I told you in one of my former that some Gentlemen had promised more money in loan to His R. H. besides what they already gave, but it is to their Ladys you will please to write, as they appear to do the thing, & not the Husbands. It is also expected you will give the requisite orders for levying the Land Tax and excise, &c.

I have in the mean time procured £200 Sterling, which Shian will deliver to you from His R.H. for the most urgent occasions, in which you are judge.

For God's sake cause some effectual method be taken about the deserters; I would have their houses and crop destroyed for an example to others, and themselves punished in a most rigorous manner.

What I have wrote is by his R.H. express Commands, and he further bids me tell you, that by Letters taken and otherways, Commissary Bisset appears to be a noted spy, and his H^{ss} desires you if possible to secure him in close confinement, that he may not have the use of pen, paper, and ink.

I know you want armes, but tho' we can spare some, I do not know how to get them sent. I ever am, D^r Brother,

Y^r most aff^t Br & Faithful Humble Serv^t

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

Lady Charlotte Murray to Duke James.²

EDINBURGH, *Sept.* 26, 1745.

My Dearest Lord Duke,—We are now almost settled, & our house is a litle better furnisht, having the lend of a spinnett. We have but one Dish of meat every Day, & that not so big as my two fists, & that to satisfy the hungry apeties of M^{rs} Stewart's famley and ours, so my Dearest papa you see we live very frugaly. I'm afraid I shall run out my incum with buying Sweatmeats to Cloi my Stomach, as I may not eat up their famely Dinner.

Yesterday the Serjeant of the Castle was strung up for going to Deliver up the Castle, & last night from 10 to 2 a clock in the morning we were surpris'd with y^e Castle firing, which they say they are to Do every night to lett the highlanders know they are on their guard.

They say poor M^{rs} Guest would give the world to be out again, for they swear they will have no mercy on any in the Castle.

They have tore the Duke of Queenbery's house (at least that part Generall Guest has) all to bits, & put their Gentlemen prisoners in to it. Cap: hamilton & "prisoner" M^r farkinson was here on Tuesday, & Sir partrick Murray "prisoner" was here yesterday.

The following people is prisoners that I know, M^r Stone, Major Severn, M^r Lesle, Cap: Anderson, Capt ried, Major talbot, M^r farkison, and Sir partrick Murray.

This is all the news I have att present, only I forgot to tell y^r Gr/ y^t

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence. *See addenda, p. x.*

² On the approach of the Highland army Duke James had proceeded to London, leaving his daughters in Edinburgh under the charge of Mrs. Stewart, wife of his agent.

lord hume, lord lounden, lord napeir, Mr hope, & Mr Ranton, had all the good fortune to escape without being taken or having a wound.

Lady Jane's most affate Dutty & mine attends y^r Gr/. While I ever will be My Dearest papa's most affate & most Dutifull Daughter

C. MURRAY.

Lady Jane will write next post.

I forgot to tell y^r Gr/ that James is all in rags & does not know who is to make or pay for his cloaths. if y^r Gr/ will be so good as to lett me know. adiew.

JANE MURRAY.

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

EDR, 27th Sept. 1745.

D^r Brother,—As this goes by Fascal, who is sent to bring up the men to compleat your two Batalions, I need not say much, but refer you to him.

Some Severitys must be used (to prevent greater evils) against those who have deserted, and you should even take all their armes from them, and give them to others, for upon their coming back to us they will get armes. Could we keep our men together, and prevent depredations on the country, I firmly believe we would be able to go thro' all the Island.

I ever am your's

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

Commissary Bissett to Mr. Harrison.

ANSTRUTHER EASTER, 28 Sept. 1745.

Sir,—As the rebels are in possessione of Edin^r, I coud think of no way of letting you hear from me till now that collector McNaughtan of this place hath promised to send this to the post house of Dunbar.

I was with the King's army upon the Haughs of Preston pans till it was late the evening befor the batle, when I never saw troops in greater spirit, and as the numbers of both armys were much about equall, about 2800 each, I woud have layd ten to one that the highlanders woud be rooted. I was obliged to ride two miles of that night before I coud find lodgeing, and as both armys were within gun shot of one another I was sure they woud engage next morning, wherefore I got up verry early, and

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

altho' I was one horseback when the actione begun, and gallop'd all the way, it was over before I reach'd the field of Batle, when to my verry great surprize I found the King's army rooted, and the Highlanders in possessione of the field and of all the baggage and artillery.

I endeavoured that day to learn the particulars, but could not, nor can I well to this day. As I was so well known about Edin^r, and could not be safe there, I rode to the Queen's Ferry, and crossd to this side upon Saturday's night, the 21, and have ever since been sculking in some part or other of Fyfe; and the Marques of Tulliebardine being still in Atholl, I durst not venture to goe to that country to learn what is a doeing there; on the contrary, I'm warn'd by my friends to take a speciall care of myself, that immediat death was denounced against me if I could be got hold of. His Lop: blames me for the difficulty he hath mett with in raising the men, and for their desertione. He propos'd one man out of each merk land, which woud have raisd 1100, which was to be divyded in two regiments, one for L^d Nairne, the other for Mr Mercer of Aldie, and, altho' the greatest force and violence was used, he only got about 500 raisd for L^d Nairne, who mostly deserted. This oblidged my L^d Tulliebardine to return to Atholl, and he hath been ever since employd in finding out ther deserters and sending them back, and now he is endeavouring to raise the other regiment for Mr Mercer, and because he cannot get the tennents out, He oblidges each of them that disobey to pay 5 lib Sterl:, whereby the town of Dunkeld hath been oblidged to pay 125 lib Sterl:, the Barrony of Laighwood 75£, and so in proportione the rest of the Country. In order to make up this money they are oblidged to sell their bestiall at half price, so that our country in any event will be ruind.

It's said that his Lop: is not to goe with the army, but to continue in Atholl untill all is over, and as all the family of Nairne, the Lady Dowager, Ladie Aldie, their daughters, &c, doe constantly sorn upon him, all that his Gr/ hath at Blair and Dunkeld will be soon consumed, so that my L^d Duke will be ane Immense sufferer and his country ruin'd.

You woud be surprisd to find how litle His Gr/ is now remembred in his own country. Since the batle they look upon the Marques as intirely settled in the possessione, and all court him. There is not a man in Dunkeld, the minister not excepted, but who some how or other did joyn in the rejoycings for the town of Edin^r yielding, and for the Victory of Prestonpans, when there were great Bonfires & Iluminations, & all

His Gr/s liquors goeing plentifully amongst them. The Rebels give out that all the north are now rising in arms for them, that GlenBucket is bringing up 2000, L^d Ogilvie, & gentlemen of Angus 2000, and so on. Yet Glenbucket, who with his men have come the Length of Perth, hath brought up only 200, L^d Ogilvie, includeing; the gentlemen of Angus, 200, so that I'm possitive that the Rebels will never, after all the gentlemen they expect have joyn'd them, will not come the length of 5000. They never exceeded 3000 before the actione at Prestonpans, whereof there are about 100 at least kild or wounded, and every day numbers are deserting them and seen returning home with plunder & booty.

I expect a persone from Atholl to meet me at David Kelly's house tomorrow to give me further Informations of what is doeing in our country, and shall thereafter write you ane account thereof, which Mr McNaughtan promises from time to time to transmitt.

I forgot to tell you that some of the Dunkeld people have become so Insolent that when they talk of our young Ladys they call them the Miss Murrays. Mr Scot is sole manager and governour of all about the house of Dunkeld, and Lady Aldie was proposeing to have your Father and Sister Dismis'd. When you write for me, inclose it under a cover directed to Collector McNaughtan at Anstruther.

Lord George Murray to Lady George.

EDR, 29th Sept. 1745.

My Dearest Life,—I am just come from seeing about sixty officers, who are Prisoners upon their Parole of Honour, so far in their way to Perth, where they are to remain for some time. Kynachan, Lord Nairn's Major, escorts them till they pass the forth at the Frues with 150 men, to prevent any surprise from the Castle of Stirling &c. And he goes with about fifty men on with them to Perth, that non of our stragling partys offer them any Insult.

I have propos'd that they all dine at Tullibardine on Teusday, if you can make ready Beeff and Mutton, coald & hot, both made ready at home & with your neighbours. It will be an obliging thing, and what they will be sensible off. if you can by any means do this, send on Teusday morning to meet them, & Invite them, & acquaint Kynachan, who conducts them.

You need not dine in the big room with them, but send for the Feild officers (particularly Coll. Haket) & tell them that both you and I are most desirous to show them all the Friendship in our power.

Young Invercall will do any of your Messages, whom I need not recommend to your civilitys. I have this pritty much at heart, so pray conduct it with your wonted discracion. You will send to Perth for bread, & as I recon they may be at Tullibardine (if you send to meet them & give the Invitation) by midday on Teusday, indeavour to be ready.

I must refer you to others for news, as I have so little time that I can scarce put pen to paper. Adieu.

Sunday, eleven o'clock.

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

EDINBURGH, 29th Sept^r 1745.

Dear Brother,—My excuse for not writing more frequently or more fully is still the same, I have really more business upon my hands than any one person can manage. I have spoke to Lord Nairn and others to write frequently to give you a detail of all our transactions. This day, about sixty of our officer prisoners went for Perth, by the Frews, the ford of Forth, which we all passed, and I hope they may be at Perth by Tuesday night. They are to stay there for some time, and are all upon their parole of honour. Keynachan, with about a hundred and fifty of your men, escorts them, and to prevent any of our stragglng soldiers offering any insult to them; there are near twenty more that are either wounded or sick, who are to follow how soon they can conveniently travel. But Major Stewart of Keynachan's principal business is to bring up as many of your men as can possibly be sent, and he, with Fascaly, and the other officers who went this day with the escort, must make all imaginable diligence. The desertion is very frequent amongst all the Army, but not so much as your men; and, indeed, if some effectual method be not fallen upon, and severities used for examples, all we have done is to no purpose, and the most promising appearance of our cause ruined for want of our people sticking by us; for God's sake, send off our officers and what men can be got immediately.

A Governor of the town of Perth is much wanted, and if there were but sixty or a hundred good men in garrison there, with proper officers,

under a governor, it would be of great use, not only to have the name of it, but to protect the officers that are on their parole of honour from any insult. I wish you could find some proper persons and men of honour to consult with upon this and several other important occasions; and as you have the supreme command on the north side of the Forth, whatever you do for the best will be approved of; but we have so much in hand just now here, that all on the other side is left to your care, and the advice you have from good friends with you.

Keynachan will give you a particular list of the Gentlemen upon parole, and enclose a note of so many of our deserters. There is just now a message from General Guest, from the Castle, to the provost, that if water and provisions be not allowed them from the town, they will be obliged to cannonade it. Adieu. Yours, GEORGE MURRAY.

Sunday, seven at night.¹

Mr. John Murray (Lord George's Son) to Duke James.

ETON [Sept. 1745].

My Lord Duke,—I hope that this Letter will find y^r Gr/ in a much better state of mind than I at present am, for I have felt all the misfortunes of the world evan before I am enter'd into it, that is of late—first I heard that y^r Gr/ and the Dutchess were fallen out, for which to be shure I was very sorry. In a little time after that I heard that the prætender was landed in Scotland, and that y^r Gr/ (my best friend) was in a manner driven out of your houses and estates and forced to fly to Edinburgh; all which misfortunes I tried to bear up against as much as I was able, but a late peice of news has quite shook me, and I am no longer able to bear up against it, which is that my Father has declared for the prætender, which of all things I was most afraid of, but as y^r Gr/, who has so long been at the charge of my education, is for King George, and as his Mat^{ie} has given me such an early mark of his favours as to make me a captain, I shall lay down my Life and shall spend the last drop of my Blood in his service. For althow my Father be not so much in the wrong in taking the Prætender's part, as he has been for that party always, and has held offices under him, yet it would be the greatest basenes in me not to assist and be for his Majesty King George, as I have a commition from him and

¹ Bishop Forbes's "Jacobite Memoirs."

See Addenda, pp. x-xiv.

have always been educated as his subject. Not that I pretend wholly to excuse my father in declaring for the Prætender because that he has had offices under him, yet he has likewise had a great favour from King George, namely, his life, which was forfeited in the year '15, and I think that the best way he could have acted, if he did not assist the King, was to have stood newter, as I don't doubt but a great number in the same situation do; but to be shure he knows his own reasons for it much better than I do. I should be very much obliged to you If you would let me leave school and come down in to Scotland, for I don't dout but that I could handle a broadsword or a musket well enough, for there are a gret many younger than I am who are both fighting in Flanders & else whare, and what I want in strenth I shall make up in willingness; for though I love my father as well as it is possible for any one to love his parent, yet it is impossible for me to think that he has acted Right in this particular.

If y^r Gr/ does not think it proper for me to come down to Scotland yet, I beg of y^r Gr/ to let me leave Eton, for I am

[*erased*]

as soon as you come up to London

I should be very much obliged to y^r Gr/ if upon receipt of this you would be so good as to Lett me hear from you as soon as possible, and to let me know what y^r Gr/ would have me do. . . . My L^d Duke, y^r Gr/s most humble S^{vt} & Dutiful Nephew,

JOHN MURRAY.

September 30.—In consequence of a letter from Mr. George Stirling (surgeon in Perth) to Mr. Mercer of Aldie, Duke William sent Robertson of Bohespick down to Perth to take over what public money there was in the hands of Mr. Carmichael of Beglie, the collector.

Hon. George Colville¹ to James Scott.²

[BLAIR CASTLE], 1st Oct. 1745.

Sir,—There are a considerable number of Prisoners under the care of Shian, who are expected at Logiereat tomorrow evening, and are to be put in safe custody somewhere in this country.

¹ Fourth son of 8th Lord Colville of Culross. Had been a physician in Dundee. Appears to have been a kind of military secretary to Duke William.

² Vintner in Dunkeld.

Upon receipt of this, His G: desires you'll immediately get horses and send up ten bolls meal to Logiereat, to be delivered to James Robertson, officer there, who is to give his receipt for it.

The island in the Loch of Clunie is thocht to be the properest place for the abode of the prisoners, and therefore His G: has wrote the inclosed to the Earl of Airly, proprietor of y^e island, to ask his concurrence in getting them accommodated there. H: G: therefore desires you'll forward y^e enclosed by express to My L^d Airly; the express will call first at Auchterhouse, and if he miss My Lord there, he is to go forward to Cortichie.

You are to send along with the meal half a stone candles, for the use of the guard. You'll desire the express to call first at Drimmy and deliver M^r Rattray's letter; it will be little or nothing out of his way.

I am, &c.

Duke William's Orders.

These are requiring you, James Robertson of Killiechangie, John Robertson y^r of Eastertyre, and John Stewart in Kinnaird, to be aiding and assisting to James Robertson, officer at Logyreat, to provide barns and such other out houses in Logyrate as are fitt for quartering the prisoners that are comeing from the Prince's army under M^r Menzies of Shian's command, and to the providing beef and mutton for them, which I shall pay for; meall comes from Dunkeld to Logyrate, where they are expected tomorrow night. Shian will inform you how he used them on their march from the army, and you are to use them in the same manner, both as to their necessaries of life and their being strictly kept; Shian is to continue, with your assistance, to guard them, till others fitt for that piece of Service be got against the beginning of next week: All which you are carefully to perform, as you will be answerable.

Given at Blair Castle the 1st day of Oct^r 1745.

You are to acquaint me next day after they arrive how they are provided for, and their exact number.¹

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

See Addenda, p. xiv.

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

EDR, 2 Oct. 1745.

Dear Brother,—I received your letter of the 29th Sept: by John Murray yesterday as we were going to diner. If I do not write so often as you would incline, I hope you'll excuse it, as have had all along more business & duty to perform than came to the share of any one man.

I have wrote you two letters which you have not as yet acknowledged, one by Shian, the other by Kynachan; and as they could inform you of every transaction here, I thought it needless to be more particular, especially as I was hurry'd at the time. Sending off a person from the Field of Batle, who could tell you twenty things more fully than could be wrote, I judged better than sitting down in that confusion to scroll two or three words (which however I did to my wife, having a common letter bearer only to send), but his being stopt by Glenbucket was what I could not forsee.

I show'd your letter to H.R.H. as well as the coppys of them you wrote to several of our Friends in the North, and both he and Sr James Stewart, & the Prince's Secretary, aprove exceedingly of them; and H.R.H. desires you would write again to Clunie, the Macintoshes, and Frasers, & that you, in his Highness' name, order them up imediately, and that they are not to wait for others, nor for one another, but each of them come up with all possible expedition.

I have been as pressing about money to be sent you as if my life depended upon it. There is £300 sent at present, mostly in Specie.

You are desired to write to people in the country to advance money, particularly to Lady Methven, which if they do not imediately, their corns and other effects will be seized, &c.

There is a Commissary or Factor appointed here to remitt to the Prisoners, both the officers at Perth and the Common Soldiers at Longierat, their pay; so that you are to have no trouble that way. The Person is Mr Thomas Dundass, Merchant here, who I suppose will apoint Mr Jo: Anderson, Merchant at Perth, for his Correspondent.

It is proposed to get in all the pleat we can and coin shillings, for besides the want of Cash in general, there is great penury of Silver. The Town of Glasgow have given £5500, what in Bank notts, Bills on London, & some Merchandise, &c.

For God's sake send up what men of y^r own people you can, and don't let them wait for any body else; and H.R.H. desires, so soon as the Frasers, Macintoshes, and M^cPhersons come up, that you would also yourself come in Person.

The Castle of Ed^r fired a good deal last evening upon the out Sentinels and houses nixt them, as our people were firing to hinder people going in with provisions, but no great harm is done on either side.

The Regular Troops that were at Berwick are gone South, and left only a garison of four companey.

We hourly expect to hear from abroad.

The money sent you just now is £100 in Bank notts, £100 in Leuidors, and £100 in Guineas. I would gladly have got £500, but it was not possible.

There is one Henderson, who I send with John Murray; he can be of great use in erecting Girnells, either at Perth or in the Country, and will obey what orders you give him. He is one who can be very usefully employ'd.

I ever am, y^r Faithfull humble Serv^t,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Widensday, 10 in the morning.

Receive Aldie's Commission.¹

By William, Duke of Atholl, &c., Commander in Chief of his Majestie's Forces benorth the River Forth.

Being just now necessarily detained in these parts about affairs of consequence, and desiring much to have the pleasure of seeing the Laird of Monzie, who at present I cannot wait on where he is, These are requiring you to acquaint him of it, and at the same time let him know that you are positively ordered without losing a minute's time, as it's necessary for the King & country's service, to tell him that He must directly come along with you to this place, or wherever I may be at the time.

Therefor, as you'l be answerable, neglect not in the safest, spediest, and most convenient manner, to wait on and conduct the above Laird of

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Monzie to our quartirs. For the punctual executing of which this shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrant.

Given under our hand & seall at our Castle of Blair, the second day of October 1745.

ATHOLL.¹

To Grigor Murray of Coynnachan.

The beginning of October the Prince sent Lord Strathallan to Perth as governor, with Oliphant of Gask as his deputy. At the same time, Duke William and the Duke of Perth were each desired to send a company of sixty men to act as a guard there.

October 3.—Lady Ogilvy, in Lord Airlie's absence, wrote to inform Duke William that the castle on the Loch of Cluny was at His Royal Highness's service.

James Scott to Hon. George Colville.

[DUNKELD], *Oct. 3* [1745].

Hon. Sir,—The Bearer, James Robertson, a mason in this place, who was out with my Lord Duke in the '15, is the man I sent out with Mr. Stewart and Peter McInnes to inspect the pool of Cluny; and as there is a hutt to be built on the Loch side for a guard-house, as he is well acquainted in the place, he may be a very proper hand for getting it done, and will also be a fit person to be trusted, if it be His G/s pleasure, with some post in the Guard. I obeyed your order in sending the ten bolls meal & half stone candles to Logyreat, and desired Bohespick to tell you that yesterday arriv'd here 2 officers & 32 men from Glenshee, to whom I gave 2 guineas for their subsistence, till they received H.G.'s orders; they also told me that last night or this day the party from Strathardle would be here, and yet (11 at night) there is no account of them, and lest they also might have a demand for money, I took ten pounds from Bohespick, for which I gave receipt.

David Laird has sent in here this evening 8 guns, (which want very

¹ This order was captured amongst Gregor's papers, 1746.

much to be in the hands of the gunsmith,) some old swords and pistols, for which I'm to send for the Smith in the morning. . . .

I have got a severe cold and excessive cough, but while I am able to stir you will ever find me, Dear Doctor,

Y^r much obliged & very grateful Servant,

JA: SCOTT.¹

Stewart of Kynachan to Duke William.

PERTH, 3^d Oct. 1745.

My Lord,—I send your Gr/ James Darling, merch^t, to be kept in safe custody, and free from any Correspondence. I am inform'd that he is a subtle, dangerous fellow, and has been in a constant course of corresponding with some of H.R.H.'s enemies, which I shall acquaint y^r Gr/ more fully of when I have the honour to wait of you att Blair Castle, which, if I am not otherwise ordered, I hope may be Saturday or Sunday att farthest. I have sent one Alex^r Duff alongs with the party that attends Darling, that he may acquaint y^r Gr/ of all those that have either deserted or stay'd att home in the Bishopricks, that they may instantly be raised; this same Duff will be very useful in putting this in Execution. I have the honour to be, with the utmost esteem & sincerity, My Lord,

Y^r Gr/s most ob^t humble Serv^t,

DAVID STEWART.¹

James Robertson, Officer at Logierait, and James Robertson of Killiechangie, to Hon. R. Mercer.

LOGYREAT, 3^d Oct. 1745.

Sir,—M^r Menzies of Shian arrived here yesterday afternoon about six, with one hundred and thirteen prisoners. So soon as he delivered them, he said his party was much fatigued, and would take no farther charge of them; upon which I reased all the men in the Barrony of Ballnagaird and mounted Guard on the prisoners. But as we have no arms, it's expected his G: will supply us immediately with arms.

Shian gave the prisoners on their march a halfpenny roll and a chapine ale to each man morning and evening, and I have ordered the Brewers in this town to make meat for the Prisoners, and have given a

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

lippie of meal and a chapine ale for each man per day ; I kill'd neither Beef nor mutton for them till His G:s further orders, which I expect by this bearer, with particular orders what men I shall raise to mount Guard while here. This you'll please communicate to H.G., and Dispatch & pay the express as soon as possible.

I am, Sir, y^r most humble Serv^t,

JA : ROBERTSON.

The prisoners are kept in the Court House, but as all the windows are very large, without grates, it's a very insecure prison.

Sir,—it was late last night before I came home, but I sent my son and all my men to assist Ballnagaird's men. The above was write before I came here : all I have to add is, to send us any arms you can spare.

I ever am, Sir, y^r most humble Sv^t,

JA : ROBERTSON of Killichangy.¹

Duke William to Robertson of Killiechangie.

BLAIR CASTLE, Oct. 3^d, 1745.

Sir,—two hours agoe I saw yours to M^r Mercer, and am satisfied with your conduct hitherto. You are to give each of the prisoners at the rate of two pecks of meal a week, out of the meal that came from Dunkeld, which Ja^s Robertson, the officer, has, and a penny a day to each of them to be disposed by them for drink, or how they will.

The bearer, M^r Fraser, has twenty two men fully arm'd ; you are to raise 40 more, with such arms as can be got for them. Thirty men are sufficient to mount guard at a time, and these are to be fully arm'd out of the whole.

Receive Five pounds to pay the prisoners their penny a day, and your 40 men at the rate of two shillings a week and a peck oatmeal, which you are compt for.

M^r Frazer has money to pay his men, and you are to give them meal, as they shall demand, on his receipt.

If there's any thing els necessary for the prisoners' subsistance, furnish it, and it shall be allowed by, Sir,

Your affect^t humble Servant,

ATHOLL.¹

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

John McGregor to Gregor McGregor (or Murray) of Coinneachan.

COYNACHAN, 3^d Octobr 1745.

Dear Sir,—I came here last night in order to have concerted with you and our friend James MacGregor of Balnacaille the proper means of drawing our Clan into a body, so that they may be entituled to all the benefites and priviledges that His Majesty and his Royall Highness designs for the other clans.

They are to be henceforth the onely standing troops of the nation; every Chief is to have a Collonel's commesseon, and all the other officers and souldiers to be just upon the same Regulations, and to have the same pay as our Regular Troops commonly have, with this difference, that the clans are not to ster from home except upon muster days, and when the Service of the Crown makes it necessary.

Now if the McGregors continue dispersed as they are, they can expect no more than to be a nameless people.

My Brother has been carefull to inform the Prince of the misfortunes, sufferings, Loyalty, and Bravery of the McGregors, and he has Interest enough with his Majesty and Royal Highness to raise our Clan to y^r ancient wealth, power, and reputation. I therefore beg that you be pleased to Raise as many of the name, without respect to particular families, as possibly you can, wherever you can discover them, and to march them to the Army in what manner you please.

Give them as much time to take care of y^r Harvest as the circumstances of affairs will allow, But so as to be with us before His Royall Highness leave Edin^r. I am, Dear Sir,

Yours most affectionatly,

JOHN McGREGORE.¹

Neil McGlashan to Gregor Murray.

BLAIR CASTLE, Octob 7th, 1745.

D^r Grigor,—His Grace orders that you, with the whole Glenalmond men 'twixt sixteen and sixty, officer as well as the others, be att Dunkeld tomorrow night or early Wednesday, except John Drummond in Newtown, who is allow'd to remain at home for certain reasons, unless you have it

¹ Taken amongst Gregor Murray's papers, 1746. The writer was probably Balhaldie's second brother. *See Addenda, pp. xiv-xix.*

in view to execute the orders you got from his Grace in a day or two ; in which case you are to wait, but otherwayes you, nor the men, are not.

He's to march from this place to-morrow morning.

Till meeting I add no more, but that I am ever y^{rs},

N. M^cGLASHAN.

Lord George Murray to Lady George.

EDR, 8th Oc^r 1745.

As I wrote to you on Friday last that Lady Jane & Lady Charlot Murray were in the greatest perplexity about the fireing of the Castle, and that I thought it proper for you to come in to town to wait upon them, & either prevaile with them to goe to your house in the country, & [or ?] for you to wait upon them here or any where in the neighbourhood: I am now to let you know that the young Ladys went to La Manca, Major Cochrane's, yesterday, where I believe they will be absolutely easy as well as safe, therefore I think you had best not come forward, but return to Tullibardine. My nieces were vastly uneasy on Saturday when the Castle fired a great many guns, in so far as M^r Arch: Steuart's house, where they stayd, had all the windows brok by the concussion.

I write you no news; as you have been a very good wife hitherto, I hope you will not take amiss my actions, but submit to what at least you cannot help.

I am y^r reall Friend

GEORGE MURRAY.

Lady Jean Murray to Duke James.

LA MANCHA [Oct. 1745].

My dearest Lord Duke,—We arrived here safe to Dinner Last Sunday, but had an overturn that frightened us all out of our wits, five being in the coach, but thank God none of us was hurt. The axle tree was quite broke, so we sent into town for another coach, as we was but just out of the Bristo port when we went over. I am extremely glad to be out of town at any rate, or else would not have ventured in another abominable hack; but really we stayed long enough, when all the windows of M^r Stuart's was broke with the shock of the cannon, & when we saw daily cannon

balls entering into the opposite houses, and killing people just at our Door. Indeed, Papa, I wish you would have pleased to have taken us to London, as I am sure it is a mercy we were not killed, either with a cannon ball or with fright. I think we have gone through a vast deal within this while, more then ever I had an Imagination of I sure, and hope these anxietys is to serve us our life time. I am quite surpris'd I han't had the favour of a line from your Gr/ since we parted.

My humble Duty attends y^r Gr/, & I am, My Lord,

Y^r Gr/s most aff^{te} & obedient & dutifull Daughter

JA: MURRAY.

Duke William, who had been occupied in raising the Athollmen, as well as in sending expresses to hasten up the Prince's adherents from other parts of the Highlands, set out from Blair on October 8th or 9th and marched to Moulinearn, and on the 10th reached Dunkeld, where he received the following petition:—

*Unto ane High & Meighty Prince, William, Duke of Atholl, &c.,
The Representation of John Stewart in Kinnaird, Brother-
German to Alexander Stewart of Kinnaird.*

DUNKELD, Oct. y^e 10th, 1745.

Humbly Sheweth,—That I willingly served my lawfull Sovereigne the King, in the year 1715, by my going to the Battle of Prestown, where I had the misfortune to be there taken prisoner, stood tryall for my life, received sentence of death, (pardoned,) and y^rafter banished to Virginea, in America, and, by the assistance of God, escaped and came home to my Native Country; and now, as I am most willing to serve my Prince and yo^r Gr/ in any station at home, as y^r Gr/ shall think fitt: as I am now unable to travell, by the former hardships I underwent, and well gone in yeares, I hope y^r Gr/ will be pleased to take it to consideration. It's four weeks past since I received y^r Gr/s orders for raising the Bishopric men, which I did, and went to Crieff with them, & delivered them to Colonell Mercer, so that I have not a servant man at present to take care of my own affaires att home, for which trouble I received no reward as

See Addenda, pp. xix, xx.

yet, altho' I have been putt to some charges; as also in my going twice to see the Castle of Cluny putt in repair for the prisoners.

Y^r Gr/s answer to your most obedient & very humble Servant

JO: STEWART.¹

Endorsed.—This petition is to be considered, and directions given about it before the Duke leaves Dunkeld.

Prince Charles to Duke William.

HOLYROODHOUSE, the 11 Octobre 1745.

Murray writ to you yesterday to press you in my name to com up with the utmost expedition, with all your men. Dispatch now is so necessary by the favourable accounts I have got from England, that makes me repeat this to you in the strongest manner.

As I intend to part next week for England, you wont fail to be here so as to go along with me; at the same time write to hesten those who are behind you, and to follow without waiting for one another. Adieu.

CHARLES, P.R.²

Major Stewart of Kynachan to Colonel Hon. R. Mercer of Aldie.

CASTLE MENZIES, 12 Oct. 1745.

Dr Sir,—I have the pleasure to tell you that I now believe we shall have all the men of Glenlyon, Rannoch, and this country raised in a few days, but there is an absolute necessity for a strong party of strangers to put this in execution, which is my reason for sending you this express att this unseasonable hour. Now, we are informed that Cluny is just now with his men att Dunkeld, and as he is the properest in the World, so I beg you'll, on receipt of this, get an order from His Grace to send Cluny, with his whole party, (for the more the better,) here tomorrow night, that they may assist Shian att once to raise the men in the different places he is to be concerned with. I intreat you'll not delay this, for it will be of great consequence to us to have Shian and his 2 or 300 good men ready to march along with us to the Prince.

Let Cluny have the proper orders to be directed by Shian: If he is

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² Blair Drummond Papers, Book of Menteith.

See Addenda, pp xx, xxxi.

not yet come, it must be delayed till he comes, for I find this must be done by strangers. I fancy you'll take notice that it will be hastning the matter to send Cluny his orders to march straight here from Blair or Dalnacardoch, if he is not yet come your length.

I have ordered a full Company for Strathbrawn tomorrow morning, and most of the rest are to be ordered on other parties, which I shall acquaint you of att meeting, who am,

D: Sir, your most humble Serv^t

DAVID STEWART.¹

Saturday, 12 o'clock att night.

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

ED^R, 14 Oct. 1745.

Dear Brother,—The Prince Regent is in the utmost concern for the presious time which is lost by your not coming up. I have wrote to you so often, by his order, upon that subject, that I can add nothing to what I have already said, only that it seems the oppinion of every body if you delay any longer it will be the uter ruine of the cause.

You should wait for no body but your own men, and if you bring them you will never be blamed for the fault of others. Mr [of] Strathallan and his company are arrived safe. I ever am, Dr Brother,

Yo^r most affect Brother, & faithfull humble Servant

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

Duke William to the Prince.

DUNKELD, 15 October 1745.

Sir,—Your Royall Highness gracious letter of the 11 instant, with express orders to immediatly join you with all the men I have been raising, according to orders under Secretary Murray's cover, came not to my hands till this evening. The letters being taken, but luckily retaken, occasioned the delay.

The convoy under Captain Brown's care, with arms, ammunition, &c, for your R: H: from his most Christian Majesty, arrived here last night. After the utmost endeavours it will be tomorrow night before all the men

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

See Addenda, ff. xxii, xxiii.

nessesary for bringing them up to your Army can be got together; next morning I shall march them from hence with the utmost diligence can possibly advance the earnest desire I have of soon being able in person to receive your R: H: commands, and fully to let you know that nothing has been omitted could be useful towards the speedy advancing of King and Country's service, being ever with the utmost attachment and zeal, Sir, your R: H:'s most dutiful and most ob^t Subject and Servant

[ATHOLL].¹

Commissary Bissett to Duke James.

STIRLING CASTLE, 15 Oct. 1745.

My Lord,—I woud not have ommitted writting frequently to y^r Gr/ were it not that ever since the Rebels came to the possessione of Edin^r all behoov'd to come through their hands.

I'm look'd upon by them as the greatest enemy to and opposer of their intrest, and therefore have been hunted by them from country to country ever since I parted with y^r Gr/ at Bruntstoun, there being no less than six severall warrants out against me. Five in the hands of the severall partys employ'd in collecting the cess, excyse, &c, and one transmitted to my Lord Tullibardine bearing a reward of £200 sterl: to any that should apprehend me, which his Lordship caused intimat to all the ground officers of Atholl. I am now out of their reach, as Generall Blackny hath been so good as allow me shelter here.

I hope this will come safe to y^r Gr/, as it goes directly to Birruick by ane express that I and others here have hyred, and if it should be intercepted, I may be easy, seing I am as ill with the rebels already as I can be.

Y^r Gr/ will hear that the rebels are verry strong and numerous, particularly the author of the Caledonia Mercury, a papist and partial fellow, makes every 100 that joyns them 5 or 600. But y^r Gr/ may depend upon their number not haveing yet exceeded 4200, I myself haveing numbered all the clans, before any of them deserted, as they passed through Atholl, and have had persones that numbered all that joyn'd them from the North as they past through Perth, Crieff, & Faulkirk, and all that accounts agreeing. Only as to Lowland gentlemen, and their servants and volunteers, in and about Edin^r, I cannot be certain, but I

¹ Blair Drummond Papers, Book of Menteith.

reckon them by guess at 1200, which all I meet with think to be a large allowance, yea more than they really are. I have inclosed a particular account of them, but besides the number therein I am informed that the McPhersons to the number of 3 or 400 are to pass by here this day or tomorrow, and the Marques of Tulliebardine with 2 or 300.

The Jacobits also gave out that Sir Alex^r McDonald, McLeod, and others are to come up with numbers which I doe not believe, but I shall acquaint y^r Gr/ duely of such as doe come.

Y^r Gr/s men have behaved pretty well, considering the constant force and violence against them by the Marques and family of Nairne. All that went out (before the Batle) commanded by Lord Nairne were about 450; whereof 60 Maclauchlanes, 60 Sir Robert Menzies' men, 50 Ashintully's, 40 Fascalie's, most of all which, as they were pres'd men, deserted before the actione, and I have the satisfacione to tell that none of y^r Gr/s men were engag'd against the King's troops, the fue that did not desert not being intrusted, and who have all to a man deserted since; and altho my Lord Tulliebardine expected, seing the harvest was over, to raise 2 men out of each merk land, which woud have made 2200, and sett up a standert, he coud not get a man to joyn it, untill at last after two weeks' labour, with the help of McKinnons as they past through last week, pres'd out 2 or 300, who I am positive will desert as formerly. There is not one of the vassalls of Strathardle, Glenshie, or Blacklounans come out, and below the pass only Balnacree.

Above the pass, Blairfety, Auchleeks, Fincastle, Niell Stewart of Temper, Alan Stewart of Innerchadden, Kynachan, Bohalie, and Garth.

In Ballwhidder, Glencarnock and John Stewart of Ledchrich, both which have joynd the Duke of Perth. There are vassall's sones, young Ballechan, young Eastertyre's eldest son, and Inchgarth's, and I suspect that both Glenlyon and Ballechan have appear'd in raiseing and sending out their men.

Low country men of Perthshire that have joyn'd are D: of Perth, Ja: Drummond of Pheddall, Viscount of Strathallan, Gask and his only sone, Græm of Garvock, Lord Nairn, Taymount and his eldest sone, M^r Mercer of Aldie, and Laurence Mercer of Melgins.

In Fyfe none of any note but Earl of Kelly, Lord Elcho, and Hamilton of Killbrachmount. As for the Angus, Mearns, Aberdeen, Bamph, and Murray men, I am not acquainted with them. There landed a ship last

week at Mountrose in which there was 15 gentlemen, 1500 stand of arms, and some money. I hear Lords Nairn and Strathallan's sones that were in France are amongst the number of the gentlemen. It's expected that the D: of Perth's men that past by here the other day, to the number of 152, will all desert, as the same forcē was us'd to bring them out, as against the Atholl men, and as all the rebell army have now faln to open plunder they'l be dayly deserting home therewith. We have great reasone to be wearied of our present arbitrary and military government in this country, and to prize and value our libertys when recovered more than ever we have. No mercats, no trade, all bussiness at a stand, no administratiōne of Justice, no traveling of the highway, except such as are in the Jacobit Intrest and who have their passes, robbery and oppressione openly tolerat and allow'd, our touns ordered under the pain of military executione to pay large sums, and so furth.

One Mr Porteous, minister of Monivaird, had the boldness, when 500 of the Highland rebels were in his nighbourd, to preach upon 1st Chap: of Isaiah, 23 verse, viz. "Thy princes are rebellious, the companions of thieves," when he pointed out to purpose all the present Roberies, Oppressiones, &c.

All the officers taken prisoners at the Batle of Gladsmuir, as they call it, are sent to Perth, and the privat souldiers have all made their escapes except about 130, who are sent to Dunkeld, Logierait, and Blair.

I have never heard from Jamie Bissat, he is so watch'd that he dars not write or correspond with me, and as litle can I hear from any other, so that I can know but verry litle of what is doing in Atholl; only my wife visited me here last week and gave me some account, but as she and all my family are oblidgd to keep verry quiet, she knew verry litle.

Ashintully, Fascallie, and Menzies of Shian have also joyn'd the Rebels.

We all wish the speedy aryvall of the troops from England, whose motions we can have no account of here, as the rebels keep up every thing from us against their intrest.

They have baggage horses provyded, and are to march some where or other, so soon as the armes, &c, that came in the ship that landed at Mountrose is brought up to Edinburgh, which will be sometime this week.

Since writing the above I'm advys'd, as a more safe way, to send this by the way of Glasgow and Dumfres, and I'm informed by a Perth merchant, who is ane Athollman, just now come to town, that there were but 5 Gentlemen only, & 500 stand of arms, with some money, that was brought by the French ship to Montrose, and that he saw the Dunkeld carts goe for them.

That my Lord Tulliebardine hath not yet left Atholl. That the men are turn'd intirely obstreperous, and that verry Fue will rise for him, and that he has keep'd the M^cPhersons to guard the arms and money brought from Montross to Edin^r.

Enclosure.

An account of the numbers and strength of the Pretender's Army that attack'd the King's troops upon the Haughs of Prestonpans upon Saturday 21 Sept. 1745.

Those commanded by the D: of Perth.

| | |
|--|-----|
| M ^c Donald of Glengarrie's men includeing Glenmoriston's | 500 |
| M ^c Donald of Keppoch's | 250 |
| M ^c Donald of Clanrannold | 205 |
| M ^c Donald of Glencoe | 100 |

Commanded by L^d George Murray.

| | |
|--|-----|
| Camerone of Lochiel's men | 600 |
| Stewart of Apine's men, by Ardshiell | 200 |
| D: of Perth's men & Mackgregors | 200 |
| Maclauchlines | 60 |

| | |
|----------------------------------|------|
| The whole engaged were | 2115 |
|----------------------------------|------|

There was also a mixd company of about 80 horse that guarded the pretended prince, but not engaged

Likeways there were about 450 Athollmen, includeing Sir Rob^t Menzies's, Ashintully's and Fascallie's, commanded by L^d Nairne, but being all pres'd men & haveing mostly

| | Highlanders. | Lowlanders. |
|--|--------------|-------------|
| | 1055 | |
| | 1060 | |
| | 2115 | 80 |
| | 2195 | 80 |

| | Highlanders. | Lowlanders. |
|--|--------------|-------------|
| deserted before the action, the rest were not trusted to attack, and as what did not desert before have all deserted since, are therefore not to be drawn out here, so that the whole ammount of the Rebell army after deducing thir 450 was but 2195, from which to be deduced, kill'd & wounded at the Batle & by the Castle of Ed ^r , at least | 150 | |
| Deserted & gone home with plunder, at least | 300 | |
| | 450 | |
| Thereafter remain'd only of the Rebell army | | |
| 1745 | 1665 | 80 |
| But joyn'd since to this 14 th Oct. 1745 as follows | | |
| By Gordon of Glenbucket, & M ^r Hamilton, late Factor to the Duke of Gordon | 400 | |
| Lord Ogilvy, includeing Angus gentlemen and others that joyn'd him | 280 | |
| Walace, provost of Arbroth | 30 | |
| Gordon of Aberlour, &c | 30 | |
| Lord Pitsligo | 250 | |
| | 990 | |
| Whereof about one half highlanders and the other Lowlanders | 495 | 495 |
| M ^c Kinnon & his men from the Isle of Skie . . | 80 | |
| Duke of Perth | 152 | |
| All forced men who are thought will desert, whereof Highlanders about | 100 | |
| Lowlanders | | 52 |
| Supposing the Low Country Gentlemen & Servants with the Volunteers in & about Edin ^r to be 1200, which is making a large allowance for them beyond what any judge them to be inde | | 1200 |
| | 2340 | 1827 |

Total of both Highlanders and Lowlanders is 4167, whereof 2340 Highlanders & 1827 Lowlanders; but they are putting now many of the Lowlanders in highland dress, to make the number of Highlanders appear more, & it's said a number of Highlanders more are yet coming up, whereof an acc^t of their number shall be taken as they pass by.

*Lady Jean Murray to Duke James.*LA MANCHA, Oct. 16th, 1745.

My dear Papa,—I must begin with making my excuse to y^r Gr/ for the bad pen & paper I am writing on, but it's such as I have. I received y^r Gr/s letter very safe—there's no such thing as stoping letters, & tho' I have received a great many, none of them as so much as bin opened by the Highlanders. I wish they would walk off with themselves, as I think I shall not venture into Edin^r again till they be gone, for fear of losing my witts with alarms. I am sure if L^{dy} Charlot had stayed much longer she would have lost her life, thank God she has not.

Y^r Gr/ desires me not to go to any publick place; I believe there will be none, but if there was, would not y^r Gr/ allow me to go? if not, then I had as well stayed at Dunkeld for the Diversion I shall have; but to be sure y^r Gr/ must order what you please, & I obey. I hear nor see nothing, so must conclude with my aff: Duty & Lady Charlot's, & I am,

My L^d, y^r Gr/s most ob^t most Dutifull Daughter,

J. MURRAY.¹

By October 18th, Duke William had reached Perth, from whence he issued the following order to Stewart of Kynachan at Crieff:—

*William, Duke of Atholl, &c., under the Prince Regent,
Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces.*

These are Ordering & Requiring you, David Stewart of Kynachan, Major to the Earl of Nairn's Regiment, to go, according to the sure intelligence you receive, and take possession of Aloa; to force, if possible, a passage over the Forth there, or any where near it, provided it can be kept open by you on this side, and assist any men on the other side, in case the Prince thinks fit to give orders for that purpose; but you, nor any of the different bodies of men with or near you, are not without positive orders to pass the River, only such as may be found necessary for securing your communication, and to get all Intelligence possible of what the enemy is doing up or down the River, besides sending us particular accounts of that and your own situation, since 'tis like I may be stopt by the new landing at Stonehive of a new convoy of arms, ammunition, &c.,

¹ See Addenda, pp. xxiv-xxvii.

which is now coming up to join the Prince; therefore send directly to Mr Mackewan, with the Grantully men, and Shian, with the Laird of Weem's followers, as also Cluny McPherson, with his men, to let them know they are not to pass the Forth, no more than you, till further orders.

In all events, if possible, take along with you, or send for, the boats and carriages were offered you at Crief. All which you are carefully to perform & do as you will be answerable, for which this shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrant. ATHOLL.¹

*William, Duke of Atholl, &c., under the Prince Regent,
Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces.*

These are Ordering and requiring you upon sight hereof to seize the horses & arms of disaffected persons, or others who have not joined his Royal Highness' Standard, wherever they can be found. For which this shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrant.

Given at Perth the twenty first day of Oct: 1745.

ATHOLL.²

To Grigor Murray, in Coynachan, and Party.

The following enclosure is probably a list of the horses seized on this occasion:—

| | | | |
|--|---|--|-----|
| Lady Moncrief | 5 | W ^m Brice at the S. Gate, Port of | } 8 |
| Mr Ant ^y Murray of Balmanno | 2 | Perth | |
| Rossie Oliphant | 5 | Kilgraston | 3 |
| Innermay | 6 | Dunbarny | 4 |
| Duplin | 7 | | |

The following surgeon's account was amongst the papers in the Duke of Perth's portmanteau when it was captured at Kendal, 14th December 1745.

EDINBURGH, Oct. 22, 1745.

An accompt of what was given out upon Mr Drummond's³ account since he received his wounds.

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence. ² Captured amongst Grigor's papers, 1746.

³ If Mr. Drummond was an officer of the Duke of Perth's regiment, he was probably the sixth officer (name unknown) of the Highland army wounded at Prestonpans. He may have been laird of Colquhalzie, Gatherleys, or Feddal.

³ Captain James Thor MacGregor or Drummond, 3rd son of Bob Roy.

nota.—There was employed one Dr Learmond, who officiated for so many weeks and did Mr Drummond no service, but rather the contrary, and att last Mr Drummond was obliged to dismiss the said Learmond because he had Mr Drummond's leg in a swarme of vermine—and consequently he gets nothing for his pains.

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|---|
| To an consultation from Drs Munro & McFarlane | £4 | 4 | 0 |
| To an matrass and box | 1 | 3 | 0 |
| of what Ja ^s Murray gave to the said Mr Drummond as it appears by his own accompt | 1 | 19 | 0 |
| what Malcom Murray gave out to the said Mr Drum- mond in different things, gave to the value of | 2 | 3 | 6 |
| To the said Malcom Murray for cureing 2 soldiers of the said Mr Drummond's, one of which who gott there wounds throw the thigh, the other throw the thick of the legg—now they are both fitt for service. The price of cureing them is | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Malcom Murray charges the Duke of Perth for a man he cured of his | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| | £14 | 19 | 6 |

JA. DRUMMOND.¹

Lady Jean Murray to Duke James.

EDIN^R, Oct. 24th, 1745.

My dear Lord Duke,—I hope yr Gr/ has received all the letters we have writ, which has bin every post regularly. I belive I omitted to tell yr Gr/ that I sent for Amilia, the servant that was to come from Dunkeld to be house maid here, but the lady would not come. In the mean time another yr Gr/ left at Dunkeld, that was allways our housemaid ther, Kitty Duff, the Marquiss Dismissed her, and she came Directly to her (here), & as I knew she was an honest Girl, took, & she Does very well; I thought it much better to take her rather than an intire stranger. We came in from la Mancha on Monday; there came a party there that frightens us all out of our witts, so we sat up all night as their comandars was all Drunk.

I think I might write a volume of adventures, where not the remembrance of them to shocking for me to find words to express or resolution

¹ Public Record Office, London.

See Addenda, p. xxix.

enough to write them down; alas, I should wash out the Ink with my tears. I hear no manner of news nor have not bin out since I came home, so know nothing att all but that the highlanders are still in town & that the firing is given over, so am rather in a better condition than I was, as before I expected every moment to be my Last, & had immediate Death allways before my eyes for some time. I think yo^r Gr/ is in a happy state to be so far from all danger & alarms. Lady Charlot & I join in aff^{te} Duty to y^r Gr/, and am

My L^d Duke's most ob^t & most Duti^{ll} Dau^r,

J: MURRAY.

Cluny McPherson to Duke William.

KIRKTOWN OF WEEM, 25 Oct. 1745.

May it please y^r Gr/,—My men have been imployed in raising the people of this Country, Glenlyon & Rannoch, all the while since I com from Dunkeld; I was besides necessitate to return to Badenoch w^t a party to carry on some of my people y^t stayed behind. All these Jantings have much fatigued my men; however, the throng of them will be this night at Crief; the partie that went to Rannoch have not return'd yet.

I am so drain'd of cash that I was oblidg'd to borrow thirty pd: and some od shill: ster^s from Shian to subsist my men, and Shian tells me he is now quite exhausted, which oblidges me send the bearer, M^r M^cPherson of Breakachie, to raise money from y^r Gr/ for our subsistance.

I had the honor to receive y^r Gr/s orders this day, appointing Shian and me to march to Crief; which shall be carefully obeyed by us both, tho' at the same time we are oblidged to leave a few men to carry all before them. I am, w^t all due attachment and respect, May it please y^r Gr/,
Y^r Gr/s most aff^{ate} & most ob: faithfull serv^t,

EV: M^cPERSON.

Please excuse bad paper, bad write, &^c, being in great hurrie.¹

October 26.—Colonel Kerr,² who had been sent from Edinburgh to Alloa to secure that ferry for Duke William's passing, wrote saying that his Royal Highness wished his Grace to make all possible haste.

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² Henry Kerr of Graden.

See Addenda, p. xxx.

Duke William to Colonel Kerr.

26 Oct 1745.

Sir,—Yours, dated this day, I received at the Bridge of Ardoch in my way hither; my answer to His Royal Highness' pressing orders which you mention for my marching is, were it to gain the Universe, it is impossible to make more dispatch than I do, as is evident to all the Gentlemen with 'em. I hope to be up time enough tomorrow at Aloo, so that the convoy may be able to pass the river before night; therefore, according to promise, be so good as to have boats, carriages, and every-thing ready for marching forward; to which I can add nothing further here but that I am, &c.¹ . . .

When Duke William left the North to join the army, Lord Strathallan was appointed *interim* Commander-in-Chief North of the Forth, and Robertson of Drumachine Governor of Atholl.

Lord George was at this period sent by his Royal Highness to Perth (where he stopped only one night) to hurry up the reinforcements.

*Lady Jean Murray to Duke James.*EDIN^R, October 29th 1745.

My Dearest Lord Duke,—I have not had the pleasure of any more but one letter from yr Gr/ since you arrived at London, but am willing to attribute the silence to the fault of the posts. We design to go out of town to Sir Robert Mortons on Thursday for a few days to keep our "halyeen."

I have bought James' cloaths as your Gr/ Directed me. I have likewise bought cloaths to myself, which runs away with all my allowance. Yr Gr/ indeed left a paper with me so that I might call for a little more money if necessary, but Dont like to take any more than a stated sum, so hope yr Gr/ will consider me, as I Do assure you I am, very peaceable & quiet at present.

I hear that as Lady Lochell & her children & servants were coming to town, a villiage² near Glasgow rose upon them & killed one servant &

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.² Kirkintilloch.*See Addenda, pp. xxx, xxxi.*

mortally wound'd two, upon which the Camerons Declared to Lochell that if he would not allow them to take blood for blood they would every one Desert ; he tryed to alter their resolution, but could not, so 100 of picked men set out yesterday for the villiage, which undoubtly they will Destroy, if three Gentlemen the Prince sent after them Do not hinder it by bringing (the persons that killed Lochell's servants) to justice. I realy think the people has bin mad.

Lady Charlot & my aff: Duty attends y^r Gr/, and I am my Dear Lord Duke's most ob^t most Dutifull Daughter,

J: MURRAY.

*Instructions for His Grace, the Duke of Perth, the 30th day of
October 1745.**

His Grace is to march from Dalkeith with y^e following Regiments

| | |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| Atholl's | Menzies's |
| Perth's | Roy Stewart's |
| Ogilvy's | M ^c Pherson's |
| GlenBucket's | |

The artillery and hevvy bagage
a detachment of an off^r and 20 men of Pitsligo's horse.

Roy Stewart's Regiment is to be attached, and serve as a guard to the Artillery and Bagage, 50 men of which are to be chosen to serve as a particular guard to the bread waggens, with 50 of Perth's Regiment.

50 men of Perth's Regiment are to be chosen amongst y^e Gardeners, Carpenters, and other workmen, with an understanding officer, to serve as pioniers—which are to march commonly at the head of y^e Artillery, or according as it occurs at the head of the Colomn. The pioniers are to be armed as other soldiers, and besides are to have hatcheds, picaxes & shouvelles.

The Colomn decamps from Dalkeith and marches

the 1st of Nov^r to Lauder

the 2nd of Nov^r to Kelso—where they'll cross the River Tweed.

the 3rd of Nov^r to Ouller¹—where they'll joyn the Prince wth the
clans if they receve no contre orders.

*
*Very similar instructions were issued to Duke
William at same date. See Addenda, p. xxxi.*

¹ Wooler.

M^{rs} Sheridan and Anderson, aide Quarter Masters General marches with His Grace y^e Duke of Perth. His Grace is to observe an exact discipline amongst the troops that are under his command, and to get his march reconnaitred by the aide Quarter Masters General, who are to have with them a detachment and the Quarter Master of each corps.

The Troops are to part early, that they may arrive by times at their Quarters.

The ordre of march is according as they follow in this instruction. The Regiment that has the Van Guard today has y^e rear Guard the day following—p: example, Atholl's will have y^e van guard the 1st day of march, & will have y^e rear guard y^e day following, and so alternetively untill it comes to their turn to have it again.

The Artillery is to march at y^e head of y^e hevvy bagage. H.R.H.'s equipage after. Y^e Bread waggens after, and the different Regiment's bagage according to the rank they have in the march.

The Quarter Masters will appoint a place where the bagage will assemble every morning, and none to be permitted to goe before.

The rank y^e Artillery with the bagage is to keep in the march is after the troops.

The Regiment that has the rear will march after y^e Artillery and Bagage.

Roy Stewart's Regiment will be divided in 3 parts—one at y^e front, y^e next in y^e center, and y^e 3rd part in the rear of y^e Artillery and Bagage of His Royal Highness.

His Grace the Duke of Perth will have great attention that victeling shud not be wanting to y^e troops, nor furage to y^e horses. M^r Hamilton will charge himself w^t that detail.

The troops are to carry with them bread for 4 dayes.

His Grace will see the grande Guards placed on the aveneus of thir quarters, and y^e Officers of Picquet are to be very exact in their visits.

There must be particular care taken that y^e Artillery may not be placed too near houses, for fear of fire.

It is necessary His Grace shud have messengers every day from his colomn to His Royal Highness to know what passes, and to give an account when he passes y^e river Tweed, or if he finds any opposition. To get all y^e intelligence possible of y^e enemy, and give an account of it to H.R.H.

Here follows y^e itinerary of H.R.H.'s marches.

The 1st of November at Gefford.

The 2nd of d^o at Duns.

The 3rd of d^o at Ouller.

My Lord Duke of Perth will give his orders to assemble at Dalkeith GlenBucket's Regiment that is quartered at Ficherra,¹ (and) Menzies's that are at Inch and Craigmiller, for the 31st.²

Commissary Bissett to Duke James.

STIRLING CASTLE, 31 Oct. 1745.

Least my last of the 15th might not have come to y^r Gr/s hands I again give y^r Gr/ a full and particular account of the numbers of the rebell army, which are now at their full hight, all haveing joyn'd them since my last that they had resone to expect, & they are as follows—

| | |
|--|------------|
| Camerone of Lochiel | 650 |
| Glenгарie, includeing Glenmoriston men, commanded by Angus, 2 nd son to Glengarrie | 500 |
| MackDonald of Glenco | 100 |
| MackDonald of Clanrannold | 205 |
| MackDonald of Keppoch | 250 |
| Macklauchline | 60 |
| Stewart of Ardsheal | 200 |
| Duke of Perth men, includeing M ^c Gregor | 200 |
| | <hr/> 2165 |

Nota bene.—The above are all that were engag'd and fought

Sir John Cope at the Batle of Prestone. there were besides about 80 horse that guarded the pretended Prince, but were not engagd 80

There were also about 500 of Tulliebardine's men brought up by L^d Nairne, but being pres'd men most of them Deserted, and the remainder were not trusted to engage, and that remainder hath also deserted since, but Tulliebardine hath again pres'd, and is presently on his way to Ed^r with 300

¹ Fisherrow.

² Record Office, London. This paper was in the Duke's portmanteau when it was taken on December 14th.

Joyn'd since the Batle of Prestone.

| | |
|---|-------------|
| McGrigor of Glengyle, with which he keeps Garrisone at Doun | 100 |
| Brought back of the deserted McDonalds, which I shall reckon although they should not | 66 |
| Of Sir George Steuart's men, commanded by John Mackewan, sone to Mucklie and Campbell of Kinloch | 200 |
| Logiealmond men by Crichton y ^r of Ruthven | 50 |
| Sir Robert Menzies' men by Shian | 50 |
| Lord Pitsligo | 250 |
| Gordon of Glen Bucket & M ^r Hamilton, late Factor to the Duke of Gordon | 400 |
| Lord Ogilvie | 280 |
| Charles Kinloch, brother to Sir Ja ^s Kinloch | 50 |
| Wallace, Provost of Arbroth | 30 |
| Gordon of Aberlour, &c | 30 |
| Moire of Stonnywood | 60 |
| Stewart, sone to Lesmurdie | 30 |
| Elphistone, writter in Aberdeen | 40 |
| Mix'd company of Gentlemen & Servants and of Volunteers in and about Edin ^r , will be about 600, but I shall err upon the safest side by reckoning them double | 1200 |
| Total ammount of the Rebels | <u>5381</u> |
| Ommitted of Mackinnon's men | 80 |
| and of Cluney McPhersone's, includeing some of the deserting Camerones and Stewarts brought back by him | <u>480</u> |
| | 5941 |

From this number of 5941 to be deducted the numbers that have daily deserted with plunder, with the kill'd and wounded, all which I may modestly compute the odd 941, so that the remaining ammount of the number of the Rebels will be 5000, which I can promise to be the most of their ammount, haveing numbered them all before the Batle myself, and had all that joyn'd them since numbered by three severall persones, on their way to Edin^r, who I had imployd for that purpose, and all of them agreeing upon the numbers as above given up.

The Rebels give themselves up sometimes at 8, 10, yea at 15 and 20000, purposely to decoy, and encourage people to joyn them, but I shall undergoe any punishment if they shall be found to exceed the above, yet notwithstanding, a strong force should be brought down to make sure work with them in all events, for first, as their all is at stake they'l fight verry desperatly, besides they are dayly expecting to be joyn'd by a french force, haveing sent over M^r Kellie, who was concern'd in the Bishop of Rochester's plot, to solicit for the same. He went by the way of Perth to Monross, where upon the 6th Oct^r current he took shiping in a merchant ship and sail'd for France, and upon his success depends all their hopes. If he prevails in his negociatione the landing of the French must certainly be at Monross or Stonhive, where the Inhabitants are mostly dissaffected, and from which places they can without obstructione joyn the Rebels, or if they are to have any Spanish aid the landing will probably be on the west coast of Scotland, where the Rebels can safely and without obstructione march and joyn them. Therefore it would be considered if both these coasts should not be guarded by ships of war. Its not to be imagin'd that as England presently stands that any attempt will be made of a landing there, because if there shoud the Rebels could be kept from joyning them. Of the above number of 5000 Rebels I compute two thirds to be real highlanders, and one third lowlanders, altho' they are puting themselves in highland dress like the other, and likeways of the above the following are pres'd men who will probably desert, to witt L^d Tulliebardin's 300, of Strowans men 100, of D: of Perth's men 150, Sir Robert Menzies' 50, Logiealmond's 50, and Sir George Stewarts 200, in all 850.

There is, since my last, joynd the Rebels of y^r Gr/s vassalls, Old Glenlyon, and John Robertson of Bohespick.

The Rebels erected a batterie of 6 cannon at Aloa, and the like upon the opposit side, at Elphiston, by means whereof, as their was not water enough to bring up the men of war to disturb them, they ferried over, Munday and Tuesday last, the cargoe of the three French ships that landed lately at Monross, and Stonhive, with the men that escorted the same, which cargoes consisted of six gentlemen, 10 gunners, six Four pounders, 188 chests of arms, 28 shorter chests, some with broad swords, some with pistolls, and some with cannon and musket bullets, and 26 casks supposed to be powder. The same cargo was escorted by the

Marques of Tulliebardine and his 300 men, Cluney McPhersone's 480, of Glengyle's men 60, Sir George Steuart's men 200, Logiealmonds 50, and Sir Robert Menzies's 50. And, because My Lord Tulliebardine goes in to Edin^r with them, all thir men will pass for Athollmen, altho I can assure y^r Gr/ there were only of them as above 300, includeing Ashintully's, Fascallie's, and Glenlyones men, which woud make a half thereof, and I can promise that they will not keep long by him, 50 haveing already deserted him the night he was at Dunblane, and 50 from Alos, where he renew'd his bloody threats against me, aleading that I had emissarys there that had brought that desertione about.

Its no' small disappoyntment to the Rebels that they can have no assistance out of Atholl, when they expected 2200 men, being two men out of the merk land. They lay this and many other things to my charge, which hath made them so bloody against me, as I wrote in my last, that they have warrants out in all corners for seizing me, bearing a reward of £200 to the seizer, whereof I am very proud, as I am the only persone except the King for whome rewards are promised. There is none in Atholl, not my wife or servants, that dar now see me or correspond with me, which makes me know litle of what is a doeing in that country, only by accident I the other day mett with the man that wrought in weiting¹ the windows of the new house, who came lately from Blair; He tells me that M^r Harisone and his daughter are verry morose at seing everything wasted and consumed, ane open table keep'd to the multitude of Highland Ruffians, and others, passing and repassing that way; that all keys were taken from M^{rs} Betty and given to the villanous Fleeming,² who never rested until he got all the wines, &c, consumed.

I doe not think that the Tennents can pay any rent this year, being, for refuseing to rise and joyn the rebels, fyn'd by My L^d Tulliebardine and M^r Mercer of Aldie, which Fines were exacted, and for payment thereof the poor men were obldged to sell their bestiall at half price in order to make ready money.

It seems y^r Gr/s silver plate at Blair, and some other most valuable things, had been put in a chest, and burried in the ground of one of the waults of the new work, which the stable boy called Donald and Peeter Stewart the carter discovered to the Marques, and which he caused take up.

¹ *i.e.*, attaching weights to the sashes.

² William Fleeming, Duke William's servant.

I'm sure that many more are y^r Gr/s losses which I have not access to discover at present. It's a pity that there is not a regiment or two lying here at Stirling to hinder the rebels retreat to the mountains, they might be sent down by sea to Aloo, within two hours march of this, where they would meet with no obstructione, as the Rebels have all gone from that place, and the batteries carried off; and if a regiment of Dragoons could be sent about the wester road it woud doe well.

I'm oblidged to roll my letter up and to put it in the heart of a whip, in which manner it goes for the greater safety to Berrwick, where I have ordered it to be put in the post house. Since writing the above I have ane account from Perth that a party both of the Frasers and McIntoshes are still armeing and preparing to joyn the Rebels. That L^d Louis Gordon with a party of horse and foot have past through that town, in his way north to raise as many as he can of his brother the D: of Gordon's men. That Drumachine, who hitherto hath keep'd himself quiet, hath at last appear'd, and is raising Lord Nairn's men and some of the Stormont men, in which he's verry active.

That Blair of Glasclune joyns him, and that Stewart of Killiechassy hath come to Perth with a party of 24 men to assist them.

That L^d Strathallan and Gask are left Governours of Perth, but have no men or garisone there, and that there is a considerable number of arms and ammunition left by the Rebels at Perth, likeways at Brechin under care of one Ferrier, and that two French gunners are left at Perth, and that a fourth French ship is still expected at Monross or Stonehive.

The Rebels are certainly to march somewhere or other soon, as they have got up the cargoes of the French ships, and have sent to their respective homes their sick and wounded men that have been lying at Edinburgh.

As I see a greater run at present in running in to the Rebels than at the beginning, I'm convinced that they have got some encouragement and promises by those that have come in the three French ships, and am glad to find that Sir Geo^e Bing is aryved in the road of Leith to care of our concern, and which I believe will be found very necessary. The sooner the Army could be at us the better.

I have been oblidged to transmitt this to Berrwick roll'd up and in the heart of a whip, to prevent being intercepted, and have left it open to be read by the Commanding officer at Berrwick before its put in the Post

Office, because it may be of use to any that commands His Majesty's Forces coming for Scotland.

It is verry necessary to write this fair over, But as the bearer was just goeing of I had no time to doe it.

There is a party this day at Glasgow collecting the cess, excyse and oy^r dutys, But Stirling holds out, haveing fortify'd and arm'd themselves, and act in concert with Generall Blackny.

My accounts from Perth informe me also that most of the Athollmen, and of Sir George Steuart's men, have already deserted the rebels and return'd home, so that I'm pretty possitive they'l lose now dayly as many as may hereafter joyn them.

Viscount Strathallan to Gregor Murray.

MACHANY, Oct: 31, 1745.

Gregor Murray,—You are hereby ordered to make all the heast possible, with what men you can bring, in to Perth this night, where I am goeing with assistance of all I can. The bearer will give the reason of it.

STRATHALLAN.¹

Lord George Murray to Lady George.

EDIN^B, 1st Nov. 1745.

My Life,—I intreat & conjour you to take care of your health, & nixt to that I recommend to you our Dear Children.

Happen what will, it is a comfort to me that I leave them a parent so affect & so capable of adviseing them. Virtue is preferable to all the Ritchess in the world atended with vice & folly. You cannot hear from me in heast (perhaps never), for, except things go beyond expectation, I do not think of any sure way to convoy our letters—however to
under cover to } torn out.

Remember what I said at parting at your own house, I am of the very

¹ The reason for the above order was that on October 30, being King George's birthday, a mob of persons rang the bells and lighted bonfires in Perth, and besieged Oliphant of Gask in the Council House till eight A.M. 31st, he being Deputy-Governor in charge of the city during Strathallan's absence. In response to his Lordship, 90 of Lord Nairn's men, over 60 of Logie-almond's, and Gregor Murray, with 17 Glenalmond men, proceeded to Perth and secured the peace of the town. The above letter was taken amongst Gregor's papers in 1746.

same opinion still, but God may order it otherways. To Him I recommend you & my Dear Babys.

Bid Amie read History, use exercise, & indeavour a contented mind, but I advise her not to be a Bigott to any sect or party. Farewell.

Once more, as the greatest proof of your Friendship (of which I have had such innumerable Instances), take care of yourself, & Prefer Peac of mind with a Morsell, to Ritchess & evry thing else on earth. Adieu.

I ever have been & shall be yours whilest

GEORGE MURRAY.

we march today.

From the despondent tone of his letter it does not appear that Lord George was over sanguine of the success of the campaign.

November 1.—The Highland army marched from Edinburgh to Dalkeith, and there the Prince was joined by Duke William with a force of nearly 1000 men, consisting of the Athollmen, Menzies's, Grandtully's men, and the Macphersons. The Duke also brought up the battery of six Swedish cannon which had been lately landed at Montrose.

At the time the Highland army set out for England the total strength (according to Patullo the muster master) was a little over 5000 foot, and about 500 horse; the latter being mostly low country gentlemen and their servants.

In an account which Lord George wrote afterwards he thus described the march out of Edinburgh :—

“H: R: H: went that night (Oct^r 31) to Pinky, a good many of the men being quarter'd at Musselburgh; nixt day he went to Dalkeith. L: G: M: brought off all the gaurds from their sevrall posts in Edr, & they march'd with Pipes playing & coullers flying down the streets & came that night to Dalkeith.”

*Captain James Murray (Ex-Governor of the Isle of Man)
to Duke James.*

FOULDEN, Nov. 1st, 1745.

My Lord,—Y^r Gr/ might reasonably have expected a more early obedience to your commands in writing to you, but the truth is that ever since the monday's night you left Edin^r, and that night's resolution to give admittance to the rebels, I have been wandering from place to place to shun falling in their hands. It was hardly possible for me to have a Letter put in a safe post office till lately I took refuge in this place, under the protection of the town of Berwick, where with several other refugees we have come of with a few false alarums. Our nighbours of East Lothian, and indeed all the country within thirty miles of Edinburgh, have suffered as much as if it had been conquered by a set of Turks, and all this in a flat contradiction to the pretended Regent's repeated declarations, which were calculate to take the advantage of poor people's security in order to rob them with the greater ease.

This week, and end of the last, the rebels have fallen into a down right rage, spare nothing, take even the working horses out of the ploughs, a specimen of the government is to be expected from them, and which Scotland will not forget for a couple of generations to come. They have given a more effectual cure to Jacobitism than the lenity of a fifty seven years administration could effectuate. If they are bad politicans they are certainly good physicians, but now that the King's army is at hand their ruin must be so. Every body is still at a loss to know their measures, secrecy is their only virtue. Some are of opinion, as they have taken up so many horses, they intend to employ them in carrying provisions to the Highlands, there to shelter themselves in the fastnes of the mountains, till their ringleaders make their escape in the winter—others (and they themselves) give out that they intend to go the west road for England. Which way so ever they go, in all probability they go to destruction. Few or none have joined them for ten days past, many desert. Their number has never to my knowledge gott a certain name, but it is more than probable it does not exceed seven thousand, one half of which is the scourings of the earth, and will rather be a burthen than of any use to them.

Major Cochrane, by M^r Maule, will let y^r Gr/ know the adventure of

his house, where I had the honour to see the young Ladies for a night. They were hearty, and appeared not in the least frightened with the horrors of war. Y^r Gr/s particular loss must be great; what can not be cured must be endured. All I left of mine in their power is gone, a lame horse, and my hay. God send a happy end of these miserable times, and may I have once more in my old daies the pleasure of seeing you in your own house, which will give a most sensible pleasure to, My Lord Duke,

Y^r Gr/s most humble devoted Servant,

J: MURRAY.

I do not expect to hear of y^r Gr/ till I am at Edinburgh, which I hope may be in a few daies, and from whence I will have the honour to write to y^r Gr/.

November 3.—The Highland army marched from Dalkeith for England in two divisions. One, under Duke William and the Duke of Perth, went *viâ* Peebles, Selkirk, and Moffat; whilst the other, under the Prince and Lord George, proceeded *viâ* Lauder to Kelso. From there, in order to deceive the English Government into the idea that the Highlanders were to enter England by the east coast road, Lord George was sent to make a feint along the Berwick road; after marching some distance, he turned to the right, and crossing the Tweed (which was pretty deep and took the men above the middle), he marched straight to Jedburgh, where he rejoined His Royal Highness.

Regarding the fording of the Tweed, two old men, Charles Gow, Croft Crombie (æ. 89), and William Gilbert Robertson¹ (Hillman), Gilbert's Bridge, both in Glen Tilt, who had served in Lord George's regiment in the '45, related the following anecdote to Lady Amelia Sophia Murray in 1807:—

“When the regiment came to the Tweed the river was high and not thought to be fordable. The men halted, and hesitated what to do. Lord

¹ Great-great-grandfather of John Robertson, Pitlochrie, late house steward, Blair Castle, who left the service in 1872.

George, accompanied by Murray of Solzarie and Robertson of Easter Bleaton, instantly leaped into the river and forded, while the soldiers looked on with amazement from the Bank. When Lord George and his two companions got out of the deep and strong current, they leaped and danced in the river to show the soldiers there was no great danger, and to encourage them to follow, which they instantly did. At the first village to which the regiment came after fording the river, each man got a glass of gin and a halfpenny roll."

From Jedburgh the division marched to Hawick, and on the 8th the advanced guard crossed the Border, and drew up before Carlisle on the 9th. At Carlisle the whole Highland army joined together again, but both divisions had suffered much from desertion during their march.

In a letter, dated November 5, to Duke James, Commissary Bissatt stated that Drumachine's chief business in Atholl was to intercept and punish deserters; and that he had three deputies, Neil M'Glashan for Dunkeld, John Stewart (brother to Alexander Stewart of Kinnaird) at Logierait, and Killiechassie at Tay Bridge, who keep garrisons at these places, and had suppressed all boats, except Invar and Logierait, where they keep guards, and at Tay Bridge, to intercept the deserters.'

Commissary Bissatt to Humphry Harrison (extract).

STIRLING, the 10th Nov. 1745.

There is none of my children but what His G: may promise upon their being well affected. My little boy Davie at the schooll of Dunkeld gave an instance thereof lately. Finding that the Duke's birthday was neglected by all at Dunkeld, He conveened some of his comarads, joynd their feu pence together, purchased some loads of heather, and bottles of ale, made a Bonfire, drunk to the healths of K: George the 2nd, James Duke of Atholl, and the young Ladies, and marched through the town, proclaimeing with loud huzas, "Long Live K: George the 2nd and James Duke of Atholl," and that K: George was King, and would continue King,

'See Addenda, pp. xxxiv-xxxviii.

and James D: of Atholl Duke, and would continue Duke, in spite of all that would wish the contrary, which gave so much offence that my wife was obliged to remove the boy for some time out of the town.

I am, Sir, y^r most humble Servant,

THO: BISSATT.

November 13.—The Commissary wrote to Duke James, informing him that Spalding of Whitefield, in Strathardle, a captain in the Atholl brigade, and a vassal of Ashintully's, had been seized on his way back to Atholl, near Kilsyth, by Mr. Brown, factor to Shawfield, and sent prisoner to Edinburgh Castle. Amongst other papers the following order was found on him:—

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., under the Prince Regent, Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces, to Captain Spalding of Whitefield.

As the gentlemen & commons of Strathardle, Glenshee, Blackwater, Glenfernat, GlenBrerachan, Persies, and West Forest of Alyth, have been singularly backward in performeing their duty and service to their King & country, which being a shamefull reproach upon us all concern'd with them, besides a discouraging others who ought to be sustain'd for the Honour and intrest of our country, both befor God and man—

These are therefore ordering and requyring you, without regard of persones or any pretence whatsoever, to raise all the men ought to have appear'd at this time, & joyn yourselves to M^r Robertsons of Drumachine's Regiment.

At the same time you are to use proper methods for surely apprehending and secureing the persones of the Baronne Reid and Patrick Small of Leanach, and deliver them prisoners into the hands of the R^t Hon: The Viscount of Strathallan, that they may be kept in safe custody.

All which you are carefully to performe as you will be answerable.

For the doeing whereof this shall be to you and all concern'd a sufficient warrant.

Given att Moffat the 7th Nov^r 1745.

ATHOLL.

Captain Spalding also had on him, when taken, a number of letters from officers in the Highland army to their friends in the North, and the roll of his company in the Atholl brigade.

*List of Captain Spalding's Company.*¹

| | | | |
|-----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| Paul | Bowie | Thomas | McKenzie |
| Donald | Brown | John | McLachlan |
| John | Bruce | Robert | McLaren |
| Alexander | Ferguson | John | McNab |
| John | Ferguson | John | McNab |
| Paul | Ferguson | Leonard | McNab |
| Robert | Ferguson | Thomas | Melville |
| Donald | Grant | David | Reid |
| Alexander | Lamont | James | Reid |
| James | Lyon | Malcolm | Reid |
| James | Lyon | Alexander | Robertson |
| John | Lyon | Donald | Robertson |
| Donald | McBeath | Duncan | Robertson |
| Donald | McDonald | Duncan | Scott |
| George | McDonald | Andrew | Small |
| Robert | McDonald | Donald | Small |
| Alexander | McDougal | Patrick | Small |
| Alexander | McIntosh | John | Spalding |
| Alexander | McIntosh | Charles | Stewart |
| George | McIntosh | Donald | Stewart |
| Lachlan | McIntosh | David | Yeaman |
| Kenneth | McKenzie | | |
| | | | Total 43 |

Amongst the letters were the following from officers of the Atholl brigade :—

| | | | | | |
|-----|----------|------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. | Colonel | Hon. Robt. | Mercer | of Aldie | to his wife |
| 2. | Colonel | Archd. | Menzies | of Shian | to his wife (at Farleyer) |
| 3. | Lt.-Col. | George | Robertson | of Faskally | to his mother |
| 4. | Major | James | Robertson | of Blairfettie | to his wife |
| 5. | Captain | David | Robertson | of E. Bleaton | to his wife |
| 6. | " | " | " | " | to John Bruce, yr., of Pitkermack |
| 7. | " | Duncan | Robertson | of Auchleeks | to his wife |
| 8. | " | James | Stewart | of Clunes | to "Lady Faskally" |
| 9. | " | Alexr. | Murray | of Soilzarie | to his wife |
| 10. | Ensign | Andrew | Rattray | yr., of Blackcraig | to his wife |
| 11. | ? | Charles | Robertson | yr., of Trinafour | to his father |

¹ These papers are in the Public Record Office, London.

Two of the most interesting of the above are here given :—

(No. 3.) *Lieutenant-Colonel Robertson of Faskally to
“Lady Faskally.”*

MURPHAT, 7 Nov^r 1745.

Dear Mother,—We are just now thus far on our way to England, but we have no particular accounts of the English Army, only that we are much about equall in numbers, & I dare swear in goodness too.

All our friends here are well, only Jo: M^cKenzie, W^m M^cMillan, John Robertson, John M^cIntosh, Alex: Robertson, Alex^r Keir, have deserted me, & I beg you'll punish them severely, as it shows they had little regard to me to leave me at such a time. Remember me wth my sisters, and I am ever, Dear Mother, your Dutifull Son, GEORGE ROBERTSON.

(No. 11.) *Charles Robertson, yr., of Trinafour, to Patrick Robertson
of Trinafour, at Dalnacardoch.*

MOFFAT, Nov. the 7th, 1745.

Dear Father,—This is to let you know that we are all in good health, and hopes this will find you in the same, and we came here Tuesday last, and we are to march tomorrow at five of the clock for an other journey; I cannot asure you which way, but I hear it is for Dumfries in the first place.

I beg of yow to be at the trouble of traivling to Trinafour and tell all the Honnest folks there that all the lads are well, and especially Alex^r Macdonald's Father and Mother, that I designed to get him a pass, but my Lord Duke refused it, and Alexander himself said that he would rather follow me, and die where I died, than be taken prisoner as many was taken, and I hope it will be to his advantage, and mine also; therefor tell his parents *that* from me, that I made him my own servant, free from guard or duty, but my errants: and tell his Father that hee's in good health; this for a token that he gave him a shizar for taking of his Beard. Tell Bettie that Niell is Blairfettie's servant, and all the lads are in top spirits, and gives all their friends their duty. Pray give my service to my mother and all my friends, and tell her that if I go to Dumfries I'll see my Ant.

I came past Edin^r without seeing my sisters. You may think we were on heast. Is all from your loving son,

CHARLES ROBERTSON.

On Saturday, November 9, the Highland army arrived before Carlisle, and on the following day the city was blockaded on all hands by the Highlanders; but, as intelligence was brought that Marshal Wade was marching from Newcastle with a large army towards Carlisle, His Royal Highness went on the 11th to Brampton, seven miles towards Newcastle, to wait for him. On the 12th a council of war was held, when it was decided that Lord George and the Duke of Perth should return with half the army and resume the blockade. The Duke, with his own regiment, was to raise and maintain a battery; whilst Lord George, with six battalions, was to conduct the blockade; six battalions remaining with the Prince at Brampton.

On the 13th the town was again blockaded, and that night trenches were opened about musket-shot from the walls. The *Caledonian Mercury* newspaper stated that Duke William and the Duke of Perth wrought in the trenches in their shirts to animate the men. The defenders fired briskly from the walls, but did little execution, as the loss of the Highland army during the siege consisted only of one killed and one wounded. Lord George recounts of the former:—"There was but one man kil'd, an Irish officer, standing out of the Trench saing they could not fire cannon like guners from the Town. At the very time a Cannon Ball went thro' his throt."

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

HARBERRY, 14 Nov^r, five of the morning.

Dear Brother,—I posted the men in the villages so as to stop the communication to and from Carlisle, according to the note I gave to his Royal Highness; but I believe there must be some alteration this day, for I think of calling off Shian from Butcherby, (where there is no occasion for a party,) to reinforce this post, and that commanded by Lord Nairn, as both will be pretty much exposed if the enemy should attempt to sally,

and as they will be some miles distant from one another, so that no succour could go in time from the one post to the other, and quite at a distance from the rest of the army.

Lord Nairn, who is now at Blackhall, must go to some place nearer Carlisle, and upon the road from thence to Whitehaven; but I can say nothing certain till the places be viewed this day after daylight.

I am sorry to find that it is impossible to go on so quick with the battery of cannon as would have been wished. By the report of those I sent there, the ground is marshy, and vastly too much exposed; and, notwithstanding all the pains taken by the Duke of Perth, who is indefatigable in that service, and who meets with unnumberable difficulties, I suspect the place pitched upon will not answer. But if the thing be prosecuted, I think it my duty to tell you, so as you may represent it to his Royal Highness, that the men posted upon the blockade of Carlisle will not expose themselves, either in trenches, or all night in the open air, within cannon shot, or even musket shot, of the town, except it be in their turn with the rest of the Army, and that to be decided by lot who to mount that guard, first night, second, and so on. The way I would propose, if it be approved of by a council of war, is as follows—That fifty men be draughted out of each of the Battalions that are at Brampton, with proper officers, and at least two majors out of the six battalions, and be sent to quarter at Butcherby, which I believe is within a mile of the battery; and as I suppose one hundred and fifty men will mount guard at the battery, these six battalions will furnish two guards, your men will furnish one, General Gordon and Lord Ogilvie's, one, which in whole makes four guards, or reliefs; and I think, by that time, the town will be either taken, or the blockade removed. I dont mention the Duke of Perth's regiment, because they have more than their turn of the duty already, besides furnishing workmen, &c; and for Colonel John Roy Stewart's regiment, I suppose they have the guard of the equipage, &c, and they will perhaps be able to furnish some workmen. If any thing be done of this nature, the sooner I hear of it the better. I ever am, dear brother,

Your most aff^{te} brother, & faithful humble servt,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

¹ Bishop Forbes's "Jacobite Memoirs."

The result of a council of war held in consequence of the above letter was the following order written by Mr. Secretary Murray :—

BRAMPTON, 14th Nov. 1745.

So soon as the whole body that now forms the blockade have taken their turn of the guards, the division of the army now here will march in a body and form the blockade ; but no detachments can be sent from the different corps, nor do they think it fair to require them to do so, as they had all the fatigue and danger of the blockade in Edinburgh.¹

During the course of the blockade of Carlisle a disagreement took place between the Prince and Lord George. The latter had desired the Duke of Perth to make his reports to him as his senior officer, instead of which the Duke reported direct to the Prince, seven miles distant, evidently by order. Upon this, Lord George wrote the following letter to His Royal Highness, resigning his command.

Lord George Murray to Prince Charles.

14 Nov^r 1745.

Sir,—I cannot but observe how little my advice as a General officer has any weight with your Royal Highness, ever since I had the honour of a commission from your hands. I therefore take leave to give up my commission. But as I ever had a firm attachment to the Royal Family, and in particular to the King, my master, I shall go on as a Volunteer, and design to be this night in the trenches as such, with any others that will please to follow me, though I own I think there are full few on this post already.

Your Royal Highness will please order whom you think fit to command on this post and the other parts of the Blockade.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Royal Highness's most faithful
and most humble servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Lord Elcho has the command till you please appoint it otherwise.

¹ Bishop Forbes's "Jacobite Memoirs."

*Prince Charles to Lord George Murray.*BRAMPTON, Nov: y^r 14th, 1745.

I think y^r advice ever since you join'd me at Perth has had another guess weight with me than what any General Officer cou'd claim as such. I am therefore extremely surprized you shou'd throw up y^r commission for a reason which I beleeve was never heard of before.

I am glad of y^r particular attachment to the King, but I am very sure he will never take anything as a proof of it but y^r deference to me. I accept of y^r demission as Lieutenant General, and y^r future services as a Volunteer.

CHARLES, P:R:

At the time of this blockade the garrison of Carlisle consisted of two companies of invalids, about 80 men ; seven companies of militia, about 500 ; one troop of horse militia, 70 ; and some armed citizens ; the whole being under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel James Durand, Coldstream Guards.

When at daybreak on the 14th they found the Highlanders at work throwing up an entrenchment within 300 yards from the citadel, the militia with one accord threw down their arms and abandoned the ramparts, sending notice to Colonel Durand that they were determined to capitulate. Being unable to dissuade them from this step, the Colonel retired with the invalids to the castle, which he determined to defend to the last. In the meantime the Deputy - Mayor of Carlisle, Mr. Thomas Pattinson, displayed a white flag on the walls, and asked for terms for the surrender of the town, upon which a cessation of hostilities was agreed to till an express could be sent to Brampton to learn the Prince's pleasure, who replied that he would assign no terms for the city unless the castle was included. This being reported to Colonel Durand, he called a council of war of the officers of the invalids, at which it was decided to surrender, seeing that under all the circumstances further resistance was unavailing. Accordingly, at 10 A.M. on

the 15th, the gates of the city were thrown open, and the Duke of Perth entered and took possession. The garrison laid down their arms in the market-place, and were allowed to go away on taking oath not to carry arms against the House of Stuart for a twelvemonth.

The stores which fell into the Prince's hands consisted of—

| |
|-------------------------|
| 20 six-pounder guns |
| 2 four " " |
| 4 three " " |
| 4 two " " |
| <hr/> |
| 30 |
| 500 firelocks |
| 300 hand grenades |
| 50 barrels of gunpowder |
| 200 horses. |

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

HAROBY, 15th Nov: 1745.

Dear Brother,—I had not time to write to you last night, when I wrote a few lines to his Royal Highness, by which I gave up my commission of Lieutenant General, as I was sensible I could be of no use in the manner things are conducted: for instance, I desired to know, as near as could be, the terms his Royal Highness would accept of from Carlisle, and that though I did not desire any power to conclude, yet it would have been a great saving of time if I had been trusted with his Royal Highness's intentions, as surely by all rules I ought to have been; and then all would have been regular for his Royal Highness to have accepted of, according to what he should have given me in commission; for when he could not come to any fixed resolution before I came away, I begged his Royal Highness would send his intentions and instructions after me, that I might conduct myself by them; but his secretary told plainly, he took that matter to be in his province, as he seems indeed to take everything upon him, both as to civil and military. There are many other things which have determined me to wish to have no command; and it is some

time past since I observed things must go into utter confusion. I shall show, as a volunteer, that no man wishes more success to the cause, and I can be of more use charging in the first rank of your Atholl men, than as a general, where I was constantly at a loss to know what was doing. I am of opinion you should reduce your men to two battalions, one for Lord Nairn, the other Mr Mercer. When you are quartered any where, if you have any hole to spare, I shall be as often with you as I can; at other times I shall lye with the men in a barn, which, I doubt not, will hearten them much. In every thing, as a Volunteer, I shall do all I can to advance the service; but am determined never to act as an officer. I have several other things to say at meeting. If you have occasion for tent or horses, they are at your service, for I design to keep none, but make presents of them all. Adieu. Y^{rs},

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

HAROBY, 16 Nov. 1745.

Dear Brother,—I did expect you would have, upon occasion, stood my friend; but I find you are too apt to hearken to designing people, by your being so ready to blame me before I was heard; and except you show some regard for me, how can I expect it of others?

I told his Royal Highness, that you had acquainted me he desired to see me. He said, no, he had nothing particular to say to me. I told him, I should be as ready to serve in a private station, and as a Volunteer, in the first rank of your men, as ever I could be in any other. He said I might do so. Nothing else past. I spoke a good time to Sir Thomas Sherridan, and told him in particular, that if anything was taken amiss in my letter, as having expressed my attachment to the King without having mentioned his Royal Highness, it was very injurious to me; for, having mentioned the King and Royal family, (and designing my letter to be short,) I thought it needless to be more particular; for surely, next to the King, I would serve none on earth before his Royal Highness, which, after what I have shown, and all my actions since I joined the Standard, could not be called in question.

I mentioned several particulars, wherein I showed that I had no

¹ Bishop Forbes's "Jacobite Memoirs."

authority in the station I was in, and that others acted as General, who had not any call, but used his Royal Highness's name. That in the drudgery I was employed, but anything of moment was done without my participation. That, in short, I had ventured my all—life, fortune, family—everything but my honour, which last I had some to lose, but none to gain, in the way things were managed, and therefore resolved upon a private station. I wish you would be careful of the Atholl men, that they be not slighted, which never should have happened as long as I had any command. I find scarce any of them have even got thanks for venturing life and fortune, and even the gallows; and which is worst, (I dont know how it is come about,) they are not thought equally good with other men. If you would send me the notes that were made out of the way of modelling them into two different regiments, I would, now that I have time to do it, as much as possible for the good of the service, and the general comfort.

I always am, Dear Brother, yr most faithful and humble servant & aff^e Brother,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

Saturday, November 16.—“The Duke of Perth proclaimed King James, attended by the Mayor and civil officers in their robes, with their sword and mace. The keys of the city were presented to the Prince at Brampton by the Mayor and Corporation on their knees; and on Monday the 18th His Royal Highness made his entry into Carlisle seated on a white charger, and preceded by not less than 100 pipers.”²

After the Prince took possession of Carlisle, matters were made up between him and Lord George, who agreed to continue to hold his commission of lieutenant-general.

Lady Jean Murray to Duke James (extract).

EDIN⁸, Nov. 17, 1745.

On Thursday last the vile run away Dragoons entered this town. I thought they should rather have bin hissed than huzzaed, as such treatment they deserved.

¹ Bishop Forbes's "Jacobite Memoirs."

² Mounsey's "Carlisle in 1745."

Wednesday, November 20.—The first half of the Highland army, under Lord George, marched from Carlisle for the South, the Prince following with the remaining half the next day. The route taken was by Penrith, Shap, Kendal, Lancaster, Grafton, Preston, Wigan, Manchester, Macclesfield, and Congleton. Here they were within nine miles of Newcastle-under-Lyme, where the Duke of Cumberland's army lay; but on his retiring to Lichfield, the Prince continued his march by Leek and Ashbourne to Derby, which was reached on Wednesday, December 4. During this march the Prince received no accession to his strength, with the exception of some 200 men, under Colonel Townley, who joined at Manchester.

Colonel Robertson of Drumachine to Gregor Murray at Coinneachan.

LOGIERAIT, Nov. 23, 1745.

Sir,—Some days ago I had a Letter from Lord Strathallan, desiring to acquaint you per express to repair to Perth immediately wth as many men as you could get together; but the storm was so high I cou'd find none to undertake the Journey before this day. I hope you will lose no time in performing this; but in the mean time that you are raising the men.

I think you should send express to Perth to know my Lord's further pleasure.

I am alwise, w^t complements to the bonny wife,

Dear Gregor, your most humble servant,

D. ROBERTSON.¹

Commissary Bissatt to Duke James.

EDINR, 30 Novr. 1745.

May it please Y^r Gr/,—I came here yesternight from Stirling with a design to continue here untill our country is clear, which its far from being at present. . . .

Wedensday last one John Stewart, a tennent of Dallguises, who had

¹ Taken amongst Gregor's papers in 1746.

See Addenda, p. xxxviii, xxxix.

deserted from the Rebels upon Wednesday the 20th, as they were marching south from Carlisle, came to Stirling and gave a verry distinct account. He said that none of the Highlanders approached Carlisle to make the Trenches but the D: of Perth's litle Regiment, that the rest of the Highlanders were posted at some distance from the town, that both Castle & town fired, but did no execution but killing ane Ingineer or gunner and a horse, and that when the Trench & Battery was finished, both town & Castle surrendered without the Highlanders firing as much as a single shot.

That he was at pains to find out the number and strength of the Highlanders, and that he is positive that they doe not exceed 4000, or at most 4500.

That L^d George's Regiment, being Ashintully's men, and the Strathardle, Blackwater, and Forest of Alyth men, were by desertione reduced to 60, who are mostly Ashintully's men.

That M^r Mercer's Regiment is reduced to 120, wherein are included Fascallie's and Campbell of Glenlyone's men; But that there are still about 200 remaining of L^d Nairn's Regiment by reasone that they were the vassalls' men who joyn'd the rebels, to witt—Lude's, Fincastle's, Blairfety's, Auchleeks, Kynachan, Bohallie, Temper, Gairth, Inchgairth, and young Ballachan's; and their masters being alongs with them were at pains to keep them from deserting; that in this 200 is likeways included 30 of MacLauchline's men.

He informed me of three more of your Gr/s vassalls that had joyn'd the rebels, that I had not known till then, to witt—Robertsone of Easter Bleaton, Barrone Fergusone's son, and Kinaird's grandchild, who are but two boys of about 15 or 16 years of age, who run from the School to follow the multitude.

I find all the ministers are resolv'd to be at M^r Manne, Min^r of Dunkeld, when the country is settled. They say he joyn'd my Lord Tulliebardine in all the rejoyceings for the surrender of Edin^r, victory of the Batle of Prestonpans, and drunk all the healths, &c. Also that he gave over praying expressly for King George, but pray'd in these words, viz. "For our King, the Prince, & our Duke."

The young Ladys are well, but Lady Charlot was lately ill of a cold, and is now perfectly recovered.

I am, with the greatest respect, may it please Y^r Gr/, Y^r Gr/s most faithful, obedient and oblidged humble Servant,

THO: BISSATT.

*Lady Jean Murray to Duke James (extract).*EDIN^R, Decbr 3^d, 1745.

Y^r Gr/ has put me too a terrible inconvenience in saying you'll pay no more bills, as I have no other way of fering, & there is a vast many things I get from London quarter the price of them here, & as my finances, I do assure y^r Gr/, will not Do the cheapest way, I'm sure it will not the Dearest, so by this means I shall turn bankrupt with all my frugality, which is so great, that I'm almost suspected to be a Jacobite for wearing a tartan gown, to save money; indeed it won't do at all. Y^r Gr/ knows I had only this allowance a quarter or two to see, & then you promised me more, so hope you'll fulfill y^r promise.

*Commissary Bissett to H. Harrison.*EDIN^R, 5th Dec^r 1745.

Sir,—I convers'd with the Innerness Post this day, who tells me that he saw your Father and sister as he came through, and that they are very well, and I doe not wonder that I have not heard from them, since the post says that his saddle was open'd out and search'd for letters, and all the letters in his bagg open'd and read by Blair of Glascune, who Drummachine left as his deputie Governour of Blair Castle, when he himself went to Perth the other day with his ten men. That there is a strong garisone kept in the Castle of Blair, and some small pieces of cannon mounted there. That there is Guard kept at Dalnakeardoch & Logiereat, also at the boat of Invar, and the East boat of Dunkeld and Ballmackneel, with all the fishing boats taken off the water.

The number of men at Perth, and Dundee, and Montrose, are about 1800, whereof 500 ar Angus men. This besides 4 or 500 being the number of French said to have landed.

They have sent expresses north for L^d Louis Gordon, and M^r of Lovat, with their men, and it's thought that the moment they arrive they'l march South, and in order thereto they are presently gathering in horses from all quarters, and since ever they begun to talk of marching there hath been a strong desertione.

I saw ane Aberdeen man this day, who said that L^d Louis was come that length before he came off, with 150 men only. M^r Lovat's men

have not yet come to the southward of Loch Ness, and as there are letters passing every day betwix E: Loudoun, the President, and Lord Lovat, 'tis thought the Frazers may still be prevail'd upon not to move south.

In the French ship that was taken the other day by the Milnford, man of war, there was 232 privat men, and 25 officers,¹ 300 guns, 300 bayonets, 300 broadswords, 300 cartrage boxes, and some saidles and bridles; and the men are to be brought up from Lieth to the Castle tomorrow.

Altho' I have had it writt me from severall hands that Neil Mackglashan hath been appoynted Factor by my L^d Tulliebardine, I doe not hear of his medling with any of the rents yet.

The Innerness Post tells me that L^d Loudoun hath only 1450 men, and that he hath not left Innerness yet. A Deserter from the Highlanders in England reports that L^d Ogilvie hath been ill wounded in a duell by Hunter of Burnside.

To return to the Highland army, which had marched into Derby on December 4.* A council of war was held on the 5th, at which it was decided that, as the cause had met with so little encouragement in England, as their army was weak in numbers, and as there were two strong armies (under the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade) at no great distance, it would be advisable to return to Scotland, and form a junction with the forces left there. In accordance with this resolution they marched out of Derby on Friday, December 6, and retreated by the same road as they had come south.

December 7.—One T. Drake, sending information from Derby to the Government, wrote that "there was one of the Highland regiments had a bunch of heath like a broom on the top of their half pike by way of standard."²

¹ French troops coming to assist the cause. The Hon. Thomas Nairne, third son of Lord Nairne, was among the officers taken.

² Public Record Office, London. As heather is the Macdonald badge, it was probably one of their regiments.

* *At Derby* "Duke William" lodged at Mr. Gibson's house in Bridge Gate, Lord George Murray at Mr. Heathcote's, and Lord Nairne at Mr. John Bingham's, both in Market Place.

See *Addenda*, p. xxxix.

—Hutton's "History of Derbyshire."

The same day, the Duke of Richmond, who was with the Duke of Cumberland's forces at Coventry, wrote as follows to the Duke of Newcastle: "Are you all mad? that you don't send for ten thousand more foot—be they Hessians, Hanoverians or Devills, if they will butt fight for us."¹

December 9.—Duke James wrote from London to Captain Murray (ex-Governor of the Isle of Man) in Edinburgh, consulting him as to a safe place to which to remove Ladies Jean and Charlotte, and suggesting the Isle of Man, Huntingtower, or Gordon Castle.

Hon. James Nairne² to Duke James.

COVENTRIE, 9 Dec. 1745.

My L^d Duke,—Since the time that I troubled y^r Gr/, the 29th of last month, there having nothing very material occurred, I did not write this sooner, nor has there now indeed, except what y^r Gr/ must have heard. However, there may be some things that might have escaped notice, and the truth of any thing may be more illustrated by relations from different hands. His Highness³ has thought fit to change the nature of the war, finding th' enemie evade him, whom the generous Prince marcht out against at first as if they had been a foreign force and not a rebel armie in our own bowels. Newcastle under Lyn was the farthest any considerable body of our troops were advanced to, Dec^r 2nd, when the soldierie witnessed a great desire to be led on, while for some time it was believed necessarie; nor was their regret less when we were obliged to follow them, by returning almost the same way we had before marcht, to prevent their getting nearer the capital city; advice being brought that they had mov'd towards the nearest parts of Darbieshire with that designe. The Duke resolving to harrass them without fatiguing [our whole armie needlessly, has order'd twentie squadrons of horse and one thousand

¹ Newcastle MSS. in British Museum.

² Lord Nairne's brother, an officer in the English army.

³ The Duke of Cumberland.

volunteers out of the whole foot for this service, which I trust will have a good effect. As every one press'd to go on this command, it was determin'd th' officers next on dutie at the time should take place.

As an action draws nearer there are Spies and prisoners brought in daily, and we wait with impatience the success of our friends in the field.

I met one Mr Stanlie, a near relation of my L^d Darbie's, at Newcastle. He was Major to the 1500 volunteers rais'd in Lancashire for defence of his Majestie and Government, afterwards all disarm'd. He came with 20 more gentlemen of that corps, and join'd the Grenadeer Company of Coll^l Sowles's, that night we thought to have met the rebels had they stay'd. He brought 140 Roman Catholick horse for the Protestant use. By him I was inform'd that the third part of the rebels, being 7 thousand in all, were able men, the rest shaby & despicable fellows. That they observ'd a profound silence in their marching (which a gentlman thought might be owing to their having so litle to say for themselves). The pretender shifts his dress as oft as any pickpocket, and can not be approached but through a range of naked swords; of late he is very pensive and melancholly, which last is the best thing I have heard of him. As to his person, it is every way to be reprehended; contrarie to what some females would affirm, whose heat and pride seems not to be so well temper'd as that of some inferior animals.

The chief of the Rebels keep the deluded people in extreme ignorance. "Wully Wadd," they tell them, is forced to go aboard of ship; and that the Duke had only the remains of a few shatter'd troops with him, and that th' English in general were a weary of th' Elector of Hanover.

Since I wrote as above we hear they (the rebels) are making prodigious marches, well nigh running away, since they left Darbie.

I can not say whether our bodie upon their march can overtake people so light of foot, but if part of Marshal Wade's army move at the rate we sometimes did (five and twentie mile a day), he cannot fail to intercept them, which must oblige them to come to a Battle.

For my part I have not crossed a horse since I left London, nor ever was in better health or more in strength.

I shall end this with a reflection¹ I had upon their returning from Darbie and near Leicester, a field that was so fatal to Richard the third,

¹ (Poetical !)



and did so much honour to y^r Gr/s great predecessor, which I hope will be excused, and I am, with the greatest sincerite, May it please y^r Gr/,

Y^r Gr/s obed^t & humble servant,

JAMES NAIRN.

“To Darbie Town and Bosworth plain
The rebels did advance amain,
Those names alone, with terror fill,
When no man was a near to kill ;
The Airie Prince, to say no worse,
Would give his kingdom for a horse.”

The route taken by the Highland army on the return march to Scotland lay through Leek, Macclesfield, Manchester, Wigan, Preston, Lancaster, Kendal, Shap, Penrith, and Carlisle. During the whole of the retreat Lord George commanded the rear-guard, a most arduous undertaking. He arranged that each regiment should form that guard in turn, and that there should always be an officer from each of the other battalions with him in rear, to look after the stragglers from their own regiments, as the Highlanders would not readily obey strange officers. He also stipulated that the artillery and baggage carts should march in the van, so that he should have no charge or trouble about them in rear. This latter condition, however, was not very well kept.

On the 13th December General Oglethorpe, who was in command of some of the English cavalry, reported from Preston that the country people had picked up about a score of stragglers from the Highland army, and that he had prisoner Captain John Mackenzie of the Grenadier Company of Glengarry's regiment.

This prisoner, being examined, stated that—

“He was born in Ross-shire, was aged 21, and son of Col. Mackenzie of Hilton. That he was told by Lochiel, Keppoch, and Lochgarry that, at the council held at Derby, L^d George Murray and the Duke of Perth dis-

agreed—the Duke being for their returning back into Scotland, and L^d George Murray for their pushing on for London, whereby they seemed to distrust Lord George Murray, and ordered that Captⁿ Alex^r Grant, brother to Glenmoriston, and Captain Macdonald should attend his Lordship wherever he went, and his Lordship's sword was taken from him. Also that his Lo^p was suspected of keeping a correspondence with his brother the Duke of Atholl [D. James], and the examinant had heard that some letters were found about his Lo^p to that purpose.”¹

December 13.—The Highland army arrived in Lancaster, and the Duke of Perth was at once sent forward with orders to make the best of his way to Scotland to bring up the reinforcements lying at Perth to join the Prince in the south of Scotland. The Duke took with him 120 hussars and a chaise, in which were two ladies. On the night of the 13th he lodged at Burton, eight miles south of Kendal, and on the morning of the 14th, when passing through Kendal, the mob rose and attacked his rear. Some firing ensued, by which three or four of the mob were killed or wounded and one hussar was killed, whilst two of the Duke's party were made prisoners, one of whom was his Grace's servant in charge of his portmanteau.²

Having got through Kendal, Perth proceeded as far as Shap, twelve miles short of Penrith. Here, finding that the beacon at the latter place was alight, he halted, sending a patrol of eight men as far as Eamont Bridge, a mile from Penrith, who returned in the evening reporting that the country was in arms in front to oppose his further passage. The detachment accordingly passed the night at Shap.

On the 15th the Duke of Perth attempted to get forward by going along the east bank of the River Eden, but on reach-

¹ This evidence was of course nonsense. Captain McKenzie appears to have been animated by some vindictive feeling against Lord George. The officers mentioned were attached to his Lordship to look after stragglers during the retreat, and the story about Lord George's sword is fiction.

² A packet of letters and papers, including a cypher, which were in the portmanteau, are in the Record Office.

ing Langwathby Moor, four miles from Penrith, he was met by a number of mounted country people who barred the way. Why the Duke, who had over 100 hussars with him, did not cut his way through this undisciplined mob is a mystery; on the contrary, the party turned and made their way back at best speed, followed by the country people, firing whenever they got close enough. When they reached Orton the country people ceased the pursuit, as their horses were beat and darkness was coming on, the chase having lasted for five hours. During this retreat one hussar's horse was shot, and the rider, named Fitzgerald, taken prisoner—three other horses, two guns and a portmanteau were also captured.

After resting a couple of hours at Orton the hussars continued on their way back to Kendal, where they arrived that night, and rejoined the army, which had marched there from Lancaster during the day. The Duke of Perth, however, having been taken ill, remained all night at Burrow Bridge, eight miles from Kendal, with a guard of six men.¹

On the 16th the army marched from Kendal for Shap, a distance of over fifteen miles. Lord George thus describes his proceedings during this march. Referring first to the previous day, he writes—

“We got to Kendal next night; it was late before the rear got in. Here we found the Duke of Perth had been obliged to return, having been attacked by the country Militia, so he could not make his way to Carlisle. I went to the Prince's quarters, and entreated some course should be taken with the carriages, for I reckoned it was impossible for four-wheeled waggons to go from thence to Shap; and since they had not changed them at Preston, they could not miss getting as many two-wheeled carts at Kendal, and though some people should sit up all night at so necessary a work, it would be doing good service. I also thought it would be right that the men should be desired to provide themselves

¹ From papers in the Public Record Office.

with a day's provision of bread and cheese, for I doubted little or nothing could be got at Shap. . . . Next morning, when I was marching out of town with the rear, I was surprised to find many of the men returning, and when I inquired, I was told they were desired to provide themselves in a day's bread, &c, which they had not heard of till they were on their march. This was like to create great confusion. The town's people had shut all their doors for fear of stragglers and abuses. I did all in my power to prevent any disorder, and sent detachments of the rear, with officers, to see to get out all our people, which at last I got accomplished, though it much retarded our march. It proved a very bad, rainy day; and by the time I had marched four miles, and got amongst the hills, I was stopped by what I always suspected,—the waggons could not be carried through a water where there was a narrow turn and a steep ascent. It is not easy to express the trouble we were at. The horses of two waggons were yoked to one, besides at least forty hands. Two or three of the Manchester officers were vastly useful, and, entirely of their own accord, they were up to the middle in water for an hour. I was detained there all night.

“It was the Glengarry men were in the rear that day; they are reckoned not the most patient, but I never was better pleased with men in my life; they did all that was possible.

“After much labour, I was forced to take up my quarters with them all night at a large farm,¹ about a gunshot off the road, only four miles from Kendal; and we made the best shift we could, in the barns, byres, stables, and the farm house. I placed as many men at a little house upon the road as it could contain, for a guard, where the ammunition was; but, indeed, we all kept guard. I bought all the oat meal, cheese, and other things in the place, and distributed it among the men. As soon as day began to break, we got all the small carts (that had timber wheels, or wheels of one piece of wood, as none other could be had) we could purchase, and sent even two miles off the road and got some. We unloaded the waggons, and put the things into those small carts.²

“I was surprised to find how little there was in most of the waggons. I found two barrels of biscuit, which had travelled from Edinburgh to

¹ Otterbank.

² Not having sufficient transport, a large bag of powder was here thrown into a pool, so that it should be of no use to the enemy.

Derby and back again, which I gave amongst the men. It was the heaviness of the waggons, and their being so unwieldy and of a vast length, that had been their stop, and not what was in them: two of the smallest carts contained all that was in the best loaded waggon; and we had left above a dozen fine box carts at Preston, that would have done more than all the business.

“I got two messages from his Royal Highness that morning, who, it seems, had heard of the ammunition, &c, being left behind. I was ordered not to leave, upon any account, the least thing, not so much as a cannon ball; for he would rather return himself than that there should be anything left. I desired these gentlemen to see themselves what care and trouble I had been at, and that they might assure his Royal Highness that I should do all that man could do; but I told them, when I undertook the retreat, it had been promised we should have no trouble with these things, which had proceeded entirely from the neglect of those who had the charge of ordering them; and that though I did not doubt but I would be attacked before I could join the rest of the Army, who I had found had marched for Penrith, yet I should do my duty as well as I could. The officers of the different regiments, who had used to be with me, had left me the day before, (as, indeed, I could not blame them,) to get quarters to themselves, and I did not see them till I came to Carlisle. Thus I was left with one single Regiment.

“Before I had marched two miles, I came up with a cannon that had been overturned into a water over a bridge. A cart with ammunition had the same fate.¹ The hill, from that place, was the steepest and longest on the whole road. I got the men to carry to Shap a good many cannon balls, which eased the carriages much. I gave sixpence the piece for the doing it, by which means I got above two hundred carried.² It was late before we got to Shap, though we had marched but six³ miles that day; and here I found most of the cannon, with what ammunition had come amongst with them, and Colonel Roy Stewart and his battalion. We marched very early next morning, but had great difficulties, for some of the small carts were continually breaking; but I sent off on all hands to get a supply, and endeavoured to have two or three spare ones. The

¹ Lord George wrote in another account: “The bridge being without ledges (parapets), by the carelessness of the driver a cart with four horses fell over, which was got out with great difficulty, but the horses so spoilt that they were fit for nothing.”

² The men tying them up in the corner of their plaids.

³ Twelve.

country people had put everything out of the way, so that if a cart was found, it took much time to put it in order. I now observed small platoons of horse appearing on eminences at some distance behind me—of this I sent word to the Prince;¹ but at Penrith they had taken a notion that it was only Militia.

“There was indeed a body of two or three hundred light horse, being, I believe, mostly Cumberland people, that drew up in my way, thinking to obstruct our march; but so soon as the Glengarry men threw their plaids, and ran forward to attack them, they made off at the top gallop, and gave me no more trouble.”

Chevalier de Johnstone, who at that time served as a captain in the Duke of Perth's Regiment, thus describes the above incident in his memoirs:—

“Having arrived at midday at the foot of an eminence [Thrimby Hill], which it was necessary to cross in our march to Penrith, about half way between that town and Shap,² the moment we began to ascend, we instantly discovered cavalry, marching two and two abreast on the top of the hill, who disappeared soon after, as if to form themselves in order of battle behind the eminence, which concealed their numbers from us, with the intention of disputing the passage.

“We heard at the same time a prodigious number of trumpets and kettle-drums. Mr Brown, Colonel in the train of Lally's Regiment, was at the head of the columns, with two of the companies which the Duke of Perth had attached to the Artillery, and of which mine was one. After them followed the guns and ammunition waggons, and then the other two companies attached to the Artillery. Lord George was in the rear of the column with the regiment of Macdonells.

¹ In his other account Lord George states that he also represented how much he was embarrassed with the cannon and baggage, so that, by reason of the badness of the roads, he could only advance very slowly.

Lord George chose forty of the cleverest men, to whom he gave some gratification, and divided them so that some went to the heights on the right and left, whilst others kept a quarter of a mile in rear to observe those parties that appeared. The men performed what was desired of them to admiration, and were as swift almost as horses, so that they effectually kept anything from approaching within a mile of the main body. They sent their swiftest footmen to give account of the least thing they perceived.

² Thrimby is little more than three miles from Shap.

“We stop't a moment at the foot of the hill, every-body believing it was the English Army, from the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums.

“In this seemingly desperate conjecture, we immediately adopted the opinion of Mr Brown, and resolved to rush upon the enemy, sword in hand, and open a passage to our army at Penrith, or perish in the attempt. Thus, without informing Lord George of our resolution, we darted forward with great swiftness, running up the hill as fast as our legs could carry us. Lord George, who was in the rear, seeing our manœuvre at the head of the column, and being unable to pass the waggons in the deep roads confined by hedges, in which we then were, immediately ordered the Highlanders to proceed across the enclosure and ascend the hill from another quarter.¹ They ran so fast that they reached the summit of the hill almost as soon as those who were at the head of the column. We were agreeably surprised, when we reached the top of the hill, to find, instead of the English Army, only 300 light horse and chasseurs, who immediately fled in disorder, and of whom we were only able to come up with one man, who had been thrown from his horse, and whom we wished to make prisoner to obtain some intelligence from him, but it was impossible to save him from the fury of the Highlanders, who cut him to pieces in an instant.

“From the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums which the light horse had with them, there is every reason for supposing that it was their design to endeavour to induce us to turn aside from the road to Penrith, by making us believe that the whole English Army was on the hill before us, and if we had fallen into the snare which was laid for us, in a few hours every man of our detachment would either have been killed or taken prisoner.

“We immediately resumed our march, but in less than an hour one of our ammunition waggons having broken from the badness of the roads, we were obliged to halt. The singular adventure of the light horse had filled me with some uneasiness, as I was unable to account for their audacity, unless the army of Marshal Wade were much nearer us than

¹ On the contrary, Lord George states that the Glengarry men immediately threw their plaids, and ran across the hedges with incredible quickness, *and without any order*, and that after the men returned he told them of the error they had committed in breaking their ranks, which might have been of fatal consequence in case of attack. They promised to be more observant for the future.

we imagined, and I communicated my fears to Mr Grant, an officer of great talents, who commanded our Artillery, and acted as our Engineer at the same time; and, in order that we might not lose time in repairing the broken waggon, I suggested to him that we should go to a farm which we saw on our right, about a quarter of a league from us, and try to procure one. He consented; and we took seven or eight men with us, of whom my Sergeant, Dickson, was one. Having found a waggon in the court yard of the Farmer, we immediately carried it off, and our march was retarded no longer than the time necessary for transferring the ammunition from one waggon to another. In returning from the Farm, Dickson called our attention to something which appeared blackish to us, on a hill about a league to our left; and he alone, contrary to the opinion of every one else, maintained that he saw it moving, and that it was the English Army advancing towards us. As we took what we saw for bushes, and as nobody, excepting himself, could distinguish anything, I treated him as a visionary; but he still persisted, till I ordered him to be silent, telling him that fear alone could have filled his imagination with the fear of an army. However, his last word was that we should see in an hour whether or not he was in the right. When we had advanced about two miles, we were soon convinced that Dickson's eyes were much better than ours.

“The Duke of Cumberland, having followed us by forced marches, with 2000 cavalry, and as many foot soldiers mounted behind them, fell suddenly on the MacDonells, who were in the rear of the column, with all the fury and impetuosity imaginable. Fortunately, the road running between thorn hedges and ditches, the cavalry could not act in such a manner as to surround us, nor present a larger front than the breadth of the road. The Highlanders received their charge with most undaunted firmness. They repelled the assailants with their swords, and did not quit their ground till the Artillery and waggons were a hundred paces from them and continuing their route. Then the Highlanders wheeled to the right and ran with full speed till they joined the waggons, when they stopt again for the Cavalry, and stood their charge as firm as a wall. The Cavalry were repulsed in the same manner as before with their swords. We marched in this manner about a mile, the Cavalry continually renewing the charge, and the Highlanders always repulsing them, repeating the same manœuvre and behaving like lions.”

The latter part of this account, relating to the attack on the Glengarry regiment by the cavalry, appears to have been a pure invention on the part of the Chevalier de Johnstone : he is corroborated by no one, and when the remainder of Lord George's narrative is carefully considered, it will at once be evident that no such attack could have taken place. If it had, Lord George would surely have mentioned it, and on reaching Clifton he would never have marched off at once with the Glengarry men to Lowther to search for intelligence of the light horse had he been already skirmishing with them for the last mile of his march.

Lord George continues his narrative :—

“When I came to Clifton, I sent off the Cannon and other carriages to Penrith, being two miles farther; and as I believed these light horse that had met me would probably be near Lord Lonsdale's house at Lowther, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the County, I went a short way with the Glengarry men to that place, through several enclosures, it being not above a mile. Lord Pitsligo's horse had joined me, so I was in hopes, by scouring these enclosures, to meet with the light horse. We got sight of severals hard by Lord Lonsdale's house, but could come up with few; at a turn of one of the parks, one like a Militia Officer, clothed in green, and a footman of the Duke of Cumberland's were taken. We understood by them that the Duke of Cumberland, with a body of 4000 horse, as they said, were about a mile behind. I sent Colonel Roy Stewart with the prisoners to Penrith, and to know H.R.H.'s Orders, and that I would stop at Clifton, which was a good post, till I heard from him.”

In “An Account of the Progress and Transactions of Prince Charles in England and Scotland up to the time of his arrival at Inverness in February 1746” the following rather fuller account of Lord George's visit to Lowther appears :—

“The Highlanders continued their march, not without a great many stops occasion'd by the frequent breaking of the carriages, and in par-

ticular on the moor near Lord Lonsdale's parks, where they were detain'd near two hours by two of them breaking, to supply which they were oblig'd to send to the neighbouring villages. By the time they were in march the light horse began to appear again, and word being sent to Penreth, there was some horse¹ order'd out to their assistance, and when the baggage came to Clifton moor it was sent forward to Penreth with a smale escort as being then out of danger, and it was propos'd to see if they cou'd surprize them, (the Light horse), which was readily agreed too. Lord George Murray had been frequently at Lowther Hall, and said that he was very well acquainted with all the enclosers and parks about the house, and that he wou'd be the guide himself. There was a farm house at the foot of the moor where there was some hussars placed under cover of the house, with otheres stragleing about for a decoy, and Lord George with the foot (about 300) and some horse² march't throw Clifton and turn'd down to Lowther Hall, where they found the outer gates shut; they were desir'd to be open'd, but no answer was made, on which some of the Highlanders got over the walls, which being seen from the house, a man on horseback and another on foot rush'd out, and being pursued were taken; the one proved to be a footman of the Duke of Cumberland's who had come to acquent them that the Duke was to be there that night."

About three o'clock, whilst Lord George was absent with Glengarry's men and Pitsligo's Horse at Lowther, the advanced column of the Duke of Cumberland's cavalry, consisting of Bland's Dragoons (3rd Hussars) and a detachment of the Duke of Kingston's Light Horse, under the command of General Bland, reached Clifton. Finding the village in the possession of the Prince's hussars, the Light Horse were at once pushed forward to attack them, and after a slight skirmish the hussars gave way and fled back to Penrith, with the loss of Captain Hamilton and one man wounded and taken prisoners. Having dislodged the hussars, Bland retired his men and formed up on Clifton Moor to await the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland.

¹ Pitsligo's Horse and the hussars.

² Glengarry's Regiment and Pitsligo's Horse.

Lord George continues his narrative :—

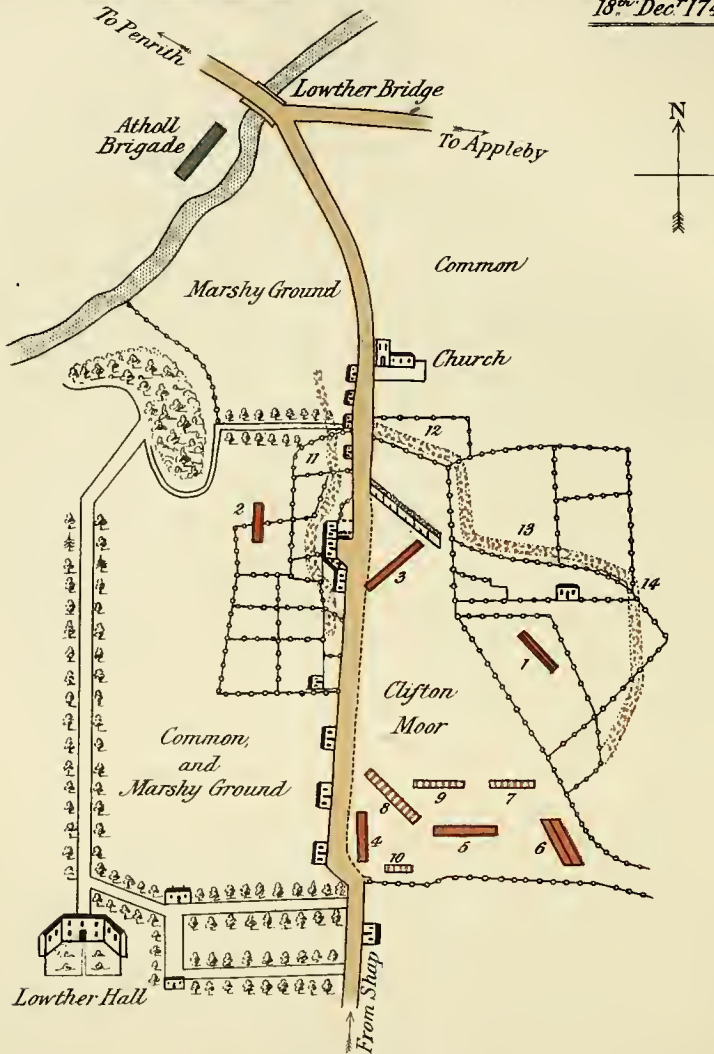
“When I came back to Clifton, the Duke of Perth was there; and, besides Colonel Roy Stewart’s men, being about 200, that I left there, Cluny, with his men, and Ardsheil, with the Appin men, were with them. The Duke of Perth, who was also there, had been persuaded that it was only Militia that had appeared; but he then saw, upon an open muir, not above cannon shot from us, the enemy appear and draw up in two lines, in different divisions and squadrons.¹ His Grace said he would immediately ride back, and see to get out the rest of our Army, for as the grounds were strong where I drew up, he did not doubt I would maintain that post till others join me. I sent an English gentleman with him, who had attended me all the retreat, and knew the country perfectly well, who said he would lead them a near way by the left (right?), undiscovered; that they could fall upon the enemy in flank, and, as there was a lane that lay betwixt Lord Lonsdale’s enclosures, which was near a mile in length, and through which the enemy had come, if they were obliged to retire, they would suffer much by both sides of the lane if we lined it. I only desired a thousand more men than what I had, by which means I could not only maintain the post I had, but send half of my men through the enclosures on my right, so as to flank the enemy on that side, if they were attacked on the other side; and if once but twenty of their horse could be killed, it would make such an embarrass in the lane, that it would put them all in confusion, and choke up the only road they had to retreat, except the Apleby road, and that might be also secured, which would give us an advantage that perhaps we should not meet the like again.

“After the Duke of Perth went to Penrith, I made my disposition in the best manner I could; caused roll up what colours we had, and made them pass half open to different places, bringing them back once or twice under cover; so that the enemy, seeing them as they were carried forward to different places, could not form any judgment of our numbers. I did this in a manner to make them believe that our numbers were much greater than they were, and they could not know but our whole army was come into the village, and about it. After an hour they dismounted, as near as we could guess, about 500 of their Dragoons, which came forward to the

¹ The main body of the cavalry under Cumberland, consisting of Lord Cobham’s Dragoons (10th Hussars) and Lord Mark Kerr’s (11th Hussars).

PLAN OF THE SKIRMISH AT CLIFTON

18th Dec^r 1745



----- The Highlanders Line

1. Blands Dragoons. 2. Cobham's Dragoons. 3. Mark Kerr's Dragoons. *Dismounted.*
 4. Kingston's Light Horse. 5. Montagu's L^d Horse. 6. Detachment of Dragoons *Mounted.*
 7. Blands Horses. 8. Cobham's Horses. 9. Mark Kerr's Horses. 10. Duke of Cumberland's Baggage.
 11. Macdonells of Glengarry. 12. Roy Stewart's Reg^t
 13. Stewarts of Appin. 14. M^{rs} Phersons of Cluny.

Plan published in the Reliquary for Oct^r 1888.

The Original is in the Antiquarian Museum at Newcastle.

foot of the muir they were upon, and to a ditch, which was the last of three small enclosures from the places where we were posted at the village.

“My men were so disposed that the Glengarry men were upon the enclosures on the right of the highway, and Appin’s men with Cluny’s in the enclosures upon the left; Colonel Roy Stewart’s men I placed on the side of the lane or highway close to the village. I was about a thousand men in all. Pitsligoe’s Horse and Hussars returned to Penrith. The Ditches at the foot advanced more towards the muir on the right than on the left; and that part was also covered by Lord Lonsdale’s other enclosures; so they could not easily be attacked, but had the advantage that they could with their fire flank the enemy when they made an attack upon our left. The lane, which was the high road betwixt these small enclosures, was not above twenty feet broad.”

Lord George thus described the skirmish which took place at Clifton on this occasion :—

“It was now about an hour after sunsett, pretty cloudie, but the moon, which was in its second quarter, from time to time broke out and gave good light, but this did not continue above two minutes at a time. We had the advantage of seeing their disposition, but they could not see ours.

“John Roy Stewart, (who had been sent to the Prince with two prisoners taken that day,) returned to me from Penreeth. He told me H. R. H. was resolved to march for Carlisle imedeatly, & had sent the cannon before, & desired me to retreat to Penreeth. I show’d Col: Roy Stewart my situation, with that of the enemy; they were by this time shooting popping shots amongst us. I told him if I retreated, being within musket shott of the enemy, they would follow up the Lain & I must lose a number of men, besides discouraging the rest. That from Clifton it was a narrow road & very high walls, so that I could not line them to secure my retreat, & that probably my men would fall into confusion in the dark, & that the enemy by regular platoons in our rear, being encouraged by our retreat, must destroy a great many, & by taking any wounded man prisoner they would know our numbers—wherease I told him I was confident I could dislodge them from where they were by a brisk atakt, as they had not, by all that I could judg, dismounted above five hundred; their great body was a horse

back & at some distance. He owned that what I propos'd was the only prouident & sure way, so we agreed not to mention his message from the Prince.

“I had cross'd the Lain or high road severall times, which could only be done at the foot of the Vilage by two gaits, one in each side; I now went over again to where the Glengarry men were placed & order'd them to advance as they should observe me do on the other side, & to keep up their fire, as much as they could, till they came to the botome ditch, & that if we beat the enemy from their hedges & ditches, they had a fair sight of them & could give them a flank fire within pistole shott, but I gave them particular injunctions not to fire cross the Lain, nor to follow the enemy up the moor. I left Col: Car with them; he was one of the Prince's Educamps, but had liberty to be mostly with me; he was an exelent officer, & was rideing thro' the feelds in the time of the fire as if it had been a review. After having spoke with all the officers of the Glengarry regement I went to the left of the Lain. The dismounted Dragoons had not only lined the bottom Incloser, but severalls of them had come up two hedges that lay South & North, the others, where we were, & the dragouns at the bottom, lay East & West. The Appine Batalion were nixt the Lain upon that side, & Clunie's further to their left. We advanced & had a good deal of fire on both sides; after the Highlanders on that side had given most of their fire they lay closs at an open hedge, which was the second in these fields; we then receiv'd the whole fire of the Dragouns that were at the Botome, upon which Clunie said, 'What the Divle is this?' I told him we had nothing for it but going down upon them sword in hand before they had time to charge again. I imediately drew my sword & cry'd out 'Clymore,' Clunie did the same, & we run down to the Botome Ditch, clearing the diagonell hedges as we went; there was a good many of the enemy kil'd at that Botome Ditch, & the rest took to their heels, but receiv'd the fire of the Glengarry Rege-ment. Most of Archeal's men, being nixt the Lain, did not meet with so much opposition. I had given orders that our men should not pass the botome Ditch to go up the moor, for they would have been expos'd to the fire of the Glengarry Regt, that could not distinguish them from the enemy. We had no more fireing after this, so we return'd to our first post. We had now done what we propos'd, & being sure of no more trouble from the Enemy, I order'd the retreat, first Roy Stuart's, then Appine, Clunie,

& then Glengarry, & it was half an hour after the skirmish before we went off. I was the last man myself. The Atholl Brigade had come the length of a Bridge, within half a mile of Clifden, hearing of my being in sight of the enemy, & there waited for orders. Had the rest of the army come out & follow'd the plan that was propos'd they would have been upon the flank of the Dragouns that were on horse back by the time we attack the others. The officers that were with me, as well as the men, behav'd to my wish, & punctually obey'd the orders they receiv'd: the Glengarry Regiment told me that day that they would not have stay'd three days behind the rest of the Army to guard Baggage for any man alive but myself.

“Coll: Roy Stuart was cross with me after he return'd from Penreeth, and GlenBucket, who was very infirm, stay'd at the end of the vilage on horseback; he told me he was sorry he was not able to goe on with me; he intreated me to be very cautious, for if any misfortune hapned I would be blam'd; He gave me his targe, it was convex & cover'd with a pleat of mettall which was painted; the paint was clear'd in two or three places with the Enemy's Bullets, & indeed they were so thick about me that I felt them hott about my head, & I thought some went thro' my hair, which was about two insh long, my bonett having falen off. It was lucky I made that stand at Clifton, for otherwise the enemy would have been at our heels, and come straight to Penreeth, where, after refreshing three or four hours, they might have come up with us before we got to Carlisle.

“I'm perswaded that night & nixt morning, when the Van enter'd Carlisle, there was above eight miles from our Van to our Rear, & mostly an open country full of commons.

“I have been the more particular about this litle skirmish, because I observ'd it was very diferently related in the English newspapers, as if we had been beat from our post at Clifton, wheras I was there about half an hour after the enemy were gone.

“I heard they retyr'd a good many miles for quarters, & I am perswaded they were as weary of that day's fatigue as we could be.

“Few could give a more distinct account, & I'm sure non a mor trow, for all I have related is mater of fact.

“When I came to Penreeth, the Prince was just taking his horse, he seem'd very well pleas'd with what had hapned. The men that had been with me staid a litle time in Penreeth to refresh; some of them had great occasion.”

In Bishop Forbes's manuscript collection, entitled the "Lyon in Mourning," in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, there is the following account by John Macpherson of Strathmashie, a captain in Cluny's regiment, of the attack made by his clan at Clifton:—

"By this time it was quite night upon us, & the General finding it proper that we should break our then situation, by penetrating through our hedge and advancing therefrom to another that was situate in a hollow half way betwixt us & the enemy, we being both on eminences, and this hollow interjected; Through the hedge we made our way with the help of our durks, the prickles being very uneasy, I assure you, to our loose tail'd Lads, but, before we broke through, His Lordship, suspecting that we might be met with on our way to the other hedge, said to our Colonel, 'Cluny, if such will happen I'll attack on the right of your Regiment, and doe you the same on the left of it, and we'll advance so, if you approve of it,' to which Cluny readily answered, 'he was very well satisfied to attack when his Lordship pleased.'

"The disposition thus made, when with great rapidity we were makeing our way towards the other hedge, the advanced parties of the enemy, being dismounted dragoons, met us full in the teeth, who fired upon us, which they scarcely did when they were answered with the little we had, without ever as much as stoping to doe it, but going on in our rapid way, by which it so happened they soon turned their backs to us. The General, how soon we had given our little fire, ordered us to draw our broadswords, which was readily done, and then we indeed fell to 'pell mell' with them; but the poor swords suffered much, as there were noe less than 14 of them broke on the Dragoons skull caps (which they all had) before it seems the better way of doing their business was found out. Among those swords there was one given by the King to a Gentleman of this country (Macpherson of Dalraddy) who was out in 1715, with this inscription—

'With this good sword thy cause I will maintain,
And for thy sake, oh James! I'll breathe each vein.'

"The gentleman's son (Lewis Macpherson¹) who got it, left it at Clifton, excepting the hilt and less than a foot of the blade, which I

¹ Major of Cluny's regiment.

believe he takes care still to keep for the sake of the giver. However, as for the broadswords, we got plenty, as in place of the 14 broken ones our men took noe less than 50 from the dead dragoons in their return which it seems was all the plunder they regarded.

“What the number of their slain might have been I cannot really say that any of our side can with any exactness account for, as the affair happened upon the night, and that the enemy themselves, and their friends, were the only persons who had access to see the field afterwards, but this I can say, that we saw them in great plenty flat, as dead, in our return after puting the survivors in to the heart of the main body of their army. I can assure you there lay heaps of them in a ditch they were made to pass, and as for the field it was pretty well covered, and at the time we believed the carnage to have been pretty considerable; however they have their own way of telling stories. On our side indeed we may say that God Almighty himself covered our heads, haveing lost none but 1 Sergeant and 2 private men: it’s true that among the hedges, or somehow or other that we cannot account for, 10 or 11 of our men lost us, that were next day taken up by the country people, as we are told, and delivered up to the enemy, who sent them to York Castle, where they remained prisoners for many months, and were in the end sent to the plantations, and are now in France. What I think indeed must naturally have contributed much to this our safety was the great hurry with which we went down towards the hollow upon them, by which means they were soe suddenly mistaken of us that much of their fire went over our heads, and were at their muzles with our swords before they got all their fire given, which thereafter they got noe time to give, and with their swords (though they were all appointed with such) they did not in the least annoy us, as heels seemed then to be of more use to them than their hands.”

In a short notice of Clifton skirmish written after the '45 to Mr. Home of Kilduff by one of the officers of the Macphersons, he says: “Cluny had the utmost difficulty in withdrawing his men from the pursuit. At last he succeeded in recalling all but Angus of Knappach, who was a powerful man and an excellent swordsman, but so deaf that he did not hear the order. Angus continued for a time chasing and hacking at

the dragoons; at last looking round and seeing his clan at a distance, he called out to them, 'Why the devil do you turn back? I see a great many more a little farther on.'

This gentleman also made the same statement as to the number of broken swords having been fourteen, but said that they lost five men killed and four wounded.¹

In 1886 Mr. Ferguson, Chancellor of Carlisle, discovered a very interesting plan of the Clifton skirmish in the Antiquarian Museum of Newcastle. He afterwards contributed a paper on that affair to the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society*, which was also published in *The Reliquary*.

The following letter, written by a Quaker farmer in Clifton, was given in that paper:—

Thomas Savage to Richard Partridge.

CLIFTON, 29 12^{mo} 1745.

Esteemed Friend Partridge,—By this know thine I received, and shall hereby give thee the results of the affair here, as it was from the beginning to the end, I being both an eye and ear witness to the truth thereof. But in the first place I cannot easily avoid acknowledging the favour and protecting hand of power to be manifested, as thou by the following account may understand.

First, as to the rebels, when they came south we did not suffer much, but they seemed to have great confidence that they would proclaim their King in London on the 24th of last month, and crown him on New Year's day, and then they would send Geordy, as they called him, over to Hanover, and would tread down his turnip dykes; highly disesteeming the Duke, calling him "Geordy's Wully," with many more opprobrious speeches. But on their return north they were cruelly barbarous and inhuman when here, for their leaders gave them liberty to plunder for four hours, and then to burn Lowther, Clifton, ———, and Penrith, and some say for six miles round.² But the most High, whose power is

¹ General Stewart of Garth's Papers.

² Pure fiction.

above the power of man, often preventing wicked designs, it certainly was the Lord's doing in bringing forward the noble Duke and his men in the very hour of great distress; as for my own part I must ever love and esteem him as a man of worth.

Now I shall give thee to understand the beginning and the end of the engagement.

First, the Rebel hussars being gone past to Penrith, came riding back to my door in haste between one and two in the afternoon. Then in an hour after came back again, driving up the rear of their army to my door, and some others then took their place, and they wheeled off and set themselves in ambush against my barn side, being so enclosed with cross houses that our men could not see them until close to them, we not knowing their design, but I firmly believed it to be evil, and so went into my house; yet could not long be easy there, and returned forth again, and looking about me I espied the commanders of the King's men appearing upon the hill at about 400 yards south of my house, whereupon my very heart was in pain, for believing that a great number might be cut off before they were aware; so our care was to give the King's men notice, for which my son ventured his life and gave them notice about 300 yards before they came to the place; when, in the mean time, a second ambush was laid about 100 yards nearer to our King's men, and the King's hussars with some of the Yorkshire hunters came down, and so soon as they came opposite to the first ambush the rebels fired upon them, but did no execution, and then issued out of the ambush at my doors, and a furious firing they had, the King's men acting the quickest and nimblest that ever my eyes beheld, not one of them receiving any harm. Some horse followed the former, so that in a few minutes the rebels ran away like mad men, and just by my door one of the rebels was brought down and taken, and a Captain Hamilton was also taken at the same time. They were both had up to the Duke.

Then all was still about an hour, in which time I abode in the house, the King's troops still standing upon the common; in which time my son went over a little green, to see if he could get the cattle brought into the houses, but seeing that in vain, came homewards again, when four rebels on horseback seized him, called him a spy, and had him down under their horses' feet, swearing desperately many times they would shoot him; three of them commanded the fourth to shoot him, which he attempted

with his gun, and then pistol, but neither would fire, so he escaped, and came in a little after.

I was again growing uneasy to go out, which I ventured to do, and, looking about me, I saw the King's men standing, as before, upon the common; turning me about, I saw the rebels filling the town street, north of my house, and also running down and lining the hedges and walls, even down to my house on both sides.

Then I was in great pain for the Duke and his men, it beginning to grow darkish; but I ventured my life and stood a little off, and waved my hat in my hand, which, some of them discovering, one of them came down towards me, and I called to him, bidding him cast his eyes about him, and see how the town was filled and hedges lined, after which he returned, and then a party was dismounted and sent down to meet the rebels.

And in the time of quietness, as above, they had sent off a party of their horse to plunder and burn Lowther Hall and town, and were also plundering our town, leaving nothing they could lay their hands on, breaking locks and making ruinous work, even to all our victuals and little children's clothes of all sorts. Now, it beginning to grow dark, the rebels were so thick about my house, we had no hopes of saving ourselves; but we concluded to leave the house and go into the fields, if we could but get there. In the middle of the orchard we were parted by the rebels, one part of us driven into the fields and the other part into the house, severely threatening our lives, never expecting to see one another alive again. A son in law and his family were under like circumstances, for they seemed more severe upon us than upon others.

Now to come to the matter above again, we were not all got to the fire side again before the firing, on all hand, was dreadful, which continued half an hour, in which time were killed ten of the King's men and twenty-one wounded, and the Duke's footman taken prisoner, who was recovered; and of the rebels, five killed and many wounded.

Early next morning were thirty prisoners under custody.

And after the heat of firing was all over all seemed still a little space, after which some came and broke in at my court door, calling sharply to open; but we believed it to be the rebels and would not open, when they began to be sharp, and orders were given to fire, they supposing the house to be full of rebels; but I called, and said I would open as fast as I could, and the first words said to me were, "Could the Duke lodge

here tonight," to which, with pleasure, I answered "Yes;" and pleasant, agreeable company he was—a man of parts, very friendly, and no pride in him.

Much on this head I could say, if it would not be tedious to thee, yet I shall mention one thing more to thee, very remarkable, which was, our cattle were all standing amongst the slain men, and not one of them hurt, and them that were banished from our house came in again next morning, which the Duke's men said was a wonder they were not all killed, our next neighbour being shot at the same time.

Thou mayest know, also, I had the Duke of Richmond and the Duke of Kingston, with about one hundred more, and as many horse. I have not yet mentioned a scaffold erected by the rebels behind a wall at the corner of my house, as we believe, to cut off any that night coming to my court, which, if it had not been that they had fled, the noble Duke had stood a bad chance there. I am afraid thou can scarcely read this; but, if thou thinks proper to show this to any one, I would have thee copy it fair; and show it whom thou wilt, even if it be to the King, I should be easy, because I know it to be the truth. I will conclude, with true love,

THOMAS SAVAGE.

Chancellor Ferguson remarks further in his paper, that on the Duke and his company entering, "young Mrs. Savage (the daughter-in-law) emerged from the kitchen cupboard, in which she had locked herself, and was saluted by the Duke with, 'Madam, we come to protect you, not to do you harm.'"

The same night the Duke of Cumberland wrote the following despatch (with his own hand) from Savage's house:—

H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland to Duke of Newcastle.

CLIFTON, WITHIN 3 MILES OF PENRITH

[18 Dec. 1745].

My Lord Duke of Newcastle,—After a ten hours' march our cavalry came up with the rebels just beyond Lowther Hall—nay, we heard that their rear was in possession of it, but they left it on our approach and threw themselves into this village, which we immediately attacked with the dismounted Dragoons, and tho' it is the most defensible village I ever

saw, yet our men drove them out of it in an hour's time with a very small loss. Cobham's and Mark Ker's behaved both extremely well.

As it was quite dark before the skirmish was over, we were obliged to remain contented with the ground we had gained.

What the rebels may have lost I can't tell. We have 4 officers wounded, none mortally, and about 40 men killed and wounded. The Rebels are now at about 4 miles off, & I believe will slip on in the night.

We must halt tomorrow, for else I shan't bring up half our little army.

I am your affectionate friend

WILLIAM.

Lt Collonell Honywood, four cuts.

Captain East, two cuts.

Cornets Owen & Hamilton, both cuts.

A Captain Hamilton of the Rebels much wounded and prisoner.¹

From the above it appears that Lord George (who was usually most accurate) was mistaken in his statement that the dragoons retired many miles for quarters, as they must have returned into Clifton just after he quitted it.

On the other hand, however, the Duke of Cumberland was equally in error in saying that his dragoons had driven out the Highlanders, as, on the contrary, they seem to have made a most leisurely retreat, having held the position at Clifton as long as there was any necessity. Indeed, with the knowledge that the Prince was on the point of continuing his march, had Lord George remained longer in Clifton he would have run a risk of being cut off from the main body.

Chancellor Ferguson adds:—

“One local legend I have picked up concerning Colonel Honeywood, who commanded the dismounted squadrons of Bland's. One of the Highland prisoners was asked about the fight, how his side got on. His reply was, ‘We gat on vary weel, till the lang man in the muckle boots came

¹ Public Record Office, London.

ower the dyke, but his fut slipped on a turd, and we gat him down.' The 'lang man in the muckle boots' was the luckless Colonel Honeywood, who had but recently recovered from wounds received at Dettingen, namely, 23 broadsword cuts and two musket balls, which were never extracted. The Colonel lost his sword¹ at Clifton, which was carried off by Cluny as a trophy. Twelve of Cluny Macpherson's Regiment were returned as killed or missing. Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonell of Lochgarry² who was in command of the Glengarry Regiment, was wounded. No return of men wounded has been given, but there could not have been many. Captain Hamilton³ of the Hussars was wounded and made prisoner, along with one of his men, as has been stated."

Regarding the capture of Captain Hamilton Lord George stated :—

"The Hussars, upon seeing the enemy, went off to Penreeth. One of their officers, Mr Hamilton, with two or three of his men, had dismounted and gone in thro' a hedge, & were taken prisoners. How it hapen'd I can't tell, for it was before I came back from Louth Hall: had they stay'd near Clifton they ran no risque."

Chancellor Ferguson writes :—

"Hamilton took refuge in a cottage a little detached from the town; one of the Duke's Hussars (said by D. Graham to be an Austrian) fired through the window and drove Hamilton out: a single combat ensued, but the hussar captured Hamilton, who was much cut about the head; the other prisoner was one Ogden from Manchester."

The Duke of Cumberland wrote to the Duke of Newcastle from Penrith on December 20th, reporting that since the affair of Clifton they had taken about seventy of the rebels, and that he reckoned the rebels had about twenty killed, and a good many wounded, but can't tell the number, as they carried them off with them. That the rebels had left Penrith at 10 the night

¹ The sword is in the armoury at Cluny Castle.

² An Atholl vassal, formerly known as "of Sandwick."

³ George Hamilton of Red House, Haddington, *executed* at York, 1st November 1746.

of the skirmish, with the utmost precipitation, for Carlisle, which they reached at 10 A.M. on the 19th. That the night was so dark, and both men and horses so fatigued, that he was unable to pursue them. That the regiment which suffered the greatest loss was the King's own regiment of Dragoons—by some confusion in the two dismounted squadrons commanded by Colonel Honeywood, they firing at a hundred and fifty yards' distance, and then giving way, the rebels came out with their broadswords and wounded several of the officers and some of the men, but never dared make the least attempt upon Cobham's and Mark Kerr's Regiments, who keep'd their fire the whole time, and drove them out of the village with very little loss. . . . When the officers of the King's own regiment were wounded the rebels cried "No quarter, murder them!"¹ and they received several wounds after they were knocked down.

H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland to Duke of Newcastle.

[*Private.*]

PENRITH, the 20th Dec. 1745.

My Lord Duke of Newcastle,—I have offers from two persons of note in the Rebel's Army to come off if they can be secured of his Majesty's pardon. They are Arthur Gordon of Karnoosy, Col^l of Pitsligo's horse, and Francis Gordon, who acts as Quarter Master General. They made their application before the action, and are known to Colonel Abercromby of the Royal. I have given them no hopes, but thought it best to acquaint His Majesty with it.

WILLIAM.

The Highland army had in the meantime reached Carlisle on the morning of the 19th, where they halted for a day. There the Prince most unwisely decided to leave a garrison, consisting of two companies of the Duke of Perth's, one of Lord Ogilvy's, one of Roy Stewart's, one of Glenbucket's, one of the Artillery, and some men of other corps, who were probably invalids. To these was added the Manchester Regiment,

¹ Not a very likely story, considering that the probability is that the majority of the Macphersons were unacquainted with the English language.

who preferred to remain there rather than make a campaign in Scotland. Colonel Hamilton, Sanston, Aberdeenshire, was appointed Governor. Lord George continues :—

“ When we came to Carlisle, where we halted next day, I was clear for evacuating it, but it seems another resolution was taken, and I was ordered to speak with some of the officers that were appointed to stay. The Duke of Perth was very unwilling to leave any of his men ; as indeed it was no wonder. In the Prince’s presence, he asked me why so many of the Atholl people were not desired to stay. I told him, if His Royal Highness would order me, I would stay with the Atholl brigade, though I knew my fate ; for so soon as they could bring cannon from Whitehaven, I was sure it was not tenable.

“ We might have blown up part of the Castle, and at any rate, whenever we were in a condition to return, Carlisle could not do us hurt ; we could come in by Brampton, which was nearer, & had not the river Eden to pass ; the Country was open to us there, and in many other places.

“ As for our Military Stores, what was not easy carried along with us could be thrown into the river, and once we were upon the Scots side, we were in no danger of being followed ; the grounds were so strong, and dragoons could not subsist, except they brought every thing necessary along with them, which must be a work of some time. I do not know who advised leaving a garrison at Carlisle ; I had been so much fatigued for some days before, that I was little at the Prince’s quarters that day, but I found he was determined on the thing.

“ It was very late next day before we marched. The Prince had some difficulty about those who were to stay at Carlisle, who were very unwilling. I waited with most of the men upon the Scots side of the bridge a considerable time. At last we march’d, & when we came to the River Esk, which was, at the place we were to pass, seven long miles from Carlisle (for the near road it was impossible to pass the river), no concert had been taken what rout we were next to follow. H.R.H., in presence of some of the officers, desired to know my opinion, which I gave, & that was that I should march with six Batalions that night to Eclefechin, next day for Moffat, & then halt a day, & after making a Faint towards the Ed^r road, turn off to Douglass, then to Hamilton & Glasgow.

“ That H: R: H: would goe with the Clans and most of the Horse that

night to Annan, next day to Drumphrise, where they would rest a day, then to Drumtenrick, Leadhills, Douglass, & Hamilton, so they would be at Glasgow the day after us. This was immediatly agreed to, so I pass'd the water, we were a hundred men abreast, & it was a very fine show. The water was big & took most of the men past the middle. When I was near cross the river I believe there were near two thousand men in the water at once. There was nothing seen but their heads & shoulders, but there was no danger, for we had caused try the water & the ford was good, & Highlanders will pass a water where horses will not, which I have often seen. They hold by one another by the neck of the coat, so that if one should faile he is in no danger, being supported by the others, so all must drown or non, & if at any time they find the water too hard for them, and that they cannot make it out, they return, so it seldome happens that ever any of them are drowned in this way; and no people in the world, wide waters so much as they do. When they are single they venture too much in waters, (for they do not like to be stopt with any difficultys), & then they are lyable to accidents.

“All the Bridges that were thrown down in England to prevent their advancing in their march forwards never retarded them a moment.

“I was this day in my Pheilybeg, that is to say without Britches. I did not know but the enemy might have come from Penreeth by Branton, so shun'd the Water of Eadon, to have ataked us in passing this water, & nothing encourag'd the men more then seing their officers dress'd like themselves & ready to shear their feat.

“Some Ladys had pass'd the water on horseback just before us, but had they look'd back they could have seen nothing, the water was too deep.

“The pipes began to play so soon as they pass'd, and the men all danced reels, which in a moment dry'd them, for they held the tails of their short coats in their hands in passing the Water, so when their thys were dry all was right.”

Lord George also stated his belief that during the six weeks the Highland army was in England their loss from all causes did not exceed forty men.

It would appear that Lord George must have made a

mistake and understated the loss, which, however, probably did not exceed 100 men.

It is known that a few stragglers were captured here and there between Derby and Clifton.

The Duke of Cumberland stated in his letter of the 20th December that some seventy of the Highland army had been taken since the skirmish of the 18th.

In Penrith Church there are some gilt chandeliers purchased with a sum of fifty guineas, given by the Duke of Portland to his tenants near Penrith for their conduct in associating in defence of the Government. The inscription states that the prisoners taken by the tenants were upwards of eighty in number.¹

Commissary Bissett to Mr. Humphry Harrison.

EDINBURGH, 17 Dec. 1745.

Sir,—I have no accounts from Atholl since my last, but a litle I had this day from the wife of one of Sir John Cope's soldiers, prisoner at Logiereat, who left that place Saturday last, and as she was a stranger & unacquainted with the country people she could not tell me much. She says that Drummachine and his deputies are most severe upon such of the country men as deserted from the rebels, by constantly imprisoning them untill he oblidges them to enlist of new, and to promise to goe with him to Perth when called. That the Highlanders have become more insolent & violent than ever since the landing of the French, who are much magnifyd in that Country. They have been pulling poor old Mr Fergusone out of the pulpit because he prays for King George, and because they could not get him to desist, they keep guard upon all the boats to prevent people comeing to hear him. They neither allow him to visit the prisoners, nor they him.

They keep my wife with threats in the constant terror of her life, and of my house being burnt up, as they do likeways my brother Peter at Logiereat, and there is no persone more violent than Jame Robertson,

¹ Chancellor Ferguson's paper.

officer of Logiereat ; but, as there troubles are near at a crisis, I hope we shall in due time have a count and reckoning.

Killiechassie and Menzies of Bolfracts have lately joyn'd the rebels at Perth, as have most of our wadsetters, such as those of Glen Tilt, Bohespick, Grigor Murray, and others. . . .

Dr Sir, yr most ob^d humble serv^t

THO: BISSATZ.

Mr Blair of Glasclune is Lieutennent Coll: and Killiechassie Major of Drummachune's intended regiment. I hear Charles Mackglashan¹ hath purchased three gold watches for 30 bolls meall, and a fine horse at a very cheap rate from a Rannoch man.

December 17.—Captain James Murray wrote from Edinburgh to Duke James, in reply to his letter of 9th December, saying that he had been to wait on Lady Jean Murray, and but hinted the Isle of Man, which was received in such a manner that he spoke no more of it, and that Lady Jean said the place they were in was more to their liking than any other, London excepted, and that he was of their opinion, and that whatever happened they would be safe there.

Lady Jean Murray to Duke James.

EDINB, Dec^r 19, 1745.

My Dearest Lord Duke,—I received the honour & pleasure of your Gr/s letter of the 12th inst^t, wherin I am extremely sorry to find I have offended yr Gr/ with mentioning my allowance, w^{ch} I shall take care never to do again. I have but very few correspondence, and those few does not know whether I have any allowance at all, nor what it is, and never in this world made mention of it, or anything like it ; I give yr Gr/ my word of it. As to going to the Kirk, I hope and beg yr Gr/ will be so extremely good as not to insist upon it, as I was baptized, confirmed, and Received the Sacrament in the Church of England.

As yr Gr/ thought it unfitt, I never attempted to Go to the meeting

¹ Vintner at Inver.

House, (nor ever should anything you forbid), but tho' I stay at home I am as well employed as in the chapell.

It has allways bin my study Day and night to do every thing I thought would oblidge y^r Gr/, and allways shall, so I beg and intreat y^r Gr/ most humbly to leave me to myself in matters of religion, and in anything else I shall allways, to the best of my power, do what is most agreeable to y^r Gr/. As you allways have bin a most affectionate Father, I hope you will grant my Humble request.

It has given me great pain my speaking about my finances should Disoblidge you, but if y^r Gr/ will pardon this once, I'll give my right hand off if ever I mention my allowance again.

There is at present not the least Danger of staying in this town, nor is there any like-hood of Disturbances, so hope y^r Gr/ will lett me remain where we are, as we are very agreeably situated in a most oblidging family.

We Design to go to see Lady Margaret Maule and some other ladys this afternoon. We both join in affectionate Dutys to your Gr/, and I am My Dear Lord Duke's most aff^{te}, most ob^t, most Dutifull Daughter,

JANE MURRAY.

December 23.—Commissary Bissatt, who had been sent back to Stirling by the Lord Justice-Clerk in order to obtain accounts of what was doing in the North, wrote informing Mr. Harrison that he heard most of the Highlanders who had been at Perth had left for Dundee, Montrose, Doune, Dunblane, and Bridge of Allan. That he found Gregor Murray had been left behind, and was playing the devil with the Glenalmond men, forcing them out, acting as a strong partisan, employed in robbing gentlemen's horses and using military execution.¹

The route taken by the Highland army after they re-entered Scotland was by Moffat, Douglas, and Hamilton to Glasgow, where they arrived on Christmas Day.

. On December 27 Commissary Bissatt wrote again to Mr.

Harrison, stating that he heard from Glasgow that the common people among the Highlanders were in a very miserable way, overrun with vermin, their beards overgrown, and their feet through their shoes and blistered, whilst their hose and plaids were mostly worn-out and torn.

To return to the garrison left in Carlisle. On Saturday, December 21, the day after the Highland army had marched, the town was invested by the forces under the Duke of Cumberland, but having to send to Whitehaven for heavy cannon to breach the walls, the Duke could do nothing at first except blockade the place.

The following letter describes the situation :—

Duke of Richmond to Duke of Newcastle (extract).

FROM MY QUARTERS AT UPRIGHTBY,
Tuesday, Dec. 24th, 1745.

My dear Lord,— . . . Our situation here is a very disagreeable one, for the Duke certainly can't treat with these rebellious wretches, and yett I don't see how he can reduce them by force without looseing more men than the object is worth.

There are miners indeed that are to blow up even the castle, and they are to do it if they can, butt I can give no credit to that, and as for battering them en breche, it will be a long peice of worke, and our amunition is scanty, and I don't beleive one real gunner amongst us. Storming and scaling the walls indeed might, and I really beleive would do, butt it would cost us at least 200 of our best Grenadiers, and I am very sure that would not be worth while for 300 such lowsy scoundrells. Starving them may also be a long and difficult taske, and opening trenches impossible, as they would fill with water. So you see what reall difficultys the Duke lyes under, and upon my word, if he was to ask my advice, I do not know what I should give him. . . .

I am, my dear Lord, for ever and most faithfully yours,

RICHMOND, &c.¹

¹ Newcastle MSS., British Museum.

Having received the heavy cannon, the Duke of Cumberland opened fire on December 28, and on the 30th the garrison surrendered at discretion, as follows :—

| Regiments. | Officers. | Sergeants. | Pipers. | Drummers. | Rank and File. | Servants. | Total. | |
|-----------------------|-----------|--------------|---------|-----------|----------------|-----------|----------------------------------|-----|
| Duke of Perth's . . . | 7 | 2 | 1 | ... | 60 | 3 | 73 | |
| Glen Bucket's . . . | 2 | ... | ... | ... | 43 | 4 | 49 | |
| Roy Stewart's . . . | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 34 | ... | 37 | |
| Lord Ogilvy's . . . | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 33 | ... | 39 | |
| Lord George Murray's | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | 6 | |
| Lochiel's . . . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | ... | 6 | |
| Cluny's . . . | ... | ... | ... | 1 | 1 | ... | 2 | |
| Clanranald's . . . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 3 | 3 | 6 | |
| Glengarry's . . . | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | 2 | |
| Keppoch's . . . | 1 | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ... | 5 | |
| Artillery . . . | 2 | Matross I | } | ... | 25 | 2 | { 2 Gunners, 1 Interpreter. } | 33 |
| Perth Squadron . . . | ... | | | | | | | |
| No Regiment . . . | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 13 | 1 | 17 | |
| Manchester . . . | 20 | 3 | ... | 1 | 86 | 3 | 113 | |
| French . . . | 3 | 1 | ... | ... | 4 | ... | 8 | |
| Total . . . | 43 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 321 | 16 | { 2 Gunners, 1 Interpreter. } | 397 |

Officers' Names.

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|
| Governor | Col. John Hamilton. | Roy Stewart's. | Lieut. Wm. Stewart. |
| | <i>Executed.</i> | " | Ens. Jas. Menzies. |
| Perth's. | Capt. Alex. Abernethy. | " | " Jas. Mann. ¹ |
| " | " John Comrie. | Ogilvy's. | Capt. Geo. Abernethy. |
| " | Lieut. Alex. McGrouther. | " | Lieut. Walter Ogilvy. |
| " | " Alex. McGrouther. | Keppoch's. | Capt. Dond. McDonell. |
| " | " Jas. Nicholson. | Artillery. | Capt. John Burnet. |
| " | Ens. Walter Mitchell, | " | Lieut. Jas. Gordon. |
| " | adjt. | French. | Colonel Strickland. |
| " | " Geo. Ramsay. | " | Capt. Sir F. Geoghegan. |
| Glen Bucket's. | Capt. Robt. Forbes. | " | " Sir Jno. Arbutnot. |
| " | Lieut. Chas. Gordon, pay- | Surgeon | James Stratton. |
| | master. | Chaplain | Rev. Jas. Cappock, |
| | | | Jacobite Bishop of Carlisle. |

¹ Baker in Dunkeld.

| | | | |
|------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Manchester. Col. | Francis Townley. | Manchester. Lieut. | John Holker. |
| | <i>Executed.</i> | | |
| " | Capt. John Saunderson. | " | Thos. Chadwick. |
| " | " Peter Moss. | " | <i>Executed.</i> |
| " | " Jas. Dawson. | " | Thos. Furnival. |
| " | <i>Executed.</i> | " | Ens. Chas. Deacon. |
| " | " Geo. Fletcher. | " | Chas. Gaylor. |
| " | <i>Executed.</i> | " | John Hurter. |
| " | " And. Blood. | " | Jas. Wilding. |
| " | <i>Executed.</i> | " | John Betts. |
| " | Lieut. Thos. Deacon. | " | Wm. Bradshaw |
| " | <i>Executed.</i> | " | " Saml. Maddock. |
| " | " John Berwick. | " | Adj. Tho. Sydell. |
| " | <i>Executed.</i> | | <i>Executed.</i> |
| " | " Robt. Deacon. | | |
| | <i>Died.</i> | | |

Of the non-commissioned officers and men taken at Carlisle, forty-two were natives of Perthshire.

The six men of Lord George Murray's regiment (who were probably left sick or stragglers) were—

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------|-----------------|------------------|
| Robert Dunbar, | Morayshire. | John Porteous, | Royston. |
| Daniel McDonald, | Lettochbeag. | Neil Robertson, | Perthshire. |
| John McDonald, | Perthshire. | Thomas Rose, | Inverness-shire. |

Of Lord Ogilvy's regiment, two were from Atholl—

Daniel Duff and Walter Menzies.

Of Roy Stewart's regiment, twenty-three were from Perthshire, most of whom belonged to Strathbran and Grandtully :—

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| William Campbell. | John McFarlane. |
| John Crichton. | Patrick McNeil. |
| Daniel Duff. | Donald Marshall, died. |
| James Duff. | Thomas Pooley. |
| John Duff. | Charles Robertson. |
| David Greig. | Alexander Scott. |
| William Illah. | John Scott. |
| John McCarter. | William Scott. |
| James McCollie. | Daniel Stewart. |
| James McCulloch. | Duncan Stewart. |
| James McFarlane. | John Stewart. |
| John McFarlane. | |

The following characteristic sentiments regarding the prisoners were expressed by the Duke of Cumberland when writing to announce the capture of Carlisle to the Duke of Newcastle :—

Duke of Cumberland to Duke of Newcastle (extract).

BLACKHALL, 30 Dec. 1745.

I wish I could have blooded the soldiers with these Villains, but it would have cost us many a brave man, and it comes to the same end, as they have no sort of claim to the King's mercy, & I sincerely hope will meet with none.¹

James Crie, Provost of Perth, to Duke James.

CARLISLE, 31 Dec^r 1745.

May it please your Grace,—We came from Edinburgh to this neighbourhood last Saturday night with a view to kiss His Highness the Duke of Cumberland's hand, & to represent to him the great need our Town & countrey have of speedy Relief from the oppression of the Rebels, & were introduced to the Duke next morning by Lord Panmuir & four commissioners from Edinburgh on the like errand, & I had the Honour to dine with His Highness, who told us that the Relief of Scotland is committed to good hands, tho' he himself is not to go there. But, as we have ground to fear the Town of Perth will be quite ruined before any of the Troops arrive there, we earnestly intreat your Grace's good offices in behalf of that distressed place.

Y^r Grace will know before this comes to hand that the Duke is in possession of the Town & Castle of Carlile. A few days ago we saw the young Ladys your daughters in good health at Edinburgh.

We are, with profound esteem, My Lord,

Your Gr/s most ob^t Humble Servants,

JAMES CRIE.

GEORGE MILLER (clerk).

The Highland army remained several days in Glasgow,

¹ Public Record Office, London.

during which time the Prince sent a requisition to the magistrates for new clothing for his forces.

The first week of January 1746 the army marched from Glasgow in two columns. One under Lord George proceeded on the 3rd to Cumbernauld, and the next day to Falkirk; whilst the Prince marched with the other on the 5th to Kilsyth, and the following day to Bannockburn.

On the 6th, Lord George presented a memorial to His Royal Highness. Regarding which his Lordship wrote the following memorandum:—

This proposall L^d Geo: Murray gave in to the Prince's own hands, for by this time all the Principal people in the Army were convinced that the litle people, who were the only persons that were consulted, and manag'd everything, had their own Interest more in vew then the good of the cause.

Nixt day, the proposal was sent back with the following answer, wrote on the same paper in H: R: H. own hand:—

6th Jan^{ry} 1746.

It is proposed that His Royal Highness should from time to time call a councile of War, to consist of all those who command Battalions or Squadrons; But, as severals of those may be on partys, and often absent, a Committee should be chosen, to consist of Five or Seven, and that all operations for the carrying on of the War should be agre'd on by the Majority of those, in his Royal Highness' presence; and, once that a measure is taken, it is not to be changed except by the advice of those, or most of them, who were present when it was agree'd on.

That upon any sudden emergancy, such as in a Battle, Scirmish, or in a Sege, a Discretionary power must be allowed to those who command. This is the method of all armys, much [more] so should it be of this, which consists of Volunteers, and where so many gentlemen of fortune, not only venture their own and their family's all, But, if any misfortune happen, are sure of ending their Lives on a Scaffold, should they escape in the field.

If this plan is not followed, the most Dismall consequence cannot but

ensue. Had not a Council Determined the Retreat from Derby, what a castrophy must have followed in two or three days!

Had a Council of War been held the evening the army came to Lancaster on their return, a day (which at that time was so precious) had not been lost.

Had a Council of War been consulted as to leaving a Garison at Carlisle, it would never have been agreed to, the place not being teneable, and so many brave men wou'd not have been sacrificized, besides the reputation of His Royal Highness's arms.

It is to be considered that this army is an army of Volunteers, and not mercinarrys, many of them being resolved not to continue in the army were affars once settled.

GEORGE MURRAY.

Prince Charles's Reply, written on the back of the Petition, entirely with his own hand.

Jan^{ry} 3rd, 1745 [1746].

When I came into Scotland, I knew well enough what I was to expect from my Ennemies, but I Little foresaw what I meet with from my Friends. I came vested with all the Authority the King could give me, one chief part of which is the Command of his Armies, and now I am required to give this up to fifteen persons, who may afterwards depute five or seven of their own number to exercise it, for fear, if they were six or eight, that I might myself pretend to y^e casting vote.

By the majority of those all things are to be determined, and nothing left to me but the honour of being present at their debates. This, I am told, is the method of all Armies, and this I flatly deny, nor do I believe it to be the method of any one Army in the world.

I am often hit in the teeth that this is an Army of Volontiers, consisting of Gentlemen of Rank and fortune, and who came into it meerly upon motives of Duty and Honour; what one wou'd expect from such an Army is more zeal, more resolution, and more good manners than in those that fight meerly for pay: but it can be no Army at all where there is no General, or, which is the same thing, no obedience or deference paid to him.

Every one knew before he engaged in the cause what he was to expect in case it miscarried, and shou'd have staid at home if he cou'd not face

death in any shape. but can I myself hope for better usage? at least I am the only Person upon whose head a price has been already set, and therefore I cannot indeed threaten at every other word to throw down my arms and make my Peace with the Government.

I think I shew every day that I do not pretend to act without asking advice, and yours oftner than any body's else, which I shall still continue to do. You know that upon more occasions than one I have given up my own opinion to that of others.

I staid, indeed, a day at Lancaster, without calling a Councile; yet y^rself proposed to stay another. but I wonder much to see myself reproched with the loss of Carlile. was there a possibility of carrying off the Cannon and Baggage, or was there time to destroy them? and wou'd not the doing it have been a greater dishonour to our Arms? After all, did not y^rself, instead of proposing to abandon it, offer to stay with the Athol Brigade to defend it?

I have insensibly made this answer much longer than I intended, and might yet add much more, but I choose to cut it short, and shall only tell you that my Authority may be taken from me by violence, but I shall never resign it Like an Ideot.

CHARLES, P:R.

The whole of the clothing demanded from the city of Glasgow not being ready when the Prince marched from there, two of the merchants (Coates and Carmichael) were carried along with the army as hostages for security that what was wanting should be delivered eventually.¹ On arrival in the neighbourhood of Stirling, the Prince summoned the magistrates to deliver up the town, which, after a day or two's debate, was done on January 8.

Colonel Robertson of Drumachine to Duke William.

BLAIR CASTLE, Jan^y 11th, 1746.

My L^d Duke,—I rejoice to hear that y^r Gr/ is arrived in Scotland in good health, which I wish may long continue for the benefit of your Prince and your country. I proposed to have sent Gourdy² to wait of y^r Gr/, as he cou'd have given more particular information with regard to

¹ Scots Magazine.

² Charles Stewart of Gourdie.

the situation of affairs in this country than can be contained in a Letter, but as he is not at hand, and that things seem to admit of no delay, I thought it necessary to dispatch this express.

Before I had a dozen of men to command in this country, I found Strathardle, Strabrawn, and some parts of Atholl, so crowded with deserters, that I found it impracticable for me either to confine them or send them to the Army, as I had no prisons, much less troops either to guard or escort them. As soon as possible I endeavour'd to secure the passes upon Tay and Tumble to cut off Intelligence between Inverness and Stirling, and prevent desertion from the troops that came south after the Prince march'd to England; but the deserters have some time ago found a passage across Loch Tay, where our authority is not as yet establish'd. Upon making this discovery I got 24 Ranoch men that undertook to do duty in the braes of their own country, the route taken by those deserters, and these Ranoch men have already given some proof of their fidelity, but they complain that the command is too weak, as deserters come often in such bodies as they cannot pretend to stop, nor do I know where to find funds sufficient for the expenses of preventing this fatal evil. It woud take a hundred men for the Braes of Ranoch, & between 3 and 400 more betwixt that and Perth, to guard the passes, guard the Hanoverian Prisoners, and send deserters to the Army, and perhaps it wou'd be found by experience that such a Battallion wou'd be usefully employed, provided it were commanded by tolerable officers; but the misfortune is that there are very few well affected Gentlemen remaining in this country, and I can stir very little, as my health has been daily impairing since I had the mortification to part with y^r Gr/.

Deserters come now to Atholl in such crowds as I am asham'd of; nor can I take any notice of them, my small posse being wholly employed in securing those that propose to go farther north, who cannot be brought again to the Army without great loss of time and money, besides that the arms they carry with them seldom return. As for our people, I believe a few active Officers of each Battallion wou'd soon get them together and carry them to their colours; and then a proper command establish'd in Perthshire might go a great way to keep the Army entire, but for that purpose I am afraid y^r Gr/s presence wou'd be necessary.

As to private affairs, Kincairney¹ says he begg'd your Gr/ wou'd

¹ Patrick Murray of Kincairney.

excuse him from accepting of the Factory, and when I asked Neil McGlashan why he did not begin to levy the rents at the proper time, he told me he could not act by himself, as he was only join'd in commission with Kincairney; and I know nobody else in Atholl or the neighbourhood that is capable, and wou'd be willing to execute the thing.

I have had no assistance from such gentlemen of influence as I apply'd; Glenkilry¹ offered me his for raising men, but I had no funds for them. I hope yr Gr/ will excuse so long a letter, & believe that I am, w^t all respect, my L^d Duke,

Yr G's most humble & ob^t serv^t,

D. ROBERTSON.²

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

FALKIRK, 11th Jan^y 1746.

Dear Brother,—I have just now a line from Blarfeety, telling me of a great desertion amongst your people; I would gladly hope it is not so bad as he calls it, but I think if the officers were in their duty it cou'd not have hapned. I know of but one remedy that can be effectually, and that is your immediat presence at home; and, in the first place, to send off to us all the good men that are already gather'd. Those who have gone home without a special licence or Furloff must be exemplarily punished, either in their Persons or effects, or in both, for when our all depends lenity wou'd be folly. If we can always keep two Battalions of 500 each of the best men, it will be very well, & if you will leave it to me, tho' we may have more officers than the number, I will get them named supernumerary, and they shall have pay.

A garison of fifty men will be enough at Blair Castle, & a hundred or 150 about your person will be enough till you find it proper to rejoin the armie, but not to regiment them, only as Independent companys, always to be in the country; good old men would serve very well for this. I would have you take as few of the officers as possible amongst with you. Keynachan nor Blarfeety can not possibly be spar'd, but advise with them before you go, and for God's sake send the men off, if it were by dozens, as quick as you can after you get to the country. If Rewards and Punishments do not do, I know not what will. By the laws of God

¹ Andrew Spalding of Glenkilrie.

² Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

and man you have both in your power & in your Person. Docter Colvile, who is a man of Honour, can be of great use to you, & will never advise but what is right. The above is my humble oppinion, & if you approve of it, put it in execution immediately. I ever am, Dear Brother,

Yr most aff^t Bro^r & faithfull Humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

I suppose you will take care to cause lift your Rents in Faulkland, &c.¹

Colonel Robertson of Drumachine to Major Robertson of Blairfetty.

BLAIR CASTLE, Jan^y 12th, 1746.

Dear Sir,—I am dispatching this express in a great hurray for the Duke of Atholl, else I had sent to your house to ask the good wife's commands; your family is all very well, only that some of the children have the Chinkcough. Many of your men are come home, and I am told the rest are to follow soon.

I was ordered by the Duke of Atholl to take up and imprison all deserters, but I might as well attempt to remove a mountain, being left here without money, or men capable of being made officers, I myself being for the most part confined to the house.

I wish to God the Duke of Atholl's best Battallion, as soon as raised, had been left to form a Barrier from beyond the Braes of Ranoch to Perth; it wou'd have saved the exorbitant charge of bringing back the north country deserters, and the Prince might have marched much sooner and a third stronger into England, which wou'd have had a good effect.

Every man that knows the Highlanders might lay his accounts w^t their marching home after a scuffle, and therefore I am surprized that none of you ever insisted upon taking all manner of precautions for keeping the Army together, without which, making an appearance may be compar'd to a flash of powder, that vanishes in an instant and scarce leaves a vestige behind it. I am far from mending in my health since you left the country; I rode about as long as I cou'd, but since Christmas I have been but twice over this door.

I am glad to hear that his R: H: and all his gentlemen are in good health and spirits; long may it continue so.

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

There is but little theft committed in this country. The Laird of Strowan swears he'll allow none of my men to quarter at Kenloch. There were 4 deserters of L^d Cromarty's men entertain'd by him at Cary some time ago, and I was told yesterday that he sent a token to the Boatman at Kenloch to ferry them over; but the fellows were afterwards apprehended by the little command at Dalnacardich and sent to Perth.

My complements to Kynachan and the rest of our friends. The Ladies and children at Kynachan are all very well, and so are the rest of our friends in y^e country. I pray God to bless both Prince and people, and am ever, D^r Sir, Y^r aff^t nephew & most humble Serv^t,

D: ROBERTSON.

I offer my complements to Fascaly: I sent for one of his men that returned home, and ordered him to warn all his brethren in iniquity to make ready to march at a call; he told me they shou'd be all ready.

I expect some of you home soon to carry your men back to your colours; had I a sufficient posse and cash, I might have saved you some part of the trouble; perhaps you will hear more of this from the Duke of Atholl. Pray let me have your freshest news; meantime, Adieu.¹

Duke William to Lord George Murray.

POLMAISE, 12th Jan^y 1746.

Dear Brother,—I received yours of yesterday's date from Falkirk, without a cover, from the Laird of Faskeily, which I sent by valuable D^r Colvill to the Prince, desiring he would let me know his intentions about the contents. H:R:H: on the main approves of what you propose; Therefore, God willing, I shall set out accordingly for Perthshire tomorrow, and will omitt nothing can be expected from such an Invalid as I am, who has hitherto spared nothing could possibly advance our countrie's interest, as well as the known rights and good of mankind in general. . . . D^r Brother, Y^r most aff^{te} Brother and humble Servant.¹

The Prince was now joined by all the forces that had been gathering at Perth during the time the Highland army had been in England. These were about 4000 in number,

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

See Addenda, p. x1.

under the command of Viscount Strathallan and Lord John Drummond.

As they brought some French battering cannon with them, it was resolved to lay siege to Stirling Castle, which was held by a garrison under General Blakeney. Accordingly, on the 10th January the Highlanders broke ground before that fortress.

Meanwhile a considerable army had arrived in Edinburgh from England under General Hawley, who began his advance towards Stirling on the 13th.

Lord George Murray to Lady George.

BANOCKBURN, 15th Jan^y 1746.

Your last letter came very quick to hand, and gave me as usuall infinite satisfaction. I pray God preserve you & give you a safe delivery; nothing but fortitude can support you in your present situation. Resolve to have it, you may have great occasion for it sooner than you can well imagine.

On Monday morning (13th) I marched to Lithgow with five Batalions & some horse in order to see what provisions were got there for our enemys, & resolv'd to return at night. In the fornoon we see'd a Reg: of Dragouns & gave them chasse for an houre, but could not come up with them. We returned & dined; then just as we were comming out of town to return, their Dragouns, four Regiments of Regular foot, & some Militia came closs up to us. It was too great a venture for us to have atact them, since it was risquing the whole cause, tho' we had the fairest prospect imaginable to have cutt them off. Locheall's Regement, which should also have been with us, had, to my great concern, been order'd over to Alloa two days before; Had that not have hapned, we would have had it so sure that nothing would have prevented us from atacting them. They follow'd us to the bridge on this side of Lithgow; we were very near, but not a shott.

The whole of their Armie is now come from Ed^r & I believe incamp't twixt this and Lithgow, so we expect a Batle in a day or two. They are 12 Reg^s foot, 2 Dragouns, besides two thousand Militia, & it is said another of Horse & two of foot will join them from England very soon. As to what you write about France or Spain I am as ignorant of as your-

self, tho' their is grounds to believe they are more hearty now then hitherto. I think you'd best send the bearer back, that you may have quick intelligence in case of a Batle; But by all our tender Friendship, & the Love we mutually bear to one another & to our children, I conjure you Arm yourself with that fortitude & strength of mind which a virtuous mind should always possess. What is a day, a year, or ten, in comperision of Eternity. My Love atends you & your young Folks.—Adieu.

If a Girle, Kathrine; if a Boy, what you please. We had a Willie that was a favorite. Yet if before that time a Victory be obtean'd, the Conqueror would be etitled. If things go wrong, this last would be imprudent. L^d Strathalen beares great Blame in having kept back our succors so long. I send 50 pices.—Farewell.

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

BANNOCKBURN, 16 Jan^y 1746.

D^r Brother,—I shall be carefull of what you recomend to me by D^r Colvile, to whom please make my compliments.

We are quite afronted with the scandalus disertion of your men; it was the takeing money instead of the best men which is the occasion of all the evle; for good men once coming out would have been piqued in Honour, and not deserted us on the point of fighting the enemy.

I dar say, I need not say anything to hasten up the men; you know the vast service it will be to the cause in general, and I wish you would send them off if it were but in twentys.

We hear the van of the enemy came towards Falkirk this day; if they come a little farther forwards we shall certainly have a Batle.

In the mean time we have bad quarters, litle provisions, and slow advances made towards the sege of Stirling Castle.

I find that the Officers of your Battalion will not serve under Colonel Mercer, and his being in that command is given as one reason of their desertion.

If you give me leave I shall see to regulat that affair the best way I can.

I ever am, Dear Brother,

Y^r most aff^{te} Bro: & most humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Roll of Officers and Strength of the Battalion of Argyllshire Militia serving with H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland's Army under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell.¹

1746.

| Captains. | | Lieutenants. | | Ensigns. | Sergeants. | Corporals. | Pipers. | Privates. |
|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|------------------|------------|------------|---------|-----------|
| Duncan | McVicar | John | McArthur | Lachlan Campbell | 3 | 3 | 1 | 39 |
| Alan | Campbell | Dougal | Campbell | | 3 | 3 | 1 | 41 |
| Duncan | Campbell | John | Campbell | Campbell | 3 | 3 | ... | 44 |
| | Campbell | | Campbell | Campbell | 3 | 3 | 1 | 49 |
| | Campbell | James | Duncanson | Campbell | 3 | 3 | 1 | 49 |
| John | McDougall | Hugh | McDougall | Colin Campbell | 3 | 3 | 1 | 50 |
| Dougal | Campbell | Alex. | Campbell | John Campbell | 3 | 3 | 1 | 50 |
| John | Campbell | Robert | Campbell | Mungo Campbell | 3 | 3 | ... | 50 |
| Duncan | Campbell | Donald | McIntyre | Alex. Campbell | 3 | 3 | 1 | 50 |
| Arch. | Campbell | Colin | Campbell | Dougal Campbell | 3 | 3 | 1 | 67 |
| Peter | Campbell | James | Campbell | Alex. Campbell | 3 | 3 | 1 | 35 |
| | McNeil | Patrick | Campbell | Andrew Buchanan | 3 | 3 | 1 | 49 |
| James | Campbell | Arch. | Campbell | Donald Campbell | 3 | 3 | 1 | 41 |
| 13 | | 13 | | 12 | 39 | 39 | 11 | 614 |

Also 4 Gentlemen Volunteers and 20 Privates receiving no pay.

Grand Total . . . 765

Another battalion of Argyllshire Militia was in garrison in the different forts, &c., in Argyllshire.

Friday, January 17, 1746.—The battle of Falkirk was fought. The Duke of Perth having been left with 1000 men to carry on the siege of Stirling Castle, the rest of the Highland army paraded at Plean Muir in the morning, and, marching about mid-day, they crossed the River Carron at Dunnipace, and advanced to Falkirk Muir, near the English camp. When intelligence of the advance of the Prince's army was brought, General Hawley was absent at Callender House,

¹ Record Office, London.

In a MS. at Dunnikier, copied by the first wife of the late General Sir John Oswald¹ from an account of the campaign written by one of Prince Charles's adherents, the strength of the Highland army at the battle of Falkirk is given as follows. The position of the different regiments does not, however, quite correspond with the above plan.

| <i>First Line.</i> | <i>Second Line.</i> | <i>Reserve.</i> | |
|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|-----|
| Keppoch . . . 600 | | Lord Elcho's Horse . . . 80 | |
| Glengarry . . . 800 | Atholl Brigade. 600 | Lord Balmerino's Horse . 60 | |
| Clanranald . . 400 | | | |
| Lord Cromarty 200 | | Hussars 40 | |
| Cluny . . . 300 | | | |
| Farquharsons. 200 | Lord Ogilvy . . 700 | French Picquets . . 300 | |
| McIntoshes . . 200 | | | |
| Frasers . . . 300 | | Lord Kilmarnoch's Horse . 60 | |
| Appin . . . 300 | Lord L. Gordon 400 | Perthshire Horse 140 | |
| Lochiel . . . 800 | | | |
| 4100 | 1700 | 300 | 380 |

Total, 6100 Infantry, 380 Cavalry = 6480.

The above estimate may be a little low, but it is evidently much nearer the truth than the official report of 9000 sent in by General Hawley.

*General Hawley's Return of the Strength of the Highland Army
at the Battle of Falkirk.*

First Line, commanded by Lord George Murray and Lochiel—

| | |
|---|-------|
| Macdonells of Keppoch | 400 |
| Macdonalds of Clanranald | 400 |
| Macdonells of Glengarry, two battalions | 900 |
| Stewarts of Appin | 300 |
| Camerons of Lochiel, with McKinnons and McGregors | 900 |
| Macphersons | 400 |
| Frasers | 400 |
| | 3,700 |

¹ Died 1827.

Second Line—

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Atholl Brigade | 1,000 |
| Lord Ogilvy's | 1,000 |
| Lord Lewis Gordon's | 900 |
| Farquharsons and McIntoshes | 700 |
| Mackenzies, commanded by Lord Cromartie | 700 |
| Irish Brigade and Lord John Drummond's Regiment | 450 |
| | <hr/> 4,750 |

Cavalry in rear of First Line—

| | |
|---|-----------|
| Lord Elcho's | 120 |
| Lord Pitsligo's | 120 |
| Lord Kilmarnock's | 150 |
| Lord Balmerino's | 60 |
| Unregimented gentlemen attending the Prince | 100 |
| | <hr/> 550 |

9,000

Left at Stirling—

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|
| Duke of Perth's | 400 |
| Colonel Roy Stewart's | 400 |
| Glen Bucket's | 300 |
| Gordon of Abachie's | 250 |
| | <hr/> 1,350 |

10,350*Lord George Murray's account of the Battle of Falkirk.*

It is not an easy task to describe a Battle; springs & motions escape the eye, & most officers are necessarily taken up with what is immediately near themselves, so that it is next to impossible for any one to observe the whole; add to this the confusion, the noise, & the concern that people are in whilst in the heat of action. The smallest oversights & most minute Incidents are often the cause of the loss or gain of the day, an opportunity once miss'd cannot be recal'd, & when a commanding officer commits a mistake, it may perhaps not be perceiv'd but by very few, if by any, & yet prove fatal, and there is not any part that is so trying for a general as the immediately laying hold of opportunities, either in improving advantages, or giving immediate succour where it is necessary. This requires a quick eye, a good judgment, & great composure of mind. As there were par-

ticular relations publish'd of the Batle of Falkirk I shall refer to them. In the following description I propose taking notice of some of the most material Incidents that were omitted in the former accounts, either by the hurry they were wrote in, or that perhaps it was not convenient at first to discover some mistakes which were the reall cause that the Batle was not so desisive as it might have proven, & certainly would, had the Highland Army made a proper use of the Infinite advantage they had by their position, the nearness of the atact, the descent of a hill, the strong wind & rain which was in their backs, & directly in the enemy's face, & that they had some mossy ground upon their Right which prevented the enemy's Horse from being able to Flank them, and that by reason of the badness of the road and steepness of the Hill, there cannon were of no use to them; in a word, the Highland Army had all the advantages that nature or arte could give them.

Their Right wing, which consisted of the MacDonalds in the front line & the Atholl men in the second line, were a full quarter of an hour in sight of the body of the enemy's Horse, & within musket shott. They advanced very slowly, both that they might keep their Ranks (which they did perfectly well) & to give time to the left to come up & form, for from the time they had pass'd the water of Caron at Dunipace, which was in sight of the enemy, till they had taken possession of the ground they intended, they had marched very quick to prevent the enemy's gaining the advantage of the ground & wind, but so soon as they had got possession of that field they advanced in line of Batle foot by foot till they were within pistole shott of the enemy's Horse, Lord Geo: Murray goeing alongst the line all the time and desiring them to keep their ranks & not to fire till he gave the order.

All this was execute with as much exactness as was posible, & as sometimes on parte of the line was further advanced than the rest, they halted till the others came equall with them. Upon the left Locheall's Batalion, who were upon the extreamity of the line, found that they were outflank'd by three Batalions of the enemy; This might have been easely remided had two or three Batalions of the second line been extended on that wing, but as each Collonell commanded only their own Regements, they gave no orders to any but their own men, for the Highlanders do not willingly obey the chiefs of one another, & the great Loss was that there was no superior officer upon that wing, For altho' it is said, in the

printed relations of the Batle, that L^d John Drummond commanded the left wing, yet I believe he had no directions to do it, and was not there when the Batle begun; He had gone by order, when the march began, towards the High Road (which led thro' the Tore wood directly to Falkirk) with most of the horse to make a faint, as if the whole army were to march that way; & when the foot came to the water of Carron he turned short & follow'd them, & by the time he came up they were drawn up on the field of Batle; He join'd the Prince, with so many of the horse, who was with the Irish Pickets & some other Troups as the corps of reserve. The rest of the Horse were sent to the Right, particularly L^d Elcho, with so many of the Horse Guards, who drew up behind the Athollmen, for by reason of a small morass, by which L^d George Murray had cover'd his flank, L^d Elcho could not pass further to the right.

This was the position when the Batle began by the enemy's Horse (who before that had made severall motions with a design to draw the fire & then ride in and brake the Highlanders), they came at last at the full trot in very good order within Pistoll shott of the first line, then L^d George Murray gave orders to fire, which was done with such execution that it intirely broke them, but after that there was no posebility of making the Macdonalds keep their ranks; many of that first line of the Right pursu'd the Horse & fell in with some of the enemy's Militia.

In about five minutes after this first fire the left, consisting of the Camerons, Stewarts of Appine, the Macfearsons, Frazers, & others, were charg'd by the enemy's foot, & also a Body of Horse;¹ upon these they spent a good parte of their Fire, so that when they atact the foot they had scarce any of their fire left, but went in with great Bravery sword in hand. What did them most damage was these three Regements of the enemy's foot who flank'd them, & the second line of the Highlanders left, instead of moving further to the left, or keeping their line till they should receive orders, crouded in with the first line, at least many of them did, and went down upon the enemy with them; the rest of the second line fell into confusion, their ranks being thin'd by those who had run in with the first line.

Those who had atact, seeing the three Regements² of the enemy that were upon their left intire, and nothing to opose them, retyred back to the

¹ Cobham's (10th) Dragoons.

² Barrel's (4th) and part of Price's (14th) and Ligonier's (48th).

ground they had at first been drawn up upon. By this time L^d George Murray had advanced with the Atholl men, who kept their line in perfect good order, & having a full view of the confusion the enemy were in, he resolv'd to atact them upon their retreat, & did all in his power to rally the Macdonalds as he marched down the hill. He sent Coll: Carr to intreat that the reserve might advance on the left; Coll: Carr came forward with the Piquets, & L^d John Drummond with severall other officers came up with them, as also severall of those who had made the atact upon the left. Before this time L^d George Murray had got near the foot of the Hill, & had passed the enemy's cannon, which they had left behind. He found that there was three or four Regements of the enemy in their Rear, in better order than the rest of their Body, & a Regement of Dragouns, which had been in their right wing; these, tho' marching off very quick, were however intire. The other parte of their Armie was in the utmost confusion, runing off by fourtys and fiftys to the right & left to get sooner in to Falkirk, so that their line was in the utmost disorder except those in the rear; but as he had not above six or seven hundred men with him, the rest being all scater'd on the face of the hill, he judged it would be risquing all the advantage they had gain'd, & the Regiment of horse kept always in the rear, they got in to Falkirk by the time he was at the foot of the hill, which was a large musket shott from the town, & the Irish Piquets then join'd him & severalls from the different corps. Most were of opinion to retreat towards Dunipace, & the places adjacent, where the men might be cover'd, it being a prodigious rain, but L^d George Murray was absolutely for marching in to the town, for he said that if the enemy had the least time they might line the houses, & clean their guns, so as to make it imposible for them to get in, did they give them time, and that therefore there was not on moment to be lost, for he was certain the enemy were in the utmost confusion, & concluded with Count Mercy's expression at the Battle of Parma, "that he would either ly in town or in Paradise." H.R.H. came up at that very time, & aprov'd much of the resolution of atempting the town, & was advised himself to stay at some hutts in the face of the hill till L^d Geo: Murray should send him word of the success.

One vast loss was that not a pair of pipes could be gott; the Pipers whenever a Batle begins give their pipes to their Boys, who take care of themselves, & the Pipers, who are commonly as good men as any, charge

with the rest; this, tho' it may appear trifling, was the reason the Macdonalds & others had not rallied from the first. Excepting the Piquets & the Athollmen, non of the other corps were together when they enter'd the town, but there were severall of the officers, such as Keppoch, Glengarry's son, Lochcall, Archeall, L^d Ogilvie, Coll: Roy Stewart &c, and some of the men of each. When they got in to the town, most of the enemy were gone, there being but few taken prisoners there. It is not believed that 1500 men in all came in that night, they spread thro' the whole country upon the road that they had march'd, & some went back as far as Banockburn. The enemy's camp was imediatly viseted, & a few prisoners were made there.

H.R.H. came in to town soon after, & next day most of the armie.

It is easy from the above particulars to judg that, without a body of regular troups, the Highlanders by themselves have many disadvantages, by their not being disiplin'd, & espesially their not rallying quick after an atact. There advantages this day as to situation & every thing else was to their wish. Had the Macdonalds on the right either not broke their ranks, or rally'd soon after, they with the Atholl men would have cutt the whole enemy's foot to Pices, for they were closs at them, and must have drove them down the hill before them, & by speed of foot not a man could have got off from them.

Had there been any officer on the left to have order'd two or three Batalions from the second line, or reserve, to have faced those of the enemy that outflank'd them, they would have had a compleat Victory. Most of the officers were with H.R.H. in the Reserve; had they come up, & with the left of the second line follow'd the first, extending a litle further to the left, the enemy's whole army, at least the foot, must have been taken or killed, & in that case even but few of the Horse would have escap'd; the Highlanders would never have given over the chase till they had got to Lithgow; In short, had there been men brought up, either from the left of the second line, or from the corps de Reserve, to have faced these Regements that outlin'd the Highlanders, the Batle would not have lasted ten minutes, but all would have been caried at once; But these three Regments giveing parte of their fire on the Flank of the Highlanders' Left, & keeping their ground, as there was no body that appear'd against them, was the occasion of those who had atact sword in hand retyring to their former ground; But so soon as L^d Geo: Murray

appear'd with those of the second line in his Wing, & the Piquets with some others on the other Wing, these Regements made a very quick retreat in the rear of their main body.

Mr O'Suliman, whom the Prince chiefly trusted with the disposition, was the person that might easily have remedied the error in bringing up men from the Second Line or the Corps de Reserve to have extended the first Line, nothing was more easy, but that Gentleman had certainly no knowledge in those affairs, nor was he ever seen to do any thing in time of action.

Early that morning L^d George Murray had given a scroll of Line of Batle to H.R.H. It agreed with others, only in his, the Regulars & Piquets were to be dispos'd upon by being halfe upon the Right on the Second Line, and half upon the Left, to be brought up in case of being flank'd by horse, but they were kept in the Reserve. L^d Geo: Murray, when he gave in that Scroll, desir'd H.R.H. would apoint the officers that were to command, & where, but I never heard that there was any appointment made that day. When it was agreed to march to the enemy, betwixt twelve and one, He asked, as there was no other Leutenant Ginerall there, if he should not march at the head of the Army, which the Prince agreed to; so he march'd at the head of the two lines, and consequently was on the right when the Action began. He never got a mesage but one from that time till the affair was over; That message was by Mr O'Suliman, before they had march'd half a mile; he told L^d George Murray that H.R.H. was advis'd not to let the Armie pass the water in day light, in vew of the enemy, which might be very dangerous; but L^d Geo: Murray told him that if there was the least stop the enemy would gain the ground he design'd for, & that if they did not pass the water in day light, most of the men would take shelter in all the Houses & Villages in the neighbourhood, and it would be midday nixt day before they could be gott together. Mr O'Suliman return'd with that answer to the Prince, who came up himself with Brigadier Stapelton, & L^d Geo: Murray, who had continow'd the march, repeated what he had said, & aded that as the Enemy were incampt, they could march nixt day at Brake of day, & atact the Highlanders before the halfe of them could assamble nixt day, & that there was nothing for it but marching one as quick as posible, to gain the Riseing ground above Falkirk, and there they would have great advantage if the enemy came up that hill, once they had possession of it, & if they did

not, but staid in their camp, H:R:H: would have a full vew of them, & then deliberat upon what was nixt to be done; he said further that he was well acquainted with the ground, & had no doubt but he would get possession of it before the enemy, who he was sure did not expect them, as the resolution to march had been but just now taken, so consequently they could have no intelegence about it.

Brigadiar Stapelton aprov'd very much of what he said, so the march continoud, there being not the least halt from the time it began till they gott possession of the ground they intended.

Had the enemy been in readiness, so soon as the Highland armie appear'd, to have march'd straight up the Hill, they might have been there before them; or had they been drawn up in their camp, & lined the town of Falkirk with Musketeers, the Highland Armie in either of these cases would have had a bad chance, espescally as the night proved so stormy. If, upon their retreat after the Batle, they had put two or three Regements in the Town of Falkirk, the Highlanders could not have attempted it; considering their situation, & the greate Rains, they must have sought shelter somewhere.

Upon the whole, the Best of the Highland officers, whilst they remain'd at Falkirk after the Batle, talking of the affair, were absolutly convinced that except they could atact the enemy at very considerable advantage, either by surprise, or by some strong situation of ground, or a narrow pass, they could not expect any great success, espescially if their numbers were any ways equall; and that a body of Regular Troups was absolutly necessary to support them when they should at any time go in "sword in hand," for they were sensible that, without more leasure and tim, then they could expect to have, to desepline their men, it would not be possible to make them keep their Ranks, or rally soon anough upon any sudden imergency, so that any small number of the enemy, either keeping in a body when they were in confusion, or rallying soon, would deprive them of a victory, even after they had done their best.

This account of the battle of Falkirk was not written till after the campaign was concluded.

In a manuscript in the possession of Colonel Macdonald of Glenaladale, entitled "A Vindication of the Conduct of Lord

George Murray," dated 19th March 1795, which was written by Alexander MacNab¹ in Inishewen, Glen Dochart, who served as a captain in Keppoch's Regiment in the '45, he states :—

"At the Battle of Falkirk he showed both courage and good conduct, being placed in the right wing, standing himself in the front line, he put his wig in his pocket, and *scrogging* his bonnet, gave orders not to fire till the Dragoons had fired first, as they made several attempts to make us discharge first. This I was eyewitness to, being placed at a small distance from his Lordship, where John Roy Stewart and Mr Oliphant of Gask stood beside him. The Dragoons being broke by our fire, and a great number killed, as they were so near, the Highlanders threw away their guns to attack them sword in hand, when Lord George sent Mr Oliphant, his aide de camp, ordering the men to take up their guns and charge² immediately, as he supposed the infantry to be nigh to the Dragoons, as there was a small eminence that intercepted our view, and would be ready to receive us with their fire, but he could not prevail with the common soldiers from rushing forward and meeting the Glasgow Militia behind the Dragoons, as he at first judiciously suspected.

After the battle General Hawley fled with most of his army to Linlithgow, where they rested that night, and the following day retreated to Edinburgh.

*Lieutenant-General Hawley to His Royal Highness
the Duke of Cumberland.*³

LITHGOW, *Janv* 17, 1746.

Sir,—My heart is broke. I can't say we are quite beat today, but our left is beat, and their left is beat. We had enough to beat them, for we had 2000 men more than they, But such a scandalous cowardice I never saw before. The whole second line of Foot ran away without firing a shot. Three squadrons did well, the others as usual.

The Dragoons were all on the left. I was beat with them, the Brigade

¹ He died at Borrodale in 1809.

² *i.e.*, load.

³ Record Office, London.

upon the left of the first line, and all the second line, and the Glasgow Regiment, &c, which made an elbow, or "coude," for show.

Major-General Huske's people beat their left wing, and made a handsome retreat with two squadrons of Cobham's Dragoons, But at the very beginning all the Horses of the Artillery ran away.

They pushed upon their right to slip between us and Edinburgh by trying to gain our right flank, and as after the affair was over, and all the country assured me they were making for Edinburgh to cut us [off], when we came back to our Camp, and struck all our Tents that we had horses left to load, I retreated at night hither. I got off but 3 cannon of the 10. By guess I think there was not above 1000 shot fired on each side. I don't think there is much above 300 men killed. There are some Officers kill'd, but being just come in with the rear, I must beg leave to refer your R:H: to my next for particulars. I must say one thing, that every officer did their duty, and what was in the power of man, in trying to stop and rally the men, and they led them on with as good a countenance, till a Halloo began, before a single shot was fired, and at 500 yards distance: Then I own I began to give it over. I only beg leave to acquaint your R.H. that we were neither surprised nor attack'd. We met them half way, and rather attack'd them, tho' they were still in motion.

Pardon me, Sir, that you have no more this time from the most unhappy, but most faithfull and most dutifull your R:H: has,

H. HAWLEY.

Three or four days after the battle of Falkirk, General Hawley forwarded the following list of casualties¹ in his army to the Duke of Newcastle, but stated that it was not yet complete, as he heard that many of the missing of the Royal and Battereau's (Blakeney's?) had joined the rebels, but that Lord George Murray was to send him a roll of prisoners in his hands as soon as he could. No missing are returned for the two regiments mentioned, and the Glasgow Regiment and Argyll Militia are omitted altogether. Doubtless many of those returned as missing were among the slain:—

¹ Record Office, London.

| | Field Officers. | | | Captains. | | | Sub-alterns. | | | Staff. | | | Sergeants. | | | Rank and File. | | | Total. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------|----------|-----------|----------|----------|--------------|----------|----------|---------|----------|----------|------------|----------|----------|----------------|----------|----------|--------|
| | Killed. | Wounded. | Missing. | Killed. | Wounded. | Missing. | Killed. | Wounded. | Missing. | Killed. | Wounded. | Missing. | Killed. | Wounded. | Missing. | Killed. | Wounded. | Missing. | |
| Royal (1st) | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 6 | I | ? | 10 |
| Howard's (3rd) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | ... | 12 | 14 |
| Barrel's (4th) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | 11 | 12 |
| Woolfe's (8th) | ... | ... | ... | 5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | 5 | 9 | 20 |
| Pulteney's (13th) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | 3 | 10 |
| Price's (14th) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | 2 | 31 |
| Blackeney's (27th) | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | ... | ... | 39 | ... | ? | 45 |
| Cholmondeley's (34th) | I | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | 9 | 7 | 19 |
| Fleming's (36th) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 7 |
| Munro's (37th) | 2 | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 11 | 11 |
| Ligonier's (48th) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | I | 5 | 11 |
| Battereau's (62nd) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 2 | ... | ... | 35 |
| Infantry Total . . . | 3 | ... | I | 11 | I | ... | I | 2 | ... | I | ... | ... | 2 | I | 3 | 56 | 45 | 172 | 299 |
| Lord Cobham's (10th) | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | ... | ... | ... | 3 | ... | ... | ... | 11 | 11 | 18 |
| Ligonier's (13th) | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | I | ... | I | 15 | 28 | 52 |
| Hamilton's (14th) | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... | 4 | 60 | 68 |
| Cavalry Total . . . | I | I | ... | ... | ... | ... | I | 5 | I | ... | ... | 2 | 4 | I | I | 12 | 30 | 106 | 165 |
| Grand Total . . . | 4 | I | I | 11 | I | ... | I | 3 | 5 | 2 | ... | 2 | 6 | 2 | 4 | 68 | 75 | 278 | 464 |

In Andrew Henderson's "History of the Rebellion" (a work written entirely in favour of the Government), Hawley's loss is stated to have been 200 killed, and the following list of officers who lost their lives is given:—

| | | |
|----------------------|--------|--------------------------------------|
| Ligonier's Dragoons | (13th) | Lieut.-Colonel Whitney. ¹ |
| " | " | Cornet Monk. |
| " | " | " Crow. |
| Hamilton's Dragoons | (14th) | " Smith. |
| Howard's Regiment | (3rd) | Captain Osrepo. |
| " | " | " Hacker. |
| Woolfe's Regiment | (8th) | " Dalton. |
| " | " | " Goring. |
| " | " | " Hamilton. |
| " | " | " Lauder. |
| " | " | " Hale. |
| " | " | Lieutenant Hickson. |
| Blackeney's Regiment | (27th) | Captain Todd. |
| " | " | " Kellet. |
| " | " | " Dalrymple. |

¹ Colonel Whitney was wounded at Prestonpans, but made his escape.

| | | | |
|-------------------------|--------|----------------|---|
| Blackeney's Regiment | (27th) | Captain | Edmonson. |
| " | | Lieutenant | Fairfield. |
| Cholmondeley's Regiment | (34th) | Lieut.-Colonel | Powell. |
| Munro's Regiment | (37th) | Colonel | Sir Robert Munro of Fowlis. ¹ |
| " | | Lieut.-Colonel | Biggar. |
| " | | Captain | Hall. |
| " | | " | Wetherall. |
| " | | Surgeon | Munro. |

In addition to the above, Captain Saunderson of Battereau's (62nd) died in Stirling on February 10 of wounds received at the battle of Falkirk (*Scots Magazine*).

Henderson states that 200 men were taken prisoners, with some officers, amongst whom were Lieutenant George Cumming (14th Dragoons), son of Altyre, and Captain Fitzgerald (regiment not stated), the other officers being, for the most part, militia and volunteers. (the three cavalry subalterns, two captains in Howard's, and the lieutenant in Woolf's are not mentioned in Hawley's return). *Major Lockhart, 34th Regt, was taken prisoner.*

The Prince's army lost² about forty killed, including three captains and four subalterns. The only names known are—

Captain Alexander Farquharson of Achindryne, Balmoral's Battalion.
Robert Grant, son of Sheuglie, an officer in Glengarry's Regiment.

The wounded amounted to about eighty, amongst whom the only officers' names known are—

| | | | |
|----------|-----------|--|--------------------------|
| Colonel | Lord John | Drummond | French Service. |
| " | Donald | Cameron, younger of Lochiel | Lochiel's Regiment. |
| Doctor | Archibald | Cameron, his brother | do. |
| Lt.-Col. | James | Farquharson ³ of Balmoral | Farquharson's. |
| Captain | Alexander | Shaw Auchaven | Lord Ogilvie's Regiment. |

One officer was taken prisoner by Hawley's army—

Major Donald McDonell⁴ of Tir'n drish, Keppoch's Regiment.

¹ Sir Robert Munro had just been promoted from the 43rd Highlanders. When his men fled he stood his ground, and was attacked by six Highlanders, two of whom he killed with his half pike; a seventh, "Calum na Ciabhaig MacGregor" (Malcolm of the Ringlet), came up and shot him. Sir Robert's brother Duncan (the surgeon) came to his assistance, and was also slain.

² An officer of the Macphersons stated the loss of his regiment at Falkirk to have been one lieutenant, two privates killed, and ten privates wounded.

³ Balmoral was wounded early, but is said to have insisted on being carried by four men at the head of his regiment when they charged the enemy.

⁴ Afterwards executed at Carlisle, October 18.

*Lord George Murray to Lady George.*FALKIRK, 18 Jan^r 1746.

Dearest Life,—The Bounty of the Almighty is infinite, & nobody has so much cause as I to have a greatfull sence of his mercy.

We have gott a most compleat victory; cannon, stores, camp, tents, &c, all ours, and the enemy made the most confus'd retreat that could possiblie bee seen.

Night comming on hinder'd the uter slaughter of the enemy; we were in this town before they gott all off.

We have many arms taken, but few prisoners, & not a great many dead.

On our side few kill'd, a Brother of Locheal's¹ mortally wounded.

Adieu.

It is said if Lord George could have been evry where the affair would have been finish'd.

*Hon. Robert Mercer of Aldie to Duke William.*FALKIRK, Jan^{ry} 18th, 1746.

My L^d Duke,—Just after I left y^r Gr/ I heard there was a probability of our having an action with the enemy, which made me returne; and God be thanked the Prince has gained a very compleat one last night, which woud have been still greater had we have had light to have seen where the enemy retired, which we now understand was with the outmost precipitation, the Horse to Hadington, & the Foot first to Linlithgow, & since we know not. Some prisoners were taken within a mile of it. Canon, tents, Amunition, Provisions, Prisoners, &c are taken; and this day it appears a great number of Field Officers are killed on the spot.

Lord George gained new Laurels, & the Atholl men behaved very well, except not rallying to pursue the enemy; none of them is wounded, except one of Cusen Fraiser's.²

I acted only as a Volunteer, as y^r Grace desired I should take no command; I could not comprehend the reason of sutch a Desire, till

¹ He recovered from his wound, but was apprehended in 1753, and executed in London.

² This must be Hugh Fraser, son of Fraserdale and great-grandson of the Marquis of Atholl. He probably had a company in the Atholl Brigade, but is only mentioned on this occasion.

within a few days I heard I have been most vilonously asspersed without the least foundation. I would have expected from y^r Gr/s usual Justice to have tolde me what was said of me, and heard me before you condemned; and I realy imputed to a young man's ambition what I am tolde I owe to one incapable of reproof, tho' most egregiously in the wrong, but I shall advise y^r Gr/ not to condemn him either till we are face to face, & I am very mutch y^r Gr/s ob^t humble Servant
RO: MERCER.

This goes by Thomas Fraiser, whom y^r Gr/ will find the most usefull man to inform you of every one man in Atholl fit for bearing arms. I can get no better paper.¹

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

FALKIRK, 18th Jan^r 1746.

D^r Brother,—It is with great pleasure I can acquaint you that H:R:H: has obtained a totall Victory over his Enemys; yesterday twixt three and four it began: It was on Falkirk Moor, and by reason of the unevenness of the ground, the one wing did not know what passed on the other, and night comming on, it was not possible to rally our men, and pursue so quick as should have been. However we got into Falkirk before they were quite out of it.

We have about 300 Prisoners, eight pieces of Cannon, & all their Tents, above a thousand. In short, had others been so soon rally'd (after beating their first onsett) as the Athollmen, scarse a man on their side had escap'd; as it is, 500 are kil'd.

For God's sake send up our Recrutes.

Yours,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

Lord George Murray to Duke William (extract).

FALKIRK, 21st Jan^y [1746].

My compliments to the Doctor;² tell him I have gott such a chest of Instruments & two of Drugs, that he has not seen the like; they belonged to the Surgone Major.¹

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² Dr. Colville.

*Lord George Murray to Lady George (extract).*FALKIRK, 21 Jan^r 1746.

Dearest Life,— . . . I now send you a more full account of the Battle, which cause double, & send with the inclos'd letter to my Brother.

As to what you mention, I shall tell you frankly that had things gone wrong I would not wisht to have survived, because I imagin'd by that means my Familie would have been sav'd. But since you insist upon it, such charms is in your perswasion, I promise from hense forward to take all the prouidentiall care of myself you can wish, tho' we must both be sensible that providence is more carefull then all Human foresight, & always orders evry thing for the best, withere Life or Death.

*Lord George Murray to Lady George.*FALKIRK, 22^d Jan^r 1746, 9 at night.

When I have a moment of time I can never imploy it so agreeably to myself as writeing to my Dear Friend.

We hear from Ed^r, by severalls come from it this day, that our Enemy's are in the greatest confusion, & quareling amongst themselves, holding court martials to try their officers, to thro' the blame off the commanders.

A most unfortunat accident hapned here two days after the action; Colonel Angus Macdonell, Glengarry's son, who was a modest, brave, & advisable lad, was mortally wounded by an accidentall shott of a miserable fellow of Clanranald Regement out of a window upon the street, of which he died this day, vastly regreated; it is more loss to us then all we suffer'd at the Batle.

The accounts sent to France put me quite out of countenance; my name is almost in evry paragraff. The French Minister & the Irish Officers make trou french compliments.

One thing I can say, there was not a moment lost, no time for consultation, but the disposition made without hesetation & the atact in the same manner, & to tell the truth I had little assistance, for the time would not allow it.

I can say another thing, that since I join'd I never disobligh'd any persone except by telling my mind too frankly, & sometimes with some

warmth, but that only when the service requir'd it; & I believe my opinion was mostly found right at the long run, & always aprov'd off by the officers that are regarded & of most weight.

As to what I gave you a hint off, that I had some proposall which might prove for my own & one of my son's Interest, I shall soon write you about it, if it go on; it is an honorable & safe retreat if things should miscarry, & if I live. If I be in Love with Life, it is only owing to my Love of my Dear Amilie & nothing else; Otherways I should not wish to survive a defeat. Adieu.

My blessing to your young Folks.

After reading over my letter, I'm displeas'd to have said so much upon my own subject, & I would have burnt it, but had not time to write another. Farewell.

Spalding of Ashintully to Duke William.

ASHEN: Jan^y 22^d, 1746.

My L^d Duke,—I beg y^r Gr/ will be pleased to receive a complent, &^c. Ever since I went to England I could not have a billet once in ten days, altho' unwell, as I informed y^r Gr/ while in Glasco, and I demanded a foreloof, which, as Major Ro'son¹ told me, I would have how soon we advanced the length of Stirling; when I came there, I sent to the Major to know if I could have one, but received no answer untill Rob: Stewart the agitant robed me of my pay, as I refused to deliver it out of my hand. I know [no] reason for this, seeing I attended and did my duty while I had a man under my command of my own; I may say I had non after ther was an oy^r joined with me, for at any time I could not have a servant, altho' oy^{rs} had two, who did no duty and were mostly my men. My L^d George desired me to march before y^e small number of my own remaining: Fascalie desired me to march with Solrie, and Solrie desired me to march in the rier with his Lieutenant: This disobliged me, but this y^r Gr/ knew nought of.

My men was and is willing to follow me, & I am willing to serve the Prince; I am now, (as I got neither Liewtenant or Ensient to assist me, which, with the advices they got, as y^e men tells me, had [been] y^e occa-

¹ Blairfettie.

sion of their deserting, together with double duty,) resolved to place all officers myself, as I have relations of my own who will be as obedient as any y^r Gr/ has ; but I hope y^r Gr/ will send me y^e money that was taken out of my pocket, and an oy^r week's pay, seeing I stay'd and borrowed untill I got my expences in loan from such as came along with me : It is conterary to y^e Prince's Manifesto to refuse me a commission, as I had one from y^e Usurper, besides y^e men I brought along, and is a thing y^r Gr/ would never have consented too, altho' I had not got a letter, by his Highnesses orders, from y^e Secretary, assureing me of his favour.

I expect y^r Gr/ will honour me with an answer, and am, with the greatest respect, my L^d Duke,

Y^r Gr/s most ob^t and obliged Ser.

DAN: SPALDING.¹

*Captain Robertson of Easter Bleaton to Colonel Robertson
of Drumachine.*

BLEATON, 23rd Jan^r 1746.

Honrd Sir,—I have intimate my L^d Duke's orders throw all the corners of this country, but notwithstanding of my endeavors to raise the men in ane amicable way, yet I find it will be imposible to accomplish it without a party, and the name of a party of Boun Rannach men would do much to bring them to meashures ; I have therefore sent this bearer express, desireing you will immediatly, without loss of time, send east to Kirkmichell 25 or 30 men and ane officer, such as you shall think most proper, where I shall waite of, and employ them ag^t the refractory, and for gathering up the whole arms can be found in the country. I find it will be impossible to raise a man out of every mark-land, because there are severall ten mark lands in this country that there are not 5 men living upon the ground, and some of these not sufficient for carying arms, and where they are not they cannot be raised ; however, I shall doe my utermost to raise every sufficient man for arms upon the grounds, but I am affraid it cannot be accomplished before the latter end of next week, even tho' the party were here already.

I understand that there is 3 q^{rs} excise due in the parish of Kirkmichell, so if you please to send me a commision for uplifting the same, I shall

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

doe it and make comte to you, to be applyed to H.R.H.'s use as you think proper.

If you have got any further particulars of the Batle, pray be so good as let me heare them.

I am, H: Sr,

Your most ob^t humble Servant,

DAVID ROBERTSON.¹

Duke James left London about this time and set out for the North. Baron Maule wrote after him, sending the latest accounts of the battle that they had received in town.

Mr. John Maule to Duke James.

LONDON, 23 Jan^{ry} 1746.

My Lord,— . . . Our accounts hitherto, notwithstanding of an express (since y^e first) dated on Sunday last, has been very generall, & is, in short, that y^e Rebels upon friday last marched out of Stirling, came by Dunipace towards Falkirk.

Hawly's army drew up benorth y^e wood of Callendar (I believe it has been upon y^e muir where y^e Falkirk Tryst holds). The Rebels, after 3 or 4 motions just like what they practised at Preston, attacked w^t great rapidity the left wing of Hawly's army, where the Runnaway Dragoons of Hamilton & Ligonier were, who covered the Artillery, who immediately took to y^r heels in y^r ordinary method; upon which the Rebels fell upon y^e flank of y^e foot y^t composed y^e left wing, who followed the Dragoons' example. Hawly & y^e rest of y^e officers tryed once & again to rally them, but to no purpose. Huske, who commanded the right wing, stood in good order. A Battⁿ of y^e Royall march't up to y^e Rebels, and never lifted their musquets from their shoulders. Barrel's & Ligonier's foot distinguished y^mselves particularly also, drove back y^e Rebels' left wing, remained masters of y^e field, & covered y^e retreat of y^e rest of y^e army. But I think, upon y^e whole, our army has got y^e worst, because they were oblidge to retire to Lithgow & leave 7 of their cannon & some of their baggage.

The Rebels retired also to Stirling. In short, Hawly writes never

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

was such shamefull cowardice in our common men, the most of y^m having fled w^tout firing a gun or waiting for y^e enemy ; & tho' y^e engagement was of y^e whole Army, we have only lost about 300 men. Colonel Whitney is killed, & Sir Robert Monroe killed or taken Prisoner. It's thought y^e Rebels have lost double y^e number, amongst those a brother of Lochiel's, & it's said Both L^d Perth & his Brother are wounded. Our artillery never fired, & y^e Engineers went off at y^e first. L^t Colonels Powel & Biggar are killed, and 4 Capt:s of Wolf's. Hussar Lockhart is taken.

By y^e intelligence from y^e last express, L^d Tullibarden is gone to Blair, & in his way took L^d Monzie prisoner & carried him w^t him.

A plot was laid to rescue our prisoners who were taken at Preston, & who were at Glammiss, Forfar, & Leslie, which has succeeded. A Baillie of Dundee, assisted by y^e Angus folks, put it in execution, and 30 of our officers were brought off, & are now at Edin^r. Four officers were away upon y^r Paroles, so have not had their share of this piece of luck.

It's said that the Argyllshire men under young Jack Campbell, who came to Hawly's army y^e night before y^e action, behaved well, as did y^e Glasgow Volunteers under Home ; but we have very uncertain particulars of anything as yet.

H: R: H: y^e Duke goes to Scotland next week ; Mark Ker's Dragoons, w^t Bland and St George's are ordered there, but I'm convinced there will be a second action before they can arrive. Semple's & Jack Campbell's Regiments are now at Edinburgh. This is all the news I have to send you. Complements from all at y^e Library. Complements to y^r fellow traveller. Adeui.

The Prince to Lord George Murray.

BANNOCKBURN, Jan: y^e 23^d, 1746.

I was just ready to get on horseback in order to make you a visit, but have been over persuaded to let it alone by people who are continually teasing me with my cold ; but this wou'd not have done had I not considered that it wou'd not be possible to draw out any Troops such a day as this, and I intended to have seen Glengary's Regiment, of which I

intend always to take a particular care. If the weather be tolerable tomorrow I will certainly be with you. In y^e mean time I have sent you two of my Aide de Camps, either of which you may send back upon any emergency, but by very good intelligence w^{ch} I received last night from Edinburgh there is no appearance of the enemie's moving this way.

I am your sincere friend,

CHARLES, P.R.

January 23, 1746.—Lady George Murray was confined of a daughter at Tullibardine, who was christened Katherine.

Robert Steuart, Younger of Ballechin, to Colonel Robertson of Drumachine.

LAIGH OF CLUNEY, 24 Jan^{ry} 1746.

D^r Sir,—I received yours this evening, and yesterday morning I came from Blair in order to meet with the Duke's property, as they appointed the day before, and none of them compeared, and I see there's no doing with them without a party.

I came this morning to Killiechassie; he promised to come with his men tomorrow morning, and I design to carry clean before me down Strathtay, and to go with the Strathtay men down to Tullimet and the Bishoprig, and so on thro' the rest of my district.

Nobody knows what it is to raise men but he that trys it; not so much as one of the Gentlemen brought their men, but oblidged me to go myself to raise them.

And I am, with compliments to y^r Lady and Family, Sir,

Y^r most humble Servant,

ROBERT STEUART.¹

The Prince to Lord George Murray.

BANNOCKBURN, Jan: y^e 24th, 1746.

I hope you are persuaded that it was much less the regard to my helth than the other reasons I gave you, and which still continue, that hinder'd my going to Falkirk; besides, I did not reflect when I promised to come

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

to day that it was the Fret, tho' I think what happened this day seven-night might have cured our men of that maggot.

I wonder that the officers and soldiers shou'd not understand their duty better than to absent themselves without leave from me or you. I have sent again and again into Stirling to hasten back to you as many of them as may be there. I desire you woud signify to every body concern'd that I expect they shou'd exactly comply with this so necessary a part of Military Disciplin. What I continually hear from Edinburgh confirms me in the opinion I was of when I writ to you last, which makes me conclude that you may yet for a while spare the Athol Brigade, which is absolutly necessary for the blocking up of the Castle. I shall give the necessary orders for the distribution of the things you desire, but I understand this cannot be done without the presence of Mr Jackson, who is with you.

You need make no apologies for troubling me with any thing that you think for the good of the service.

I only wish the orders I shall give in consequence of them may be well complied with.

I am yr assured Friend,

CHARLES, P.R.

The Prince to Lord George Murray.

BANNOCKBURN, *Jan^y 3^d 25th, 1746.*

I have already told you that it was not so much the care of my health, which I thank God grows daily better, that keeps me here, as the badness of the weather & roads which makes it impossible to review the Troops with you, and wou'd too much fatigue the Horse I shou'd be obliged to carry with me.

If the Athol men were not absolutely necessary to form the Blockade I shou'd not be for keeping them here. When the Recruits come up I shall dispose of them in the manner you desire, tho' I hope by that time the Castle may be taken.

I wish with all my heart, as you do, that the siege cou'd be quickened, & am continually giving orders about it. I am glad to find you of the same opinion in which the repeated accounts from Edinburgh confirm me.

Yr assured Friend

CHARLES, P.R.

*Mr. Maule to Duke James (extract).*LONDON, Jan^y 25, 1746.

. . . . Y^r Gr/ will be glad to learn that young Jack w^t y^e Argyllshire men came in time to joyn w^t Hawly before y^e action.

Home and his Glasgow People did as well as could be wish't, and when y^e Dragoons broke in amongst y^m gave them a fire and brought down some of these Rascalls.

Home writes me he had a contusion in y^e knee w^t a bullet, which made him lame for a day or two, but y^t he was well again.

Adeui my Dear Lord. My complements to S^r Patie.

Y^r Slave, &c.

*Viscount Strathallan to Duke William.*PERTH, Jan^y 27, 1746.

My Lord,—I had the honour of a letter from H:R:H: the Prince of Wales, dated the 24th curt:, in which H: H: desires that the Garrison here of L^d Lewes Gordon's men should be sent up, and that it should be replaced by Athollmen from y^r Gr/. This is therefore desiring that a hunder and fifty men may be sent as soon as may be, with proper officers. The reason I desire this number, tho' the Prince only allowed 100 to be in garison, is that they cannot be supported with pay if we get not men to goe in partys thro' this shire and that of Fyfe, for leavieing both land tax and excise.

It's certain 100 is to smal a garison for this place, in which is 16 piece of Cannon, a great Magazine, powder and ball, and about eighty prisoners, and a most disaffected set of villans, both in Town and country.

I hope y^r Gr/ will send us of the best men, with arms and sufficient officers, which will much oblige.

I am, with great truth and esteem, My Lord,

Y^r Gr/s most faithfull and most obed^t humble Servant,

STRATHALLAN.

P.S.—Gregor Murray is here with thirty men.¹

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

*Lord George Murray to Duke William.*FALKIRK, 27th Jan^y 1746.

D^r Brother,—I am quite dispirited by y^r men's going off and deserting their coullers; For God's sake make examples or we shall be undone.

This goes by Fincastle, whoes men are all off; I hope he will be as expeditious as possible.

We had a review here this day and made a fine appearance; it was only those of our first line that were in the last Batle.

The enemy say they will be soon with us again.

D^r Bro: Y^r most aff^t Brother & faithfull humble Ser^t

GEORGE MURRAY.

P.S.—These are desiring Captain Stewart to goe in all heast to bring up his men.

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

*Duke William to Lord George Murray (extracts).*BLAIR CASTLE, 27 Jan^y 1746.

God knows what dilatory and imposing evasions one has to struggle with amongst a multitude of refractory people in these parts, but now hopes, tho' with unspeakable difficulty, Faskeily and Ballechin will at last be able to bring up a considerable recruit of men who have not as yet appeared, with the deserters, who could not hitherto be sent separately in small numbers. . . . This goes by our good friend Faskeily.

Ballechin has got a handsome Gun for the Prince, which was found with some others our unnatural Brother James was at pains to get hid in a coal house at Dunkeld.

I almost forgot to tell you that our good friend D^r Colvill thanks you for your remembrance of him, and what regards the chest of Instruments and Medicines, for which he returns you his hearty service.¹

*The Prince to Duke William.*BANNOCKBURN, Jan^y 28, 1746.

Having received repeated intelligence that the ennemy are again preparing to march towards us, this is to require of you to hasten up all the men you can possibly send me without a moment's loss of time, for the thing presses and will in all appearance decide the fate of Scotland.

Your sincere friend,

CHARLES, P.R.²

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² Blair Drummond Papers, Book of Menteith.

See Adolenda, pp. x1-x1111.

Lieutenant-General Hawley to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland¹ (extract).

EDINBURGH, Jan^y 29, 1746.

Part of Lord Mark Kerr's Regiment are come to Kelso. I must bring them up, for as for Ligonier's and Hamilton's they are quite cowed. Cobham's I hope will do.

Sir, there is three of our deserters, taken on board the privateer, hanged. There is fourteen more of them; may I beg leave to aske shall they all be hanged?

There is one of Hamilton's hanged for deserting to the Rebels. There is two of our foot to be shot for cowardice, running in here before they stopt. There is none of the Dragoons tryed yet for the same crime, or worse.

At this period the following representation was made to Prince Charles by some of the principal officers of the Highland army :—

Copy of what was presented to His Royal Highness as the opinion of the Officers at Falkirk, 29th January 1746.

We think it our duty in this critical juncture to lay our opinions in the most respectful manner before y^r R: H:

We are certain that a vast number of the soldiers of y^r R: H:'s army are gone home since the Battle of Falkirk; and, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they find that this evil is increasing hourly, and not in their power to prevent: and as we are afraid Stirling Castle cannot be taken as soon as was expected, if the enemy march before it should fall into y^r R: H:'s hands we dread the most fatal consequences. If y^r R: H: should risque a Battle and Stirling Castle not in your hands, we can forsee nothing but utter destruction to the few that will remain, considering the inequality of our numbers to that of the enemy.

For these reasons we are humbly of opinion, that there is no way to extricate y^r R: H: and those who remain with you out of the most imminent danger, but by retiring immediately to the Highlands, where we

¹ Record Office, London.

can be usefully employed the remainder of this winter, by taking and mastering the Forts in the North; and we are morally sure we can keep as many men together as will answer this end, and hinder the enemy from following us in the mountains at this season of the year, and in the spring we doubt not but an army of ten thousand effective Highlanders can be brought together, and follow y^r R: H: wherever you think proper. This will certainly disconcert your enemies, and cannot but be approved of by y^r R: H:'s friends both at home and abroad.

If a landing should happen in the mean time, the Highlanders would immediately rise, either to join them or make a powerful diversion elsewhere.

The hard marches which your army have undergone, the winter season, and now the inclemency of the weather, cannot fail of making this measure approved of by y^r R: H:'s allies abroad as well as your faithful adherents at home. The greatest difficulty that occurs to us is the saving of the Artillery, particularly the heavy Cannon; but better some of these were thrown into the Forth as that y^r R: H:, besides the danger of your own person, should risque the flower of your army, which we apprehend must inevitably be the case if this retreat be not agreed to, and gone about without the loss of one moment. And we think it would be the highest imprudence to risque the whole on so unequal a chance, when there is such hopes of succours from abroad, besides the resources y^r R: H: will have from your faithful and dutiful followers at home.

It is but just now that we are appriz'd of the numbers of our own people that are gone off, besides the many sick that are in no condition to fight, and we offer this our opinion with the more freedom, that we are perswaded that y^r R: H: can never doubt of the uprightness of our intentions.

No body is privy to this address to y^r R:H: except the subscribers, and we beg leave to assure y^r R: H: that it is with great concern and reluctancy that we find ourselves obliged to declare our sentiments in so dangerous a situation, which nothing could have prevail'd with us to have done but the unhappy going off of so many of our men.

| | | |
|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Signed by L ^p GEO: MURRAY. | CLUNIE M ^c PERSON. | ARDSHIEL. |
| LOCHIEL. | CLANRONALD. | LOCHGARRY & SCOTUS. |
| KEPPOCH. | MAST ^r OF LOVAT. | GLENGYLE. |

*Lord George Murray to Lady George.*FALKIRK, 29th Jan^r 1746.

My dearest Friend,—It is a great comfort to me to think that my Dearest Life is in so good a way of recovery.

I have all along had but faint hopes of our success, as we have the very worst regulations in all partes of our conduct. You know in parte, but not wholly, what a Burden I have had upon my hands, & often was I resolved to demit & retyre into some corner of the earth, if I could not find a fitt occasion of falling in the field, which was what I most wanted, as I imagin'd to myself by that means to save my Familie from forfetry. But I resign myself wholly to providence, who has indeed most remarkably protected & favour'd me hitherto, and you have prevail'd with me to take a more prouidential care of myself then I have done for some time past ; but God knows what efect that may have, for human prouidence is but folly at best, & when I expos'd my self, I may say rashly, I was safe ; the contrary measures may have a contrary efect. Be all this as it will, I shall endeavour to conform to your advice, as I look upon you as my good genius.

One reason that wegh'd amongst many with me not to give up my Command, was the persuasion I found evry body had (tho' I believe it was being too partiall to me) that I was of absolute use to the Service, and could not be spear'd, add to that I could not leave so many brave men who were Ingag'd in the same botome.

All this besides my duty to my King and country.

I have been the more particular in this as I expect in two or three days we may have another Batle, which will assuredly be more desisive then the last, tho' a more reall Victory cannot be obtean'd.

If you have things that you would secret for a time, you know where we putt the bed cloaths &c on a certain occasion, & I am persuaded you may trust James. . . . O Amilie, gather your strenth soon & be prepeard for good or ill fortune. I have wrote you formerly evry thing I could think of about the children, whom God Bless.

Once more remember the Virtue I have most recommended to you, Fortitude ; with the posession of that & those you have, nothing can hurt or discompose you. Let evry thing be done for the best, & then happen

what will, our mind will be at ease. I am persuaded the French will now attempt a landing in Inland, but will it come in time ?

Adieu, my Life & Love, yours whilest

GEORGE MURRAY.

Since writeing I have my Dearest's letter by Crawford. I'm afraid you may be the worse of so much fatigue as you must have had in doing it; your Daughter's letter would have sufficed.

I shall now tell you our situation is changed since what I wrote yesterday. Our men are Impatient to be home, & numbers have left us; so we are in an absolut necessity to retyre northwards, & the season hinders the taking of Stirling Castle.

I expect to see you, were it for a moment, in a few days. We will be able to make a stand with those who will abide with us for a winter campagne towards the confines of Atholl, on this side of that country, & are positive in a litle time to bring a much greater Army out of the Highlands than ever. Duke Cumberland came about three this morning to Ed^t. Adieu.

John MacAlaster is not only a thief, but has run off. My Secretary is a little picaro,¹ at least I believe so.

I had almost forgot to tell you that Miss is turn'd, at least in appearance, very fond of the gentleman who was once in sute of her, but he tells me he discovers so many bad qualitys in her that he is (as he says) sick of Love of that kind.

Pray kill Beef & Mutton, & cause rost what can be got; we will have use for all about Creeff or elsewhere.

I have once more had it in my power to do esencially service, which you will know more off at meeting. Take care of yourself & be in good spirats. All may yet be well. fairwell.

Falkirk, 31st Ja^r, 10 at night.

Lord George Murray to Lady George.

(An undated scrap, possibly part of the cover of the foregoing.)

What would I give for a litle rest. I have heard of a person being turn'd into a post horse (by those who believe in transmigration) as the

¹ Rascal.

worst change that could happen. If continow much longer in the way of Life I am in now, a post horse would be an ease to me. But in hopes of your being perfectly recover'd & takeing care of yourself & being always in good spirets, this, I say, with the hopes of a good meeing, makes all sitt light. I go North, & if I can think of any way of leting you hear from me I shall do it.

In the mean time, Believe me, &c.

*Duke William to Captain Thomas Ferguson of Balyoukan and
Captain James Robertson of Killiechangie.*

[BLAIR CASTLE], Jan^y 31, 1746.

Gentlemen,—I have seen some of your Letters to Colonel Robertson, and am extremely surpris'd any of you should be the least refractory or dilatory in going to join our Prince, from whom I had the honour of a Letter this day, ordering me, without loss of time, to send up all the men ought to go out from this country. In obedience to H:R:H:'s commands I have sent off all the men that were ready; and last night I desired Colonel Robertson to order you, after delivering the Prisoners at Dunkeld, to march directly to the Army with your men, tho' you should have but 30 of them. I here again repeat these my orders, which, if readily obeyed as necessarily required, you may easily overtake Faskeily and Ballechin, and go with them to the Camp of our brave countrymen. I therefore expect your immediate compliance as you are friends to honour and honesty, and as you expecte to be esteemed or regarded by ——¹

Lieutenant-Colonel Spalding of Glenkilrie to Hon. George Colville.

GLENKILRIE, 31st Jan^r 1746.

D^r Sir,—I hade the pleashure of 2 or 3 letters from you lately by the Duke of Atholl's orders about the raising of the Strathardle men to go to Perth. Bleaton would have been at Blair Castle some days ago w^t a part of the men, hade not the first orders been countermanded by a mesage from his Gr/ p^r Major Rattray of Corb. Your last letter onley came to my hands this day about 11 o'clock, where Bleaton & some oy^r Gentlemen

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

and I was convincing the men to be sent forward to Perth; & I hope we shall send forward this night the number his Gr/ appoints, & the rest as soon as possible, either voluntarily or by party [as] they can be raised; and I hope the most part will be got raised voluntarily, so that a small party, with what we shall joine to them, will serve to raise the Refractory.

As the Duke of Atholl's command was allways very agreeable to me, so at this Juncture nothing in my pour shall be awanting to serve his Gr/, and the good cause he is engaged in.

As to what you mentioned in one of your former letters w^t respect to my assisting Daniell Spalding, a son of Ashintillie's, & John Spalding, a son of Whitfield's, in raising the men, I have given assistance, and shall continue to do; but as to Daniell Spalding and his accomplice's behaviour and conduct in reasing the men, reather retards than forwards the matter, of which his Gr/ will soon be informed. There are several country gentlemen that have agreed to go along with the men, which I think would be best for keeping the men out, but if any of them does not incline to go, his Gr/ shall be acquanted, that he may appoint oy^r officers in there place.

As to my going to Perth, I never heard a word of it till this day: I must consult both my health and capacity to manage such ane affaire, being ane old man; but so soon as I see all the men here out, I shall waite of his Gr/ at Blair Castle.

I have thoughts to send my son to Perth after the men; tho' he is but young, yet his presence there may be of use to keep the men I am most concerned with together. Please show this to his Gr/ untill I have the honoure of seeing him.

I am, D^r S^r, y^r most faithfull & aff^{at} humble Serv^t,

AN: SPALDING.¹

Captain Robertson of East Bleaton to Duke William.

BLEATOWN, 31st Jan^r 1746.

My Lord Duke,—The bearer, Robert Stewart, came to me yesterday w^t y^r Gr/s orders about marching the men of this Country directly for Perth. I likeways received a Letter from Doctor Colvill w^t the same directions, and that I would sett out w^t them this day; but as (upon y^r

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Gr/s verball commision by Major Rattray, not to come up w^t any part of the men till the whole were ready) I had disperced those I had ready till there would be a party sent to bring up the whole, it will be impossible for me to geather them so as to march this day, but, God willing, I shall sett out tomorrow. But I wish there had been a party sent before I left the country; however, I shall make use of what I have already risen, by way of partie, on the rest of the country till I make out 100; and so soon as I sett out, shall send an exact list of those that marches w^t me, that y^r Gr/ may know how to send up the difficients when the partie comes. There is three or four Gentilmen in this Country that are ready to joyn us by my persuasion; and I wish that any vaccancie among their own countrymen were kept for them, rather than bestowed on strangers like George Scott, as y^r Gr/ has ordered, as it would be the best way to keep out the men to have their own country Gentilmen w^t them.

I hinted in my letters to Drumachine and the Doctor that Ashintullie's naturall son, if he had any power given to him, would spoil the raiseing of his Father's men, for his mother and he takes compliments from some, and others are not willing to follow him, as I most really say he is but a worthless drunken fellow, and, as far as his advise will go, will not allow any to march w^t me untill he be ready, which will not be on heast; he is the only man gives me disturbance, and had it not been for him, I had had a 100 ready ere now. Y^r Gr/ may do in this as ye see proper; I take the freedome to subscribe, w^t veneration and esteem,

Y^r Gr/s most humble & most ob^t Servant,

DAVID ROBERTSON.¹

Mr. Scott, Vintner, Dunkeld, to Hon. G. Colville.

DUNKELD, 1st Feb. 1746.

Hon: Sir,—This serves to acquaint you that the Prisoners that were at Logyreat came here yesterday, and are all lodg'd in our Castle, and the Gentlemen, Sergeants, and Corporals are sent there this day; they went off at Coll: Warren's sight a little after midday. My son is not yet return'd; but a Strathardle man, now here, tells me Bleaton and his men were to be this night at Blairgowrie, and Geordie along with them, but could not tell what number he had got.

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

See Addenda, pp. xliii, xliiv.

I'm sorry to hear from Captain Buchanan that my L^d Duke continues ill of his Rheumatism, and pray God send him a speedy recovery. The Captⁿ offers his complements to you, as all here do.

I am, with all sincerity & regard, D^r Doctor, Y^r most faithful Sv^t,

JA: SCOTT.

2nd about 10.—Before this comes to your hand I hope you'll have a real return to yours I was honoured with about 3 this morning; Captⁿ McEwen was here just now, and proposes to be a piece on his road this night, with 120 Grantully and Strathbran men, and expects a good many more this week. We have yet had no aco^{ts} of George.

This comes by Fintry's servant.¹

Captain Robertson of East Bleaton to Hon. G. Colville.

BLAIRGOWRIE, 1st Feb^y 1746.

Sir,—I send you inclosed, by M^r Scott, a list of all the men that has marched w^t me from our country to Perth; and altho' there is not the number desired, viz. a hundred, yet I believe I may say there are more than any of your Atholl Gentry raised without any sort of a partie. I tried to make the men I first raised serve for a party to raise as many as would complete the number ye desired, but it would not do. It must be strangers that will make out the thing, so I hope y^e will send a partie to bring up the rest effeiring to the merk lands in each ground; for altho' I was obliged, to please them, (or I had gote none at all) to give a kind of avideamus, (which they took as a protection,) that so many of them had sent out a man out of such a ground, ye are to give orders to the officer of the partie not to notice my lines further than they agree to my inclosed list, and to the merk lands in each Gentilman's ground.

I have likeways sent you a list of all those that have men in the campe, so far as I can remember, when I left them. I wait the Duke of Atholl's further orders at Perth, by the bearer, as ye desired, and am, w^t esteem, Sir, your most humble Servant, DAVID ROBERTSON.

P.S.—The protections I left in the country will only construct pro tanto.

I expect some to overtake me this day, that will make out 50, being only 41 men w^t me just now.¹

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Captain George Scott to Hon. G. Colville.

DUNKELD, 1st Febr 1746.

Hon^d Sir,—I had yours of the 30th last this afternoon; I went to Strathardle on Wednesday, and came to Blairgowrie last night w^t the men who went for Perth this day, before I left that place: you have the list inclosed.

You'll cause the partie that goes for that country make diligent search for arms; I am informed there is upwards of a hundred stand of arms in that place; there was not above three muskets and six swords amongst those that went for Perth. Let them be spared no further than the list agrees w^t the merk-lands; they are a stubborn pack and deserves no mercy; there's plenty of men in the country, but will not draw without a party of strangers, which I belive will do.

I cannot say anything concerning our Dunkeld Company, as haveing only come to town this afternoon, but will see you, God willing, on Wednesday.

I hear Capt: M^cKewan is to beat upon Tuesday, and, as he has got the Straithbran men out of Capt: Stewart's Company, I suppose he will be alowed to keep none of the Dunkeld men in his. I intend to be busie amongst them tomorrow.

My Father and all here offer their humble duty to you.

I am, Hon^d Sir, y^r faithful & ob^t Servant,

GEO: SCOTT.

We hear there are a great number of carts comes this day to Perth—Arms, Amunition, Money, &c.

*List of Men that marched with Bleatown from Strathardle,
1st February 1746, and from whom they were sent.*

| | | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. John | M ^c Kenzie | } from Glen Beag. |
| 2. Alex ^r | Aysone | |
| 3. John | Grant | } from Dalhingan. |
| 4. Alex ^r | M ^c Kenzie | |
| 5. Lachlan | M ^c Intosh | } from the ground of Dalmunzie. |
| 6. John | Ferguson | |
| 7. William | Robertson |  | from the Cams. |

| | | | |
|-----|-------------------|------------------------|---|
| 8. | William | M ^c Intosh | from ground of Runavey. |
| 9. | John | Lyon | from the ground of Bruchdearg. |
| 10. | William | Lyon | from the ground of Cray. |
| 11. | Archibald | Grant | from Binzian Beag. |
| 12. | Thomas | Douglas | from Kerrow. |
| 13. | Thomas | Ratray | } from Easter Bleatown. ¹ |
| 14. | Peter | Ferguson | |
| 15. | Thomas | Scott | from Dirnanean. |
| 16. | Andrew | Small | from Dalreoch. |
| 17. | Duncan | Scott | } from Inverchroskie. |
| 18. | Charles | Fraser | |
| 19. | James | M ^c Dougal | from the ground of Cultalonie. |
| 20. | John | Pettrie | } from Stronamuck. |
| 21. | John | Doulich | |
| 22. | Alex ^r | Doulich | from Lair. |
| 23. | John | Campbell | } from Blackcraig. |
| 24. | John | Ferguson | |
| 25. | Patrick | Stewart | } from Dalralzion. |
| 26. | Alex ^r | Fleming | |
| 27. | Malcolm | Reid | from the ground of Straloch. |
| 28. | David | Panton | from the ground of W: Callie. |
| 29. | Walter | Cunnison | from the 6 merk land in Minnach. |
| 30. | John | M ^c Lachlan | from the Baron's ground. |
| 31. | John | Ferguson | } from the ground of Whitefield. |
| 32. | William | Leslie | |
| 33. | Finlay | M ^c Dougal | from Easter Dounie. |
| 34. | James | Falconer | } from Wester Bleaton. |
| 35. | Thomas | Melville | |
| 36. | Angus | M ^c Donald | from Tho ^s Ratray there. |
| 37. | Robert | Ferguson | from the ground of Ashintully. |
| 38. | Alex ^r | M ^c Nab | } from Soilzarie's ground. |
| 39. | Alex ^r | Robertson | |
| 40. | James | Ratray | } from Ennoch. |
| 41. | John | Spalding | |
| 42. | Duncan | M ^c Gregor | from Jas. Robertson in Balachragan. |
| 43. | William | Robson | from Jo. Small in Kirkmichael. ² |

¹ The difficients in that ground lys upon David and Thomas Fleming.

² Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

*Steuart of Ballechin to Hon. G. Colville.*BALLECHIN, 1^{mo} Feb. 1746.

Sir,—This evening, after my sone's goeing off with what men he had gott, I'm informed that he came but litle speed in His Gr/s Barony of Tullimet, and I'm sory I did not know so much of the story before he went off, who I'm confedent was faithfull and true in so far as he cou'd be informed about them; but I'm affraid such as were recommended to inform him (he being an intire stranger to them) has been very unfair in not letting him know a fair state of what men were possessors there.

My informer tells me he was not acquainted, nor ever brought in his sight the best men, and made him believe there were few or no men fit for service in all Tullimet, which made my son very uneasie; and I'm informed there are a parcell of pretty fellows, &c, which is a shame, and Mr Low¹ &c were much to blame.

I'm much vexed about this, it being entrusted to my son, who I'm perswaded, tho' he gott but few men, yet took no sinistrous or unfair ways.

This brings me on to what he told me of a great many of them, their producing Receipts for money paid for men they should have sent out. This indeed is a hard case; but I think it my duty to offer to His G: my humble opinion as to this point, which is, in short, to allow such of the Tennants as paid money what His Gr/ thinks fitt; for, if things goe right, as I hope by God's assistance they will, His Gr/, or any other from whom these Receipts are, will never miss it, and if otherways, as God forbid, no matter of the allowance. So if His Gr/ thinks this proposal right, as I'm informed there might be raised severall pretty fellows, which 'tis a pity to keep att home, providing proper persons be employed that knows the men: they were so cunning, that I'm certainly informed of some old men they brought to my son, who had young sturdie fellows to their sones, but let my son know nothing of it. I hope you'll not make use of my name to none but His Gr/, whose, as ever formerly, I am, and yr most humble & obt^t Servant,

CHARLES STEUART.²¹ John Low, tenant of Balanluig, afterwards killed at Culloden?² Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Colonel Warren to Duke William.*PERTH, 1st Feb^r 1746.

My Lord Duke,—I am greatly concerned to tell you that I find, by a friend of mine just come from the Quarters, that H:R:H: intends a retreat, and that things are ordered to carry all our implem^{ts} to the Hills. The ennemy is greatly increased, and the young man¹ come from London; our battery was dismounted, and a sixteen and 2 twelve brass pounders demolished. I shall tell y^r Gr/ all y^e particulars at meeting, w^{ch} shall be, please God, in 2 or 3 days.

I am in vast hurry, seeing, on my arrival here, orders issued for 200 horses to be ready tomorrow. I shall part this night for Drummond Castle, to confer wth the Duke of Perth, who's come there to order what may be necessary. I shall proceed tomorrow to y^e Quarters, and thence back to y^r Gr/; Heaven grant I may bring you an account of a complete Victory! tho' I doubt our standing the chance of one! This goes by an express M^r Blair and Gourdy send you. They have not been able to raise a farthing; and as the Glenammon men are come back, I have left this moment a written order with Coll: Creighton to march tomorrow for the Quarters wth his eighty men; w^{ch} Lord Strathallan has agreed to, tho' he apprehends Captⁿ Anderson's 40 men and y^e Glenammon 30 men are an insufficient garrison, but I have assured him there will be 50 Strath earl² men here tomorrow night.

I hope y^r Gr/ will excuse the hurry I am in, having so many things to mind, nor paper or time to write y^r Gr/ as I would wish. I entreat what I hear mention may ever be kept secret, as the affair was in that manner disclosed to me; so pray cancell this when read, and let no soul know the contents; I could almost even except my worthy friend D^r Colvill, mais il est prud^t & sage, but it must not appear even on his countenance.

It is needless, I hope, to tell y^r Gr/ how much & how gratefully I am, y^{rs}, &c.

P.S.—I saw the Serjeants leave Dunkeld under a guard before I came away.³

* See vol. v. addenda. xxii.

¹ Duke of Cumberland.

² Strathardle.

³ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

*Duke William to Hon. Robert Mercer (extract).*BLAIR CASTLE, 1st Febr 1746.

. . . . I am sorry to tell you that instead of three or four Regiments which this country should have set out, there is now hardly men enough together to make up one. As for me, did my health permit, I would quit the country intirely, and leave it to the Prince to send who he pleases to use them with the utmost rigour such singularly refractory and chicaneing people deserve; which I find good usage cannot do effectually, to the shame and disgrace of such mean spirited successors, as the former brave people in Atholl have now shown themselves in a most pitiful manner, to their own dishonour, besides the scandalous detriment which the necessary Service of their King and country suffers, by having no valuable regard for posterity, or their own lasting happiness; from which you may easily see of how inconsiderable use you, or any of us can be at present amongst them, when expecting effectually to raise men as formerly, they having lost the ancient unanimous sentiments of our brave honest countrymen. Imagine then if I am not sorry since disabled from saying anything more to the purpose about many of such men of all ranks as ought to be a considerable support & honour to me, as well as to our long distressed & much abused nation.¹

In the meantime Duke James had arrived in Edinburgh from England, in company with the Duke of Cumberland.

January 31.—The English army set out from Edinburgh on their march to the relief of Stirling.

Lord George Murray's account of the Retreat from Falkirk.

On the 29th Jan^r, when the Officers who were at Falkirk (which were all the Clans) had certain advice that the Duke of Cumberland was to march that day, or nixt, from Ed^r, & had strenthen'd his Armie with three new Regements, besides those that had been at the last Batle, & that they allso were inform'd that the sege of Stirling Castle was so far from advancing, that the Batrie, which had been mounted with great

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

trouble & loss of time, was so far from doing hurt to the Castle, that two of the cannon of the Batrie were dismounted that morning by the superior fire from the Castle; they being met together, & taking in to their serious consideration their situation, they drew up a paper, with their humble oppinion to H:R:H; which was subscribed by them all, & by L^d Geo: Murray, who was with them. This representation was imediatly sent to Banukburn; in it they gave their reasons for retreating over the Forth. I must refer to this paper, coppys of which were taken. Besides the going off of so many of the Highlanders, which was the cheif cause of their thinking themselves vastly too weak to fight, they also were sensible that the vast advantages which they had in the leat Batle, such as having come in sight of the enemy by surprise, having the best ground ever Highlanders could have desir'd, & a strong wind with rain in their enemy's face, & evry sircumstance that could have contributed to a totall defeat, yet by not haveing officers to have brought up three Batalions from the second line, or corps de reserve, to face those three of the enemy that outflank'd our left, they lost the opportunity of cutting off their whole Army, which convinced them that they could not expect the same advantages with an Army so much weakned as their's then was. Severalls did believe that there were not so many men gone off as in truth their was; one reason they give for it was that the Clans who were muster'd at Creiff were not 1200 men fewer then they were the day of the Batle of Falkirk. I know that in that muster that was made at Creiff severalls were allow'd as being at some distance, & with the Bagage, so could not atend the muster. But allowing this calculation to be just (which I am perswaded was not), reckoning the other corps which had gone the Perth road, & the rest of the Army that were not muster'd in the same proportion with those that were muster'd, there must in whole been 2400 men fewer in the Army then were before the Batle of Falkirk, & besides there were a considerable number of sick, & so many as had been wounded, which were in this muster, as they had got the lenth of Creiff, but these could have been of no use had their been a Batle; on the contrary, some of the other men must have atended them.

The retreat then being absolutly necessary (at least most people were of that oppinion), the nixt thing to be concider'd was how to make it without loss, and with a good grace; but hear I am sorry to observe, instead of a retreat in good order, it was an absolute flight.

How this hapned I own I am at a loss to account for, but shall tell the plain mater of fact, so far as it is come to my knowlege.

On the 31st Jan^r, when it was certain the enemy were come to Lithgow, L^d George Murray, who had kept the Clans under arms all that day, & had partys of horse & foot, always reconetring, march'd, as was agreed upon, for Banukburn in perfect good order, & left Falkirk in the evening after sun sett, but by partys of horse about Calander he indeavour'd to hinder the enemy from having any accounts of his march, & indeed non of them came to Falkirk that night. The Clans got to Banukburn about nine at night. After supper the maner of the retreat, & the houre they were to be drawn up in line of Batle, & the place, were all agreed upon in H: R: H:'s presence. The place of Ranevous was a feeld to the east of St Ninians, & the houre nine in the morning.

The Duke of Perth, L^d John Drumond, & many of the other officers were at Stirling, with all those who had been imploy'd in the sege of the Castle, with many more.

Mr O'Suliman was order'd to write to the Duke & L^d John, & send an Educamp with it imediatly, that they were to be in readyness betwixt nine & ten in the morning, but not to evacuat Stirling till they receiv'd further orders.

L^d George Murray was to take a detachment of a hundred men out of each Batalion, or so many Regements of the Clans, as should be agreed upon when the whole were drawn up in line of Batle, to have made the rear & the retreat.

When all this was settled, being after midnight, L^d George Murray went to his Quarters, which was a mile off, & ingag'd to have partys of Horse betwixt the Torewood & Caron Water all night, which he had appointed before. After he had left Banukburn he mett with two troupes of the Life Gaurds, who had been patrouling, & they very frankly at his desire agreed to return to the Bridge of Caron near Falkirk, tho' they had been on continuall duty eight & fourty houres before.

At 2 a clock in the morning he sent Coll: Car from Green Yeards to see the diferent patroules were upon their posts & observ'd the directions that were given them, and sent 12 botles of Brandy which he had promis'd, as it was a very coald night, & nothing to be gott where they were. He got intelegence from them evry houre, or two houres at most, the whole night; & some of them who had been the lenth of Falkirk

brought word that non of the enemy were come in there at 2 in the morning. It seems an order was sent from Banukburn, contrary to what had been resolv'd upon, to Stirling to evacuat it by break of day, & H: R: H: left Banukburn very early in the morning, & it seems no care was taken to renevous the army at the place that had been apointed, or any care taken of making a retreat in order, for very soon after daylight the diferent corps, as well those who were quarter'd in the vilages about as those in Stirling, march'd all off in the utmost confusion, & in such hurry they were that, even at Stirling, where any regular troups of H: R: H:'s army was, did not place a gaurd at the port of Stirling, by which they were to retreat, so that the very town's people shut the gait & kept in severalls of the army who had not been apris'd of the retreat in time.

The reason that was given for this was the orders they receiv'd from Banukburn to evacuat the town at day break, nor was there a gaurd placed at the River of Forth below Stirling, where severall boats were kept for a free passage, so that severall people were allso taken at that place, which might have been prevented by a very few men as a gaurd. In short, it was by no means a retreat, but a flight, & the men were going off like so many sheep scatred upon the side of the Hill, or like a broken and flying armie after a defeat & hott pursuit. L^d George Murray had gone at brake of day from his Quarters at Easter Green Yeards to the other Green Yeards where the lining, the shoos, bonets, & wolen cloath (which by some reason not to be accounted for had never been distrebut), to see what method they were taking to secure them things; he found Mr Jackson doing all he could to get the empty cartes loaded, but there were not horses for one in six; as many of the men were got together there far shoos, he desir'd Mr Jackson to give a pice of Cloath or lining to any man that would carry it, for he very well seed that most of them things would be lost, as there were not horse to carry them off. When he was at that place he heard the great noise ocasion'd by the blowing up of the Magazine at the Church of St Ninians, but belivid it was the Firing from the Castle upon our people leaving the town.

Coll: Ker return'd from viseting the out posts, & brought word that there was non of the enemy come to Falkirk.

They then went to the place of Randevous, the surprise they were (in) when they found no-body there cannot but have been very great, &

still more so when they observed at a distance the scaterd men all runing off as iff an enemy were in pursute of them, which they well knew was not the case, having most of the horse at the water of Carron at the time. There was non belonging to the Army at S^t Ninians, but the ruines of the church were seen & many country people gather'd about that place, for it was an houre & a half after it was blowen up.

Coll. Ker went one road, & L^d George Murray another, to see what men they could stop, & to assure them that the enemy were not even come the lenth of Falkirk, for they were now convinced that they had all gone off without knowing a reason.

L^d George Murray came up with the Glengarry Regement, who halted imediatly at his desire; other Batalions were sent to, but they would not stop; He drew up that Regement & made them march a little above the high road, below a place called Murray's wood, & then Faced about to the Castle, where they remain'd three quarters of an houre, but would not be prevail'd upon to return back the lenth of Green Yeards, where they were assur'd they should each man get a pice of cloath, & L^d George Murray told them, to show them that he was certain by the intellegence he had of the enemy that there was no risque, he would go alongst with them & see each get his pice of cloath. They said that it was not right for them to stay so long after the rest of the army, because a body of horse might get in betwixt them & their friends, & so they might be cutt off. However, twenty or thirty of them did go, & got cloath, the others march'd one & folow'd the remainder of the army, who by reason of some narrow steps about two miles west of Stirling were oblig'd to goe slower, carages & other things being in the way.

L^d Geo: Murray was in a concern not to be expressed, & I believe lost his temper upon that occasion, for he had laid down a schame for a very regular retreat & designed to have waited with the rear gaurd near S^t Ninians till evry body had gone off in order, & tho' he had been six houres later then the other parte of the army, he would have been as soon at the place he design'd to have quartered the rear gaurd, as the others could have been at Down & Dumblean, for by crossing the River at the Mills of Crag Forth, which foord he knew, & tho' somewhat deep & stony, yet was better then that of the Frews five miles higher up, & the place he propos'd quartring at was the Bridge of Allen & places ajasent, But being frustrat in his intentions, he rode forwards, & having come up

to Mr O'Sulliman, who was at a bridge with two or three pice of cannon, to which were yok'd a parcell of poor country garons, he ask'd him who had advis'd that flight, for he could call it nothing else, he answer'd that he could not tell. He then ask'd whey they did not aprise him if there was any alteration as to the resolution that was taken when he was present about one a clock in the morning. He excus'd that by the Hurry they were in.

When L^d Geo: Murray came to Lecky, H:R:H: was taking horse after diner to proceed. His Lop. expressed great concern at the manner of the Army's going off, so contrary to what had been agreed upon, & so dishonourable to them. Nixt day, at a councile of war held near Creeff, he intreated, in presence of all the principle officers, that H:R:H: would name who had given so pernicious an advice, for he said that he was afraid they had been betrei'd, for it was worth the Government at London's while to given a hundred thousand pounds to any who would have given such an advice & got it follow'd; But the Prince, who doubtless was perswaded that however advis'd it, had done it reither out of good design, or a mistaken notion, as out of any senistrious vews, declin'd naming any body, & took it upon himself, so there was no more to be said.

I forgot to mention that when L^d Geo: Murray came to S^t Ninians he sent his Educamp to the Horse Gaurds on the other side of the Torewood to call them off, & least any miscarage, he prevail'd afterwards with one or two more to goe for the same purpose.

Had not the retreat from Darby been made in so regular a manner, it might have been thought that the Highlanders must fall into confusion upon a retreat; but I am certain that non of the men nor officers but would have taken it as the post of Honour to have been apointed of the rear gaurd that day, & would have been glad to have been with L^d George Murray on such a Duty; & this much is certain, that all the cannon except the four largest, which were order'd to be nail'd up, would have been saved, for they might have had that whole day without the least hurry or confusion, & the fine brass eght-pounders (which are nine-pounders English) were left, after being brought over the Forth at Frews; had they not been in such hurry and confusion there was not an officer in the army but would have given their own horse reither then they should have been left. Nay, had they gon off in order, I have heard L^d George Murray declare that, if it had been requisit, he would have ingag'd to have

hinder'd the making up of Stirling Bridge for two or three days had he but 1200 men with him.

Had these things been manag'd in this manner, the enemy would have had nothing to have exulted upon, nor would the world have thought it anyways strange that, in such a season of the year, they had rais'd their Sege and nail'd up four pice of Canon, which was the whole loss they could have had. Nay, if right measures had been taken from the 29th January, those four big cannon might also have been sav'd.

The day before the retreat (or flight), that is to say the 31st January, L^d George Murray sent two hundred strong good draught horse from the Carse of Falkirk to S^t Ninians, which were receiv'd by those apointed, but that night they were almost all let slip away.

At Crieff the army was formed into three columns, one, under the Prince, marching into Atholl by Aberfeldy, and another by Dunkeld, whilst the third, under Lord George Murray, went by Perth and Montrose to Aberdeen.

*H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle*¹ (extract).

STIRLING, Feb. 2, 1746.

As soon as I can get the Bridge here mended I shall follow to Perth, & so on whilst they remain in a Body, but when once they are got into their Holes and Hiding-places it will be impossible to follow them in a Body, but whatever number of troops may be thought proper to be left must be for to keep the mouths of the Defiles. Little parties only can be sent in to burn and destroy that nest of Robbers, and orders should be given to kill all that have arms in their houses, as that will now be the only trace of Treason left on their getting back, and indeed I shan't be surpris'd to hear it affirmed that there never was a Rebellion. . . . As to the Dragoons . . . I fear their behaviour has been bad enough, and they are certainly fill'd with Irish papists, but General Hawley, and indeed every body here, speaks much in favour of the officers, that in my humble opinion I wish the men should be drafted to Cape Breton, and only the English Sergeants, Corporals, and Drummers kept, and they would by spring be compleated out of the northern Counties, and till then their horses might be grazed.²

¹ Public Record Office, London.

² See *Addenda*, pp. xlv, xlvj.

*Lord George Murray to Duke William.*PERTH, 4th Feb. 1746.

Dear Brother,—It is very difficult to offer advice at such a juncture; by some fatal mistake a very precipitate retreat was made from Stirling, which encourages our enemies and dispirits our friends. I go with a column by the foot of the mountains northward, and H.R.H. goes by Dalnarcadoch. Gladly would I have had a stand made in Atholl, and offered to do it with 2000 men. I own, in your case, I think if you have two or three hundred men of your own, you might stay at Blair Castle till a very great body of the enemy, (which I suppose would not be in haste,) were in your neighbourhood; and without Cannon nothing could hurt you. The roads near Dunkeld, and the pass of Gillycranky, and some other parts could be so demolished in a few hours that cannon could not pass for several days; At worst you could make your retreat the Hill way to Ruthven, and join your friends without danger, suppose the enemy were very near you. This I think would be honourable for you, and of use to the Service; but it is with great submission I offer my opinion.

I take my battalion with me; you will have L^d Nairn's, and as many of your other men as you can. I ever am, Dear Brother,

Y^r most aff^t Brother & faithful humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

Mr. Scott, Vintner, to Mr. William Fleming (at Blair) (extracts).[DUNKELD], Feb. 4th [1746].

Dear Sir,—Last night I had yours amidst a great throng of very unwelcome guests; our house was then like a beehive, as it is now.

My heart is like to break, but grieved for none so much as my dear Master the Duke, whom God Almighty support and protect. . . . I hope to be soon in a condition to give up my accounts, tho' I'm much afraid of seeing our old neighbour² this very night, of whom I expect little Friendship.

The Duke's house and stables were throng last night, as well as all our town. . . . I just now hear there's a young lass of our place kill'd accidentally by a Highlandman's gun.

Pray destroy this line.¹

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² Probably Commissary Bissett.

The English army had arrived in Stirling on the 1st and 2nd of February; on the 4th, the bridge having been repaired, they continued their march; the van took possession of Perth on the 5th; and the Duke of Cumberland with the main body of the army entered on the following day.

Duke James set out from Edinburgh on the 4th, and was in Perth when the Duke of Cumberland arrived there.

*H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle*¹ (extract).

CRIEFF, Feb 5, 1746.

This day we began marching through some of the Drummond's, Strathallan's and other disaffected persons' estates; I thought fit to let the soldiers a little loose, with proper precautions, that they might have some sweets with all their fatigues.

The old Lady Perth and her daughter are left at Drummond Castle, and I have let them know they had best write to my Lord Perth to release all our officers and soldiers who are prisoners, and who at present, thank God, are but few, else I shall burn and destroy the castle immediately—and I have ordered a subaltern and twenty Dragoons to remain with her till an answer comes to her letter.

I hope His Majesty will approve this proceeding of mine, but I thought it pitty to let this troublesome old woman escape without making some use of her.

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

COUPAR [ANGUS], 5 Feb. 1746, early in the morning.

Dear Brother,—I'm sorry to let you know that there is great desertion amongst your men; had some examples been made at home it might have been prevented.

I shall be glad to hear from you, which you may do by sending thro' Brae of Marr to Aberdeen or Strathbogie. I wish we had made a stand at Crieff, for I scarce think the enemy would have attempted anything this winter had we done so.

I always am, Dear Brother,

Your most aff^t Bro : & y^r most humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.²

¹ Public Record Office, London.

² Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Captain Robertson of Killiechangie to Duke William.

KILLIECHANGIE, 5th Feb. 1746.

May it please your Grace,—In obedience to y^r Gr/s orders I have gather'd together some men, but, hearing of this retreat, they are all dispersed, and the will of man will not carrie them without strangers to raise them, and till further orders from y^r Gr/ I can doe nothing, so I hope your Gr/ will acquaint me how to behave.

I am, your Grace's most obedient and humble Servant,

JA: ROBERTSON.¹

Thursday, February 6.—The Prince arrived at Blair Castle from Castle Menzies.

In the account-book kept by Mr. James Gibb, master of the Prince's household ("Lyon in Mourning"), he mentions that during the time of the Prince's abode at Blair Castle he spent one day in hunting.

Mr. Scott, Vintner, to Hon. G. Colville (extract).

DUNKELD, 6 February 1746.

. . . . I have it from a good hand that a good body of the Enemy lay last night at Crief, and were thought would take the west road.

Cumberland was last night at Perth, and he, Duke James, &c, were to dine this day at Huntingtowre. There has been several platoons heard, q^{ch} 'tis said were made as the forces were pitching their tents on the moor near Nairne this day.

God make all well. Adieu.¹

As a last resource to endeavour to raise men for the cause, Duke William now determined to send out the "Croistarra" or Fire Cross.

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Robertson of Trinafour to Mungo Murray.

DALNACARDOCH, 6 Feb. 1746.

Sir,—I received yours with the Crosstarie and have sent it to my next nightbours, according to the usull way.

I never met with such a confusion as I have this day met with.

I am, Sir, your most humble Servant,

PAT: ROBERTSONE.¹

*Lady George Murray to Duke James.*TULLIBARDIN, 6th Feb. 1746.

My Lord,—Having heard to-day that Your Grace was at Perth, I take the liberty of giving you this trouble to acquaint you that before Lord George went first away he gave me some papers, seal'd up, that he desir'd me not to open till I had his permission.

Amongst them there is a Disposition from him, dated the end of June last, to your Grace of the Furniture of this House, and the other effects about the place, so as to secure to your Grace what he is oweing you of the bygone Rents of this place.

I only got allowance to open these papers by a Letter from him 15th of last month; on which I wou'd imediately have acquainted M^r Archibald Stewart of it, but as I was not then very well made me delay it, & being some days after brought to Bed (soener than I had expected) oblig'd me to put off writing to him till last Saturday.

Enclosed is the £90 bill I formerly mention'd to y^r Gr/, & wou'd have sent the Disposition at the same time, but waits y^r Gr/s order till I know if you incline I shou'd transmit it to yourself or M^r Stewart.

I hope that Lady Jane & Lady Charlot were in good health when y^r Gr/ left their La^{ps}.

I beg & entreat y^r Gr/ will have the goodness to forgive this liberty I have taken; and being in a weakly condition at present, having recover'd but very slowly, I shall say no more but to assure you I ever am, with great regard & respect, My Lord,

Y^r Gr/s most aff^{te} Sister and most humble Servant,

ÆMILIA MURRAY.

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

I hope the young man, that yr Gr/ has shown such extraordinary goodness to, will always exert himself to show his gratitude, and make you the most Dutyful returns lyes in his power for so much kindness to him.

Duke William to Gregor Murray, Coinneachan.

BLAIR CASTLE, 7 Feb^r 1746.

Sir,—Herewith is enclosed a general “Crosstarie” order for raising all the able bodied men in Glenalmond: this order is executing through all Atholl with the utmost exactness & expedition; and providing you have a mind to efface the three different times you have forsook me, you’ll, without loss of time, come here, & bring at least fifty good men with you. I am well assured there are arms for that number in the country, so that I shall reckon you greatly wanting in your duty if you do not bring them all armed.

The bearer being chose out as a trusty expeditious person, this is earnestly requiring of you to get all the accounts & Intelligence you can of the Enemy’s motions, and without loss of Time send it me by this express, which shall ever be remembered to your advantage. After you have made use of the “Crosstarie” order, if you can find a trusty person, pray send it directly to Donald MacLaren,¹ Drover in Balquhiddier, as an answer from me to what James Stewart of Clunes heard of his hearty Disposition towards our present honest concerns from Touch, dated Jan^ry 26th; It will also be a valuable service rendered our King & country at this critical juncture. If you intend to oblige me at present in earnest, you will no less faithfully than dilligently execute what is here required, & justly expected of you by one who shall ever accordingly be found in the most agreeable manner,

Sir, your affectionate humble servant

ATHOLL.²

To G^r Murray or any other honest man
in Glenalmond.

¹ Innernenty.

² This order was amongst Gregor’s papers when he was arrested by order of Duke James, February 22, 1746. *See Addenda, p. xlvj.*

Colonel Robertson of Drumachine to Hon. G. Colville.

LUDE, Feb. 7th, 1746, after 7 at night.

Sir,—The Inclos'd came to me this evening, under cover from Lady Mackintosh. As the Gentlemen for whom the letters are addressed are not at hand, I did not scruple to see what they contained.

It seems y^e Inverness Posse is not so strong as represented some time ago, and that 3 days ago, the intelligence of H:R:H:'s motions had not reached those parts. I have been in great disorder all this day, and cou'd not get out of bed till 5 this evening, else I had been at the head quarters. I wish Malcolm Stewart in Sheerglass, who is Funcastle's Lieut, was called for to attend close at Blair Castle (till relieved by some other officer) to command a small piquet of this country people, to furnish expresses, &c., as the Duke of Atholl shall have occasion.

I desir'd Funcastle w^t his company to attend this day, for I see no pretence they have to absent themselves; But all the people on this side of Garry have the army quarter'd upon them, and are order'd besides to be ready with their horses to march with the Prince's baggage, both which the Funcastle people are free of.

Pray be so good as present my duty to the Duke of Atholl. I'm sorry it was not in my power to attend His Gr/ this day, tho' I could have done but little service, for I find by repeated experience that I can bear no exercise. I am alwise, D^r Sr,

Y^r most obed^t humble Serv^t,

D. ROBERTSON.¹

On arrival in Perth the Duke of Cumberland issued the following orders:—

PERTH, 7th Feb. 1746.

Two detachm^{ts} of a Lieut Col^o, 5 Capt^s, 10 Sub^s, & 500 Private men each, and non commissioned off^{rs} in proportion, to parade in Town tomorrow morning at break of day—are to take 24 rounds p. man & 14 days' pay with them, & will receive 4 days' bread tomorrow.

Lieut Col^o Leighton² for the one, & Lieut Col^o Sir And^w Agnew³ for

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² Commanding 27th Regiment.

³ Commanding 21st Regiment.

the other Detachmt, & they are to receive their orders from H.R.H. at 9 this night. A Sergt & 12 carefull Drags of each Regt, well mounted, to be added to each of these Detachmts, & parade at ye same time.

*His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to Lieutenant-Colonal
Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.*

PERTH, February 5th 1746.

Sir Andrew Agnew,—You will possess yourself of the Duke of Athol's House at Dunkeld, and from thence send out such parties as you shall judge proper, to annoy the rebels.

You will get the best intelligence you can possibly, for which you will make an account, and it shall be repaid you.

You will drive cattle into your inclosures for the support of your detachment, giving receipts for those which do not belong to rebel subjects.

You will constantly send reports to me, and all the intelligence you can have.

If you are attacked, you will defend yourself to the utmost, as the rebels have no Artillery but 3-pounders to annoy you, and as succour will be sent you.

If any officer or soldier should refuse to defend the house to the utmost, you will let them know you have my orders, and power from me, to inflict punishment, *even death*, for such disobedience, *without a Court Martial*.

WILLIAM.¹

According to the above orders, Sir Andrew Agnew marched to Dunkeld with his detachment (to which it is stated some of the Argyllshire Militia had been attached), whilst the other detachment took post at Castle Menzies.

Whether Colonel Leighton marched with the latter detachment and afterwards rejoined the Duke of Cumberland, leaving Captain Webster in command, or whether the detachment set out under command of the Captain, is unknown; but the following month Captain Webster was commanding at Castle Menzies.

¹ "Sheriffs of Galloway."

On hearing of the arrival of the troops in Atholl, Duke William instantly sent pressing orders to such of the vassals as were in Atholl to join him with their men at Moulinearn on the 9th, in order to attack the enemy at Dunkeld. Amongst others, he wrote to Kynachan as follows :—

Duke William to Major Stewart of Kynachan.

BLAIR CASTLE, 8 Feb. 1746.

Sir,—This is to acquaint you that the Campbells, to the number of 4 or 500, are come into Dunkeld, which has so animated and raised the spirits of all our people who have heard of it, that they want at any rate to go and drive them out of the country. As I hope your men are fully ready before this time, this is earnestly entreating you will not lose a minute's time in bringing them here, or rather down through the Glen of Fincastle, as the shortest way to meet me ; who, as soon as I can get any small number gathered in these parts [intend] to go down as far as Moulinearn this night in my way to meet these particularly ancient enemies of this country. Therefore, without loss of time, pray make all the dispatch imaginable to join us, as you are inclined to render a considerable service to your King and country, as well as singularly oblige, Sir,

Your most aff^{te} humble servant.

After perusal pray let this letter be sent to Shian, without a minute's loss of time, who I hope will have the same regard for the contents as if it were particularly addressed to him ; and if his shortest way to meet us is going down the country by Strathtay and Logiereat, I hope he will take that road as early as possible tomorrow morning, and that with the utmost expedition.

Major Stewart of Kynachan to Colonel Robertson of Drumachine.

KYNNACHAN, 3 o'clock Sat^y aftⁿ [8th].

Dear Sir,—This moment I have an express from the Duke telling of 4 or 500 Campbells being come to Dunkeld, & wants that I should, with all the men I can raise, meet his Gr/ this night at Moulin, or thereabouts ;

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

and desires me to send to Shian to meet him likewise with his men. Shian is here, & not a man about him, having only ordered them to meet him somewhere about Bonrannoch tomorrow.

I have as few about me, having sent them to the most tardy corners to recruit. It is now near 3 o'clock afternoon, and have neither officer nor Sergeant about me, being all employed elsewhere, so can not, tho' I should do my best, raise, when it is dark, a dozen men; meantime Finncastle, Ballechin, Kinnaird, Garth, & Balnacree have their companies in the way from this to Dunkeld.

I hourly expect Bohaly from Blair, who went last night from this for orders. I do not know what to do; If I go without men (as I certainly must, if I should go immediately), then the recruiting of this country will be ruined; If I should not go, but set about the raising the men, I may be reflected on. What shall I do? I expect to have my mind relieved when Bohaly comes, and am in heast, Dear Sir,

Y^{rs} most affectionately,

DAVID STEWART.¹

*William, Duke of Atholl, &c., under the Prince Regent,
Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's Forces.*

To all the worthy Gentlemen and people in Atholl, Health and Happiness.—These many years past, the unnatural second son of my family, from a narrow selfish disposition, has let himself be seduced both as to public and private concerns, in so much that he has most unfairly become the creature of long declared enemies to our King and Country, whereby they make use of him as a tool, not only to ruin all valuable sentiments amongst many in this Country, but also he endeavours to root out the known principles of honour and honesty, which formerly appeared amongst those who were friends and well wishers in these parts, to both truth and right reason. Such a pitiful Brother of mine amongst rebellious Britons, headed by ungenerous foreigners, is now barefacedly coming with some of our subtle neighbours to force me out of my just inheritance, that you may be unworthily made submit to their no less artful than dangerous designs, which makes me positively require all of you, from the age of sixteen to that of sixty, who regard true safety, and whatever

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

is dear to the posterity of undaunted forefathers, without losing a minute to set everywhere about the Crosstarie, that all of you may be sufficiently warned to come here directly and join me for the defence of your houses, wives, children, and Country. All which Faskeily and Blairphety have trusted to your care and mine by generously going North with my bold brother George, who with our young master the Prince goes soon to bring up a powerful army from thence. In the mean time, with equal courage, will not brave Atholl men here stand by me to save yourselves from ignominious devastation and ruin. Let us then with firm unanimity maintain ourselves against all assaults may be made on us by the usurpation of some imposing western neighbours and perjured people, who stick at nothing to obtain their ambitious proud ends. Therefore, once more I say, without delay on sight of this my earnest request and order, forthwith come and join me here, as before God and man you will be answerable. For the doing of which, this shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrand: Given under my hand and Seal, at Blair Castle the eighth day of Febr^y 1746.¹

Later on the same day, Duke William wrote again to Kynachan, saying that the idea of marching down to Dunkeld had been abandoned, and desiring him to march his men direct to Blair, and to advertise Shian to do the same.

Major Stewart of Kynachan to Duke William.

Saturday, near 8 o'clock at night.

My Lord,—Att three o'clock this afternoon I had the honour of a letter from y^r Grace, the answer whereof I sent to Coll. Robertson. I shall, with the utmost expedition, raise the men of Bonrannoch, Bohespick, and all of both sides of this water.

I have sent an express this night to forward Glenlyon's Son with the folks of Fortingall; I'm hopeful, once tomorrow, to have them together, so as to March Sunday.

Shian is here, and sets out very early for Rannoch, where he expects to have all his men to meet him, from whence he has a very short cut

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

to Badenoch, if he is allowed to go that way. I shall send tomorrow for further orders, and am, with much esteem and respect, My Lord,

Y^r Gr/s most ob^t serv^t to serve you,

DAVID STEWART.¹

Gregor Murray to Mr. Mungo Murray.

CONACHON, *Feb^y 8th*, 1746.

St,—I received his Gr/s orders and immediately sent ane express for the officer, who lives four miles distance from this place, and on his way spoke to so many of the tennents, for we durst not make use of the Cross-tarie for alarming the enemy, for there is above two hundred of them laying at Crieff and Monzie, and a trup of horse at Drummond Castle, besides a partie of the Campbells, who comes up the king's road every day for information. By all the accounts, the enemy who marched to Perth on Thursday last is reckon'd to be twelve thousand men, foot and horse, and I hade certain information this evening that a part of the enimie was to be at Dunkeld this night.

As our frindes marched through this countray on Munday and Tuesday last, they both plundered and carried of a great many horses, and severals of them is not returned as yet. If the officer and I can gett the men raised, we shall come straight to Blair or wherever his Gr/ shall be. I am, S^r,

Y^r most humble and ob^t Servant,

GRI: MURRAY.

P.S.—We are every night within four miles of the enimie in the Waster Glen, and the Easter Glen within two miles of them; You may consider what situation we are in. I sent off the express to Ballquidder just as the berer went from this, be four a clock in the morning.¹

Lieutenant-Colonel Blair of Glasclune to Duke William.

LOGIEREAT, *8th Feb^y* 1746.

My Lord,—In the execution of the orders with which y^r Gr/ was pleased to honour me, I have hitherto succeeded tollerably, tho' in a manner very contrary to my inclination, being often obliged to use the greatest extremities, viz^t that of burning, which nothing but the Prince's intrest and y^r Gr/s commands cou'd allow me to inflict, but as the rule of

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

my conduct is promote the one and obey the other (which are inseperable), I assure y^r Gr/ nothing consistent with a man of honour shall be left undone to the best of my judgement.

Yesterday I sent up, under Gourdie's command, upwards of forty men (some of whom, I understand, are since deserted), and this day I have above sixty more, who are just now in this place and the neighbourhood, but when on their march for Blair, were ordered back by M^r Warren; they are but an unarm'd mob, and fit to proceed on nothing till better provided, but in that case I can venture my personallity with them (and the Prince's cause much more valuable), any where to behave neighbour like.

This quarter I judged safest for men in their condition, and resolve to keep them here till y^r Gr/s further instructions, which I presume to expect, and at same time have the honour to subscribe myself, My L^d,

Y^r Gr/s most ob^t and humble Serv^t,

THO: BLAIR.

P.S.—The party belonging to the Appin Regm^t was this day recalled, so if I'm to continue this course, another party of strangers is absolutely necessary to obtemperate my orders in their full extent.¹

Lord George's eldest son, of whose education Duke James had undertaken charge, appears to have adopted his uncle's side of politics with little filial regard for his father, according to the following displeasing expression of sentiments written to his Grace :—

Captain Murray to Duke James (extract).

LONDON, Feb. 8th 1746.

I was very sorry to hear that the Rebles had the better of the Battle near Falkirk, but my sorrow for that did not continue long, for soon after I had the pleasant news that, upon the approach of the Duke,² the Rebles had quitted Sterling, and fled quite frighten'd at the thoughts of fighting with that young Heroe. The only good which I can wish the Rebles is that they were all killed, which is the best thing that can happne to them.

Y^r most obed^t, most obliged Humble Serv^t & Dutiful Nephew,

JOHN MURRAY.

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² Cumberland.

See Addenda, p. xlviii.

Colonel Robertson of Drumachine to Hon. G. Colville.

LUDE, Feb. 9th, 1746.

Sir,—I hear this moment that it is thought necessary to cut the Bridge of Tumble; I should think proper to destroy the passage boat at Kenloch Rannoch also, for there a great number of foot may pass in one night, and if they should take the route of Dalinspidal, which they may do in absolute safety, and is but a few hours march from Kenloch-Rannach, they might prove very troublesome.

I'll be w^t you soon; meantime you may communicate this.

I am, Sir, y^r most humble Servant,

D. ROBERTSON.

If Shian is in Rannoch, he wou'd be proper person to execute this. wⁱⁿ a quarter of two afternoon.¹

Colonel Robertson of Drumachine to Hon. G. Colville.

LUDE, Feb. 9th, 1746.

Sir,—This moment, upon my arrival here, I found a servant from Killechassy, who tells me he saw the enemy, to the number of 500 foot and 12 dragoons, on this side Tay Bridge, about 12 o'clock this day.

He says there came an express to acquaint the Prince of this, but not being absolutely sure of that express, I thought proper to send Killiechassy's man, w^t whom you may converse.

I am, Sir, y^r most obed^t

D. ROBERTSON.¹

Give the bearer 6 pence.

20 minutes after 7 at night.

Major Stewart of Kynachan to Hon. G. Colville.

KYNNACHAN, Sunday, 40 min^s aft^r 5.

Sir,—Just now I'm favoured with yours & another from Coll: Sulivan, ordering me with all our men hereabouts to repair to Blair tomorrow morning; I am hourly expecting Killiehassy & Garth with their men, & Glenlyon's son with his; I and all about me have been and are as throng recruiting as possible. I expect to have them assembled at Bohespick

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

sometime tomorrow morning, which place being within four miles of Dalnacardoch, by going the high road, & being at least 15 miles by going about by Blair, besides being obliged to wade the waters, will I hope induce his Gr/ to allow us to take the short road, so as to meet his Gr/ at Dalnacardoch. We hear that some of the Dragoons and about 5 or 600 Campbells are come this forenoon to Appin Dull. I have sent expresses three different ways to know their numbers and their motions, that they may not catch us napping here.

I am desired by Mr O'Sullivan to get the Bridge over this water cutt down, but as I have neither masons nor tools, all the men I have would not do it in a week, which pray tell, that if it is thought necessary to have it cutt, there may be masons and tools without loss of time sent here from Blair.

I heartily wish us all a happy meeting, & am sincerely, Dear Sir, y^r
most humble servant

DAVID STEWART.

Meanwhile Duke James was issuing orders from Perth for his vassals to rise in support of King George.

Orders for the Duke of Atholl's Vassals in Atholl, Glenshee, Strathardle, and Blacklunans to come to Dunkeld and Kirkmichael and join the Troops that are to be sent there to disarm and apprehend the Rebels, and to be conducted by Alexander Robertson of Straloch.

Whereas certain Information has been given to His Grace James Duke of Atholl that the Son of the Popish Pretender has with an Army of Rebels entered into the countrys of Atholl, Glenshee, Strathardle, and Blacklunans, belonging in Property or Superiority to His Grace, and is there endeavouring to force the Inhabitants to rise in arms and to join in the Rebellion against his Majesty, threatening to burn and destroy the houses and to carry away the moveable goods, gear, and cattle of such as shall refuse to join him. These are therefor published by His Grace to give notice to the Heretors, Tenents & possessors of the said countreys that they will find defense and protection provided for them by his Majestie's Forces at Dunkeld and Kirkmichael, and requireing all and each of the Inhabitants of Atholl furthwith to repair to Dunkeld, there to receive His Gr/s further orders from Thomas Bissat of Glen Albert,

whom they are to obey—And the Inhabitants of Glenshee, Strathardle, and Blacklunan furthwith to repair to Kirkmichael, there to receive his Gr/s further orders from Alex^r Robertson of Straloch, whom they are to obey—certifeing all such of the said Inhabitants as shall neglect or refuse furthwith to obey the above order, that they shall be proceeded against as Rebels with the outmost severity, by burning their houses, immediat confiscation and seizure of their hail cattle, moveable goods and effects, and bringing them to further punishment in their persons in due course of Law. Given at Perth the ninth day of February 1746.

*To George Miller, Town Clerk of Perth, by His Grace James,
Duke of Atholl, Sheriff Principal of the Shyre of Perth.*

These are authorising and requiring you, as one of my Sheriff Deputes, to take a Precognition as to the Persons contain'd in a List given to you by Lieut^t Gen^l Hawley, as having been concerned in the present unnatural Rebellion, as having aided and assisted the Rebels, touching such facts as upon enquiry you shall find charg'd upon them in relation to the Rebels; and you are hereby directed to lay the said Precognitions when taken before H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland. for which this shall be your warrant.

Given at Perth the ninth day of Feb^y 1746.

ATHOLL.

A List of Notorious Jacobites.

Mr James Smythe, Surgeon.

Mr George Stirling, Surgeon.

Both concerned in the 1715, and had their Burges Tickets torn at the Cross for their Disloyalty.

D^r Carmichael.

James Oliphant, Merchant.

Brother to Gask, who is presently in Rebellion, and his son.

Walter Keir, Merchant.

James Bayne, Wigmaker.

was very active for y^e Rebels in many instances.

Peter Blair of Corbs.

a good many secret enemys which your Excellency shall in due time be acquainted with.

Monday, February 10.—The Prince evacuated Blair Castle, and marched with the rear guard of the Highland army to Dalnacardoch. It was proposed to the Prince, when he left Blair, to burn the castle, so that it should not be garrisoned by the enemy after he was gone, but he absolutely refused his consent.¹

Hon. G. Colville to Duke William (at Dalnacardoch).

BLAIRFETTY, *Munday, half an hour after 8 at night.*

My Dear Lord Duke,—As it is my outmost wish and desire to contribute to our Dear Prince's Interest, I cannot help informing your Grace that I have certain intelligence of the Bridge of Kynnachan being yet entire; that I hear every well wisher to the cause, who knows the situation of the country, say the breaking of it would be of very great consequence, and that (which surprises me greatly) it might have been in ruins before now had H.R.H.'s orders been obeyed. My informer told me he saw the masons deputed by your Grace begining to demolish it, and that they were actually stopped by a "Major Vis," so I humbly think the only remedy will be another message from the Prince, backed with a sufficient force.

I have the honour to be, with the most aff^{te} esteem and respect, my Dear Lord Duke, y^r Gr/s most obed^t & most faithfull humble Serv^t,

GEORGE COLVILL.

I am to stay here all night, and shall have the Honour of seeing y^r Gr/ tomorrow morning.

Please cause mind the Boat of Kinloch Ranach.²

Grant of Grant to Earl of Loudoun (extracts).

CASTLE GRANT, *Feb. 11th, 1746.*

Having a man under examination, who left Blair Castle in Atholl last Saturday at 2 afternoon, and who by his station had good oportunity of knowing what passed there and in their march through England, the substance of what is materiall at present is as follows:—

L^d George Murray, L^d John Drumond, John Roy Stewart, and many

¹ Lockhart Papers.

² Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

other officers, with what remains of the French, all the horse and some foot, are gone the coast road, but he can't ascertain the numbers.

The Prince came to Blair last Thursday with Duke William (who went to meet him), the French imbassador, [he] whom they call Duke Perth, Killmarnock, Nairn, L^d Lewis Gordon, Lochell, Secretary Murray, and Sir David Murray his nephew, all of whom, with many more officers he left there.

That there were not 200 men at or about Blair Castle, even after the fiery crosses had been sent about the country. There were also a few at Killicranky and Tay Bridge, as out-guards for information.

All the rest of the army, who were to come thro' the hills, were marched in three divisions to be at Ruthven, where they were to assemble at Dálnacardoch and Dallwhiny, and were estimated, when they passed Tay Bridge, as he heard several officers say, to be about 3000, inclusive of those that were at Blair, but he knew some were actually deserted from them since.

The people in Athol seem'd very averse to venture themselves more on Duke William's side, and many of them inclined to join Duke James. In proof of this he says, amongst other particulars, that Robert Stewart, Lady Lud's ground officer, being sent to raise her men, upon his return told his Lady, "Damn them, they will rather stay and go for King George than go any more with Duke William;" and some of the servants at Blair, and severalls of the country with whom he conversed, were of the same opinion.

That they had 7 cannon and 2 mortars at Blair; some of the cannon, he heard them say, were 5 or 6 pounders. He did not know if any cannon were carryed the road from Tay Bridge. When he came off they were yoking the horses to draw the cannon northward; and that they had burryed their own large cannon, and what they had taken from the government in the south.

Upon information, Fryday night and early Saturday morning, that Duke James was to be at Dunkell Saturday before noon, John Murray, Duke William's principal servant, was sent upon a fine horse to bring intelligence, who, returning about eleven, told that he saw a body of horse passing at West Boat of Dunkell, and Highlanders, said to be Campbells, at the East Boat, and that the country people told him they were 1000 horse and 2000 Highlanders. This was confirmed by several couriers

that arrived soon afterwards, and that they were actually come into Dunkell, with the Duke of Cumberland at their head, Duke James at his right hand, and the Duke of Marlborough at his left.

Upon the first information of the troops marching to Dunkell, Duke William proposed to the Prince to oppose them at Killiecrankie, but the Prince answered that was impracticable, for the Campbells were Highlanders and could climb the Hills.

When the certain accounts of their being at Dunkeld arrived, the Prince look'd grave and immediately retired to his own room, and the baggage was soon ordered to remove northwards, the last of which was preparing to sett out as he came away, and the whole company were to follow immediately after dinner.¹

A day or two after the Prince left Blair, Sir Andrew Agnew advanced from Dunkeld and took possession of the Castle.

A Return of Arms and Accouterments taken by the Honobl^e Leuit: Col^t Sir And^r Agnew at Blair Castel, belonging to the Rebels.

| | Firlocks. | Bagenots. | Shoulder Belts. | Pouches. | West Belts. | Slings. | Cartredge Boxes. | Cartredge Boxes Straps. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------------|----------|-------------|---------|------------------|-------------------------|
| Taken from the } Rebells . . } | 9 | 149 | 80 | 100 | ... | ... | 291 | 6 |

N.B. Of the 9 Firlocks marked, one Bursted in the Barrall, and one wanting a stock, & the whole wanting Locks.

N.B. The above Arms was all in Blair Castle, and the In at Blair, when S^r And^r Agnew came there.

At this date the following interesting account of his misfortunes was written by the Laird of Altyre's third son, Lieutenant George Cumming of Ligonier's Dragoons (13th), who, in consequence of his horse falling, had been taken prisoner by the Highlanders at the battle of Falkirk, and afterwards allowed to go to his home on parole.

¹ "Chiefs of Grant."

Lieutenant George Cumming to Archibald Dunbar of Newton.

the 13th [Feb. 1746].

Dear Sir,— . . . what you have allready heard is so far true, that in less than five minutes your ffriend, with about fifty broadswords and daggers at his breast, ready to cutt him in pieces, was stripped of his cavalry arms, furniture, baggage of every sort, and field-equipage, to above three hundred and fifty guines value; nay, of the very things and cloaths about himself, down to his hatt, perwig, and spurrs; since when he has been mostly in a dungeon, without fire, light, or straw, among the comon prisoners, oblidged to ease nature where they satt or lay; nor has he mounted a horse since his unfortunate fall in the battle, the cause of all his woe. After beeing taken from gaol, upon hard and unheard of conditions, he came on foot here, over mountains of snow and rivers of water, at the rate of twenty five or thirty miles a-day, subsisted only on whisky and tobacco—for nothing else could mony purchass—and only straw or heather to ly on.

It is certain, from undoubted authority, that Ligonier's Dragoons begun the attack a great deal too soon, and charged with their swords in their hand at a full trot, till they came to the muzles of three thousand of their enemy, by which means, and Hambelton's regiment flying and breaking in on their flank, the former was cutt to pieces. The occasion of this precipitate charge and over heasty attack was to wipe off the dust and odium of Gladesmore, which their enemys allow they did with great honour.

The prisoner is confined here, lyable to be recalled at a moment, though in great distress of body, and in want of every necessary thing—the smaolest regrete of those that want freedome. . . .

You will guess from whom this comes. Adiu. Read and Burn.¹

Duke of Cumberland's Orders.

PERTH, Feb. 13th [1746].

5 days' bread to 23^d inc^l to be sent to y^e Detachm^{ts} escorted by a Capt and 50 Argyleshiremen to Blair, & by a Subⁿ & 30 to Castle Menzie.

¹ Dunbar's "Social Life in Former Days."

*Duke of Cumberland to Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.*PERTH, *Feb^y 13th*, 1746.

Sir Andrew Agnew,—The Duke of Atholl, coming down to Blair to take possession of his estate, I desire that you would have all the regard and civilities pay'd to him that are possible:

The Duke of Atholl will give you the names of such of his vassals as are within eight miles of Blair, that joined in this unnatural rebellion.

You are to seize their persons, if possible, and keep them in safe custody till further orders. You may seize their effects for the use of His Majesty's troops employed by you on such occasions; and whatever stacks of corn or hay they may be possessed of, you are to cause them to be conveyed to Blair, for the use of His Majesty's forces; and you are to burn and entirely demolish their houses and habitations. You are further to assist the Duke of Atholl in collecting and seizing all the arms which may be found in the country for His Majesty's service.

WILLIAM.¹

Duke James had fully expected that Blair Castle would have been handed over to him unconditionally. This, however, Sir Andrew declined to do, insisting upon retaining the troops in it.

*Duke James to Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.*DUNKELD, *14th Feb^y* 1746.

Sir,—I am sorry to understand that the men under your command are committing so many disorders at my house; are within my enclosures with the pretence of wanting provisions, firing, &c, when there are so much of all kinds of provisions necessary for the King's troops in the neighbourhood belonging to the rebels.

I believe you have H: R: H:'s commands in respect to this, and conform to his orders I send you a list of my Vassals and other gentlemen that are in rebellion, eight miles round Blair.

I came here on my way to Blair, and shall be there as soon as I know from you that I can have my accomodation for myself in my own house.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant

ATHOLL.¹¹ "Sheriffs of Galloway."

List of the Duke of Atholl's Vassalls, and other Gentlemen, that have join'd the Rebels within eight milles of Blair in Atholl.

Robertson of Lude.
 M^r Walter Stewart of Orchillbeg.
 George Robertson of Faskeilly.
 Mackenzies of Rinakylach.
 Henry Stewart of Fincastle.
 Charles Stewart of Bohally.
 David Stewart of Kynichan.
 John Robertson of Wester Bohespick.
 James Robertson of Blairpheaty.
 Duncan Robertson of Dalnamoon.
 James Stewart in the Clune.
 Patrick Stewart of Invervack.
 Donald Stewart of Dallvorest.
 William Stewart of Pittanacy.
 John Stewart of Croftmore.
 Donald Robertson of Kinraigie.¹

To this letter Sir Andrew replied that he was bound to guarantee the Castle against a *coup de main* at all hazards, which, if the troops were withdrawn, his Grace could not do, and hence that he must maintain a garrison there for the present.

Duke James to Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.

DUNKELD, 16th Feb. 1746.

Sir,—I have this moment received yours in answer to mine of the 14th. As my house is filled with the troops under your command, so that I can have no room in it for myself, will make my being in the country both disagreeable and inconvenient for me; there are houses belonging to the rebels in the neighbourhood of Blair sufficient and large enough to contain all the troops under your command, both officers and private men, and that perhaps would be making a better use of them at present than burning. I cannot presume to give any opinion relative to H: R: H:'s orders to you;—Quartering in my house only I find is very punctually

¹ Sir Andrew Agnew's Papers.

obeyed; this certainly, whatever room there was for it at first, is now removed, my last intelligence being that the rebels are marched from Ruthven, and are at a much greater distance from Atholl.

The bearer, Commissary Bissat, will give you all necessary assistance in getting provisions for the troops, and what else is needful.

I am, Sir, your most humble Servant,

ATHOLL.¹

Lieutenant-General Hawley to Duke James.

PERTH, 17th Feby 1746.

My Lord,—H. : R : H : being returned, I have laid yr Gr/s Letter before him, and he desires me to make you his compliments, and acquaint you that it is absolutely necessary for the service that the Troops continue at Blair Castle for some little time longer.

As to the List you have sent of Heretors &c in Athol and the neighbourhood that are or were in the Rebellion, H:R:H: does not mean that all the common people should be Confined or kept in Prison, But that they should be Disarmed; so he must leave it with yr Gr/ to Determine who amongst them are of Consequence enough to be kept in Prison & who are not, since H:R:H: can be no Judge of the matter.

I am, with great esteem,

Yr Gr/s most obed^t & most humble Servant,

H. HAWLEY.

Duke of Cumberland to Duke James.

PERTH, Feb. y^e 17th, 1746.

My Lord Duke of Athol,—I send you herewith a Letter from the Lord Justice Clerk, which will explain to you the Form of a Commission, which is also enclosed, & which I desire may be signed by you for authorising the person therein mentioned to act, within the Limits of your jurisdiction, as Sherif for the County of Perth. This Mr Home has been pitched upon as a proper person for this Service by the Lord Justice Clerk, to whom I had given my thoughts as to the want we were in of such a person, that Business might be carried on in method & order, & such enquiries and cognisances taken as might prevent this country's falling into the like Disorders for the future.

¹ "Sheriffs of Galloway."

You will cause the inclosed Letter to be delivered to Mr Halden, to whom it is recommended to be assistant to the giving the due Forms in the execution of this Instrument. I am y^r affat^c friend,

WILLIAM.

In the meantime Ruthven Castle had been captured by Prince Charlie's forces. Some of the garrison appear to have made their way south, and made the following statement to Duke James at Dunkeld.

*Information given by Men from Ruthven Barracks,
17th February 1746.*

The four men that was in the Barracks at Ruthven, and a prisoner that was taken at Preston, who made his escape from Ruthven, inform that the Pretender came to Ruthven on Thursday the 13th with about 500 men.

That the Officers they sent before them to Recruit came to Ruthven Friday, where there assembled about 3000 of the Rebels. They left Ruthven Saturday the 15th. They had taken the Barracks on Sunday the 9th.

The prisoner that was taken at Preston pretended to be sick, overheard some of the Rebell Officers say that they intended to take Inverness Castle and make themselves masters of all the North Forts, to continue in the Highlands till they got a Reinforcement from France; In the mean time they were to raise and force all the Highlands.

Also informs that a messenger from the Duke of Cumberland going to the Earl of Loudon was taken up Friday last the 14th. found a letter in one of his Boots, and was hanged by the Rebels on Saturday the 15th.

That Lord George Murray and his command was to meet them at Inverness.

That they had about seven half Barrels of powder.

That the principall persons that was with the pretender at Ruthven was the Duke of Perth, Marquis of Tullibardin, Lord Killmarnoch, Lochiell, Keppoch, Cluny Mackpherson, Lord Nairn, Mr Mercer of Aldie, Glenbucket, Drumachine, the French Ambassador & Coll: Warran.

That there would be about one hundred Athollmen there.

That there was two of the Argyleshire Campbells, which the Rebels had taken up, was to have been hanged with the Duke of Cumberland's messenger on Friday the 14th, but made their escape in the night.

That severalls of their officers had deserted, but named none except Capt: Stewart, Brother to Stewart of Kinnaird.

The Rebels found near a hundred Bolls of Meall in the Barracks, of which they stood much in need, and the common men seized each what of it they cou'd without waiting for any orderly Distribution.

The within named Capt: Stewart being of this country, the Duke of Atholl has employed proper persons to search for and apprehend him. The Barracks of Ruthven surrendered upon a kind of capitulation, by which the officer and private men were to have passes to carry them to their own place of Residence, and they promised upon oath not to carry arms against the pretender for two years, and they complain of it as a breach of capitulation that their passes bear that they are never to bear arms against him.

| | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| ADAM BROWN | } These four names are on the back |
| PETER M ^c INNES | |
| WILLIAM YOUNG | |
| DAVID INCHES | |

of the information, but whether they are the names of the men from Ruthven is unknown.

The following account of the death of one of the officers of the Argyllshire Militia in Lochaber has nothing to do with the Atholl portion of the '45, but is here inserted under the belief that it has never been previously printed.

*Report from Captain Alexander Campbell, Deputy Governor of
Fort William.*

Feb^y 17, 1746.

Sir,—I am extremely sorry to have occasion to write you a most melancholy affair that happened last Saturday, the 15th inst, viz: Capt. Jas^s Campbell and Lieut. M^cFarlane¹ have walked a musket shott from this garison, the Taxman of Inverlochy² (one of Lochiel's captains) conceal'd himself behind a rock and shott poor L^t M^cFarlane dead on the spott.

This Barbarous murder induced me, with the advice of all the officers of my Garison, to immediately send out a party with orders if possible to apprehend the villain, and to burn the village of Inverlochy, which place was the common receptacle of the Rybells, and being within a mile of the

¹ George McFarlane of Glenrallach, Lieutenant of Skipness's company of the Argyllshire Militia. He was shot whilst crossing the river Nevis by some stepping-stones.

² Ewen Cameron ?

Fort, was consequently a very great nuisance, and there was not an inhabitant belonging to it but was in the Rebellion.

It was not in the power of the party to execute the first part of my orders, but the latter they punctually obeyed, and brought in some of the Rybell's cattell, which I ordered to be distribute equally betwixt the regular and irregular troops.¹

Duke James to the Duke of Cumberland.

DUNKELD, *Feb.* 18th, 1746.

Sir,—In obedience to y^r R:H:'s commands I have sign'd a commission authorising M^r Alex^r Home to act as Sheriff within the Lemits of the County of Perth. Since I came here I have Imprisoned seven persons² for being concerned in the Rebelion. Non of my vassals are yet return'd, or if they are, keep themselves in hideing places that I can get no Information of them: As soon, and as often, as I doe, I shall be shure to have them secured. The common people are mostly return'd, and I have given the same Derections that the common people about Blair be disarm'd also, which I shall see fully performed whenever I go there, and obey all other orders I shall Recive from your Royal Highness.

At the same time Duke James forwarded a warrant to detain in Perth prison Dr. Carmichael and the five other persons he had caused arrest as Jacobites on February 9.

He likewise appointed Patrick Haldane of Bearcrofts and George Miller, Town Clerk of Perth, Sheriffs-Depute for the county.

Five thousand Hessian troops, under the Prince of Hesse, had landed at Leith on the 8th, and the Duke of Cumberland

¹ Public Record Office, London.

² Committed to the Prison of Dunkeld, February 15 :—

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|------------|------------|----------|
| Mr. Patrick Murray of Kincairny. | | | |
| James | Scott, | Vintner, | Dunkeld. |
| Andrew | Donaldson, | Merchant, | do. |
| James | Johnston, | Innkeeper, | do. |
| Charles | Scott, | Shoemaker, | do. |
| Robert | Stewart, | Labourer, | do. |

Committed on February 18—

| | | | |
|-------|-------|-------------|-------------------|
| James | Duff, | Dalmarnock, | a Rebel Sergeant. |
|-------|-------|-------------|-------------------|

now sent notice to them to march to Perth, and on their way to leave two battalions at Stirling.

The remains of Ligonier's (13th) and Hamilton's (14th) Dragoons were ordered to Bannockburn, and St. George's (8th) Dragoons were posted at Bridge of Earn.

At the same time a reinforcement (of Argyllshire Highlanders) was sent to quarter in Atholl.

Captain(?) Robert Napier to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Andrew Agnew.

PERTH, Feb. 19, 1746.

Sir,—As the Army is on its march, H:R:H: has ordered me to acquaint you of the disposition of posts here, which you will please to reinforce if there should be occasion, and support in case they are pressed.

Biscuit and cheese for 20 days has been sent you as a store, which you will keep; as bread will every four days be sent from hence, where the North British Fusiliers and a squadron of St George's Dragoons remain in Garrison.

The posts above mentioned are—

| | | |
|---|------------|------------------|
| At Blair, under your command | 500 | Regular Troops. |
| „ Castle Menzie | 200 | „ „ |
| | <u>700</u> | |
| At Blairfatie | 60 | Argyleshire men. |
| „ Kennechan house | 100 | „ „ |
| „ End of Loch Rannoch | 100 | „ „ |
| „ Glengoulin & Cushavil | 60 | „ „ |
| „ the Clachan of Balquidder and west end of Lochearn | 50 | „ „ |
| „ Dunkeld | 50 | „ „ |
| | <u>420</u> | |
| In the house of Leny | 70 | Perth Company. |
| | <u>490</u> | |

The posts nearest to Blair, in case they should be forced to retire, will come to Blair, and those nearest to Castle Menzie, should they be obliged to retire, will go to Menzie.

The posts are to report to you, and you will constantly send reports to H:R:H: at Montrose or Aberdeen.

If the Argyleshire men or the Perth Company should want any assistance to annoy the rebels, you will give it them from the regular troops.

ROB: NAPIER,
aid de camp to H.R.H. the Duke.¹

The following order (original) is preserved amongst the Atholl papers. There is also a copy of it in Lord George Murray's handwriting, which he endorsed, "Coppay orders Taken amongst Knockbuy's papers at Keynachan, 17th March 1746, betwixt four & 5 in the morning."

Orders for Captain Campbell of Knockbuy.

NAIRN HOUSE, 20th Febr^y 1746.

You are to march directly hence with your own company, Carsaig's, Raschelly's and Ardmenish's,² to the following posts, where you are to dispose of the men as follows:—

| | |
|--|---------|
| Att Blarefeitty | 60 men. |
| Att Kenechan, where you are to be yourself | 100 „ |
| Att Glendullen and Cosvile | 60 „ |
| | <hr/> |
| | 220 „ |

It is the Duke of Cumberland's orders you take post according to the above list. You are to have the command of the several companys abovementioned.

Such of the rebels as may be found in arms, you are to take prisoners, and if any of them make resistance, you are to attack them, provided their numbers do not exceed yours, and it is His Royal Highness's orders that you give them no quarters.

You are to sieze upon all kind of provisions that belong to the rebels, or may be designed for their use.

You are to make your report three times a week to the commanding officer att Castle Menzies or Blare of Atholl.

JOHN CAMPBELL.³

¹ "Sheriffs of Galloway."

² Ardmeanach, near Oban.

³ Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was in command of the Argyllshire Militia, and was afterwards 5th Duke of Argyll.

Stations of the Argyllshire Militia, 20th February 1746.

| | | |
|--|-------|-------|
| Knockbuy's command, consisting of 4 companys, | | |
| viz. Knockbuy's company. | | |
| Carsaig's | Do. | |
| Ardmenish's | Do. | |
| Raschelly's | Do. | |
| They are to be stationed at Kynechan | 100 | } 220 |
| Blairfety | 60 | |
| Glengoulandy | 60 | |
| Glenuir's command, consisting of two companies, | | |
| viz. Glenuir's & Ballchoil's | 100 | |
| to be stationed at Kinloch Rannoch. | | |
| Southall's command, consisting of his company of | 50 | |
| to be stationed at Ballwhidder and west end Lochern. | | |
| Captain McVicar's company at Dunkeld | 50 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| | 420 | |
| There is also 100 under the command of ——— to be | | |
| stationed at Megerny | 100 | |
| | <hr/> | |
| | 520 | |

The Prince had reached Inverness on the 18th, and there he was joined by Lord George Murray and the column which had marched by the east coast.

On the approach of the Highland army, Lord Loudoun, who had been holding the North on behalf of King George, retired with his forces over Kessock Ferry into Ross-shire.

Hon. George Colville to Duke William at Moy.

INVERNESS, 19th Febr 1746, six at night.

My dear Lord Duke,—I had the Honour to see our Dear Prince at the Quarters at Castlehill; he desired me to make his compliments to y^r Gr/. Mr Murray, &c &c bid me offer their most humble services to y^r Gr/; all at the Quarters seem hearty and in full spirits.

I saw the Quartermaster, who told me y^r Gr/s Quarter is at Culloden House, where the E: of Kilmarnick, L^d Luis Gordon, and L^d Nairne are likewise quartered.

The only piece of news is, that there are eight or nine hundred of the Loyalists to cross the Ferrie this evening, to pursue the enemy; they consist of the Frazers, Macdonalds, and Camerons. I saw the Frazers assembling, and my cousin Inneralachie, who commands them, told me what they were going about. The President¹ is gone along with L^d Loudon, McKloid, &c &c: McIntosh is with them; they went streight to Brand Castle.

I am just now with two sisters, who I have not seen these eight years past; they are very earnest I should stay with them all night; in which case I hope y^r Gr/ will excuse me.

I went to Culloden House & spoke to the Master Household (a Stewart), who told me y^r Gr/s room should be ready; the cellers are pretty well plenished, and plenty of provision of Horses: I shall go there tomorrow & order a good fire in your room.

I beg leave to ask y^r Gr/ will please offer my most humble service to the Heroine² & the other Ladies, in which my Landladies heartily join; they long very much to have the honour of y^r Gr/ for a lodger.

The Secretary³ told me they had a Letter from L^d George last night, when his LoP would be at Elgin, & this night at Forres.

I have honour to be, with the outmost esteem & respect, My Dear Lord Duke, Y^r Gr/s most obed^t & most affate humble S^{vt},

GEORGE COLVILL.

The streets here are much exposed to the Castle, from whence they fire several shot, & wounded one of the Loyalists (a private man) this forenoon.⁴

Thursday, February 20.—The Castle of Inverness surrendered to Prince Charles. The same day the English army marched from Perth for Aberdeen.

Colonel Robertson of Drumachine to Duke William.

CORRYBROCH, *Feb. 20th, 1746.*

My L^d Duke,—I give y^r Gr/ the trouble to introduce four young Lads from Atholl for L^d George's Regiment; they say more are following. As

¹ Duncan Forbes of Culloden.

² Lady Mackintosh, who two days previously had, by a clever *ruse de guerre*, defeated Lord Loudoun's attempt to surprise the Prince at Moy.

³ John Murray of Broughton.

⁴ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

I had a very bad night, I can only add, that I am ever, & with the greatest respect & affection,

My Lord, yr Gr/s faithful servant,

D: ROBERTSON.

P.S.—As these Lads left the country monday afternoon, their intelligence will add to the last.¹

The following notes are from a memorandum in the handwriting of Humphry Harrison, Duke James's secretary.

February 21st.—Duke James went from Dunkeld to Coupar of Angus to wait on the Duke of Cumberland, and accompanied H.R.H. to Glamis.

February 22nd.—Duke James returned to Dunkeld, and being informed that one Grigor Murray, *alias* MacGrigor (tenant of Conachon), one of the rebel captains, was skulking in Glenalmond, sent out a party of his tenants to search for and secure him.

February 23rd.—The party returned, carrying with them the said Grigor, who was committed to the prison of Dunkeld.

The same day his Grace sent circular letters to his vassals who had not been concerned in the rebellion, to meet at Dunkeld upon Wednesday the 26th, to concert how to list and raise able-bodied men to take up arms for his Majesty.

February 24th.—The tenants of his Grace's own lands upon the north side of Tay from Pittcastle to Laighwood, which is a space of eight miles in length, being convened and sworn, no arms were found with them, and that in all these bounds there had only been with the rebels James Robertson of Balnacree, a captain; Charles Robertson, his son, a lieutenant; John Low in Ballinloug, ensign; James Stewart in Pittcastle, John Butter in Kerrandrum, private men, who are still out with the rebels: that there were only fourteen more private men who had been

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

pressed out of the same bounds, but deserted after crossing the Forth, who deponed that they left their arms behind them.

N.B.—That because the other tenants in general of his Grace's could not be forced out, there was £5 sterling of fine exacted from each of them by the rebels.

There were lists made of such of the tenants as are proper to take up arms for the King. His Grace's tenants, and the tenants of the vassals upon the south side of Tay from Dunkeld to Balnagaird, being seven miles in length, were also convened and sworn.

There was found with them fifteen guns and three swords. There were about twenty in the said bounds that were with the rebels, but, being forced, all deserted them, except

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| John Stewart, | Brother to Kinnaird, a captain, |
| Gilbert Stewart, | Younger of Kinnaird, a captain, |
| James Stewart, | Younger of Tulloch, a lieutenant, |
| Charles Robertson, | Younger of Balnagaird, |

who are either with the rebels or skulking, and Sergeant Duff, who is in prison; also excepting one Conachar, a sergeant.

There are also lists taken of such able-bodied men in these bounds as are fit to carry arms.

February 24.—His Grace's own tenants of Easter Glenalmond, being convened and sworn, there was found with them, and delivered up by them, nineteen muskets, eight swords, and six bayonets.

There were about twenty-two of them pressed out by a party of the rebels, but deserted from them within the space of two days thereafter, and before they crossed the Forth.

Mr. Maule to Duke James.

LONDON, 25 *Febr* 1746.

My Lord,—I am honoured w^t y^r Gr/s letter from Dunkeld y^e 17th Ins: which I am glad you sent to y^e Justice Clerk open, & as I hope he wou^d

peruse it, It wou'd be in his power to suggest the proper remedies to what you complain of,¹ & I doubt not he will do his endeavours to redress your Grievances, as he has an ear w^t H:R:H: & those y^t are about him. I showed your letter to y^e D: of Argyll, who is sorrie for these matters, which he thinks there is nothing but patience for, as complaints tho' never so just are but ill heard, & y^e only way is to operate by "la voye de douceur." I am heartily concerned about this treatment, & am of opinion it's very hard usage, but you know better than I how you are to carrie in all these matters. S^r Andrew is an unlucky Commander into the Bargain, as he's not famous for politesse; I hope by this time you are rid of him & of all other visitors of y^e like stamp, & y^t these complaints have been redressed.

Last night I received y^e inclosed letter from my name sake, to whom I gave by y^r Gr/s order y^e commission for your china; I send you y^e letter for your perusal, & has delayed answering it till I shall have y^r Gr/s orders. He has judged very right not to send home y^e china during these times of trouble, & I reckon you'll bid me write to him to keep y^m by him till he has further orders from me when to send them & where. The person that brought y^e letter left w^t my Servant (for I was abroad when he called) a bill drawn by Capt: Maule upon y^r Gr/ for £35 12^s payable fourteen days after sight. He said he was to call upon me again this day, but has not come. I believe it must be paid, but I intend to tell him I have wrote to y^r Gr/ about it & only waits your orders. If he insists upon immediate payment I must not let y^e bill be protested, as I believe Capt: Maule charges nothing but y^e prime cost & the charges of bringing it home. L^d John indeed has offered to advance the money if I please, but I think it's better to stave it off till I hear from y^r Gr/. Lord John says they are a great pennyworth; for my own part, I have no skill. Upon y^e whole, let me have particular orders about all this & what I am to write to y^e man.

I also send you y^e inclosed paper which I got from Vaughan, who is of opinion if this smuggling of y^e isle of Man comes above board, that it will be a proper time to talk to y^e Ministry about y^e sale of it, & is not sure but if they are sensible the loss to the Revenue is very great, but it may produce an inclination in our great folks to commune w^t y^r Gr/ about it. I shall be very watchfull about any steps that are taken in this affair

¹ The garrison in Blair.

that will either be to y^r Gr/s advantage or loss, and when any difficulty is like to occur, or any material steps like to be taken in it, shall advise w^t the Duke of Argyll & y^e Sollicitor Generall about it. . . .

All good things attend y^r Gr/.

I am ever most devotedly, my Dr L^d, y^{rs} &c.

February 26.—In accordance with Duke James's order of the 23rd, the following vassals and ministers attended at Dunkeld to consult with his Grace :—

| | | |
|-------------|-----------|--------------------------|
| Henry | Balneavis | of Edradour. |
| Finlay | Ferguson | of Baledmond. |
| James | Ferguson | of Pitfourie. |
| William | McLagan | of Donavourd. |
| John | Stewart | of Balnakeilly. |
| Mr. | Ferguson | Minister of Moulin. |
| John | Stewart | of Urrard. |
| James | Menzies | of Bolfracks. |
| Robert | Stewart | of Derculich. |
| Mr. Duncan | Stewart | of Blackhill. |
| John | Reid | of Pitnacree. |
| Baron | Reid | (of Straloch). |
| (Alexander) | Rattray | of Tullochcurran. |
| (Alexander) | Rattray | of Bal'nald. |
| Donald | Robertson | of Balnacraig. |
| John | Robertson | of Balnakeilly. |
| Mr. | Small | of Dirnanean. |
| Mr. | Robertson | Minister of Kirkmichael. |

Memoriall for Grigor Murray from Glenalmond, present Prisoner in the Tolbooth of Dunkeld.

That am confin'd to a house of Prison from a suspition (I understand) of being disaffected to the Government, which creats no small pain in me, considering my Department under the various occurances and vicciseitudes of the present unhappy Rebellion; and if duely weighted I hope will in some measure account in my Vindication.

That before this commotion I liv'd a peaceable subject to his Majestie, and a faithfull servant or Tennent to His Grace the Duke of Atholl.

That when this Rebellion was breaking out and growing to some height, Generall Cope with an army coming to Creiff, and on his way to the north to quell the same, I was imploy'd by His Grace to raise his men of Glenalmond and join Generall Cope, which upon the first notice I did with all allacrity and expedition, and joined him at Amulree, the confines of our country, and alongs marched till we came to Tay Bridge, when we seperate and went for Blair to receive orders from Fentry our Factor, who attended us till we rejoined the main corps twixt Trinafuvar and Dalnacairdach.

In the course of that march wee were severall nights by the way, each living upon his own pocket, and wherein this fell short I supplied till meeting the main body, when I was reduced to a sixpence. I applyed Mr Robertson of Trinafuvar to bespeak Major Cawfeild for money, the Major returned for answer he could doe nothing then; I at length applyed Fintry, offering my security, who refusing me, from this necessity the men withdrew and dispersed themselves. In this dispersion, and upon my returning home, meeting with Commissary Bissatt, I intimated to him the straits I was in, and the convencies I mett with, and his advice in caise of ane overturn, who very wisely advised me not to cede to the other syde, and gave what carried me home, and this advice I did not altogether reject by the sequell of my conduct, and then I lived quietly and peaceably till attacked by the Brother of the Duke and the army that came alongs with him to our countrey, who as the elder Brother assuming a Right to us, made several insinuations, and wee as many refusalls, at length threatened with Military Execution and Devastation, I to eschew these impendent Threatenings took up arms and witnessed the raising of the men, and with Reluctancy marched, and all the journey was to Creiff, about two miles from our own countrey, where wee gradually dispersed. Thereafter orders upon orders came to raise and ralley again, and as often as wee received them, so often did wee att tymes make a shew, and att other tymes wink att, to peraffe the tyme; and severall orders came to me to apprehend persons of Distinction and to doe other th'ward work (tho' I was not in a military commission), which I neglected to doe and lookt over; and all this stirr of ours happened before Hallowmas last, wee all the tyme after living quietly att home till the army's Return from

England. And during their stay att Sterling the Duke of Atholl's Brother, in his way home, comeing through our countrey, sett us again on foot, and in a march for Perth, where I gave it as advice every man to make way for himself, upon which wee again dispersed, and ever since continued peaceably att home. And when His Gr/s orders were issued out to bring in all our arms on or before the 24th Feb: current, my Resolution was, and can be made appear, I intended to obey that day, But was intercepted by a Party on the 22nd.

And this is the genuine account of the whole steps I and the other Tennents of Glenalmond have trode in during this unhappy Rebellion.

From which it will appear I acted first as far as I could in behalf of the Government syde, and amongst the first in arms of the Highlanders.

That what I did on the other syde was not from any Zeale to the cause, But rather from compulsion and meer force putts, and that it proved only a shew to avoid Devastations and other mischeifs that our country was threatened with.

It's then hoped, from a just consideration of this my conduct, I may be sett att Liberty upon Baile, or at least a Liberty for eight days, that I may provide my famly necessarys & seed to the ground.'

February 27.—The Duke of Cumberland reached Aberdeen with his army, and took up his quarters there till the advance of spring should enable him to take the field.

In a list of Highland prisoners in custody in Chester Castle during the month of February there are the following names of men belonging to Atholl, or the regiments connected therewith :—

Alexander McLean, Inverness, Pedlar, Lord Tullibardine's Regiment
(*i.e.* Duke William's), taken at Wintle, Cheshire.

Also the following taken at the surrender of Carlisle :—

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------|-----------|------------------------|
| Daniel McDonald, | Lettoch Beag, | Labourer, | Lord G. Murray's Regt. |
| John Robertson, | Pitleoch, | " | " " |
| John Crichton, | Cablea, | " | Roy Stewart's " |

'See Addenda, p. xlvii.

| | | | | |
|------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------|-------|
| John Donaldson, | Balanloan, | Gardener, | Roy Stewart's | Regt. |
| John Duff, | Kirkton, | Labourer, | " | " |
| James McDuff, | Ballachragan, | " | " | " |
| James McFarlane, | Little Trochrie, | " | " | " |
| John McFarlane, | Inverchochel, | " | " | " |
| John McFarlane, | Drumour, | " | " | " |
| Daniel Stewart, | " | Farmer, | " | " |
| John Stewart, | Craigcrapach, | Labourer, | " | " |
| John Bourne, | Huntingtower, | Cordwainer, | Lord Ogilvy's | " |

This month the following man of the Atholl Brigade was in prison in York Castle :—

John Balantine, Dunkeld, piper to Captain Stewart of Clunes' Company.

During March Prince Charles had his head-quarters at Inverness, whilst Lord John Drummond with 2500 men guarded the passage of the Spey.

Brigadier Stapleton was sent with a detachment against Fort Augustus, which capitulated on March 5th. He then proceeded to Fort William and laid siege to it.

The Earl of Cromartie was despatched with another detachment into Ross-shire in order to drive Lord Loudoun and his forces out of that county. He was afterwards reinforced by two regiments under Lord George Murray, who, however, soon returned to Inverness himself, to execute a design he had to beat up the quarters of the Government forces who were posted in Atholl.

Mr. Maule to Duke James.

LONDON, 8 March 1746.

My Lord,—I was honoured w^t y^r Gr/s letter from Dunkeld with the list inclosed. The D: of Argyll was going that night to y^e D: of Newcastle's, so carried it with him to show. He was so well pleased w^t the intelligence you sent, which was so distinct, & I have not yet got either

returned to me; Mr Stone was to copy y^e list & send me back both that & y^e letter, which I expect he'll do one of these days.

It was very proper the ministers should know all you had done, & offered to do for y^e service of y^e Government, which I understand was approved of.

We have no earthly news here.

Every body is surprised w^t y^e giving up of Inverness castle so quickly w^tout a gun's being mounted or fired against it, & if it was untenable, why leave a garrison in it, as y^e Dutch do, to be made prisoners. In short, Loudon's & Duncan's¹ campaign is incomprehensible; the whole plan of it has been both ill laid down, & worse executed, & makes the people here believe we are all Jacobites together, & y^t not one Scotsman will act against these Rebels. M: Wade is now blamed, who was the contriver of these forts y^t are not worth a Twopence, & they seem to have had my Lord Burlington for y^e Architect, rather as an engineer. They say there is a Venetian window in y^e curtain of one of y^m, & y^t of Inverness was so commanded by a hill near it, that from thence you may see a soldier buckle his shoe within y^e fort.

We long w^t impatience to hear of y^e Duke's getting to Inverness, & you may be sure every body begins to be anxious for H: R: H's army. I am perswaded the Rebels are stronger than ever, & will fight him. If they don't, they'll go to Fort Augustus & Fort William, both of which they'll master, & so go into Argyllshire, where they may do what they like by their superiority of numbers.

For my part I agree with your Gr/, I see no probability of this Rebellion ending soon. God grant I may be deceived in my conjectures.

Lord John showed me y^r Gr/s letter, which came on Wednesday, as mine did.

As for y^e story you mention in it, tho' both y^r Gr/ & I knows it was false, it was currently believed: the folks here had no other way of accounting for y^e precipitate retreat of y^e Rebels from Stirling, but that divisions had been sowed amongst them, & pardons promised, & money given. And as you went down at y^e time, they concluded you had carried down full powers of that kind.

The event makes it appear how groundless these conjectures were; I wish, for my part, if it had been practicable, some thing of y^t kind had

¹ Forbes of Culloden.

been done, for I think y^e putting an end to y^e Rebellion y^e most material circumstance, even tho' it should cost money, & y^e pardoning some y^t might have brought it about, but you know it was never once spoke of, & now is not credited. . . .

D: Argyll & y^e gang salutes you, & I am most respectfully y^r Gr/s Slave, &c.

*Duke James to the Lord Justice-Clerk.*¹

DUNKELD, 9 March 1746.

My Lord,—I am much obliged to your Lop: for yours of the 26. I was at Blair last week; Sir Andrew Agnew and his 500 men continue there, which has made that house in a most deplorable condition, but, as your Lop: sayes, patience is the only remedy; what can't be cured must be endured.

This part of the country is now intirely free of the Rebels; the nearest of them is at a place called Dalnaspeedil, the utmost limits of Atholl, 12 miles above Blair in the road to Inverness, and from thence to Inverness they are in possession of the whole country, and guard all the passes so strictly that there is no getting any intelligence about them. The last accounts is that after having possession of Inverness and the Castle, they sent one party over the Firth after Earl Loudon, and another towards Fort Augustus, which place no doubt they have taken before now, and their numbers are increasing.

I sent a party to Marr, and has retaken the young Laird of Invercauld, who was at his Father's house upon parole.

By the by, how am I to be reimbursed of the expences of sending out parties apprehending prisoners, procuring intelligence, sending expresses, &c, which is too much to bear after being plundered of every thing, both here and at Blair, and not a shilling of rent to be expected. The Tennants here about being all ruined by money being exacted from them, &c.

I have got up about 50 arms. The Military and Argyleshire Militia have also taken up severalls, so that now I doe beleieve there is not any arms, [nor] common people of this country has any arms.

I shall wait here the return of H.R.H., who it is to be hoped will now soon come up with the Rebels at Inverness; and if they stand, it will give

¹ Public Record Office, London.

a good account of them, but if they still retire the affair may last much longer. I hope there is no fear of their coming again southward.

They give out at Inverness that the Pretender's son is to go himself to the Isle of Sky to raise the men there.

I wrote last post to our friend Maule. I am glad every thing at London is settled again as formerly.

My Dear Lord, y^{rs} most Faithfully,

ATHOLL.

In a short journal Duke James kept at this time he noted as follows:—

“*March 9th*.—200 men came [to Dunkeld] from Blair [garrison] to join the army. The party was commanded by Captain Hay of the Royals.

“*March 14th*.—Prince of Hesse [came to Dunkeld].

“*March 15th*.—Prince of Hesse returned.”¹

Report of the Detachment commanded by Lieutenant Colin Campbell² of Lord Loudoun's Regiment, March 14, 1746.

Lieut: Campbell, having received intelligence that the Rebels at the head of Loch Rannoch were gather'd in a body, marched with his detachment, consisting of 90 men of the Argyllshire Militia, from [Kin]loch Rannoch to the head of the lake, about seven miles distant from him, on the 1st of March. When he arrived there, he found about 150 men or thereabout, compleatly armed; that a little river³ was between him and them, which he crossed in order to attack them. That when the Rebels saw that, they retreated to a rising ground full of rocks and stones, and where a low stone wall was built, behind which they posted themselves and levelled their pieces at them, the muzzels of which and their heads were only to be seen. That he marched within pistol shot of them in order to draw them from their stronghold, but to no purpose. That they talked together, and [they] said they would not fire unless the Campbells fired

¹ Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel had paid Duke James a visit from his quarters at Perth.

² Of Glenure. Appointed Government factor on the forfeited estate of Ardsheal after the '45, and was there murdered in 1752.

³ The Gaur.

first; upon which he made his pipers play 2 or 3 marches relating to cowards, which made them extreamly angry, but not so much as to provoke them to engage. That after continuing in this situation for above half an hour he marched his party off, and lay in a village¹ about three miles distant from them that night, and returned to his quarters next day.²

An Account for Cleaning Arms for Duke James at Dunkeld.

In accompt His Grace The Duke of Atholl to
Alexander Gow, Gun smith.

| | | Sterling. |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Feb ^y 26, 1746. | Clinning of six guns | £ ^o 3 0 |
| March 1, „ | Clining of six guns | o 3 0 |
| „ 5, „ | Clining of six guns | o 3 0 |
| „ 7, „ | Clining of six guns | o 3 0 |
| „ 10, „ | Clining of six guns | o 3 0 |
| „ 12, „ | Clining of six guns | o 3 0 |
| „ „ „ | To foure new dogheads & tumbler . | o 4 6 |
| „ 15, „ | Clining of six guns mor | o 3 0 |
| „ „ „ | Clining of twenty eight bygnots . . | o 2 4 |
| | | 1 7 10 |
| Recvied of the said account | | o 8 0 |

Rec^d the foll of the abof account and all Demands by me

ALEXANDER GOW.

The minister of Kirkmichael supplied the following information to Duke James. The person sent North as a spy is supposed to have been the Robert Stewart who appended his signature to the letter.

The Rev. Robert Robertson to Duke James.

KIRKMICHAEL, March 17th, 1746.

May it please y^r Gr/,—The person I sent North last for Intelligence is returned, and the Information he brings I think I have Reason to believe may be depended on.

¹ Killiechonan.

² Public Record Office, London.

Upon the narrowest Inquiry, and according to the best accounts he could find, the number of the Rebels appears to be between eight and nine thousand. Of these a Detachment of 2500 that was sent in Pursuit of Lord Loudon was not returned.

The McPhersons are still in their own country; so are the Frasers. The rest of the Army lyes in and about Inverness, and betwixt that and Strabogie. The young Pretender is himself at Inverness, and Lord George Murray amongst others is with him, and is not gone north in quest of Loudon as was reported.

Upon Lord Loudon's marching north, all the McDonalds, McLeods, and McKenzies of his corps deserted from him and joined the Highland Army. These make about 600, but I do not find that any of either Clan has joined them excepting such as were of L^d Loudon's corps.

Sir Alex^r McDonald, it is said, is gone to London; Seaforth is gone to a house of his own in the remotest part of his estate; and McLeod, together with the President and others, are gone north with Lord Loudon.

Sutherland raised a considerable Body of men to escorte Loudon and his men through that country.

By the last accounts they had of them at Inverness they were at Dun Robin, a place, they say, which lyes a great way north, and upon the further side of a Ferry which L^d Loudon has the command of, and by Reason of which the Rebels cannot possibly get at him without making a very great circuit.

The Rebels have sent ten thousand Bolls of meal to Fort Augustus, and are preparing to carry as much more to the same place.

The Design of this is not certainly known, but is conjectured to be for subsistance to their Army if they should be obliged to retreat that way. The situation of some part of the country thereabouts is said to be such that a small Body of men, if they have provisions and ammunition, may defend themselves for a twelve month against thrice their number.

I am afraid His Majesty's friends in the south despise the Rebels too much, but if they do, the North country People are on equal terms with them; among them it is scarce doubted but his Majestie's forces will be defeated by the Rebels.

It is generally believed the Duke of Cumberland cannot march further north for some time. The Rebels have planted a Battery of cannon upon the principal & easiest passage on Spey; Besides the River is deep and

large, and so swelled with snow melting down from the Hills, that it will not be fordable, without going a great way up the countrey, untill either most of the snow is gone by a Thaw, or there is a frost of several days continuance. Lord Lovat lyes still at home, and has not hitherto joined the Rebels openly. Mackintosh is still with Lord Loudon. Y^r Gr/ has inclosed a particular List of the numbers of all the different corps in the Army of the Rebels, as it has been given me. I will not vouch for the exactness of it in every particular Instance, but I am told it is for certain pretty near the truth. Y^r Gr/ will observe from this List that there are few, if any, who have joined the Rebels since their Retreat North but such as were embarked in the cause before, except 400 M^cLeans, and the 600 M^cDonalds, M^cLeods, and M^cKenzie's who deserted from Lord Loudon and came over to the Rebels.

I have nothing more to trouble y^r Gr/ with at present, but that I am with the profoundest respect,

May it please y^r Grace,

Y^r Gr/s most devoted humble Servant,

ROBERT ROBERTSONE.

ROB: STUART.

Enclosure.

LIST OF THE HIGHLAND ARMY.

| | | | |
|--|------|--|-----|
| Lord Lovat | 800 | Earl Cromartie | 200 |
| Lochiel | 700 | Pitsligo | 300 |
| Keppach | 300 | M ^c Lachlans | 40 |
| Clunie | 400 | M ^c Leans | 400 |
| M ^c Intoshs | 500 | Of S ^r Al: M ^c Donald's | 200 |
| Glen Moriston | 60 | Of Seaforth's | 200 |
| M ^c Invin | 150 | Of M ^c Leod's | 200 |
| Corimony & Achmony | 100 | Stonnywood | 120 |
| L ^d Lewis Gordon & Glenbucket | 1000 | L ^d Ogilvy | 80 |
| Moidart | 200 | Angus men, under Sir Ja ^s Kinloch & oy ^{rs} | 350 |
| Of Earl Murray's men | 40 | Duke of Perth | 200 |
| Appin Stewarts | 200 | Atholl Brigade, including Appin- dull, & ^c | 450 |
| Glengow | 100 | L ^d Jno. Drummond's Brigade | 340 |
| Glengarrie | 400 | French lately landed | 250 |
| M ^c Grigors'. | 300 | | |
| Balmoral & Monaltery | 300 | | |

*The Rev. Robert Robertson to Duke James.*KIRKMICHAEL, *March 17th, 1746.*

May it please y^r Gr/,—There is a young man, a writer, that is just now absconding in this neighbourhood, who was secretary to L^d George Murray in the expedition into England, but left his service when the Rebels marched north.¹

I know it was not so much from an attachment to the cause, as with a view to make his fortune by it, that he embarked at first, and upon that account have some Reason to believe he might be prevailed with to go north and enter upon his former service, and then either send Intelligence regularly to the Duke of Cumberland, or go over himself to H.R.H. just when the two armies would be ready to come to an action, or when he had some other very material piece of Intelligence to communicate. I would not adventure to make any proposall to him upon this head without y^r Gr/s leave, as I don't know if it would be agreeable to y^r Gr/ that Lord George should be used in this way. Besides, if he is employed, he must have some assurances given him that he will be some how provided for by the Government how soon things are come to a settlement, and after all it is not very certain if any of the secrets of their management or designs will be communicate to him, so as that he can be of any considerable use. Nor do I know how it would sound with H:R:H: and the General officers about him that y^r Gr/ should employ Lord George Murray's secretary to give Intelligence. If yo^r Gr/ does not relish this proposal, you need take no notice of it, but destroy the letter, and believe that no mortal does or shall know of it from me. But if it is agreeable to y^r Gr/ I shall apply the young man and see if he falls in with it. I'll make the proposal to him only as from myself at first, and if he does not agree to it y^r Gr/s name shall never be heard of in the matter. But if he agrees, I shall immediately come down and wait upon y^r Gr/, that I may have your Directions in settling matters with him. I shall easily understand any hint your Gr/ is pleased to order M^r Harrison to write me upon the subject.

Meantime I am, with great respect, may it please y^r Gr, y^r Gr/s most faithful humble Servant

ROB: ROBERTSON.

¹ See Lord George's opinion of his secretary in letter to Lady George, page 171.

Towards the middle of March, Lord George Murray, hearing that the detachments of regulars and Campbells were eating up the district of Atholl, persuaded the Prince to allow him to endeavour to retake that country. Accordingly he marched from Inverness on Tuesday, March 12th, with the Atholl Brigade (which may have consisted of 600 or 700 men) and two four-pounder guns.

On reaching Strathspey, he took possession of Castle Grant,¹ and left Lord Nairne with his battalion there, continuing his march with his own battalion of 400 and the artillery. In passing through Badenoch he was joined by Cluny with 300 McPhersons, that Clan having been left there, when the Prince marched North, to guard the passes between Badenoch and Atholl.

The following letter from the Laird of Grant's son describes the arrival of the Athollmen in Strathspey :—

Ludovick Grant, Younger of Grant, to Sir James Grant of Grant (extract).

CASTLE FORBES, *March 19, 1746.*

Dear Sir,— . . . Fryday last week about 2000 of the rebels marched into Strathspey. They had two cannon with them. The gentillmen there seing the cannon, which were nine pounders, rather than have the house [Castle Grant], as they imagined, battered down, ordered the gates of the house to be opened, and Lord Nairn took possession with 100 men, and quartered the rest through the countrie. I got information of this Munday, but had it confirmed yesterday, as likewayes that Lord George Murray marched with about 1500, part of these, and the McPhersons and some others to Blair Castle.

I design to move homewards this day, and hope soon to write you that I have dislodged Lord Nairn, and that we have chased the Rebels out of Strathspey. I shall write you everie opportunity, and am, Dear Sir, your faithfull son, &c,

LUD: GRANT.²

¹ The Laird of Grant was hostile to the Prince's cause, and had sent his Clan, under the command of his son, to support the Government.

² Fraser's "Chiefs of Grant."

Lord George gave the following account of this expedition into Atholl in a letter written to Hamilton of Bangour after the close of the campaign (dated 25th May):—

“I was ordered at that very time to go to Atholl. There was about 300 Argyleshire Highlanders at severall posts in that country, and it was apprehended that their numbers would incess, and it was given out that Gen^l Campbell was comming from Argyleshire with a thousand more, and then the Hessians were to march from Perth and join them, as also the Garisons of Blair and Castle Menzies, and so to march together towards Badinoch, and by choising a strong camp they might harass us much on that side, especially their Highlanders; At the same time the Duke of Cumberland was to march from Aberdeen. I was therefore to see to surprize the Highlanders, and if possible to be master of Blair Castle, where there was three hundred regular troops. His R:H: had gone to Elgin, where he was very bad of a feaver of coald.

“I made a very quick march, and in one day and night made above thirty miles. I had not above seven hundred men, yet we laid our schame so well that betwixt the houres of three and five in the morning we took their whole posts, tho' at many miles distant one from another, having sent diferent partys to each, and I believe they were not under thirty, reconing all the diferent houses they were quarter'd at.

“We also took a small gaurd of the regular troups at the Bridge of Tilt, and another of the same at the house of Lude, and secur'd the pass of Gillicranky at the same time.

“We took near three hundred prisoners, and there was only one or two of them kill'd in the atempt, and non of ours either kill'd or wounded, tho' there was a good deall of firing on both sides.”

Lord George had set out from Dalwhinnie on the evening of Sunday, March 16th, and from Dalnacardoch had detached the parties ordered to surprize the different posts occupied by the enemy, which were *Bun Rannoch*, *Kynachan*, *Blairfettie*, *Struan*, *Blair Inn*, *Bridge of Tilt*, and *Lude*, he himself proceeding with Cluny and the head-quarters to Bridge of Bruar, there to await the return of his nearest detachments.

A sensational story is told in Home's "History of the Rebellion" of Sir Andrew Agnew advancing, with the greater part of the garrison of Blair, towards Bruar, in order to ascertain who had attacked his outposts, and being deceived as to the strength of his opponents by a *ruse de guerre* practised by Lord George, marching his men back again to the Castle. Home is entirely unsupported in his statement; neither Lord George nor any one else who took part in the expedition has made any mention of such a circumstance, which they could not possibly all have forgotten. Above all, it appears inconceivable, in a military point of view, that an old and experienced soldier like Sir Andrew should leave his post with a reduced garrison, and march three miles away in such a country in search of an enemy of whose strength or whereabouts he could have no possible idea. Under all the circumstances, I am convinced that this story is entirely without foundation.

Various accounts of the captures of the different posts are here given. Home states:—

"At Bun Rannoch there was a 'late wake' that night, and the Argyle-shiremen quartered there were engaged as guests in that Barbarous and now obsolete festivity; their centinel was surprised, the party entered the house without a shot being fired, and made them all prisoners."¹

Home also states:—

"At the house of Kynachan the Centinel was upon his guard, discharged his piece at the approach of the enemy, and alarmed his friends, who, firing from the windows, defended themselves till the party broke into the house, and killing one man, made the rest prisoners."

General Stewart of Garth in his "Sketches of the Highlanders" gives a somewhat different account of the attack on Kynachan. He states:—

¹ The detachment at Bun Rannoch consisted of Glenure's and Balachole's companies of the Argyll Militia. Glenure was absent at Taymouth, and escaped capture. Some of the men may have been at a wake, but it is not likely the whole 100 were.

“My grandfather’s house was one of those attacked on that night. It was garrisoned by a captain and 100 men of the 21st Regiment, and a detachment of the Argyle Highlanders. The rebels rushed on the picquets and took them prisoners without the least noise. Proceeding to the stables and out-houses, where some of the men slept, they seized upon them in succession.

“Those in the house knew not what passed till they heard the noise, and saw the court in front of the house full of men, threatening to set it on fire if they did not surrender. After some parley they capitulated without a person being hurt on either side, except an unlucky girl, the daughter of one of the drummers of the 21st Regiment, who slept in the house. When she heard the noise, she ran to one of the windows to look out, and being mistaken in the dark for an enemy, she was killed by a shot from the outside. The party who attacked was commanded by Mr Stewart of Bohallie.”¹

Captain John Macpherson of Strathmashie, who commanded the Macphersons who were attached to Bohallie’s party, gave the following account :—

“That same night, after travelling most of us 30 miles, through hill and storm, being regularly divided and detached, the Athollmen and we mixed in every party, at one and the same time, if I well remember, betwixt 12 at night and 2 in the morning, made our attacks at five different places, namely, Bun Rannoch, Kynachan, Blairfettie, Lood, and Mr McGlashan in Blair his house; betwixt which and Bun Rannoch there is noe less yⁿ 10 miles. Kynachan will be 6 from it, and Blairphettie 3. In all which attacks we had the good fortune to succeed to our minds, excepting Mr McGlashan’s house, those y^rin haveing deserted it before our party ordered there had come up.

“We killed and wounded many, I doe not indeed now remember their number, and made above 300 prisoners without losing one man,

¹ General Stewart made a mistake in stating that the Kynachan garrison consisted of a detachment of the 21st, as it was 100 of the Argyll Militia, under Captain Campbell of Knockbuy, who were detailed for that duty, and *Colonel Campbell’s orders, by command of the Duke of Cumberland, desiring the Campbells to give no quarter to the rebels, were taken amongst Lochbuy’s papers that night.*

tho' briskly fired upon at the three first mentioned places; in short, they were all to a man taken, dead or alive, tho' well covered and fortified. . . .

"All the prisoners were of the Campbell Militia and Loudoun's Regiment, excepting a few of the regulars that were at Lood."¹

*Copy of a Paper given to the Rev. Robert Forbes at Edinburgh
by Dr. Archibald Cameron's Wife.*²

My Father was at the taking of one of the parties of Campbells in Atholl, namely, the party at the Kirktown of Strowan.

Mr James Stewart, yr of Urrard, was one of Lord Loudoun's officers who refused to deliver his sword after the rest had surrendered, and Mr Alexander Stewart, Minister of Blair Atholl, was along with the Campbells.

Mr James Stewart of Clunes was the captain of the Prince's party who apprehended those at the Kirkton of Strowan in Atholl.

D: MACKINTOSH.

[*P.S. to above.*]

Sir Andrew Agnew pillaged the house of Lude, (the widow Lady living in it), breaking in pieces all the doors and windows, and the finishing of the rooms, and some of the floors.¹

Home states that "at Blairfettie the centinel was surprised, and the enemy was in the house before the Argyleshire men knew they were attacked; notwithstanding which, they resisted and defended themselves for some time before they laid down their arms."

Mr. John Young, W.S., the editor of Johnstone's "Memoirs of the Rebellion," published 1821, states:—

"I had a full account of the expedition thirty years ago from the Lady Blairfetty, and from M^cLaren, laird of Easthaugh, both in Atholl.

"Lady Blairfetty said there was a garrison in Blairfetty House of about fifty men; that they did no other mischief to her than eating all her provisions, and that she and her children were starving; that she sent a herd boy to her husband, who was at Inverness with the Highlanders, to

¹ The "Lyon in Mourning."

² A daughter of Cameron of Dungallon.

see if he could give her any redress, and desired the boy to come back immediately. The boy did not return; but four or five nights afterwards, when she was in bed, she was called up by a rap at her room door, and she asked what was wanted. A person, whose voice she knew to be that of one of her servants who had gone off with her husband, answered that Blairfetty was below, and wished to see her immediately. When she went down, she saw the garrison disarmed, and prisoners in the dining-room, and about a dozen of her husband's tenants and servants standing over them with drawn swords. Blairfetty desired her to point out any of the prisoners who had behaved ill to her. She answered she had no complaint but what I have stated; and after remaining four or five days, Blairfetty and his men left the house, taking the officer's words of honour that they would behave with civility, and give his wife and children a share of the provisions they had for themselves; and they afterwards did behave civilly.¹ The house was pillaged after the Battle of Culloden.

“Easthaugh's account was, that he was a boy of about fifteen or sixteen years of age at the time, and joined the Highlanders with a number of his relations, under the guidance of an uncle, I think he said the laird of Orrot;² and that there came to Inverness various complaints of oppression by the soldiers upon the families of the Atholl gentlemen who were with the Highlanders; and they all agreed to come off and redress them, and got leave of absence for eight or ten days. They came south to the braes of Atholl, and remained there until, as they calculated, they could reach their houses about midnight; and then they separated, every laird with his own men taking the road to his own house. He accompanied his uncle, and they arrived at his uncle's house about one in the morning. All was quiet, and having somehow or other got in, they first took possession of the room where the arms were, and collected all the soldiers from different rooms and out-houses, one after another, and put them into some room or house, with a declaration that if there was the least noise they should be put to death. His uncle and he went to the room where the Commander of the party was lying, whom his uncle

¹ There is some mistake here. The prisoners were all sent North. Blairfetty would never have left the Argyllshire men in possession of his house.

² Mr. Young is mistaken in the name, as John Stewart of Urrard remained firm to the Government, and his son James was an officer in Lord Loudoun's Highland regiment, and was taken that night at Strowan.

desired to get up. The officer had his sword at his pillow, and when he was laying his hand upon it, his uncle stabbed him dead. They remained a few days, and returned to Inverness, meeting all the detachments at the place where they had before separated. I do not remember what he said about the conduct of the soldiers at Orrot, nor did he say anything about Blair; but he observed that all the détachments were successful, with little or no bloodshed."¹

Home continues: "The house of Lude was occupied by a party of the 21st Regiment; their centinel was surprised and killed, and the whole party made prisoners.

"At Faskally² which is not far from Lude, there was a party of Argyleshire men, who were surprised and taken."

Lord George continues his narration:—

"As soon as I could gather about 300 of our men, after securing the prisoners, I marched and invested Blair Castle; the rest of the partys came also there that day.

"It was about eight or nine in the morning when I came before Blair Castle, and all I could do at first was to place my men so as to hinder the enemy geting in any supply of provisions or sallying out. Two cannon had been sent with me; they were only four pounders; they could do no harm to the walls, that were seven³ foot thick, but it was design'd to sett the rooff on fire with hot bulets, which was a work I was by no means fond off.

"The cannon were not only small but bad. One of them seldome hit the Castle, tho' not near musket shott from it.

"We understood the Garason had not much provisions, and that in a fortnight or three weeks they must be oblig'd to surrender, and this was

¹ The narrator of this anecdote was probably Alexander McLaren of East Haugh (Baron McLaren). As he was but fifteen or sixteen in 1746, and the story was only told to Mr. Young some forty-five years afterwards, it is possible McLaren had forgotten some of the facts. The idea of the Atholl lairds having obtained leave of absence for a few days to attack the soldiers quartered in Atholl is of course nonsense. Who McLaren's uncle was cannot now be ascertained.

² The present "Old Faskally." Home is unsupported in his statement that a party was captured there.

³ The oldest parts are eight feet thick.

what I thought best. It had been indeed propos'd before I left Inverness to make a mine to blow up the Castle, but I had no positive orders to attempt that. I believe it might have been done by the old stables, under protection of which the wall could have been undermined.

"I placed one gaurd of 300 men in the village of Blair, where I was myself, and another, of near the same number, at the mains near the new stables. I got a reinforsement of 400 or 500 men. I sent a party down to Dunkeld, who stayed there till the Hessians came from Perth, and then they retreated to Pitlochry, two miles below the Pass."

Colonel Stewart to the Earl of Crawford.

MENZIES CASTLE, *March 17, 1746.*

My dear Lord,—This morning, as I was going to get on horseback in order to go up Loch Tay, a Sergeant of Lieut: Campbell's command [of Lord Loudoun's¹ Regiment] at Loch Renoch came down to Coshaville, telling they had been attack'd this morning at Loch Renoch between 2 and 3, and most of their people made prisoners.

Upon this report I immediately ordered the Coshaville party to go up to Glengolalin,² which I had found last night remov'd, and indeed that party very ill look'd after, as my report will show, and I order'd Captⁿ Webster³ to send a command of his men to Coshaville, in case of any attack on Glengolalin, to defend that pass, and, if in danger of being forc'd, to retire with the Glengolalin and Coshaville party to this place.

Lieut^t Campbell of Loch Renoch party was not with his command, but down in this country, I don't know upon what business.

There is likewise two of the command of Kinneuchan come here, who tell the same thing has happen'd there, and one of their officers kill'd, and that they doubt not the same has happen'd at Blairphatie.

I own this I am a little surprized at, as I was at both those posts yesterday, where I left the strictest orders to be alert, but by the account find all have been surprized in their beds. This I think ought to make me go directly to Creiff instead of going up Tay, that I may be the sooner with y^r Lop/ to let you know how these posts are disposed, that your Lop/ may take such methods as you think proper to remedy what is past.

¹ Campbell of Glenure was a lieutenant in Loudoun's Regiment as well as a captain in the militia.

² Glengoulandie.

³ Commanding at Castle Menzies.

I think it proper I should go on to Colonel Arabin¹ at Crieff, which is the mouth of our chain, and the only place where a check can be of consequence except at Blair and this place, both of which I look upon as not easily insulted.

I am, my Lord, your Lops &c

JOHN STEWART.²

I inclose the orders left at Menzies Castle. This whole misfortune has been owing to negligence.³

Copy of Order left at Castle Menzies and Glengolalin.

The commanding officer at Coshaville to keep at least 40 of his command at Glengolalin always, who are to keep the strictest look out for intelligence or any motion made towards Renoch, or any where about them, and if forc'd from their post at Glengolalin to retire to Coshaville, which if they can't maintain to retire to Menzies Castle.

Any men of Lieut: Campbell of Glenure's party that may come in here, or any men from the other commands that may do the same, are to be sent to reinforce the Glengolalin command, which is always to be kept as strong as possible, and are to remain there, either till forc'd into Menzies Castle, or till further order.

And as I think twenty men sufficient for Coshaville, the captain of that command is hereby order'd to have the rest of his company at Glengolalin, which he is to reinforce always with the incomers to him.

Captain Webster to call in his officer order'd to Coshaville tomorrow morning, or later or sooner, as he shall see the service requires.

This to remain in force till further orders.

Captain Colin Campbell of Glenure to Lord Glenorchy.

CASTLE MENZIES, 17th March 1746,
Eleven forenoon, Monday.

My Lord,—This brings the melancholy news that the party I commanded was attack't before day this morning, by whom I know not, but were all taken prisoners, and I doubt not some were killed; some few escaped who are come here.

This news met me at Castle Menzies. It's true I was away. I wish

¹ Of St. George's Dragoons.

² Appears to have been sent by Lord Crawford to inspect the various posts.

³ Public Record Office, London.

from my soul I had not, but my excuse, if any be, is that I had come down for meal for the party, which I can easily instruct I cou'd not obtain by letters, which I frequently writ.

I writ this to your Lo/ lest I should be misrepresented at Perth.
I am, yr Lo/s most ob^t Serv^t,
COLIN CAMPBELL.

I go to Glengoulandie back again.¹

Lord Glenorchy to the Earl of Crawford.

DUNKELD, 17th March 1746.

I came here to dine with the Duke of Atholl in my way to Perth, and this moment an account is come that the Rebels have forc'd the post at Blair, and are assembled in a great body under Lord George Murray, who is raising all the men in Atholl in a great hurry. An express is come to me from Taymouth with an account that the post in Rannoch was forc'd at 2 this morning.

I dare not go back to Taymouth, and am coming with the Duke of Atholl to Perth. Adieu.
GLENORCHY.¹

Having invested the Castle, Lord George sent the following summons of surrender to Sir Andrew Agnew, who, however, refused to receive it:—

*Lieutenant-General Lord George Murray to Lieutenant-Colonel
Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.*

BLAIR ATHOLL, March 18th 1746.

To the Commanding Officer of Blair Castle.

I am ordered by his Royall Highness the Prince Regent to dislodge and take all the Garrisons in this country. In consequence of which I send you this summons Desiring you to deliver up immediatly the Castle of Blair, with all arms, amunition and horse.
GEORGE MURRAY.

Duke James to the Lord Justice-Clerk.

PERTH, March 19th, 1746.

My Lord,—The Prince of Hesse came to Dunkeld fryday last and return'd here again; On Saturday he proposed to have gone up the

¹ Public Record Office, London.

country by way of reconatering, but was prevented by the wether; and indeed it was luckey, for he had only about 30 Hussars with him; for on Monday about midday, just as I was going to set out for this to waite upon his Highness, got an account that a party of Argilshire men of about 80, under the command of Glenure, quartered at the foot of Ranoch, were atacked about 2 o'clock that morning by a party of the Rebles, and, as reported, has either kiled or taken prisoners the whole party; he himself happend to be then at Taymouth. About 10 minutes after that got an account that a large body of the Rebles had about the same time atacked Sr And^r Agnew & the 300 men in the Castle of Blair, and that they had been all either kil'd or taken; this last account came by one that was at Pitlochrey, 6 miles below Blair, who said that orders had come there sign'd by some of the Rebles to raise the men in Atholl, and that they had put guards all the way betwixt Blair and that place, which stops all communication betwixt Dunkeld and Blair. However, as these reports seemed very uncertain, I imediatly Imploy'd several different persons to go up the country, and as nere Blair as they could with saftey, to get all the Intelligance could be had, and then came forward here and acquainted the Prince of Hesse and Earl Crawford what I had heard, and of which I should have wrote your Lordship yesterday, but that I waited the Return of some of those I Imploy'd to go up the country. One of them came here Late Last night, and Informs that he was within 4 miles of Blair, where he heard that the Rebles had surrounded the Castle of Blair, and taken a small party of about ten or twelve men of Sr Andrew Agnew's that were at or near Lude.

That they had strong Guards upon the Bridge of Tilt, the Bridge of Aldgirnich, and at both ends of the pass of Kilicrankey, and a party about a mile this side of the Pass, and that they had sent what they call the firey cross¹ through the country, forceing and raising the men.

Two of my Servants that went about half way to Blair yesterday afternoon and return'd here last night report that they did see severall persons at Differant places upon the road that they took for spyes, for when they went towards them they made of very fast; all that they could Learn of the Rebles was that partys of them were come the Length of Pitlochrey and Mulian with the Firey Cross; that the Rebles were round the Castle of Blair, and firing at it, but had no cannon; and that they

¹ The last occasion on which it was used in Atholl, possibly the last occasion in Scotland.

had strong Guards at the places above mentioned, and that they had kil'd or taken two partys of the Argilshire men at Blairphety and Kenichan, one three miles, the other 6 miles from Blair. That they heard that the party at Cusevill, 3 mile from Castle Minze, had retyred to the Garrison there, and that by all they could hear the numbers of Rebles in Atholl and about Blair did not exceed 1000. I send your Lordship Inclos'd a Letter I had Last night from the Minester at Kirkmichle.

PERTH, 19th, 6 in the evening.

As I send this by express, I have detain'd it as long as posable, that your Lordship may have it befor the Post goes to London, and that, at the same time, I take the oportunity of giving you the Latest Inteligance that is come here of the Rebles proceeding in Atholl & adjacent places.

Since morning I have had tow express which confirms what is above, but very little new, only that Lord George Murray commands the party of Rebles that is at Blair; that there is not many of the Argilshire men kil'd that were in the Different posts in the Neighbourhood of Atholl [Blair?], as was reported, but that all of them are taken prisoners. The most authentick account is a letter from the commanding officer at Castle Minze to the Earl of Crawford, dated Half an Hour past six this morning, wherin he writes that he had certain Information that Lord George Murray with 2500 Rebles, with cannon, had actuly atacked the Castle of Blair, and that there was 2500 more Rebles at that time within three miles of Castle Minze: so it is to be fear'd that the 500 of the King's Troops that is in those two places will soon be in the Hands of the Rebles.

What Inteligance the Earl of Crawford gets, together with what I procure, he sends Reguerly to His R:H: the Duke. (I must beg the favour of your Lordship to transmitt this to the Duke of Argile if you think it nessary, and to excuse my not writing with my own hand.) I received your Lordship's Circelar Letter, and can assure you I have spair'd neither aplication nor money to procure Inteligance.

Information supplied to Duke James by the Rev. Alexander Stewart, Minister of Blair, who had been taken Prisoner at Strowan by Lord George Murray's forces on March 17.¹

Clunie [was] at the head of his own men. All the officers with L^d George Murray, Athollmen, with Shian and Aldie.

¹ Public Record Office, London.

Mr Stewart thinks he understood they had no purpose of attacking Dunkeld. The whole of their design when they set out from Inverness was to attack and make prisoners of the several garrisons in Atholl, and raise what men they could there, and they tell they are to be advertised of the first movement of H.R.H. from Aberdeen, and were thereupon to return to Inverness.

One of their cannon could not be made to keep in due position, which obliged them to call the smith of Blair several times to work at it. The firing on the Castle slackened Tuesday afternoon. No person had suffered by it. No damage done to the Castle as far as he knows.

The Rebels were proposing, Tuesday evening, to attack the Castle from behind the Terras and sunk fence, near the pond, both with the cannon and small arms, by firing at the windows.

The Garrison drew up on Monday morning on the Green under arms, but Lord George and his corps would not attack 'em, as the others who had been attacking the other Garrisons were not then come up. Balnacree and some other Atholl officers pretended to think that the Garrison of Blair was going to run away, and raised men, women, and children all around and mixt 'em with the rebels, and posted them on Hillocks to make an appearance of great numbers.

The officers were on Tuesday calling out to the Rebels "come forward, you cowards."

The Rebels say that 140 Bols of meal is coming after them.

Mr Stewart is positive that there came not more than 700 over Drumwachter from Badenoch.¹

*Intelligence from different people to Duke James concerning the Rebels,
23rd March 1746.*

Lord George Murray, Mr Mercer of Aldie, Faskally, and several others, with a command of the McPhersons, and of such of the Atholl men as had been in the Rebel Army, set out from Ruthven in Badenoch upon Sunday 16th [March], came to Dalnaspidal, 12 miles above Blair, and that evening divided themselves into four Bodys, who marched as follows: one to Kinloch Rannoch, one to Kynachan, and one to Blairfettie, where in the night they surprised the parties of the Argyle-

¹See vol. v. addenda xxii.

shire men posted at these three different places, and took them all prisoners, 7 or 8 being killed.

Lord George Murray, with the fourth body, came to Blair Monday morning, when they seized about 12 of the out centries and guards of the men under the command of Sir Andrew Agnew.

The same evening two pieces of cannon, 4-pounders,¹ guarded by a party of the Rebels, arrived at Blair. They begun to erect a Battery that night upon a rising ground a little below the Kirk of Blair, which is about 300 yards from the Castle, from which on Tuesday morning they begun to play upon the Castle,² but made little or no impression upon the walls, but two or three breaches upon the roof. Finding they could make no breach upon the Castle, they were preparing a furnace to heat their Balls in order to set fire to the House, and for the better executing of this design they were to erect a Battery about 100 yards nigher to the Castle.

The Rebels, in order to prevent all intelligence, had placed Guards and sentries at both ends of the pass of Killechrunkie, and in all other passes and avenues leading to Blair.

That the McPhersons and others that came from Badenoch under Lord George Murray's command did not exceed 700, but that severals of the country men, that had been formerly forced into the Rebellion, had joined them, and they had dispersed many of their officers with parties through the different parts of the country with what they call the firey crosses, and threatening the highest military execution against those that did not immediately join them.

The Rebels are highly enraged against the King's Troops that are in garrison at Blair, and swear a bloody revenge because they plundered some of the Rebels' houses in the country.

By a letter of the 20th the above accounts are confirmed, with the addition that Cluny McPherson was in person at the head of the McPhersons. That Sr And^r Agnew upon Monday the 17th drew up his men in arms before the Castle, but the Rebels would not attack them, tho' the officers called to them "cowards, advance!" That Tuesday night the Castle of Blair had received no further damage than breaking some part of the roof.

¹ Dutch weight, equal to 4 lbs. 6 oz. avoirdupois.

² "Lady Lude" fired the first cannon which was discharged against the Castle.

Charles Gow, in Croftcrombie, who was out in the '45, stated (1807) that the cannon were worked by Frenchmen.

That the Argyleshire Militia taken prisoner by the Rebels were sent to Badenoch under a guard.

That the Rebels had parties out using the utmost violence and rigour in forcing the countrymen to within four miles of Dunkeld, and that their numbers must increase unless prevented by the King's Troops marching that way.

The Rebels at Blair consisted of the McPhersons, and such of McIntosh's tenants as lived in Badenoch, Glenco men, with some of the tenants of such of the Duke of Atholl's vassals as are in the Rebellion, and some of Struan's tenants.

22nd.—That several of the Rebels were seen hovering about Dunkeld; that no great numbers of them were together, but after it was dark a party of them came into Dunkeld, their numbers not known.

Next morning, the 23rd, a small party of them came to Inver, and now it is rumour, but without any certainty, that their numbers are considerable at Dunkeld, and that a party of one hundred or two had crossed some time this day at Inver. The troops here [Perth] are preparing to march out against them tomorrow morning.

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

BLAIR, 24th March 1746.

Dear Brother,—I hope you will excuse my not writing to you since we came here, for as you would hear of every thing I wrote to Sr Thomas¹ or Mr Murray, and indeed I have not had one spare moment; our duty here is constant and fatiguing, but we grudge nothing that is for H:R:H: service and the good of the cause.

Coll: Mercer, with 150 men, is at Dunkeld, and secured the boats, but I have ordered him to retyre to the Pass if a Body of the Enemy should come near to that place, which they can do by passing the river at Perth. All here desire to make you their compliments, and I always am, Dear Brother, y^r most aff^{ate} Brother and humble servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

The people in the Castle have not set out their heads since we came, and are living on bisket and water. If we get the Castle, I hope you will excuse our demolishing it.²

¹ Sheridan.

² Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

Ludovick Grant to his Father, Sir James Grant of Grant (extract).

STRATHBOGIE, *March 24, 1746.*

Dear Sir,— . . . The day after Gen^l Bland gott possession of this place, Sir Arch^d Grant, Dalrachnie, and I thought we might venter towards Speyside, imagineing that non of the rebels would remain this side of it, and soe marched from Castle Forbes to Balvenie. . . . There we gott nottice that Lord Nairn had left Castle Grant¹ with his partie the night befor, and that he went of in great hurrie about nine at night, occasioned by ane express from Fochabers, we suppose, giveing ane account of the rebels' retreat from Strathbogie, and of our advance towards Strathspey. He came to Castle Grant the Fryday befor, as did Lord George Murray with him to the countrie, with about 1600 men, and brought with them two cannon, 9-pounders, to batter down the house if resisted. When our people saw that force, they agreed to give access to the house immediatlie; so Lord Nairn was sent to Castle Grant, and Lord George Murray proceeded to Atholl to attack some forcess were in Blair Castle. In that, we are informed, he did not succeed, but that he surprized to or three small out parties near Kynachan, and has sent them to Ruthven, where Lord Nairn marched to when he left Castle Grant. I am informed Lord Nairn did noe great hurt when he was at Castle Grant, further than drinking some wine, &c, and eating a little beeff and mutton. . . . I ever am,

Dear Sir, your faithfull Son, &c,

LUD: GRANT.

Duke William to Lord George Murray.

INVERNESS, *26 March 1746.*

Brother George,—Since, contrary to the rules of right reason, you was pleased to tell me a sham story about the expedition to Blair, without further ceremony for me, you may now do what the Gentlemen of the country think fit with the Castle; I am in no concern about it. Our great-great-grandfather, grandfather, and father's pictures² will be an irrepar-

¹ Lord Nairne left Castle Grant on the night of the 18th March. He had probably received an order from Lord George desiring him to come south to Ruthven to take charge of the prisoners who had been taken in Atholl on the morning of the 17th. The prisoners were first sent to Ruthven, and thence to Inverness, probably guarded on the latter march by Lord Nairne's battalion.

² William, 2nd Earl of Tullibardine; John, 1st Marquis of Atholl; and John, 1st Duke. These pictures are at Blair.

able loss on blowing up the house ; but there is no comparison to be made with these faint images of our forefathers and the more necessary Publick Service, which requires we should sacrifice every thing can valuably contribute towards the country's safety, as well as materially advancing the Royal cause.

Pray give my kind service to all valuable friends, to which I can add nothing, but that in all events you may be assured I shall ever be found, with just regard, Dear Brother,

Y^r most aff. Brother and Humble Servant,

[ATHOLL.]

At the upper end from the door of the old stable there was formerly a gate which had a Portcullis into the Castle : It is half built up and boarded over from the stable side, with a hollow large enough to hold a horse at hack and manger. People that know the place imagine it may be much easier dug through than any other part of the wall, so as to make a convenient passage into the vaulted room, which is called the servants' Hall.¹

On the news being received that the Highlanders had attacked Blair, the two Hessian battalions which had been left at Stirling were ordered to Crieff, and accordingly marched there on March 19th.

Monday, March 24.—The Prince of Hesse moved north from Perth with four Hessian battalions and some hussars and encamped at Nairn House, whilst a detachment was advanced as far as Inver.

Tuesday, March 25.—Six hundred Hessians marched from Nairn and joined the detachment at Inver, and then crossed the Tay to Dunkeld. The Prince of Hesse went as far as Dalpowie and then returned to Nairn. Duke James reached Dunkeld before the arrival of the Hessians.

Wednesday, March 26.—The Prince and the rest of the Hessian troops arrived at Dunkeld ; one battalion encamped in Inver Park, three in the Wilderness Park at Dunkeld, and

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

the hussars in the avenue there, whilst the Prince took up his residence in Dunkeld House with Duke James.

Thursday, March 27.—St. George's Dragoons (8th) (who had been quartered at Bridge of Earn) reached Dunkeld, and were picketed behind the garden. The Prince went reconnoitring as far as Dowally.

On this day the two Hessian battalions from Crieff reached Aberfeldie and encamped at Tay Bridge.

Friday, March 28.—Reconnoitring.

Saturday, March 29.—At six in the morning the troops at Dunkeld were alarmed by a report of an advance of the Highlanders, and drew up in line of battle above the hop-ground; the alarm turning out to be false, the troops returned to camp by 11 A.M.¹

His Serene Highness Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland (extract).

DE DUNKELD, 27 de Mars 1746.

Au depart de cette lettre on vient de me rapporter que le Lieutenant avec les quinze Houssards, que j'avois envoyer pour faire la patrouille en avant, s'étant avancer jusque a un village nommé Mullnay, a dix miles d'ici, avoit detaché un caporal et deux Houssards pour reconnoitre plus loin, qu'a une demi lieue du dit village un parti de Rebelles, environ au nombre de 50, dont les uns s'étoient cacher dans une maison, et les autres derrier les montagnes, apres les avoir laissé passer sans se decouvrir, les avoient tellement couper, qu'ils ne virent d'autre moien pour se sauver qu'en prenant la Resolution de rebrousser chemin et de repasser a travers d'eux le sabre a la main, ce qu'ils ont executé heurement malgré tout le feu de ces Rebelles par lequel ils etoient obliger de passer, et dont aucun de ces trois Houssards n'a receu le moindre mal.²

Translation.

At the departure of this letter they have just reported to me that the Lieutenant with fifteen Hussars, who I had sent to patrol towards the

¹ Chiefly from Duke James's Journal.

² Public Record Office, London.

front, having advanced to a village called Moulin^{earn,} ten miles from here, had detached a corporal and two Hussars to reconnoitre further. That half a league from the said village a party of Rebels, about fifty in number, some of whom had hidden themselves in a house, and others behind hillocks, after having let them pass without discovering themselves, had so cut them off that they saw no other means of saving themselves than to take the resolution of going back and passing through them sword in hand, which they happily executed, notwithstanding all the fire of these Rebels through which they had to pass, and from which none of the three Hussars received the least harm.

Earl of Crawford to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland
(extract).

DUNKELD, March 27, 1746.

May it please yr Royal Highness,—It being thought proper we should not leave this place till a Bridge be made over the Tay, I have set all hands to work, that it may be perfected so soon as possible in the best manner we can.

I wish poor Sir Andrew may be able to hold out till it is judged proper to move up to him.¹

Duke James to the Lord Justice-Clerk (extract).

DUNKELD, 29 March 1746.

The Prince of Hesse, or some of his Generals, insist to have a Bridge of boats made, which I beleive is impracticable. However I have ordered up all the boats upon Islay, from Coupar of Angus to Kincleavan, and from Kincleavan to this place (the boats upon Tay above this being brought before); and all these boats arrived here last night. . . . Partys of the Hussars, with some Dragoons, keep constantly patrolling as far up as they can safely, and there has been several shott exchanged at different times between them—at first not above 6 miles from this.

Last night an advanced party of 15 hussars and as many dragoons came up with a party of the Rebels, halfway betwixt and Blair, at a place called Haugh of Dalshian, with whom they had a skirmish. The Dragoons say they killed 4 of them, and they brought a Rannochoy here prisoner, who, tho' very young, carryed arms, and owns himself he was at the Battle of Falkirk.¹

¹ Public Record Office, London.

*Duke James to Captain James Murray.*DUNKELD, 29th March 1746.

Dear Cap:—I have been so harrassed and plauged of late that I never could find time to write to you, but I often did to Lord Justice Clerk. What do you think of 3000 Hessiens, 70 Hussars, 240 Dragoons, besides all the Army horses, being within the inclosiers here, where I would hardly trust a single stranger to have a key, for fear of Mischeif; This is after the Rebels haveing done all manner of damages for six months befor, both here and at Blair; The poor Trees are no more that I have taken so much pains to propagate.

However, I am cured of all maner of fondness for either place, which perhaps you will not be sory for; I had brought them to some perfection, and amused myself in the mean time; I hate to see places I took so much pain about [ruined ?].

I am now too old to begin again, but where ever chance leads me, shall ever continue, Dear Cap:

Yours most faithfully,

ATHOLL.

*Lord George Murray to Duke William.*BLAIR, 29th March 1746.

Dear Brother,—I received your letter of the 26th. I'm sorry you seem to think I told you a sham story (as you express it), about our expedition here.

I told you we were to endeavour to take possession of Castle Grant, and try to hinder that Clan taking party against us; this was done so far as in our power. I also told you, if we could contrive to surprise any of the partys in this country we might attempt it, but that depended so much upon insidents, that my very hopes could not reach so far as we performed.

Secrecy and expedition was our main point, once we resolved upon the thing, which was not till I met Clunie and Sheen¹ in Badinoch.

If the greatest fatigues, dangers, and hard dutys deserve aprobaton, I think some thanks is due to us, and from non more than yourself. For

¹ Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Menzies of Shian.

my own part, I was at one time seventy houres without three of sleep ; but we undergo all hardships for the good of the common cause. You will ever find me, Dear Brother,

Your most affe^{ct} Brother & faithful Serv^t,

GEORGE MURRAY.

I am so ill supported with men, money, and everything else, our people here have no pay, that, after all our endeavours, I'm afraid we must abandon this country without the Castle.¹

Duke William to Lord George Murray.

INVERNESS, 30th March 1746.

Brother George,—This evening I had yours of yesterday's date. As to any difference betwixt you and I, without prejudice to passed expedition and secrecy mentioned, at meeting it must be discussed the best way we can, since lately behaving according to dutiful sentiments, no body is more satisfied than I am of your indefatigable activity for the publick service.

Had you sent me your letters to the Secretary, who, I am very sorry to say, is at Elgin dangerously ill, or any other of the Ministry to whom expresses were addressed, I should have directly endeavoured getting the most satisfactory answers could be sent your pressing reall demands, which are not well understood, if much regarded, by every body here ; I am informed by Mr Hay² and Cruben, who were just now with me, that all the men who were with you have been fully paid till Wednesday last, and that, with some necessary foresight and pains, you might have had a good deal of provisions from below the pass, whilst that expedient was practicable, since you might have naturally known that monney cannot be sent, but on an absolute necessity ; you know meal can be still brought you from Kiliwhimen.

With what I wrote you the 26th, in case the enemy could not be otherwise forced out of my house, I gave Sir Thomas Sheridan an account to be sent you of a secret passage into it, which is here again transmitted, in case making any advantageous use of it has been hitherto neglected : Was it not hoped, by this time, you have near got the better

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² John Hay of Restalrig.

of these obstinate intruders into the Castle, at any rate I should go myself and try if I could not usefully help towards reducing them to a speedy surrendering of such unfortified, tho' thick, old walls as it is composed of.

Pray continue your accustomed vigilance on such a valuable occasion as will render you dear to all honest men, as well as particularly giving me an opportunity of showing with what esteem I am, Dear Brother,

Your most affectionate Brother and most humble Servant,

[ATHOLL.]¹

His Highness Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel to His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland (extract).

DE DUNKELD, 31 de Mars 1746.

Hier un de nos Houssards aiant en le malheur d'avoir son cheval tué sous lui, et d'être fait prisonier par un parti de Rebelles, revint hier au soir nous rejoindre avec la lettre dont V.A.R. trouvera la copie ci-jointe.

Le Houssard raporta en meme tems qu'on ne lui avoit pas ote la moindre chose, hormis ses armes et son manteau, et qu'on l'avoit d'abord conduit devant le Lord George Murray, qui l'avoit beaucoup gracieux et fait reconduire par deux officiers et 50 hommes jusques a une certaine distance de nos avant postes.

Je vous prie, mon tres cher Frere, de me faire savoir se je puis repondre a la susdite lettre, et en quels Termes vous souhaiter que je le fasse. Aiez en meme tems la bonté de me dire si le Houssard qu'on a relache peut continuer le service comme au paravant.²

Translation.

Yesterday one of our Hussars had the misfortune to have his horse shot under him, and to be taken prisoner by a party of Rebels; he returned last night to rejoin us, with the letter a copy of which your Royal Highness will find subjoined.

At the same time the Hussar reported that they had not taken away the least thing from him, except his arms and cloak, and that they had first taken him before Lord George Murray, who had been very gracious, and had him taken back by two officers and fifty men to within a certain distance of our advance posts.

¹ Atholl Jacobite Correspondence.

² Public Record Office, London.

I pray you, my dear brother, to let me know if I ought to reply to the said letter, and in what terms you wish me to do it. At the same time have the goodness to tell me whether the Hussar whom they released can continue to serve as before.

ENCLOSURE.

Lord George Murray to His Highness Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel.

March y^e 30, 1746.

Sir,—As our men have taken one of your Serene Highness's people prisoner, I return him to your Serene Highness.

I shall be very glad to know upon what footing your Highness proposes making war in these Kingdoms, and whether you would incline, as we do, to have a cartel settled.

As many of the officers of the Elector of Hanover's Army, whom we took prisoners and used with the greatest tenderness, have broke their words of honour, given in the most solemn manner, and the common soldiers, who were liberated upon condition not to serve any more against us, have entered again into the Elector's pay, H.R.H. the Prince Regent is much difficulted how to use the other prisoners who have lately been taken. For tho' he desires to show the greatest lenity to his Father's subjects that even opposed him upon his first coming to these kingdoms and setting up the Royal Standard, yet those who have the honour to serve him cannot but resent the unprecedented behaviour of their enemies, who I have some reason to believe have orders to give no quarters. As I have the most profound respect for the illustrious house of Hesse Cassel, and in particular for your S:H:, I have the honour to subscribe myself, may it please y^r S. H.,

Y^r H.'s most devoted & most hum^e Svt.,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle (extract).

ABERDEEN, March 31, 1746.

My Lord Duke of Newcastle,—My intelligence informs me, and deserters have confirmed, that the Rebel Army had no pay for these

¹ Public Record Office, London.

last seven days, and that there was no more money amongst them. From all these circumstances I fear their dispersion is nigh at hand. For should this Rebellion end any way but by the Sword, I apprehend that from the Lenity of our government, and from the ill placed compassion which will be had when our frights are over, the authors and actors of and in this Rebellion will not be sufficiently punished to prevent another.

The Hessian corps that marched from Perth under Prince Frederick's command was to be as yesterday at Blair, so that I suppose that part of the country is once more freed from the Rebels. This fresh attempt of the Rebels at Blair has fully proved the Duke of Atholl to be of no weight in this country when he is in his Maties Service, for all the men that he raised for L^d Loudoun's Reg^t deserted with their officers to the Rebels on the first breaking out of this Rebellion, and upon my putting him into possession again of Dunkeld, Blair, and the rest of his estate, he offered to recruit that company afresh, and to raise 500 men for his Maties Service. As to his first proposal, I utterly refused it, but consented to his trial of the latter, in which he has totally failed, as I fear he will do in every attempt in favour of the Government. . . . This instant I have received the inclosed from Prince Frederick & Lord Crawford. I own I am not without fears for the Castle of Blair; for Sir And^w Agnew has but 5 days provisions left, & I am afraid, in the manner the Hessians go on, they will loyter away the time, but I have sent them positive orders to go on and not stay for the junction, which, if they obey in time, will inevitably save Blair.

. I am yr aff^{te} friend,

WILLIAM.¹

The Duke of Cumberland sent the following reply to Prince Frederick's letter of 31st March, which is very characteristic of His Royal Highness:—

His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to Prince Frederick of Hesse (extract).

ABERDEEN, *Apr* 3, 1746.

Je suis assuré que vous ne pensez pas a repondre a la lettre qu'un Rebelle au Roi votre Beau Pere vous escrit, et dans laquelle meme il ne donne a Sa Majesté que le Titre d'Electeur.

¹ Public Record Office, London.

J'amire l'insolence de ces Rebelles qui osent proposer un cartel, aiant eux memes la corde au cou.¹

Translation.

I am assured that you won't think of replying to the letter which a Rebel against the King your Father-in-law has written to you, and in which he even only gives his Majesty the title of Elector.

I admire the insolence of these Rebels, who dare to propose a cartel, having themselves the rope round their necks.

Lord George continues in his letter to Mr. Hamilton of Bangour :²—

"We continoud in this position for a fortnight. We had pickeering³ with the Hussars and some of St George's Dragoons for four or five days. They came near Pitlochry and retyred at night.

"I was commonly back and fore twice a day betwixt that and Blair. One morning we took one of their Hussars & two or three horses; the men got off except the Hussar. He was a Swed by birth, & spoke very good laten, was a Gentleman, & had been formerly a Lutenat, as he said; he did not expect any quarter (for Hussars seldome give it). He was surprised when he found himself so well treated.

"I sent him back with a letter to the Prince of Hess, desiring to know if he intended to have a Carteall [Cartel] settled, but I had no answer. The Swed ask'd me if he must return; I told him not, except the Prince of Hess sent him. He went away very well pleas'd.

"The day before we left Blair a considerable body of the Hessians came up the lenth of the Haugh of Dalshian, within two short miles of Pitlochrie. The Dragoons & Hussars came forward, & we retreated to the foot of the Pass, where we made a disposition to dispute it, & stay'd there above six houres, but we heard a great parte of them had returned to Dunkeld, others stay'd about Pitlochrie.

"I had the day before, & that day, got three expresses to return to Inverness, for it was believed the Duke of Cumberland would march in a day or two. I had that morning order'd of our two pice of cannon, that we might not be impeaded in our march.

¹ Public Record Office, London.

² See pages 231 and 236.

³ Skirmishing.

“About ten at night I drew off the men from the pass & came to Blair, & as I had left orders, all was in readiness, so we marched off about two in the morning. We had a good deall of fatigue on this Expedition, but I was as well assisted by the officers & men as I could desire, particularly Clunie, who always kept to the post at the town of Blair.

“I was for the first seventy houres that I had not four houres sleep. Much the same thing had hapned to me the three last days of our retreat to Carlisle, for, besides the marching & fatigues others underwent, I had also all the orders to give & dispositions to make, &, tho' others were releiv'd & took it in their turns, I had non to releeve me, receiving & dispatching expresses, setling Gaurds & centinells, which at first I always seed done myself till the thing went on of course; alarmes & other necessary dutys took up much time. I believe the country suffer'd by our being on this expedition, but as litle as was in my power. We were forced to take meall & some sheep, for by this time the men had no pay.

“The men that were with me went, as I had got directions, down Spey side to a place cal'd Elches, a good parte of our army being posted from thence to the mouth of Spey. Clunie's men were to gaurd Badinoch from the Atholl side, as they had done before this expedition, & I return'd to Inverness the 3rd Aprile.”

Duke James noted as follows in his Journal:—

“*Sunday, March 30th.*—Easter Sunday—Priching. 12 noon heard of an hussar killed. His horse was, and he returned at three with a Letter from Lord George to the Prince of Hesse.

“Ligonier's [13th] and Hamilton's [14th] two Reg^{ts} of Dragoons came to Garntully, and the other two Hessian Regiments came to Inver. One of them took the former Camp, and the other above the Boatman's house.

“*Monday, March 31st.*—Earl Crawford marched with 1100 Hessians and a Regiment of Dragoons to Dowally & encamped.

“*Tuesday, April 1st.*—Went to Dowally, from thence with E: Crawford to west end of Dalshian. Saw the Rebels at Pitlochry, who retired.

“Went to Pitlochry—went to the fourteenth mile stone. Returned

to Moulinearn, to Dowally. Met the Prince there. Returned with him to Dunkeld.

“ *Wednesday, April 2nd.*—Earl Crawford, the Dragoons, & Hussars from Moulinearn and Hessians from Dowally returned to Dunkeld between 6 and 7 in the morning.

“ Before 12 a message from Urrard brought an account that all the Rebels had not only abandoned the Pass, but all Atholl before daylight, and he believed that they were early in the morning past Dalnacardoch. This soon confirmed, & that they were as far as Dalnaspidal before daylight (so the garrison at Blair at liberty the 17th day, without anybody marching to their relief), upon which the Earl Crawford marched 250 Dragoons and 1100 Hessians and encamped at Moulinearn, & sent a party of Dragoons forward to Blair, where they arrived about six in the morning.

“ *Thursday, April 3^d.*—Went to Moulinearn, from thence to Blair, arrived before 12, saw great devastation; stayed till 3, returned to Moulinearn, and came to Dunkeld that night.

“ Earl Crawford marched from Moulinearn with the Dragoons & Hessians to the Bridge of Altgirnraig, where he left them and went forward to Blair with a few Dragoons; a party of Dragoons with Mr Cuninghame being also there from Rannoch, & had made Peter McGlashan¹ prisoner. Dined in the summer house, returned to Altgirnraig, where the Dragoons & Hessians were left that night; went forward to Moulinearn, met the Prince of Hesse, who had marched from Dunkeld that morning with 1600 Hessians and was encamped at Moulinearn, and about 100 Dragoons a mile and a half further on, the west end of the Haugh of Dalshian.

“ *Friday, April 4th.*—Prince of Hesse & Earl Crawford went to Blair from Moulinearn. The Prince returned to Moulinearn, & Earl Crawford to Dunkeld.

“ *Saturday, April 5th.*—Prince of Hesse returned to Dunkeld with all the Hessians, Hussars, and Dragoons. Dragoons went to Delvine.

“ *Sunday, April 6th.*—The carriages &^c of the Army ferried over.

“ *Monday, April 7th.*—The Prince & the whole Army ferried over, and marched for Perth, where they encamped on the North Inch.

“ 500 Hessians from Tay Bridge about Inver all night.”

¹ Innkeeper at Blair.

The following unsigned and undated note in Lord George's handwriting is believed to have been his last letter to his brother Duke James :—

“Had Mr Harison atended his charge as usuall when the Castle was Blockaded all the store might have been preserved, for a gaurd would have been appointed to have prevented any abuses.

“Clunie offer'd a guinea reward to any who would inform him of a man of his that shott a Dear. As for the sheep, &c, no body could be got to take the charge of them, & all that was desingn'd was to prevent the garison haveing the use of them.”

The following names are noted on the same paper which contains the copy of Lord George's summons to Sir Andrew Agnew. According to General Melville's narrative¹ the first seven were in the castle during the siege. The other six were servants of Duke James's at that date, but it is unknown why they appear on the list unless they were about Blair during the blockade.

| | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| Nicholas Harrison, Farm Grieve. | James Gentle, Carpenter. |
| Betty Harrison, House Keeper. | Charles Willson. |
| John Willson, Gardener. | Andrew Turnbull. |
| Peter M ^c Innes, Carpenter. | William Straton. |
| Rachel Taylor. | Thomas Bambridge. |
| Barbara Walton. | Alex ^r Morrison. |
| Elizabeth M ^c Glashan. | |

NOTES.

The charred mark burnt by one of the red-hot shot fired during the siege was visible on the floor of one of the attic rooms in the Cumming's Tower (facing the front) till 1870, when the room was altered and the floor relaid. That portion of it bearing the mark was cut out and framed.

On April 20, 1866, whilst trenching the north-east corner of the nursery ground at Old Blair, thirty-five cannon balls (six-pounders) were dug up. I supposed at that time that they had been buried there by the

¹ See page 263.

Highlanders when they raised the siege, to save the trouble of carriage back to the North, but having since learnt, from Lord George's papers, that the guns used during the siege were only four-pounders, I imagine that they were buried for a similar purpose before the Prince and his forces evacuated Blair, February 10, 1746. They may, however, have been pilfered out of the carts at that time, and sold to the smith, as at that date the nursery was the smith's croft. As they are stamped with the "broad arrow," they must have been captured from the Government troops during the campaign.

In excavating beneath the old wine-cellar (formerly the stable, and now the pantry), for the purpose of forming a back-stair and new wine-cellars, on February 22, 1869, a skeleton was found; and on the following day, two more. They were skeletons of full-grown men, with no visible marks of violence about them. They were buried about eighteen inches below the surface of the floor, which was of earth with a covering of clay, and nothing was found with them except some small portions of a leather strap. The bones were afterwards interred in the churchyard at Old Blair. It has been conjectured that they might have been some of the garrison who died of disease during the siege in 1746, but no mention has ever been made of any such circumstance. If any deaths had taken place then, it seems most probable that the bodies would have been taken up and re-interred in the churchyard after the siege was raised. I think it very probable that they were the bodies of the men of Captain Witter's Cromwellian garrison who were killed in the skirmish before the Castle in March 1654, as previously narrated under that date. At that time the present pantry is believed to have been the stable, but in 1745 it was the servants' hall.

There were officers' horses brought inside the Castle during the blockade, but there is no record of where they were stabled. Neither has the site of the old draw-well been discovered as yet, though search has been repeatedly made for it. (A.)¹

Extract from Colonel Thornton's "Sporting Tour through the Highlands" in 1803, published in 1804.

The walls of Blair Castle are wonderfully thick, as all old castles are, but have been much reduced in height since the Rebellion of 1746, when

¹ See vol. v. addenda xxi.

it was strongly fortified and held out a close siege. I have heard many circumstances of this event when conversing with Mr C., a Lieutenant who attended my Father's¹ Volunteers in the year 1745. This Gentleman was taken prisoner by the rebels besieging this castle, by whom, being neglected, he with some others escaped and joined Sir Andrew Agnew, then blocked up in it with his troops, and has often mentioned the great spirit with which it was defended.

I remember to have heard him say, that, in order to save a favourite horse they had taken in with them, grass was pulled from the ramparts, where it grew in some quantity, and though the men so employed were frequently in danger of being shot, and very often fired at, they carried their point.

The following account of the siege of Blair Castle was written by Ensign (afterwards General) Robert Melville of the 25th Regiment, and was published in the Scots Magazine for 1808.

General Melville (of Strathkinness, Fife) died in 1809 :—

An original and genuine Narrative,
 now first published,
 of the remarkable attack of Blair Castle,
 the House of James Duke of Athol,
 by the
 Forces of the Rebels
 in the
 Spring of 1746.
 written by

A subaltern officer of His Majesty's Garrison,
 who served in the defence,
 and has long since been a General in the first rank.

“ In February 1746, His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland arrived at Perth, with the King's army under his command, on his march towards the East Coast and northern part of Scotland, against the Rebels,

¹ W. Thornton, Esq., of Chattel, who in 1745 raised a corps of seventy men on behalf of the Government, whom he paid and clothed himself, and denominated the “Yorkshire Blues.”

who had retired to the country about Inverness. He then found it necessary to make two detachments from the several regiments of Infantry under him, to secure and keep in awe the country of Athol, where almost all the inhabitants were notoriously disaffected to Government. One of these detachments, consisting of two hundred men, under the command of Lt Col. Webster,¹ was sent to occupy Castle Menzies, the seat of Sir Robert Menzies of Weem, in order to secure the passage of the Tay at Tay Bridge, and for other objects.

“The second detachment of three hundred men, commanded by Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., Lt Col. of the Royal North British Fusiliers, was sent by the route of Dunkeld and through the Pass of Killiecrankie to take post at Blair Castle, the seat of James Duke of Athol, a very faithful subject of his Majesty, but then absent from the country; whilst almost all the others capable of bearing arms had followed the standard of the pretended Prince of Wales, and were suspected to maintain a traitorous correspondence with the Ladies and the aged Gentlemen, or persons of any note who had remained in the country.

“The chief object of the service committed to the commandant of the King’s Garrison in Blair Castle was therefore supposed to be, not only to prevent such correspondence, but to prevent all ill consequences arising by interception of such correspondence, and effectually to cut off, by proper parties at fit outposts, the communications by the great roads between the southern and northern parts of the country. Accordingly there were several outposts taken possession of, and kept by parties from the garrison of Blair; but none of these parties exceeded the command of a non-commissioned officer. As to what means were used by the commandant to obtain useful information and convey it to the Duke of Cumberland, the writer of these notes knew of no steps taken in that way; nor of any prisoner of note brought in under suspicion of treason, excepting once the Hon. Mrs Robertson of Lude, a sister of Lord Nairne; but who contrived so well to justify herself with the commandant as to be apologised to, entertained at dinner, and sent back to her house. As to voluntarily and faithfully sending intelligence to the commandant, none were supposed to show that loyalty excepting some of the Presbyterian Clergy, and Thomas Bissett, Esq. of Kincairgie, residing near Dunkeld; he

¹ “Captain” Webster had probably been substituted for Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton, who had been originally ordered to command that post.—A.

was judge of the commissariat court, and certainly a most zealous and active friend to Government. One Lady too (called Lady Fascally) sister of John Mackenzie of Delvine, Esq., was esteemed to be sincerely loyal, and sometimes visited Blair Castle, where she was particularly well received. As, at the time of the detachments being sent from Perth, no siege or Blockade of Blair Castle had been foreseen, it was expected that an open communication with it, and the means of its garrison being supplied with provisions, would be securely maintained; the quantity of garrison provisions sent to it (which is not exactly recollected), was but small; and no artillery or military stores were either sent, or, it is believed, afterwards demanded by the commandant; in so much that, on the Castle being first surrounded by the rebels, and the number of serviceable cartridges of powder and ball, in possession of the soldiers, strictly examined, it was found they did not exceed nineteen per man. With respect to water, there was a draw well in the house; but before the troops were shut up, most of the water used by them, for different purposes, was brought from a brook which formed a pond at a small distance from the front of the Castle.

“Blair Castle was then irregular and very high, with walls of great thickness, having what was called Cumming’s tower projecting from the west end of the front of the house, which faces to the north. The entrance into the ground story of that tower was by a door in the centre of its west¹ side, without the house; but it might be defended by musket fire from some of the windows. The great entrance into the house itself was by a large door on the east side of a staircase projecting from the front to the north; and, adjoining to the east gavel² of the old house or Castle, a square new building had been begun, but only carried up to a few feet above some beams or joists fixed for the first floor. There was at four or five yards distance eastward from that new building a strong wall running north and south for forty or fifty yards, and of about fifteen or sixteen feet in height: as forming the west end of a sunk bowling green, and serving as a strong retaining wall to the ground above, which lay between it and the east end of the new building: and about the centre of this wall, fronting, and on a level with the bowling green, was a pretty large recess or room for holding the bowls, and into which persons might occasionally retire.

¹ East in the original, which is obviously a misprint.

² Or gable.

“Along the north side of this bowling green ran a range of office houses, chiefly seeming to be new built. But between this period and autumn 1777, when the writer¹ of this had the honour to visit the Duke and Duchess of Athol, there had been great alterations made, particularly in the Castle itself, which had been considerably lowered, modernized, and improved, with a front of modern appearance: and the very high projection, called Cumming's Tower, had been taken away: it is said also that other improvements in the gardens and other environs have been since made by the present Duke.²

“But to return to matters relative to the King's garrison and the blockade of the Castle, it is to be observed that very early in the morning of the 17th of March, all the detached parties without the Castle had been completely surprized and made prisoners by the rebels at their several posts; after which, by break of day, Blair Castle itself was so closely invested on all sides, by the advanced post of the rebel forces, that they fired from behind the nearest walls of enclosures at the picket guard of the garrison, which was commanded by a subaltern, and posted at a short distance from the Castle. It was with some danger of being intercepted that that guard, as well as some horses belonging to the officers, with a small quantity of provender, could be brought into the house: and one of the horses, that had just been brought by Captain Peregrine Wentworth³ of His Majesty's 4th reg^t of foot, having been brought too late to get into the Castle itself, was put into the lower part of Cumming's Tower with the door shut upon it, and without either forage or water.

“The great door in the staircase being barricado'd, and a small guard placed at it, some disposition of the garrison (amounting now to 270 men, Rank and File) was made throughout the different apartments of the Castle under their proper officers, and with positive orders to the men to abstain from any firing by the windows, excepting in the case of being actually attacked.

“For the defence of the new unfinished building before mentioned, which joined the east end of the Castle, and to which the only communication was down by a ladder of ten or twelve steps from a door in

¹ General Melville was accompanied by his relative, John Whyte, Esq., of Bennoch (Mag. 1808).

² John, 4th Duke.

³ Peregrine Wentworth, Esq., of Toulston Lodge, near Tadcaster in Yorkshire. A very reputable gentleman, still living (Mag. 1808).

the east end of the Castle, a hasty flooring or platform of loose board was laid on the joists, and an Ensign,¹ with a guard of twenty-five men, was posted on it, who was not relieved during the whole of the blockade.

“There was also a small guard, with a non-commissioned officer, appointed to remain at the draw well within the house, with orders to prevent any water from being taken up, excepting during an hour in the morning, a precaution which was judged to be necessary in order to obtain a sufficient quantity that should not be too muddy.

“The provisions in the Castle, excepting what were accidentally in it, for the use of the commandant and officers, consisted chiefly, if not wholly, of biscuit and cheese, of which too the quantity was so small, that the whole allowance fixed per diem for each man was only one pound of biscuit, a quarter of a pound of cheese, with a bottle of water.

“There were of persons to be subsisted in the Castle (besides the garrison and a few servants of officers), domestics of the Duke of Athol to the number of seven, viz: a land steward and female housekeeper, with three maid servants, a gardener, and game keeper.²

“Pretty early in the forenoon of the 17th of March, Lord George Murray, as Lieut: General for the Prince Regent, with Major Generals Lord Nairne³ and Mr McPherson of Clunie, and the principal part of the rebel forces, having established their headquarters in and about the village of Blair, nearly a quarter of a mile to the north of the Castle, sent down a summons, written on a very shabby piece of paper, requiring ‘Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., commanding the troops of the Elector of Hanover, to surrender forthwith the Castle, garrison, military stores, provisions, &c., into the hands of L^t General Lord George Murray, commanding the forces there of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, as the said Sir Andrew Agnew should answer to the contrary at his peril.’

¹ Ensign (now General) Robert Melville of his Majesty's 25th Regiment of foot, in which he had served the two preceding campaigns (Mag. 1808).

² Believed to have been—

| | |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| Nicholas Harrison. | Elizabeth McGlashan. |
| Betty Harrison. | John Wilson. |
| Rachel Taylor. | Peter McInnes. |
| Barbara Walton. | |

(McInnes was a carpenter, not a gamekeeper.)

³ Lord Nairne was in Strathspey at the time, and is believed not to have been present at the siege of Blair.

“It appeared afterwards that no Highlanders, from the impression they had received of the outrageous temper of Sir Andrew Agnew, could be prevailed on to carry that summons, but a maid servant from the Inn at Blair, (then kept by one M^cGlashan), being rather handsome, and very obliging, conceived herself to be on so good a footing with some of the young officers, that she need not be afraid of being shot, and undertook the mission: taking care however, when she came near the Castle, to wave the paper containing the summons over her head as a token of her embassy: and when she arrived at one of the low windows in the passage, whither the furnisher of these notes, with three or four more of the officers, had come, the window was opened and her speech heard; which strongly advised a surrender, promising very good treatment by Lord George Murray, and the other Highland Gentlemen; but denouncing if resistance was made, that as the Highlanders were a thousand strong, and had cannon, they would batter down, or burn the Castle, and destroy the whole garrison.

“That speech was received from Molly, with juvenile mirth by the officers, who told her that those gentlemen would soon be driven away, and the garrison again become visitors at M^cGlashan’s as before. She then pressed them much that the summons should be received from her and carried to Sir Andrew: but that was positively refused by all, excepting a Lieutenant, who being of a timid temper, with a constitution impaired by drinking, did receive the summons, and after its being read, carried it up to deliver it to Sir Andrew; with some hopes, doubtless, of its having success: but no sooner did the peerless knight hear something of it read, than he furiously drove the Lieutenant out of his presence, to return the paper: vociferating after him so loud on the stairs, strong epithets against Lord George Murray, with threatenings to shoot through the head any other messenger whom he should send, that the girl herself perfectly overheard him, and was glad to take back the summons, and to return with her life to Lord George, who with Lord Nairne, Clunie, and some other principal officers, were seen standing together in the churchyard of Blair, to receive her, and could be observed, by their motions and gestures, to be much diverted by her report.

“From that day Lord George made no attempt to have any intercourse with the garrison; but from all the measures he took, seemed to place all his hopes in reducing it to surrender by famine, having probably

heard of the store of provisions being scanty; for the better executing of which design, he easily found means, by his great superiority in number, to block up the castle so very closely, by men up to the walls wherever they could not be annoyed from it by musketry, particularly round that part where the scaffold guard was posted, heaving up stones from time to time amongst them, with coarse jokes, especially against Sir Andrew, of whose *peculiarities* they seemed to have been very well informed, that it was indeed impossible to receive any sort of supplies into it. It is also probable that he had some expectation of hastening a surrender, by setting fire to the Castle, or putting the garrison in great dread of it, by firing at it red hot bullets, from two field pieces which he had brought with him, and placed a little to the eastward of Blair village, behind a wall in which he had made two embrasures.

“All his efforts, however, for that purpose, at different times, proved ineffectual, as all the red hot bullets, which lodged in the rafters of the roof, or other solid timbers in the Castle, did not set them on fire, but only charred or burnt black what was around them; and either falling out of themselves, or being otherwise got hold of, were caught up in an iron ladle, from the Duke of Athol's kitchen, and tossed into tubs of urine, for better water could not be bestowed in quenching them.” To Lord George's disappointment in his attempt against the north front of the house was attributed the removal of his field pieces in a night, before his breaking up the blockade, to a nearer position on the south side of the back of the Castle; from whence, however, their shot produced no greater effect than the former.

“However determined the commandant was, (and whatever military talents he might want, those of zeal and natural courage were surely none of them,) as well as his garrison, to make the most intrepid efforts rather than submit to any capitulation; yet if the rebels could have kept up the close blockade for a short time longer, the garrison, after being reduced to eat horseflesh, must have tried the last resource, by an attempt in the night time to break through the blockade, and try to join the King's troops at Castle Menzies. The garrison could then have issued from the Castle only by a door, under the annoyance of an enemy so near; and must have afterwards been exposed to their attacks on all sides, with very superior numbers, during a march of about ten miles, mostly across a country very mountainous and without roads. This was indeed a very

desperate project; but it would have been attempted, and, whatever had been the issue, it would have merited the highest honours of fame.

“The event, however, turned out to be decisive in behalf of the garrison, without its being reduced to the last extremities, and even without any loss, excepting that of the outposts, as before mentioned. But it suffered one alarm of danger, which, had it not proved to be false, must have been of the most decisive effect. It was, that in a week after the commencement of the blockade there was very distinctly heard such a noise of knocking, seemingly underneath the ground floor of the Castle, as if miners were hard at work in forming a mine to blow it up; a measure to reduce or destroy the garrison which indeed seemed to be very practicable, had it been thought to be so by Lord George Murray. For his men were in the complete and undisturbed possession, not only of the bowling green and the range of offices forming its north side, but also of the high wall making that to the west, in the centre of which was the bowl house before mentioned; from the back of which a subterraneous passage or gallery might have been easily dug out to the centre of the ground under the Castle, and a chamber or mine there formed large enough to hold a sufficient number of barrels of gunpowder for blowing up the Castle; previous to which a summons, with a threat instantly to spring the mine if the commandant did not capitulate, ought certainly to have appeared to Lord George the most probable measure for obtaining success. And the opportunity for executing such a measure seemed indeed so inviting, that its not being attempted by Lord George (who was born in Blair Castle,¹ and perfectly well acquainted with its topography, as well as a man of known sagacity) can hardly be supposed to have proceeded from its not having occurred to himself, or any of his most intelligent officers, but rather to a want of workmen capable of executing such a work, however clumsily. Certain however it was, that had it been attempted, and even discovered by the garrison before being completed, and the mine charged, it was impossible to have interrupted it otherwise than by opening and running down a counter mine from the ground floor of the castle. But the whole of that mighty alarm was found to be caused by nothing more than a soldier's cutting a block of wood, which lay on a floor in one of the uppermost rooms, with repeated strokes of the axe, which occasioned a pritty general merriment in the Garrison.

¹ This is incorrect. Lord George was born at Huntingtower, near Perth, 4th October 1694.

“However, the smallness of the present quantity, with the certainty of an approaching want of provisions for men and of horse provender, were circumstances constantly in view; and as no probability of the rebels being forced to give up the blockade soon could be foreseen, nor any mode devised of sending intelligence by the commandant to the Earl of Crawford, then supposed to be at Dunkeld or Perth, as the general officer commanding some British Cavalry, &c, with a body of Hessian troops lately brought from Flanders; until Mr Wilson, the Duke of Athol's gardener, a loyal, stout, and sensible man, offered to perform that service, which being accepted, and a letter prepared by the commandant, stating matters to Lord Crawford, with references to Wilson, who was to destroy the letter if in danger of being taken, he was allowed to take his choice of one of the officers' horses in the Castle, and about one o'clock in the morning of the 29th of March (as far as can be recollected) a soldier being placed at each of the front windows; and the officer with the platform guard, prepared to make a discharge against any sentries of the rebels who should attempt to stop or take Mr Wilson; the great door was then unbarricado'd and opened without noise; on which he slipt out unperceived by the rebels, and having got on horseback, passed along westward to the small bridge over the brook, at the upper end of the pond, and from it proceeded slowly to the bottom of the avenue which led up to the high road, when being discovered and fired at from each side, a discharge was instantly made from the platform guard, and from most of the windows of the castle, at the places where the rebels had been observed to fire; with which the affair ended, every one hoping that Mr Wilson had made his escape, until next morning, when the horse he rode was seen near Blair village, mounted by a Highlander; which caused much concern in the garrison, as it was concluded that poor Wilson had been made prisoner, and no intelligence gone to Lord Crawford.

“Before this time, the question whether the young highland horse of Captain Wentworth, which had been hardily bred on the highland hills, but hastily put into the bottom of Cumming's Tower, and shut up from all communication with the Castle, as has been said, could be still alive or not, as having been left without either forage or water. It was therefore thought that he could not have outlived nine or ten days at most; which in the sequel will be only found to prove that the English and the Lowland Scotchmen were no judges of the constitution of a highland horse bred on

bleak and barren hills. After the apparently most unlucky fate of Wilson no hope of relief remained, but from the chapter of accidents, especially with the soldiers, who used frequently to say among themselves that Sir Andrew's good luck would certainly help them out in some way or other. For they had heard many strange stories about him, as of his never being sick or wounded, or in any battle that the English did not win; and they were therefore the less surprised when at break of day, on the first¹ of April, not a single highlander could be seen; and soon after Mc'Glashan's maid Molly, who had brought down the summons, came to congratulate her old friends, that Lord George and all his men, as she called them, had gone off in the night for Dalnacardoch and Badenoch: adding that she believed the Highlanders had been afraid of being surrounded by Lord Crawford with the King's Black Horse from Dunkeld; but it was afterwards said, with more probability, to have been in consequence of an order suddenly received by Lord George Murray to join the forces of the pretended Prince of Wales near Inverness, and in expectation of being soon after attacked by the Duke of Cumberland, then marching from Aberdeen.

“Notwithstanding the certainty of the rebels having broken up their blockade in the night time, and marched off in such haste, all particulars of which were speedily reported to the commandant, yet as he was purblind, and could not have the evidence of his own eyes, nor would trust to the eyes of others, he positively ordered that the garrison should be kept shut up till further orders; and those orders were not given for its releasement until next morning, the 2nd of April,² when an officer having arrived on horseback from the Earl of Crawford, he informed the commandant that his Lordship, with some cavalry, might be expected in an hour, as accordingly happened; and the garrison being drawn out, his Lordship was received by the commandant at the head of it with this compliment, ‘My Lord, I am very glad to see you, but, *by all that's good*, you have been very dilatory, and we can give you nothing to eat.’ To which his Lordship answered laughingly, with his usual good humour, ‘I assure you, Sir Andrew, I made all the haste I possibly could; and I hope that you and the officers will do me the honour to partake with me of such fare as I can give you.’ His Lordship did accordingly entertain

¹ This date should be *second* of April, which is proved by Duke James's Journal, and by the accounts published in the London Gazette at the time, whereas this narrative was not published till sixty-two years after the occurrence.

² Should be 3rd of April.

afterwards, in the summer house in the garden,¹ Sir Andrew and his officers, with a plentiful dinner, and very good wines, and returned in the evening to Dunkeld. Whence it is supposed that Lord Crawford had made a handsome report to the Duke of Cumberland in favour of the garrison, as public thanks were soon after given to it by His Royal Highness for its steady and gallant defence of Blair Castle, and the matchless commandant promoted to be Colonel of a regiment of Marines.² It was then learned that although Mr Wilson had got a fall from his horse, which was frightened by the fire at him, yet he had on foot made his escape from the rebels, arrived early next day at Dunkeld, and waited on Lord Crawford with his dispatch; and it was further understood that his Lordship had spared no pains to prevail on the commandant of the Hessians to advance with them against the rebels in Athol, but without effect; so great was their terror of being attacked in the Pass of Killiecrankie with swords by the wild mountaineers, as they considered them, who had twice beaten the King's troops with firearms, as they had heard.

“One remarkable incident at the end of the blockade still remains to be told: which is, that after Sir Andrew's general jail delivery of the garrison, in the morning of the 2nd of April,³ some officers hastening to see the poor *dead* horse of Captain Wentworth, it being the 17th⁴ day of his confinement, they had no sooner opened the door and entered, than they were precipitately driven out, laughing, to avoid the animal, who was wildly staggering about.

“That fine stout animal, having received the most proper care and best treatment by order of his master, soon became in excellent condition; and, as it is believed, was sent to England by Captain Wentworth, as a present to one of his sisters.”

During the progress of the siege some of the younger officers, finding the time hang heavily on their hands, bethought them of a joke at the expense of Sir Andrew. They obtained

¹ At that time the garden was on the south side of the Castle, immediately below the present bowling-green, and the summer house stood at the south-west corner of the garden, near the ice-house clump, about the position of the existing summer-house (erected 1895). The present garden was only begun to be laid out in 1751.

² Sir Andrew died an old Lieutenant-General in 1771, aged eighty-four, having served as a Cornet in the 2nd Regiment of Dragoons, or Scots Greys, when commanded by Lord John Hay at the battle of Ramilies, 12th May, O.S. 1706 (Mag. 1808).

³ 3rd of April.

⁴ Eighteenth.

one of his old uniform coats, which having stuffed with straw, they produced an excellent imitation of the commandant, and placed the figure at a window, with a spy-glass in the hand, as if reconnoitring the besiegers. This apparition did not escape the eyes of the Highlanders, who continued to pour their fire upon the window, without any adequate effect. At length Sir Andrew himself became curious to know what could possibly induce so constant a fire upon that particular point of the Castle, and ascending to the place, there he saw his other identity standing under fire as stiff, as fearless, and as imperturbable as himself.¹ The commandant was somewhat scandalised at this irreverent deception, and instituting inquiries, the author of the plot was induced to confess his guilt; upon which, with awful gravity, he delivered sentence upon the culprit to this effect, "Let the loon that set it up just go up himself and take it down again"—a sufficiently unpleasant task to have to perform under a brisk fire.²

Sir Andrew also often amused his soldiers as he went his rounds with his dry remarks at the expense of the blockaders, such as, "My Lord is playing ball against the walls of Blair Castle," or, "Is the loon clean daft, knocking down his own brother's house?"²

Lord Crawford sent so good a report of Sir Andrew's conduct to the Duke of Cumberland that he not only thanked him and his garrison in General Orders but repeated his sentiments in the following private letter:—

Duke of Cumberland to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.

ABERDEEN, the 7th April 1746.

Sir Andrew Agnew,—I return you my hearty thanks for your defence of the Castle of Blair; and I desire you would also acquaint the officers

¹ "Sir Walter Scott's History." I believe one of the front stair windows used to be pointed out as the scene of this event.—A.

² "Sheriffs of Galloway."

and soldiers, who have done their duty, that I am very much obliged to them for the same, not doubting but that they have all done it.

I have ordered Lord Crawford to give you thirty or forty dragoons, if you should want them, which you will demand of him. I desire you will send out sufficient partys, tho' none further than six miles, to destroy and burn the habitations and effects of all those who may be found to have arms contrary to law, or who are out in the present Rebellion. If they should attempt to oppose this, or you should find any partys of them armed, you will order your detachment to destroy them; and for this you will demand the Dragoons if you need them.

Lord Crawford has orders to keep you constantly supplied with a month's provisions; and the Hessians are ordered to your relief should the rebels venture to attack you again.

I am your affectionate friend,

WILLIAM.¹

Requisition from Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart.

BLAIR CASTLE, 7th April 1746.

As the whole roof of the House of Blair Castle is much Broke & damaged by the Rebles, It requires Immediate Reparation, as also almost all the Windows, for the warmth and Health of the Garrison.

AND^R AGNEW.

Intelligence given by John McLeish and Gregor Murray.

DUNKELD, 7th Aprill 1746.

John McLeish, in Ballinloan in Strathbrand, who was forced out by the Rebels about Candlemas last, He and eighteen men more made their escape on Wednesday last, the 2nd, from Strathspey at a place within ten miles of Castle Grant. He informs, That he saw Lord Ogillvie and John Roy Stewart on Tuesday last the first; That the party of the Rebels that was commanded by L^d Ogillvie & John Roy Stewart was Lord Ogillvie's own men, the Strathbrand and Grandtully men, part of the Frasers, part of Mackintosh's men, Chism's men, a small party of French. He cannot condescend on their numbers. He heard them say that the Rebels at Inverness, and those at Elgin, were to join Lord Ogillvie and Roy Stewart's Detachment, but he does not know the place.

¹ "Sheriffs of Galloway."

He says that Lochiell with a party was in Lochaber, but did not get Fort William, and that a party was in pursuit of Lord Loudoun. He says that a great many of Lord Ogillvie's men were deserting, but that they had guards on the passes who brought them allways back.

That the numbers of Rebels about the Spey consists as follows when he left them, viz: of Angus men about 500, Lord Lewis Gordon's (including Glenbucket's and Mr Hamilton's men) about 700, Farquharsons about 300, Chisms about 150, about 200 Horsemen, John Roy Stewart's men about 200, about 100 Mackintoshes, French remaining, after what went for Fort Augustus, about 80. That none of the Camerons, McDonalds, McPhersons, Stewarts of Appine, McKinvens, McLeods of Rasa, McGregors, Duke of Perth's men, Rannoch men, or Athollmen, were alongs with the above numbers, which were commanded by Lord John Drummond.

That he heard that there were seven men killed of the Argyle and Duke of Kingston's men at Keith, and that one officer, a son of Barcaldine's, is either killed or mortally wounded.

That there were 3 officers, 50 private Argyleshire men, and 20 of the Duke of Kingston's men taken prisoners.

Intelligence given by James Johnston at the Boat.

[INVAR], *April 8th.*

Alex^r Taylor, servant to Baillie David Robertsons in Perth, came to Invar att eleven this morning from Fasklie, and says that yesternight Balnacree, Robertsons by name, upon the head of 100 or 120 men, came Down the pass of Killiecrankie last night to a place called Dysart, took possession of all the Boats on their side and broke them. They gave out they had come to Intercept about 30 Campbells that were Returning from the Duke's Army. They mett a man on Road going to Blair with two Loads of cheese, who they Lett pass, but brought him under some oath. They were last night in the braes above Moulin, and went away this morning by Daylight. They gave out they were straight for Kirkmichael in Strathardle.¹

¹ It is difficult to conjecture where this party could have come from. They were probably the last men who appeared in arms in Atholl for the Stuart cause. Captain Robertson of Balnacree was killed at Culloden eight days afterwards.

*Captain James Murray, Ex-Governor of Isle of Man, to
Duke James (extract).*

EDINB, April 8, 1746.

My Lord,—I have the honour of your Grace's Letters of the 29th of last month, and the 5th of this. As to the former, your Grace is much mistaken when you think I take no concern in the destruction of what you had been twenty years a rearing. I am extremely sorry for it, though I was ever far from approving of so great an expence made at places so ill situate for pleasure, and which I foresaw would one day undergo the fate they have met with; this, with other considerations of greater consequence, made me sorry for the sums of money I saw laid out, and was a real drawback on the joy I alwaies have to be in your Grace's company, but every thing was so well execute, and with so good a taste, that forgetting every other consideration, I felt alwaies the greatest pleasure in seeing all these embellishments forced in some respect against nature. I hope your Grace will pardon this freedom. . . .

Yr Gr/s most humble & devoted Serv^t,

J. MURRAY.

The same day Duke James left Dunkeld for Balhousie, and so much did he feel the destruction of his policy grounds that he noted in his journal, "Not to see Dunkeld or Blair again as long as the rebellion subsists."

April 10.—Duke James took up his quarters at Mr. Wood's in Perth.

The following unsigned paper is supposed to be a proposal made by Lord George Murray:—

12th Aprile 1746.

I am not curious to dive into councils, yet, as I find it the general notion that our Army is preparing to attack the enemy in Aberdeenshire, and that I am as deeply concerned in the event as any other Gentleman, I cannot help presenting, at such a critical Juncture, a few hints that occur to me with regard to that measure.

I believe in the first place it will not be deny'd that it wou'd be wrong

in us to form a despicable notion of our Enemy's councils, and risk a great deal upon the supposition of their blundering; on the contrary, I take it to be a maxim in war that we are to suppose the Enemy is to act the most prudent part, and take our measures accordingly, when we are under no necessity of doing desperate things; and should our affairs be ruined by failing in an enterprise attempted contrary to this maxim, our Leaders wou'd be justly blam'd by latest Posterity.

I pretend not to be so much skilled in matters of war as to determine absolutely what is best for the Enemy to do in pursuance of his real Interest; But let it only be supposed that his plan is to reduce us by famine, (and I think his conduct since he came to Aberdeen does not contradict this supposition). In consequence of this plan, as he knows that when the Provisions in these northern parts are consum'd we must either disband or march south at all hazards, he will endeavour to make the last as difficult and desperate for us as possible.

If this is the plan, it is the Enemy's bussiness to shun a general engagement. Battles are never to be ventured without necessity, or an evident superiority in numbers or other circumstances; our Enemy is at present far from being reduced to the necessity of fighting, nor is it to be imagined he will humour us in that point which we have reason to desire most; how firey so ever the General of the Enemy may be represented, that fire will be bridled by a council, now that all is at stake, and that they have ceased from despising our Troops.

Let it be suppos'd next that our whole Army is assembl'd and in their march towards Aberdeen. Let it be suppos'd that the Prince of Hanover,¹ having shiped off all his sick and heavy baggage, takes the start of us by two days' march, passes Tay, and makes a stand; strongly guarding all the Fords upon that River and the defiles on the high Road towards Atholl: what are we to do next? To force a passage below Dunkeld will be impracticable; To march up the high way to the head of the country will be equally impossible; But something must be done; The Enemy will be in no hurry any more than they are at present; they'll allow us as much time as we please to consume what they shall think fit to leave behind, which, to be sure, will be as little as they can; So that the best thing we can do in that case will be to march thro' the Hills to the head of Atholl, and there endeavour to force a passage, but how

¹ Duke of Cumberland.

difficult this passage may be render'd if it is at all disputed, and what hardships we must suffer before we can form on the other side, and be in a condition to fight, may easily be imagin'd. As to the article of subsistence for our Horses in this expedition, and how we are to carry our ammunition, and provision for our men sufficient to serve them till we are masters of some plentiful country, Let our Commissaries consider.

But were it possible for us to surmount this last difficulty, and to suppose that our private men will be as much upon honour to stand by their colours in times of scarcity as our Gentlemen; that we pass Tay at or above the Bridge, with a little provision to carry us to the lower parts of Perthshire; The Enemy still intent upon his first plan of reducing us by scarcity, and shunning a general engagement without necessity, will begin to send off or destroy every thing that can be of use to us, betwixt Tay and Forth, as soon as we begin our march towards the Highlands; their whole army will march off in due time for Stirling; and the Banks of the Forth must be the first place we can hope to come to a general engagement, even supposing it to be possible under such circumstances to march our Army so far; and whether that is possible or not, or if the Army shall be in a condition to fight at a disadvantage after so much distress and fatigue, I leave to the consideration of our Generals and heads of Clans. It is scarce worth while to suppose that the P: of H: is entrenching himself in good earnest at Aberdeen, with a view of commanding that coast and intercepting our succours from abroad, but if it should be the case, it would not be prudent to attack him in his Trenches, as he has but one side of the Town to guard with all his Artillery and Forces, having a River on each flank, and the Sea in his rear, and should we march on and leave him there (by the by, it is not an easy matter to march deliberately having an enemy in flank), the passage of Tay anywhere but in the highlands would be still found impracticable, whilst the Hessians remain undisturbed in Perthshire, I imagine it is for this very purpose of disputing the passage of Tay they are left in that country; for were the P: of H: resolved to give battle, wou'd he not immediately, knowing the quickness of our motions, call the Hessians to make his army as strong as possible? and if they are making no movements to join him now, it is to me as clear as Demonstration that he is resolved not to give Battle in the north, but that his plan actually is to prevent our marching south as long as he can, and distress us by want of provisions.

For these reasons I think our marching towards Aberdeen at present would be risking all upon the bare possibility of the enemy's overlooking his own Interest; whilst, on the contrary, if he does his Duty we are reduced to inevitable Distress; and, to be sure, discovering his Interest in this particular requires no deep penetration; it must be obvious to every officer of the smallest experience.

This scheme being lyable to objections, in my opinion, great and essential, it must immediately occur that marching the Highland Road is the only Resource left us, and no doubt many difficulties may be started here likewise, all which will centre in the article of provisions, and the necessity and difficulty of concealing our design; nor is it possible I can enter into these particulars at present for want of the necessary Information, but I hope what I am about to suggest will be found not impracticable. Let it be supposed then that H:R:H: should order 5000 of his best troops (to make the work speedy and sure) to march into Atholl with expedition and secrecy, sending an advanced party, the strength of which to be regulate according to the Intelligence to be procur'd from that country. The passes upon Tumble and Tay will be easily seiz'd in the first place, and before the Prince of Hesse can receive any certain Intelligence of our numbers, the want of which will keep him for some time in suspens, our main Body may be so disposed as to prevent his retreat.

The natural consequence of this expedition well concerted and conducted wou'd be of infinite advantage; The Enemy must be deprived of these foreign auxiliaries, and we in possession of Tay and all the country to the south of it, besides all the Magazines of the Hessians. The rest of our Infantry might be order'd to follow by Drumuachter with the heavy baggage, and just provision enough to serve themselves till they arrive at Perth; and our Horse may, with proper Guides, march by different Routes thro' Marr and Strathardle, where they will find forrage in plenty.

H:R:H: and his Generals will easily concert and provide for this expedition by feign'd marches and feign'd pretences in such a manner that the P: of H: shall never be able to penetrate his real Design till it is too late to succour his ally.

By this means we get into the heart of the Kingdom where the provisions are not yet consum'd, and baffle the project the enemy has more than probably form'd of reducing us by want, and H:R:H: will have time to consider at his leisure what is to be done next. This wou'd be

playing a game morally sure, whereas marching by Aberdeen wou'd put it in the enemy's power to reduce us to infinite distress without striking a blow, and force us to attempt at last with infinite difficulty and distress, in his view and to his knowledge (besides the immediate prospect of more Difficulties and Distresses) what I humbly propose to be done by way of stratagem. The particular manner of providing for such an Expedition is a Detaille apart, and I scruple not to say that Major Fraser¹ is a proper person to be concern'd in providing for this or any other project of the kind that is attempted.

In the meanwhile Brigadier Stapleton, with Lochiel and Keppoch, had continued the siege of Fort William with no success. At length, on April 3rd, the Brigadier, in consequence of instructions he had received from the Prince to rejoin headquarters, raised the siege, and, after spiking his heavy cannon, marched for Inverness.

Lord George Murray gives the following account of the last days of the campaign of 1746 :—

“On Saturday morning the 12th Ap^r Intelligence was brought that the Duke of Cumberland was marching with his whole army. They had been for a fortnight before this lying all the way from Aberdeen to Strathbogie, at which last place near half of their Army was. Expresses were sent evry where to bring up our men ; those who had been at the siege of Fort William were on their march, but Lord Cromerty was at a great distance with a good body of Mackenzies, Glengile and Mackinen with their men. It seems they were left there after the Duke of Perth had dispers'd Lord Loudon's corps, & was return'd himself to Inverness. The other men that had been with him were cantoun'd north from Inverness ; His Grace was then gone to Spey side, where Lord John Drumond also was. They had the Duke of Perth's Regement, three of the Gordons, the Farcharsons, two of Lord Ogilvie's, John Roy Stuart's, the Atholl men, and some others, besides all our horse.

“Had the rest of our Army been come up we were all to have march'd

¹ Possibly Charles Fraser, younger of Fairfield, major of Lovat's regiment (late lieutenant 34th Regiment).

there; Clanronald's & the Mackintoshes were sent to strengthen them, & they had orders to retire as the Duke of Cumberland advanced.

"On Sunday morning, the 13th, it was confirm'd that the enemy were coming on & pass'd the Spey. Many of our people, as it was seed time, had slept home, & as they had no pay for a month past, it was not an easy matter to keep them together. On Monday, the 14th, Lochell came up, & that day H.R.H. went to Culloden, & all the other men, as they came up, march'd there, & that night the Duke of Perth came back with all the Body he had at Spey side.

"The Duke of Cumberland had pass'd the river on Saturday & Incamp'd this night at Nairn. Many were for retreating to stronger ground till all our Army was gather'd, but most of the Baggage being at Inverness, this was not agreed to.¹

"Early on Tuesday morning (15th) we all drew up in line of Battle in an open Moor near Culloden. I did not like the ground, it was certainly not proper for Highlanders. I propos'd that Brigadier Stapleton & Coll: Carr should view the ground on the other side of the water of Earn [Nairn], which they did; it was found to be hilly & bogie, so that the enemy's cannon & horse could be of no great use to them there. Mr

¹ *Orders at Culloden from the 14th to the 15th Apr: 1746.*

*Paroll "Rise Hemish" * [King James].*

It is His Royal Highness's positive orders that every person attach himself to some corps of the army, and remain with that corps night & day until the Battle and pursuit be finally over. This regards the foot as well as the Horse.

The Order of Battle is to be given to every General Officer, and every commander of a Regiment or Squadron. It is required & expected of each individual in the Army, as well officer as soldier, that he keep the post that shall be allotted him, and if any man turn his back to run away the next behind such man is to shoot him. No body upon pain of Death to strip slain or plunder till the Battle be over.

The Highlanders to be in their Kilts, and no body to throw away their Guns.

By His Royal Highness' command.

GEORGE MURRAY,

Leutenant General of His Majesty's forces.

Two copies of the above orders, in Lord George Murray's handwriting, are amongst the Atholl papers.

Immediately after the battle of Culloden a copy of these orders, said to have been found in the pocket of one of the Highland officers taken prisoner, was published with the addition of the following after the words "be finally over," and to give no quarter to the Elector's troops, on no account whatsoever."

This vile forgery served as a cloak to the butchery of the wounded which took place by order of the Duke of Cumberland for two days after the battle.

* Should be "Righ Seumas."

O'Suliman had gone to Inverness, so was not with them when they reconetred that ground. They were returned by two o'clock in the afternoon, but the same objection was made to taking up that ground as retyring further, the Enemy might have marchd to Inverness.

"When it was so far in the day it was concluded the Duke of Cumberland would not move from Nairn till nixt day. It was then propos'd a night atact might be atempt. H: R: H: & most others were for venturing it, amongst whom I was, for I thought we had a better chanse by doing it then by fighting in so plain a feeld; besides, those who had the charge of providing for the Army were so unaccountably negligent that there was nothing to give the men nixt day, & they had gott very litle that day. Tho' meall should be brought, the men could not make it ready without dispersing for severall miles to all the houses about, which could not be done when the Enemy were so near.

"Keppoch came up that evening, but before the time the Army was to march a vast number of the men went off on all hands to get & make ready provisions, & it was not posible to stop them; then, indeed, almost evry body gave it up as a thing not to be ventur'd; H: R: H: was extreably bent upon it, & said that whenever we began the march the men would be all hearty, & those that had gone off would return & follow. H: R: H: had so much confidence in the bravery of his Army that he was rather too hazerdous, & was for fighting the Enemy on all occasions. What he had seen them do, & the justness of his cause, made him too ventorious.

"I was desir'd to march in the Van, which I did; but before we got six miles the road had been so bad, & I was stopt so often, by Aiducamps sent to me, to give time for the Line to follow, that it was near two, & having still four long miles, it was found impossible to be near the Enemy till it was an heure of day light, & as our only hopes was surprising them & atacting them before day, we were forced to give it up, & return'd to Culloden, where we got about six.

"[*Wednesday, April 16th, Battle of Culloden.*].—When the Enemy was aproaching, betwixt ten & eleven a clock, we drew up in the moor a litle back from where we had been the day before. I told Mr O'Suliman, who was placing the men in order of Batle, that I was convinced that it was wrong ground, but he said that the moor was so Interspersed with moss & deep ground that the Enemy's horse & cannon could be of litle advantage to them.

“We had still time to cross the water & take up the ground Brigadier Stapleton & Coll: Carr had vewd the day before, for our right was within three hundred paces of the water, & the banks were very steep, which was nothing to hinder highlanders, & our horse & cannon could have cross at a small foord a mile further back; but I recon the belife that the Enemy would have march'd streight to Inverness was the occasion that we did not quite the plain Moor.

“The Master of Lovat, with the rest of his men,¹ (for a half of them were come up before) join'd us before the Batle, as did most of the straglers.

“There was no account of L^d Cromerty; I could never learn why he was kept so long above six & thirty miles off, & an arme of the sea betwixt; it was probably to colect the Publick burthens in Sutherland; he had above seven or eght hundred men under his command.

“Clunie was within three or four miles with above four hundred men, & was marching as quick as posible. And many others were hourelly expected, those particularly who had gone off from most Regements to their labour, & who, hearing there was to be a Batle, were all comming up; so I am perswaded that night or nixt morning we would have been near two thousand stronger, & had we pass'd that water, in all probability we would not have fought that day, so that if the Duke of Cumberland had incamp'd that night upon the moor, which very possible he might, we would have had a fair chance nixt day.

“I shall say litle of this Batle, which was so fatall. I commanded upon the Right; our men broke in upon some Regements on the Enemy's Left, but others came quickly up to their releef; upon a fire from these last & some cannon, charg'd with cartridge shott, that they had I think at their second line, (for we had past two that were in their front,) my horse plung'd & rear'd so much that I thought he was woounded, so quited my stirups & was throen.² I brought up two Regements from our second line after this, who gave their fire, but nothing could be done; all was lost.

“We lost a great many men of the right of the first line; I'm sure in some batalions a third did not come off. There are more particular accounts of these two last days to which I shall refer.

¹ This was a mistake, as the men the Master of Lovat was bringing up were not in time to take part in the battle.

² Henderson states in his “History of the Rebellion,” Lord George Murray broke one sword, lost another, had his clothes pierced in many places, and lost his wig into the bargain.

"I came up with Clunie's men, & indeavour'd to rally all I could near Moy Loch,¹ where I expected others, but all was to no purpose.

"Besides our Defeat, there was neither money nor provisions to give, so no hopes were left."

The Line of Battle of the two Armies at Culloden at the time the Action began.



¹ At Dalmagarry.

The Highland army had little over 5000 men in action. Of the front line Lord George commanded the right, Lord John Drummond the centre, and the Duke of Perth the left. Brigadier Stapleton commanded the second line.

The Prince took up his station in rear of the right of his second line.

Full two thousand of the Highland army who had marched the night before were now absent, having strayed away in various directions in search of food.

The Duke of Cumberland's army numbered nearly nine thousand men.¹ Lieutenant-General the Earl of Albemarle commanded the first line, Major-General Huske the second, and Brigadier Mordaunt the third, whilst Major-General Bland was in charge of the cavalry.

Home² states that about 8 A.M. on the 16th April one Lieutenant Cameron, of Lochiel's Regiment (who had been left asleep near the place where the halt was made), came to Culloden House, where the Prince and his principal officers lodged, and reported that he had seen Cumberland's army in full march towards them. Orders were immediately given for the army to form on Drumossie Moor.

About noon Cumberland's army came in sight, and on seeing the Highlanders in line the Duke also formed line of battle and advanced towards them.

The battle began about 1 P.M., when Prince Charles's artillery opened fire, but the cannon were so ill served that but little harm was done.

The Duke's guns soon replied, and did great execution in the Highland ranks.

During this cannonade, which lasted till near 2 P.M., the

¹ 463 officers, 8501 men = 8964 returned fit for duty on March 28.

² He took his account of the battle from Maxwell of Kirkconnel.

Duke made several changes in the disposition of his army. Wolfe's Regiment was moved from the left of the second line and formed *en potence* (i.e., wheeled up at a right angle) on the left of the first line; whilst Pulteney's and Battereau's Regiments were moved from the third line and formed on the right of the first and second lines respectively.

The Prince had sent an order by an aide-de-camp named MacLachlan, desiring Lord George to attack; but that order never reached him, as the bearer was killed by a cannon-shot by the way.

Seeing no movement made by Lord George, the Prince sent a message to Lochiel (whose regiment was next the Atholl Brigade), telling him to represent to Lord George the necessity of attacking immediately. Whilst Lochiel was speaking to Lord George, the Mackintoshes, becoming impatient with the artillery fire, broke out from the centre and advanced against the regiment opposite them (the 21st). Lord George instantly gave the order for the right to advance and charge, and at the same time the united regiment of MacLachlans and McLeans advanced also (probably against Price's Regiment). This regiment was next the Mackintoshes on their left. The fire of the field-pieces and of the 21st, and partly the nature of the ground, caused the Mackintoshes to incline to the right, from whence all the regiments on their right (Frasers, Stewarts of Appin, Camerons, and the Atholl Brigade) were coming down to the charge. They advanced under a terrible fire of grape-shot and musketry in front, and a flank fire from Wolfe's Regiment, and attacking sword in hand, broke through Barrel's and Munro's Regiments on the left of Cumberland's first line, and pushed on for the second line. The two regiments on the left of Cumberland's second line, Semple's and Bligh's, had been advanced some fifty yards, and, having waited till Barrel's and Monro's routed men had cleared off, by running in rear of

the 21st Regiment, they poured a deadly fire at short range into the crowded ranks of the advancing Highlanders, whilst at the same time the three guns on the left of Semple's opened on them with grape. This fire brought very many to the ground, and caused most of those who did not fall to turn back. A few, however, still pressed on, desperate and furious, and endeavoured to break into Semple's and Bligh's Regiments, which none succeeded in doing, as the foremost of them perished on the points of the soldiers' bayonets.

Home states that the Atholl Brigade in advancing lost thirty-two officers,¹ and was so shattered that they stopped short and never closed with the enemy. Whether they stopped short or not is now unknown, but "shattered" the Brigade certainly must have been, as from their position on the right of the line, they not only would receive their share of the grape and musketry fire in front, but were also exposed to the full force of the flank fire of Wolfe's Regiment on their right.²

When the Highland regiments on the right and centre of the Prince's army made their attack, those on the left, consisting of Roy Stewart's regiment, the Farquharsons, and the three Macdonald regiments, did not advance at the same time or in the same manner; they came near enough to the English troops to draw some fire upon themselves, which they returned with a general discharge, and the Macdonalds had drawn their swords to attack, but seeing those regiments that had charged sword in hand repulsed and put to flight, they also retired and fell back on the second line. The cavalry on the right of

¹ General Stewart of Garth writes as follows in his book :—"The Atholl Brigade had not so many officers in the field; nineteen officers were killed and four wounded. Many gentlemen who served in the ranks were killed, which might occasion the mistake. I have conversed with several who were in the battle, and, among others, with one gentleman still alive in my neighbourhood, all of whom differed from Mr. Home's account."

² Robert Stewart of Killiechassie, who commanded the right flank company of the right battalion, consisting of thirty-four men, stated that only himself and three men came off.—"General Stewart of Garth's Papers."

Cumberland's army followed them up, but were checked by the Irish piquets, who advanced and fired upon them. After this the left wing of the Highland army retreated, and made their way off the field.

It has been said since that the Macdonalds were affronted at being deprived of the right of the line (the post of honour), which they had at Prestonpans and Falkirk, and had had, they said, from time immemorial. The Duke of Perth, who commanded the left wing, hearing the men murmur, said to them that if the Macdonalds behaved with their usual valour they would make a right of the left, and he would in future call himself Macdonald; but all to no purpose.

Before the charge of the right wing of the Highlanders General Bland had ordered four companies of Cumberland's Highlanders (one of Loudoun's Regiment and three of Argyll Militia) to break down slaps in the east and west walls of the park between the Prince's right and the river Nairn; through these openings the cavalry on Cumberland's left passed, and formed up in rear of the right of the Highland army. General Bland then ordered the above four companies to move up to the north wall and fire on the nearest of the Prince's forces, which they did, but received a fire in return which mortally wounded two of their captains.

After the retreat of the front line of the Highland army Cumberland paused a while to dress his ranks, and then advanced his infantry, upon which the Highlanders speedily quitted the field, many going off in small parties, and the rest in two large bodies, one towards Inverness and the other towards Badenoch. The Duke's dragoons pursued, and made great havoc amongst the stragglers, killing without mercy all they could overtake, and in many instances slaughtering men, women, and children who were mere onlookers.¹

The same day the Duke took possession of Inverness, from

¹ See vol. v. addenda xxiv.

whence, on the 17th and 18th, he sent parties back to the field of battle with orders to kill all the wounded of the Prince's army whom they found lying on the moor, or in any of the neighbouring houses.

As a great portion of the Highland army dispersed after the battle, it was impossible to make any return of their casualties, but it has been estimated that between those who fell in the action and those who were slaughtered in the retreat and those put to death on the two following days fully 1000 lost their lives.

The official return of the loss sustained by the Duke of Cumberland's army was as follows:—

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------|
| Officers, | 2 killed, | 17 wounded, | 0 missing. |
| Sergeants, | 3 „ | 7 „ | 0 „ |
| Drummers, | 1 „ | 2 „ | 0 „ |
| Rank and file, | 44 „ | 233 „ | 1 „ |
| | <u>50</u> killed, | <u>259</u> wounded, | 1 missing = 310. |

Officers.

| | | | | |
|----------|-------------------|---|-----------------|----------------------|
| Captain | Lord Robert Kerr, | 4th Regiment, | Barrel's, | killed. |
| „ | Grosette, | 14th „ | Price's, | „ |
| Lt.-Col. | Rich, | 4th „ | Barrel's, | wounded, since dead. |
| Captain | Romer, | „ | „ | „ |
| Lieut. | Edmonds, | „ | „ | „ |
| Ensign | Campbell, | „ | „ | „ |
| „ | Bruce, | 8th „ | Wolfe's, | „ |
| Captain | Simpson, | 14th „ | Price's, | „ |
| Lieut. | Trapaud, | 20th „ | Bligh's, | „ |
| Captain | Kinnear, | 37th „ | Monro's, | „ |
| Lieut. | King, | „ | „ | „ |
| „ | Lort, | „ | „ | „ |
| Ensign | Daly, | „ | „ | „ |
| „ | Mundock, | „ | „ | „ |
| Captain | Spark, | 48th „ | Ligonier's, | „ |
| „ | Carter, | 62nd „ | Battereau's, | „ |
| „ | Colin Campbell, | (of Ballimore), | Loudoun's, | „ since dead. |
| Ensign | Alexr. McLagan, | (son of minister of Little Dunkeld), | „ | „ since dead. |
| Captain | John Campbell, | of Achnaba, | Argyll Militia, | „ since dead. |

Of the above 310 casualties, 30 killed and 166 wounded, total 196, belonged to Barrel's and Munro's regiments. The name of Ensign McLagan was not printed in any of the published returns, but was discovered by myself in the Record Office.

The principal officers of the Highland army killed were :—

| | | | |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|---|
| Colonel Viscount | Strathallan, | | Commanding Perthshire Squadron. |
| „ | Hon. Rob. Mercer | of Aldie, | Atholl Brigade. |
| „ | Alex. MacDonell | of Keppoch, | Commanding his own regiment. |
| „ | Lachlan MacLachlan | of MacLachlan, | Commanding MacLachlan & McLean Regiment. |
| „ | Alex. MacGillivray | of Dumaglas, | Commanding Mackintosh Regiment. |
| „ | — | O'Reilly (Irish), | Attached to Lord Ogilvy's Regiment ; in French or Spanish service ; wounded in the battle ; burnt to death in Old Leanach barn on 17th. |
| Lt.-Col. Archibald | Menzies, | of Shian, | Commanding the Menzies's attached to Atholl Brigade ; wounded in the battle, and burnt in Old Leanach barn on 17th. |
| „ | Charles Fraser | of Inverallochy, | Commanding Lovat's Regiment in absence of the Master of Lovat ; wounded in the battle, and shot on the field by order and in presence of H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland. |
| „ | Charles McLean | of Drimnin, | Second in command MacLachlan and McLean Regiment. |
| Major David | Stewart | of Kynachan, | Atholl Brigade ; last seen defending himself with a broken sword against two dragoons ; believed to have been carried wounded to Old Leanach, and burnt on 17th. ¹ |
| „ | John (mor) McGillivray, | | McIntosh Regiment. |
| Captain Donald | MacDonell | of Scothouse, | Glengarry Regiment ; either commanding or second in command of regiment at the battle. |

¹ Two officers of Lord Ogilvy's Regiment, named Rattray, father and son, were also burnt in Old Leanach barn, the total number being thirty-two.

The principal officers wounded of the Prince's army were :—

| | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Lieut.-General | the Duke of Perth, | commanding left wing. |
| Colonel | Donald Cameron, yr. of Lochiel | commanding his regiment. |
| „ | Ranald Macdonald, yr. of Clanranald | commanding his regiment. |

Lieutenant-Colonel the Earl of Kilmarnock, of the Hussars, Sir John Wedderburn, volunteer in Lord Ogilvie's Regiment, 18 officers, and about 350 non-commissioned officers and men were taken prisoners.

Brigadier Stapleton, 50 officers, and between 200 and 300 troops in the French service, surrendered as prisoners of war. *The Brigadier afterwards died of wounds received in the battle.*

Return of Ordnance and Stores taken.

| | |
|------|-------------------------|
| 18 | Brass Ordnance. |
| 4 | Iron „ |
| 6 | Brass Swivels. |
| 2 | Iron „ |
| 2320 | Firelocks. |
| 190 | Broadswords and Blades. |
| 1019 | Shot for Ordnance. |
| 1500 | Musket Cartridges. |
| 5 | Cwts. of Musket Shot. |
| 37 | Barrels of Powder. |
| 22 | Ammunition Carts. |

Besides Small Stores, Tents, Cantines, Pouches, Cartouch Boxes, Pistols, Saddles, &c.

The Royal Standard and 12 Regimental Colours.¹

¹ On April 23 the Duke of Cumberland wrote to the Duke of Newcastle: "As I imagine His Majesty will not choose to have the 12 colours taken from the Rebels hung up anywhere, I should imagine it would be of use to send them to Edinburgh, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman."—Public Record Office, London.

The following men of the Atholl Brigade were amongst the prisoners taken at Culloden :—

Lord Nairne's Battalion—

| | | |
|--------------|-----|-------------|
| Private John | Sim | Perthshire. |
|--------------|-----|-------------|

Lord George Murray's Battalion—

| | | |
|----------------|-------------|------------------|
| Private Donald | Cameron | Argyllshire. |
| „ Duncan | Campbell | Perthshire. |
| „ Alexander | Christie | „ |
| „ Robert | Farquharson | Inverness-shire. |
| „ John | Ferguson | Perthshire. |
| „ John | Haldane | „ |
| „ John | McAndrew | Nairnshire. |
| „ William | McIntosh | Angus. |
| „ Peter | McLaren | Perthshire. |
| „ George | Murray | Aberdeenshire. |
| „ Donald | Robertson | Perthshire. |
| „ George | Robertson | „ |
| „ John | Ross | Angus. |
| „ James | Skonawa | Ireland. |

Duke William's Battalion—

| | | |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------|
| Private William | Robertson | Perthshire. |
|-----------------|-----------|-------------|

Menzies of Shian's Men—

| | | |
|--------------|----------|-------------|
| Private Hugh | McDonald | Perthshire. |
|--------------|----------|-------------|

The loss of the Appin regiment, out of about 250 men, was 92 killed and 65 wounded = 157.

The Farquharsons lost 16 officers and 79 men killed and wounded.

The Mackintoshes had all their officers killed except three, one of whom was wounded,¹ and 400 of their men are said to have been killed.

When the Highland army retreated from Culloden, the Prince left the field, accompanied by some of his chief counsellors and a party of horse. They crossed the river Nairn at the Ford and old Bridge of Faillie on the old military road, five miles from the battle-field. There a consultation was held, after which the Prince directed what forces were present to repair to Ruthven in Badenoch, there to await further orders, whilst he with some half-a-dozen followers struck off to the west, going by Gortuleg to Invergarry, where they passed the night. From thence they passed through Lochaber *en route* to the Hebrides.

The officer of the Macphersons, already quoted, who supplied Mr. Home of Kilduff with information for his "History of the Rebellion," stated that his Clan was six hundred strong when they reached Dalmagarry on the 16th of April. The first of the retreating army whom they met was Fitzjames's horse, who arrived between 1 and 2 P.M. When Lord George Murray arrived, he ordered the Macphersons to remain till the rear of the defeated army came up, which might take about two hours, and then to cover their retreat towards Badenoch with the utmost attention, as it was doubtful what steps the Grants might take. The main body of the army marched to Ruthven that night, but "the nobility" and some horsemen lodged all night at Aviemore, guarded by Cluny's Regiment.²

The day after the battle some fifteen hundred of the Prince's followers gathered together at Ruthven in Badenoch, amongst

¹ See vol. v. *addenda* xxviii.

² General Stewart of Garth's Papers.

whom were Duke William,¹ Lord George Murray, and Lord Nairne, who had all escaped unhurt.

From there Lord George wrote the following letter to the Prince :—

Lord George Murray to Prince Charles.

RUTHVEN IN BADENOCH, 17th Apr. 1746.

May it please your Royal Highness,—As no person in the Kingdome ventur'd more frantly in the cause then myself, and that nobody had more at stake, & in some respect not so much, I cannot but be deeply affected at our leat loss & present situation, But I declare that nixt to the safty of your R: H: person, the loss of the cause, with the present unhappy situation of my countrymen, is the only thing greivs me, for I thank God I have resolution to bear with my own and familie's ruine without a grudg.

I hop, Sir, you will upon this occasion pardon me if I mention some truths which most of the Gentlemen of our army seem'd sensible of.

It was surely wrong to sett up the Royal Standard without having posetive assurance from his most Christian Majesty that he would assist you with all his might, and as your Royal Familie lost the Crown of these Realms by their adherence to France, the world did (and had reason to) expect that H: M: C: M: would lay hold of the first favourable opportunity to do his utmost to restore your august Familie. As for what regards the managment of your Army, we were all fully convinced that Mr O'Sulliman, whom y^r R: H: trusted with the most esential things in regard to your operations, was exceedingly¹ unfit for it, & committed gross Blunders on many occasions. He, whos business it was, did not so much as visit the ground where we were to draw up in line of Batle, and it was a fatal error yesterday to allow the enemy so fair a feild for their horse & cannon, and those walls upon their left, which made it impossible for our right to brake them, & we were expos'd both to their front & flank fire. Coll: Carr can testifie that I urg'd Mr O'Sulliman to take the ground on the south side of the water of Ern, which was strong ground, & very favourable for Highlanders, & which Brigadier Stapleton and Coll: Carr had visited the day before at my desire. In short, never was more improper ground for Highlanders than that where we fought. Our Atholl men &

¹ Duke William slept at Corrybrough on April 16.

the others on the right lost Half of their Officers & men. Happy had it been for us that Mr O'Sulliman had never got any other charge or office in our Army then the care of the Bagage & equipages, which I'm told he had been brought up to & understood. For my own parte, I never seed him in time of action, neither at Gledsmoor, Falkirk, nor this last. The want of provisions was another misfortune which had the most fatal consequences. Mr Hay, whom yr R:H: trusted with the principle direction & superintendancy of them things of leat, (& without whos orders not a Boll of Meall or one farthing of money was to be deliver'd,) has served yr R:H: most egregious ill; when I told him of the consequence of provisions, he said it was order'd, the thing was done, it would be gott, &c. But yr R:H: knows the strait we were in. Had this Gentleman done his duty, which by the trust repos'd in him your R:H: had reason to expect, our ruine might have been probably prevented. The three last days (which were so critical) our army was starved, & this was a great cause of our night march proving abortive, when we possible might have surpris'd the enemy & defeat them at Nairn, but for want of provisions a third of our Army scater'd, & went to Inverness & other places, & those who did march went so slow that that precious time was lost. The nixt day, the fatal day, if we had got plenty of provisions, we might have not only cross'd the water of Ern, but by the strength of our position made it so dangerous for the Enemy to have atact us, that probably they would not have ventured to have done it, & by that means the rest of our Army would have had time to have join'd us, & we could have had it in our power to have atact them night or day when we pleas'd.

Mr Hay & Mr O'Suliman had renderd themselves so odious to all the Army that they were resolved to have apply'd to your R:H: for redress if they had had time before the batle. As for my part, I never had any particular discussion with either of them; but this much I will venture to say, had our feeld of Batle been right choise, & if we had got plenty of provisions, in all Human probability we would have done by the Enemy as they have unhappily done by us.

Your R:H: knows I had no design to have continoud in the Army, even if things had succeeded, gladly would I have laid down my commission, particularly leatly when I return'd from Atholl, but my Friends told me, & perswaded me, that it would be a prejudice to the cause at that

junction. I hope your R: H: will now accept of my dimission, and whatever commands you have for me in any other station you will please honour me with them, being with great zeal, Sir,

Y^r R: H:'s most Dutyfull & Faithfull Humble Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.

I have desir'd M^r Sheridan to leave £500 of the money he has with him with Clunie, for the use of many who are in want. We will wait for your R: H:'s directions for that and other things.¹

Duke William to Grant of Rothiemurcus.

[RUTHVEN ?], 18th April 1746.

Sir,—As the late Rothemurcus, your father, showed me particular friendship and kindness on just such an unfortunate occasion as the present, makes me hope you will have no less regard for me in taking care of some small concerns of mine, which consists in taking care of two or three of my servants and some baggage, which I send you rather than it should fall into enemie's hands; so that if you cannot keep it, and get it sent me in time & place convenient, it may be of some use to yourself, who I esteem on your family & father's account; tho' we have not had the occasion of a personal acquaintance, which I hope may yet agreeably happen, in whatever bad situation our affairs may appear at present, then I may agreeably be able to return you suitable thanks for such an obligation as will for ever oblige, Sir,

Your aff^{te} humble Servant & Cousin,

[ATHOLL.]

The Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, and Lord Ogilvie had also repaired to Ruthven, where in a day or two they received a communication from the Prince apprising them of his intention of making his escape to France, and recommending them to disperse, which accordingly, after melancholy leave-taking, was done.

An attempt to renew the war was afterwards concerted

¹ Draft of letter (in Lord George's handwriting). The letter sent (published in Browne's History) differs slightly.

amongst the Western clans at Murlaggan on Loch Arkaig, but the movement came to nothing.

April 18, 1746.—Information received from officers on parole arrived at Perth:—

L^t Col: Innes, Major Wentworth, & Cap^t Scott of Guise's reg^t, who were taken prisoners by the Rebels at Fort George; Capⁿ Molesworth, Lieut. Devoires, Lieut. Wade, Ensign Patersone, and Ensign Watson of D^o Regiment, taken at Fort Augustus; The Master of Ross, capⁿ of one of the Independent Companies, taken at Fort George; and Ensign Stewart of Earle Loudoun's Regiment, taken at Dornoch¹ in Sutherland, came here this day, haveing been sett at Liberty on a strict paroll. They left Innerness upon Sunday afternoon last. They say that the Rebels were giving out that they were to meet and fight the Duke at a stone in a moor in Nairn, where it's said one of the Kings of Denmark had been kill'd and his army routed by the Scots or Picts.

All the Rebels were come up before they left Innerness, except the Camerones, who they heard came up upon Munday, and the Macpher-sones, who they did meet coming up as they came through Badenoch.

The Rebels were believed at Innerness to be 9 or 10,000 in number, and that they were to fight the Duke upon Wedensday last.

Robert Stewart, a Servant, his Account of the Battle.

24 *April* 1746.

Robert Stewart, servant to the Marquess of Tullibardine, gives the following account:—That upon Tuesday night before the Battle, the Rebels marched from the muir above Colloden towards the Duke's Camp, designing to attack the King's Army, & about break of day came near to the Camp, but finding the Duke upon his guard, they retreated, and about seven of the clock of the morning came back to this muir, and then they were desired to take some refreshment to themselves, & then

¹ There appears to be a mistake here, as the only subaltern of that name in Loudoun's regiment was Ensign James Stewart, younger of Urrard, who, as was stated on page 234, was taken prisoner at Kirkton of Struan on 17th March. The prisoners taken in Atholl were sent to Inverness, which accounts for the error.

go to rest, and be all in readiness by six o'clock nixt morning; and about ten o'clock that same morning, while some rebels were sleeping, and others making ready meat for themselves, and others at Inverness, they got accounts of the Duke's approach; and the Duke having taken up proper ground, kept possession of it untill the Rebels march'd up, their canon having fired two or three times before the Duke's; and the canon having begun about one continued a long time, and it was about half an hour after two before he left the field, and he remained upon the field untill the action was almost over.

The Pretender, with about twenty four horse, went off the field among the first,¹ and came within eight miles of Ruthven, & then struck towards the hill; several Aid de camps went after him with messages to return, but he would not stop.

The Marquess & L^d Nairn went off together & came to Corriebrugh that night; and next night Lord George & Duke of Perth met with them at Ruthven, where they staid all Friday with about sixty or seventy men, who were dismiss upon Saturday morning and desired to provide for themselves, and upon Saturday about midday they left Ruthven & went to Fort Augustus upon a message they got from the Pretender, and the person who brought the message said there was no Body of men there. They dismiss y^e servants excepting 4, one which each kept. Upon the Friday night an express came from Barisdale to the Duke of Perth wth accounts that the Earl of Cromarty having detach'd about 1100 of his men from the Castle of Dunrobin into another part of the country for quarters and provisions, the country arose & surprised Lord Cromarty & 600 men with him, & took them prisoners. There was about 8000 of the Rebels at the Battle, and the following persons are killed, viz, Lord Strathallan, Clanranold,² Aldie, Kynachan, Woodsheal,² & his Brother, Bohespick, Balnacree, James Stewart of the Inch, & James Stewart of the Laigh, The Earl of Kilmarnock,³ Shian, Kinloch, John McEwan, George Scot.

He heard no account of any body of the Rebels remaining together; But heard the above Gentlemen complain at the want of money when at Ruthven. The McPhersons came to Ruthven in two bodies on Friday & Saturday, & on Saturday they were dismiss, and told there was no further

¹ The Prince remained on the field till the battle was lost.

² Were only wounded.

³ Was taken prisoner and afterwards executed.

use for them. The Rebels made no doubt of their Beating the King's army, & were in high spirits.

He heard that only twelve men of Lord Nairn's Regiment came off the field, and heard the Gentlemen reckon there was betwixt 2 & 3000 killed of the Rebels; It was a high wind & sleet during the action.

Secretary Murray was lying at Inverness indisposed at the time of the Battle. Drumachan was also at Inverness the time of the action. Gask, Glenco, & Lochiell gott off, but were wounded.

Duke James noted as follows in a journal of events which he kept at this time whilst at Perth :—

Wednesday 16.—Cloudy day, cold. Lady Stormont's funerall.

Corrybrugh this night.

Thursday 17.—Cloudy day, cold. *Ruthven, & continued till Sat^y.*

Friday 18.—Cloudy day, cold.—Coll: Innes, Master Ross, and other Prisoners.

D.P., M.T., L^d George, &c, Ruthven.

Saturday 19.—Cloudy day. Heard the account of a Battle.

Lodged Cluny McPher: House.

Sunday 20.—Cold rain & High Wind. Other uncertain accounts.

Loch Rannoch.

Munday 21.—Cold, cloudy, windy day. Other accounts uncertain.

Meggerny.

Tuesday 22.—Cloudy day, rain. Confirmation of the Battle gained from the Duke.

Glen Dochart.

Wednesday 23.—Cloudy day. Saw swallows. Fine warm day.

Balwhidder.

Thursday 24.—Full moon. Cloudy, cold day. Fue de joy.

From Ruthven Duke William, accompanied by some servants, fled towards the south-west, but falling ill he sought shelter on Sunday 27th at Ross in Dumbartonshire belonging to Andrew Buchanan of Drumakill, whose son Alexander was married to a daughter of Murray of Polmaise. Young Buchanan took him in, and the same day delivered him up to the Governor of Dumbarton Castle.¹

¹ See Addenda, xlvii-1.

him. The names of places in the above journal are concluded to be the route taken by Duke William after the defeat at Culloden.

From ^{Ross} Drumakill Duke William was taken to Dumbarton Castle, and from thence through Glasgow to Leith, where he was put on board the *Eltham* man-of-war, to be conveyed to London. In Chambers's "Jacobite Memoirs" it is stated that Drumakill was so much despised for this breach of all the laws of hospitality and honour, that the gentlemen in the neighbourhood, and in all places of Scotland where he was known, would not be seen in his company, nor did they converse with him.

The Atholl Brigade, as has already been stated, suffered terribly at Culloden, particularly Lord Nairne's battalion, which was probably on the right, and therefore most exposed to the flank fire. As far as is known, no correct return of the casualties in the Brigade was ever made out; indeed, in the case of the rank and file it would have been impossible. The loss in non-commissioned officers and men was generally believed to have been about one half of the total on parade. Of the officers, General Stewart of Garth (who knew many who had taken part in the battle) states that nineteen were killed and four wounded. As far as can now be learnt, the following twenty-two gentlemen from Atholl and the neighbourhood were killed. Of these, two served in Roy Stewart's Regiment; and supposing Charles Robertson not to have been an officer, that would make the number correct. It is not so easy to make the number of wounded officers correspond with Garth's statement, unless Woodshiel was in Keppoch's Regiment. Struan wrote an order at the beginning of the campaign for his men to join that regiment, but whether they did so or not is unknown; tradition states that they served in the Atholl Brigade. Wood-

shiel's cousin Donald was probably an officer. Amongst Garth's papers there is an unfinished list of officers killed at Culloden, but it only contains fourteen names :—

Killed.

| | | | |
|---------------------|---|------------------------------------|---|
| Colonel | Hon. Robert Mercer . . . | of Aldie. | |
| Lt.-Col. | Archibald Menzies . . . | of Shian . . . | Commanding Weem's men. |
| Major | David Stewart . . . | of Kynachan. | |
| Captains | John McEwen . . . | son of Mucklie | { Commanding Grandtully's men in Roy Stewart's Regiment. |
| " | James Robertson . . . | of Balnaree. | |
| " | George Scott | son of James S., Vintner, Dunkeld. | |
| " | Gilbert Stewart . . . | yr. of Wester Kinnaird. | Died of wounds. |
| " | Neil Stewart . . . | of Temper. | |
| Lieuts. | John Campbell . . . | of Kinloch . . . | { With Grandtully's men in Roy Stewart's Regiment. |
| " | Charles Robertson . . | yr. of Balnaree. | |
| Ensign | John Low | tenant, Balanluig. | |
| Q.-M. | John Robertson . . . | of Wester Bohespick. | |
| Rank unknown. | { | Alexander McDonald . . . | of Dalchosnie. |
| | | John McDonald . . . | brother to do. |
| | | Alexander McDonald . . | Drumchastle, tenant ? ¹ |
| | | Alexander Robertson . . | son of Invervack, brother to Woodshiel. |
| | | Charles Robertson . . . | ditto. (Died of his wounds.) |
| | | Duncan Robertson . . . | of Calvine, tenant ? ¹ |
| | | — Robertson . . . | brother to Trinafour. ¹ |
| | | James Stewart . . . | yr. of Inch Garth. |
| James Stewart . . . | of Laigh of Cluny. | | |
| — Stewart . . . | brother to Tullochchroisk. ¹ | | |

It is said that a son of Colonel Mercer's (a boy) was also killed.

Wounded.

| | | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Captains | Thomas Ferguson . . . | yr. of Balyoukan. | |
| " | Donald Robertson . . . | of Woodshiel. | Commanding Struan's men. |
| " | Duncan Robertson . . . | of Auchleeks. | |
| " | James Stewart . . . | of Clunes. | |
| Ensign | Alexander Stewart . . . | in Ardgie. | |
| Rank unknown. | { | Donald Robertson . . . | cousin to Woodshiel. With Struan's men ? |
| | | Charles Stewart . . . | of Bohally . . . { With the Appin Regiment at Culloden. |

¹ The authority for these four is Garth's list.

See vol. v. addenda xxx.

List of Atholl Gentlemen, and Gentlemen on the Atholl Estates elsewhere (either property or superiority), who were concerned in the Rising of 1745, to which are added the names of some in the neighbourhood, and others from a distance, who joined the Atholl Brigade. Unless otherwise stated, all are understood to have served in that Brigade, and where known, the rank held by each is mentioned. The Atholl Brigade consisted of four Battalions (the fourth, however, was never completed), and was composed not only of the Duke's own followers, but also of Menzies of Weem's men under Menzies of Shian, and, it is believed, Struan's men under Robertson of Woodshiel.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--|--|
| Wm., Duke of Atholl (1715, '19) | Eldest surviving son of 1st Duke | Lieut.-Gen., Col. 3rd Battalion | Surrendered April, and <i>died</i> , Tower of London, July 1746. |
| Lord George Murray (1715, '19) | 5th son of 1st Duke | Lt.-Gn., Col. 2nd Batt. | Escaped abroad. |
| John, Lord Nairne (1715) | 1st cousin to D. Wm. | Brig.-Gen., Col. 1st Battalion | " " |
| Hon. Thomas | " Son of Lord Nairne | Officer, French service | Taken prisoner at sea, Nov. 1745. |
| Hon. Henry | " " " | " " | Surrendered prisoner after Culloden? |
| Hon. Robert Mercer | Of Aldie, brother to Lord Nairne | At first Colonel 3rd Batt., afterwards a Volunteer | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| — | " His son, a boy | ..... | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden, uncertain. |
| Hon. William Murray | Of Taymount, brother to Dunmore, 1st cousin to Duke | Volunteer in Army | Surrendered, pled guilty, received a pardon. |
| John | " Yr. of Taymount | Surgeon " | " |
| Hon. George Colville | Bro. to Ld. Colville, physician in Dundee | William | " |
| Charles Alexander | Factor to Struan | ..... | Accompanied Struan to Edinburgh. |
| Thomas Blair | Of Glasclune | Lieut.-Col. 4th Batt. | Taken prisoner at Bergen, Norway, but escaped. |
| Alexander Patrick | Butter At Faskally | Officer | Surrendered, tried, acquitted. |
| " | " Yr. of Kinhard | " | With Struan's men. |
| Peter | " Portioner of E. Dunfallandie | " | " |
| John Campbell (1715) | Of Glenlyon | ..... | Too old for service but sent his men. |
| Archibald (roy) ¹ | " Youngest son of do. | Captain | " |
| Duncan | " Brother to Dunnevis | Officer | " |
| John | " Of Kinloch | Lieut. } | Grandtully's men in Roy Stewart's Regiment <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| — | " Of Tomnagrew | Ensign | |
| Mungo | " Milnrogie, Glenalmond | Officer | " |
| Rev. Duncan Cameron | Episcopal minister, Fortingal | Chaplain, Lochiel's Regiment | " |
| William Cochrane | Jackston, Strathord, factor to Ld. Nairne | Captain? | " |
| Alexander Crook | Surg., Coupar Angus | Surgeon-Major | " |
| — | " His son | Surgeon | " |

¹ Afterwards Lieutenant in Fraser's Highlanders, severely wounded at Quebec, 1760.

List of Atholl Gentlemen—(continued).

| | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------------|---|--|--|--|
| John | Drummond . . . | Dalpowie | | | |
| James | Ferguson . . . | Yr. of Baledmund | ..... |  | Taken prisoner, tried, acquitted. |
| Thomas | „ . . . | Yr. of Balyoukan | Captain | | <i>Wounded</i> , Culloden. |
| Archibald | „ . . . | His brother | | | |
| James | „ . . . | Of Dumfallandy | ..... |  | Taken prisoner, tried, acquitted. |
| Hugh | Fraser . . . | Son of Fraserdale | Captain ? | | |
| Duncan | Henderson . . . | Merchant in Perth | Lieutenant | | |
| James | Johnstone . . . | Vintner, Dunkeld | ..... |  | Not out; taken pris. Feb. '46. |
| <i>David</i> | <i>Laird</i> . . . | ..... | <i>Lieutenant</i> | | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| John | Low . . . (1715) | Tenant, Balanluig | Ensign | | |
| James | Mann . . . | Baker, Dunkeld | Ens., Roy Stewart's Regiment | | |
| Archibald | Menzies . . . | Of Shian | Colonel, Weem's men | | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| James | „ . . . | Of Bolfracks | | | |
| James | „ . . . | Of Woodend | | | |
| William | „ . . . | Son of Robert M. Glassie, a surgeon | Officer, Weem's men | | |
| John | „ . . . | Son of late innkeeper, St. Ninian's, Stirling | Paymaster, Weem's men | | |
| Alexander | Murray . . . | Of Soilzarie | Captain | | |
| Patrick | „ . . . | Of Kincairn | ..... |  | Not out, taken pris. Feb. '46. |
| Mungo | „ . . . | Son of do. | Secretary to Duke William | | Escaped disguised as a woman. |
| Donald | McDonell . . . | Of Lochgarry | Lt.-Col., Glengarry's | | <i>Wounded</i> , Clifton. |
| Angus | „ . . . | Brother to do. | Major, „ | | <i>Wounded</i> , Culloden. |
| Alexander | McDonald . . . | Of Dalchosnie | Officer | | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| John | „ . . . | Brother to do. | „ | | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| John | „ . . . | Yr. of do. | „ Keppoch's | | |
| Alexander | „ . . . | Drumchastle | ..... |  | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| Angus | „ . . . | Yr. of Ceann a Cnoc | | | |
| Alexander | McDuff . . . | Brother to Balanloan | | | |
| John | McEwen . . . | Yr. of Mucklie | Captain, Grandtully's men, Roy Stewart's | | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| <i>John</i> | <i>McEwen (1715)</i> | <i>Dunkeld</i> | | | |
| Neil | McGlashan . . . | Writer, Alltclune | <i>Lieutenant</i> | | |
| Patrick | „ . . . | Of Baluain, nephew to Neil | | | |
| Robert | McGregor | Of Glencarnock, Balquhider | Lt.-Col., McGregors | | |
| Duncan | „ | Brother to do. | Capt., „ | | <i>Wounded</i> , Prestonpans. |
| Evan | „ | Brother to do. | Major, „ | | |
| Malcolm | „ | Of Craigrue, Balquhider | A.D.C. to Prince Capt., D. of Perth's | | <i>Wounded</i> , Prestonpans. |
| Gregor | „ | Coineachan, Glenalmond | Captain | | Taken pris. Feb. '46. |
| Robert | „ . . . | Ardlarich | Captain Weem's men | | |
| Alexander | McIntyre . . . | Merchant, Keltney Burn | Atholl Standard-bearer | | |
| John | McKenzie . . . | Of Ruidh nan Culloch | | | |
| Thomas | „ . . . | „ | | | |
| John | „ . . . | Of Ruidh 'n iand | | | |
| Duncan | „ . . . | Brother to do. | | | |
| Alexander | McLaren . . . | Yr. of Easthaugh | | | |
| Donald (dubh) | „ . . . | Of E. Innernenty, Balquhider | Captain, Appin's | | Taken prisoner and escaped, July 1746. |
| Duncan | „ . . . | Of W. Innernenty, Balquhider | | | |

List of Atholl Gentlemen—(continued).

| | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|---|
| James John | Rattray McNaughton ¹ | Brother to Tullochstruan. Son of Culdares's ground officer, watchmaker, Edin. | Quartermaster, Perth Squadron | Taken prisoner, tried, <i>executed.</i> |
| Thomas James Andrew John | Ogilvie . . . Rattray . . . " . . . " . . . | Of Rienavey Yr. of Ranagulzion Yr. of Blackcraig Brother to Craighall, surgeon in Edin. | Major, 3rd Battalion Ensign Surgeon | Taken pris. Culloden. Taken pris. Culloden. |
| Alexander Hugh Alexander | Reid . . . " . . . Robertson ² (1689, 1715) | Drumchaldane Foss, brother to do. Of Struan | ..... | Too old for service, sent his men. |
| Duncan John Alexander Patrick | Robertson . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . | Of Drumachine Of Wester Bohespick Son of Robt. of E. do. Of Trinafour | Colonel, No. 4 Batt. Quartermaster Captain | Escaped abroad. <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. Commanding at Dal- nacardoch. |
| Charles — Duncan James Robert (ban) | " . . . " . . . " . . . " (1715) " (1715) | Yr. of do. Brother to do. Of Auchleeks Of Blairfettie Of Wester Invervack | Officer Officer Captain Major, 2nd Battalion Commanded Struan's escort on his re- turn home | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. <i>Wounded</i> , Culloden. Major, 2nd Battalion Commanded Struan's escort on his re- turn home |
| Donald Alexander Charles | " . . . " . . . " . . . | Of Woodshiel, son of do. Son of do. " " | Commanded Struan's men Officer Officer? | <i>Wounded</i> , Culloden. <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. <i>Killed (d.o.w.)</i> , Cul- loden. |
| Donald James | " . . . " . . . | Nephew of do. " " | ..... ..... | <i>Wounded</i> , Culloden. <i>Killed</i> in Fealar, whilst skulking after Culloden. |
| John | " . . . | " " | Left at home in charge of a party | |
| Duncan Alexander Duncan John Hon. Mrs. | " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . | Of Dalnamein Wadsetter of Clunes of Calvine ³ Yr. of Kinraigie Of Lude | ..... | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| George James Charles James James John Charles John? Alexander | " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . | Of Faskally Of Balnacree Yr. of do. Of Killiechangie Yr. of do. ⁴ Yr. of Eastertyre Yr. of Balnaguard Son of late Guay Of Riemore, lived at Guay | Sister to Ld. Nairne, 1st Cousin to Duke Lieut.-Col., 3rd. Batt. Captain Lieutenant Capt. Struan's men Officer Volunteer | Active in raising men, her son a minor. ... <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| David Thomas James | " . . . " . . . Scott . . . | Of Easter Bleaton Windyedge Vintner, Dunkeld | Captain Captain | Taken pris. Jan. 1747. Not out; taken pris. Feb. '46. <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| George Andrew | " . . . Spalding . . . | Son of do. Of Glenkilrie | Captain Lieut.-Colonel | <i>Killed</i> , Culloden. |
| Daniel Daniel Charles John | " . . . " . . . " . . . " . . . | Yr. of do. Of Ashintullie Natural son of do. Of Whitfield Yr. of do. | Captain Captain | Taken pris. Kilsyth, Nov. 1745. |

¹ Said to have killed Colonel Gardiner.² Present at Prestonpans; returned to Rannoch in General Cope's carriage.³ Was also tenant of Dalnamein.⁴ Died at Moness, 1820, aged 95; the last of the Atholl officers who served in the '45.

List of Atholl Gentlemen—(continued).

| | | | | | |
|-----------|---------|--------|---|---|--|
| William | Stewart | . . . | Of Garth | Captain | |
| | " | . . . | Brother to do. | Officer | |
| James | " | . . . | Yr. of Inchgarth | " | <i>Killed, Culloden.</i> |
| Alan | " | . . . | Of Innerhadden | Captain, Grandtully's men, Roy Stewart's | |
| Neil | " | . . . | Of Temper | Captain | <i>Killed, Culloden.</i> |
| John | " | . . . | Nephew to do. ¹ | | |
| | " | . . . | Bro. to Tullochroisk ¹ | Officer | <i>Killed, Culloden.</i> |
| David | " | . . . | Of Kynachan | Major, 1st Battalion | <i>Killed, Culloden.</i> |
| John | " | . . . | 2nd son of Foss | Officer | |
| Charles | " | . . . | Of Bohally | Adjutant, No. 1 Batt. | <i>Wounded, Culloden, when with Appin's Regiment.</i> |
| Alexander | " | . . . | Of Duntanlich | Officer | |
| Henry | " | . . . | Of Fincastle | Captain | |
| James | " | . . . | Of Pitdornie | | |
| Donald | " | . . . | Of Strathgarry | Roy Stewart's | |
| Malcolm | " | . . . | Brother to Shierglas | Lieutenant | |
| James | " | . . . | Yr. of Tulloch | Lieutenant | |
| Patrick | " | . . . | Of Easter Invervack | ..... | Taken prisoner, tried, found guilty, recom- mended to mercy. |
| Charles | " | . . . | Cousin to do. | | |
| James | " | . . . | In Clunes ² | Captain | <i>Wounded, Culloden.</i> |
| James | " | . . . | Son of do. | | |
| Donald | " | . . . | Of Dalvorest | | |
| John | " | . . . | Of Pitaneasie | | |
| Patrick | " | . . . | Innerslanie | Captain | |
| John | " | . . . | Of Croftmore | | |
| Robert | " | . . . | Mains of Lude | Captain, command- ing Lude Company | |
| Walter | " | . . . | Of Orchil Beag | | |
| Alexander | " | . . . | Son of Wm. of Ardgie | Ensign | <i>Wounded, Culloden.</i> |
| Robert | " | . . . | Of Killiechassie | Major, 4th Battalion | |
| James | " | . . . | Laigh of Clunie | ... | <i>Killed, Culloden.</i> |
| John | " | . . . | Of Findynate ³ | | |
| Alexander | " | . . . | Brother to do. | | |
| Charles | " | . . . | Of Ballechin | Captain | |
| Robert | " | . . . | Yr. of do. | Officer | |
| Gilbert | " | . . . | Of Wester Kinnaird | Captain | <i>Killed (d.o.w.), Cul- loden.</i> |
| John | " | (1715) | Brother to Easter Kinnaird ⁴ | " | |
| John | " | . . . | Yr. of Stenton ⁵ | Officer | |
| Charles | " | . . . | Of Wester Gourdie | " | |
| Alexander | " | . . . | Of Glen Buckie, ⁶ Balquhidder | " | D. of Perth's |
| John | " | . . . | Of Ledereich, Bal- quhidder | " | " |

¹ These two may be the same person.

² Captain Stewart of Clunes broke his arm by a fall at Ecclefechan on the march south, was left there sick, and rejoined when the Prince retreated into Scotland.

³ "Findynate" and his brother had both enlisted as privates in Captain Murray's Company of Loudoun's Highlanders, 1745.

⁴ John Stewart, brother to Easter Kinnaird, was reported to have deserted from the Prince's army during the march north, February 1746.

⁵ "Stenton" afterwards served as a captain in the 42nd Highlanders, 1758-71.

⁶ In September 1745, on his march to join the Prince, Glen Buckie slept at Leny, and was found shot dead in his bed; supposed suicide.

List of all the Persons in Atholl, below the Pass of Killiecrankie, who at any time during the Rebellion join'd the Rebels, Given up by the severall Ground Officers, upon oath, in presence of the Commanding Officer at Dunkeld, and of the severall Parish Ministers.

Duke of Atholl's own Property.

| | | | | Killed. | Officers. | In South & in England. | At Culloden. |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|---------|-----------|------------------------|--------------|
| George Sanders . . . | in Riechip | Cottarman . . . | | I | ... | I | |
| Donald Stewart . . . | there | not a tenant . . . | | ... | ... | I | |
| — — — — — | servant to Jno. Inches | in Leducky | | I | ... | I | |
| John Stewart . . . | a weaver lad in | Little Dunkeld | | I | ... | I | |
| James Borrie . . . | in Torriwald | | | ... | ... | I | |
| Alexander Duff . . . | in Dalmarnock | Cottar | | I | ... | I | |
| James Duff . . . | there | | | ... | ... | ... | |
| Charles Conacher, yr. | fisher in Logierait | | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| William McLauchlane | there | Cottar | | ... | ... | I | |
| Thomas McNab . . . | there | Cottar | | ... | ... | I | |
| John Forbes, yr. . . | there | Cottar | | ... | ... | I | |
| Robert McAra . . . | in Sock | Cottar | | ... | ... | I | |
| John McLeish . . . | weaver in Port | Cottar | | ... | ... | I | |
| Donald Campbell . . . | in Ballnamuir | Servant | | ... | ... | I | |
| — — — — — | also servant there | | | ... | ... | I | |
| Donald Robertson . . . | in Craig'nuisk | Tenant | | ... | ... | I | |
| James Mackintosh . . . | do. | | | ... | ... | I | |
| James Ferguson . . . | in Pitcastle | | | ... | ... | I | |
| Ens. ? John Low . . . | in Ballinluig | Tenant | | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ Angus McDonald . . . | in Tullimet | Cottar | | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ Donald Robertson . . . | „ | Cottar | | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ David Buttar . . . | in Drum | Servant | | I | ... | ... | I |
| John Robertson . . . | in Achnabechan | | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| Donald Buttar . . . | in Ballintylar | | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ John Reid . . . | in Haugh of Tullimet | Servant | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ William Low . . . | in Haugh of Killmorich | Cottar | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ James McLaren . . . | there | Servant | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ James Robertson . . . | in Countlich | Cottar | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ John Borrie . . . | there | Cottar | | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ George Urquhart . . . | in Ballinluig | Cottar | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| Donald McLaren . . . | in Dowally | Tenant (<i>wd.</i>) | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ John Keir . . . | in Rotmell | Servant (<i>wd.</i>) | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ John McLaren . . . | „ | Cottar (<i>wd.</i>) | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ Donald Robertson . . . | in Cruishill | <i>wounded</i> | | ... | ... | ... | I |
| | | | | 9 | ... | 16 | 18 |

NOTE.—½ signifies cottars or loose men who were hired or paid listing money.

*List of the Duke of Atholl's Vassals and their Tenants that
were in the Rebellion, below the Pass.*

| | | | Killed. | Officers. | In South & in England. | At Culloden. |
|-------------------------|-------------|--|---------|-----------|---------------------------|--------------|
| Capt. James | Robertson | of Balnacree | I | I | ... | I |
| Lieut. Chas. | Robertson | his son | I | I | ... | I |
| ½ James | Robertson | in Ballachragan | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ David | Reid | in Conviallach | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ Alexander | Irvine | in Blair'nrash | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ John | Robertson | in Blairchroisk | ... | ... | ... | I |
| Robert | Douglas | in Craigbea | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ Patrick | Reid | in Ballinlochan | ... | ... | I | |
| Robert | McIntosh | in Glenalbert | ... | ... | I | |
| John | Duff | there | ... | ... | I | |
| Capt. Gilbert | Stewart | of Wester Kinnaird | I | I | ... | I |
| Lieut. James | Stewart | there | ... | I | ... | I |
| ½ Thomas | Stewart | there | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ Patrick | Reid | there | I | ... | I | |
| ½ Robert | Duff | in Wester Kinnaird | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ David | Borrie | there | ... | ... | I | |
| David | Reid | there | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ Finlay | Campbell | in Ballachandie | ... | ... | ... | I |
| Capt. Thos. | Ferguson | of Balyoukan | ... | I | ... | I |
| Robert | Ferguson | in Middlehaugh (a young man) | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ Malcolm | Reid | in Cuilt of Balyoukan | ... | ... | ... | I |
| Alexander | Robertson | in Ballnacree | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ William | Duff | there | ... | ... | ... | I |
| Ens. Alexr. | Stewart | in Ardgie | ... | I | ... | I |
| George | Robertson | in Badvo | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ John | Stewart | there | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ John | McDougall | there | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ John | Robertson | there | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ James | Drummond | in Edradour | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ Robert | Fleming | there | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ Adam | Ferguson | there | ... | ... | I | |
| Patrick | Butter | yr. in Kinhaird | ... | I | I | |
| ½ James | McPherson | there | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ Donald | Stewart | in Drum of Pitlochrie | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ James | Stewart | in Pitlochrie | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ John | McGlashan | in Drum of Pitlochrie | ... | ... | I | |
| Donald | Forbes | in Moulin | ... | ... | I | |
| John | Stewart | in Ballaghulan | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ Alexander | Farquharson | there | ... | ... | I | |
| Donald | McFarlane | in Cammoch | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ John | Mannoch | in Dunchastle | I | ... | ... | I |
| ½ Alexander | Robertson | there | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ Duncan | Campbell | there | ... | ... | ... | I |
| James | McInroy | in Easter Cluny | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ Alexander | Cameron | in Pitlochrie | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ Robert | Forbes | in Moulin | ... | ... | ... | I |
| ½ John | Duff | in Ballinluig | ... | ... | I | |
| ½ Patrick | McDougall | in Ballinluig | I | ... | ... | I |
| Carry forward | | | 13 | 7 | 23 | 25 |

List of Duke of Atholl's Vassals, &c.—(continued.)

| | | Killed. | Officers. | In South & in England. | At Culloden. |
|---------------------|---|---------|-----------|------------------------|--------------|
| Brought forward . . | | 13 | 7 | 23 | 25 |
| John | Robertson . . in Ballintuim | ... | ... | 1 | |
| ½ John | Wallace there | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| ½ James | Ferguson . . son to John Ferguson in Dunfalandy | 1 | ... | ... | 1 |
| ½ Donald | Robertson . . in Dunfalandy | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| ½ Thomas | Buttar there | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Patrick | Buttar there | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| Gilbert | Robertson there | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| ½ David | McRa in Fonnab | ... | ... | 1 | |
| | | 14 | 7 | 25 | 31 |

Heretors and their Tenants below the Pass of Killychranky not holding of the Duke of Atholl but joined the Marquis of Tullibardine.

| | | Killed. | Officers. | In South & in England. | At Culloden. |
|--------------|---|---------|-----------|------------------------|--------------|
| Capt. James | Robertson . . of Killiechangie. Vassal to Strowan; } served in his regiment. | ... | 1 | 1 | |
| Lieut. James | Robertson . . his son | ... | 1 | ... | 1 |
| John | Robertson . . Tenant to do. | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| ½ Finlay | Robertson . . in Ballnakeily's ground | ... | ... | 1 | |
| ½ Alexander | Stewart do. | ... | ... | ... | 1 |
| ½ Donald | McDonald do. | 1 | ... | 1 | |
| ½ John | McDonald . . in Dysart | 1 | ... | 1 | |
| ½ Patrick | Gow in Easter Dalguise | ... | ... | 1 | |
| James | Dickson there | ... | ... | 1 | |
| Donald | Stewart in Middle Dalguise | ... | ... | 1 | |
| ½ Alexander | Stewart there Servant | ... | ... | 1 | |
| James | Stewart there Servant | ... | ... | 1 | |
| John | Stewart there | ... | ... | 1 | |
| Donald | Gow there | ... | ... | 1 | |
| Capt. John | Stewart in Kinnaird | ... | 1 | 1 | |
| 6 | Heretors not holding of the Duke | 2 | 3 | 12 | 3 |
| 25 | Duke of Atholl's own Tenants | 9 | ... | 16 | 18 |
| 35 | Duke's Vassals and their Tenants | 14 | 7 | 25 | 31 |
| 66 | | 25 | 10 | 53 | 52 |
| 105 | | | | | |

Roll of Men in Dunkeld and Neighbourhood who were concerned in the Rising of 1745-46. Made out by the Officers of Excise.

| | | | | |
|-----------|--------------|---------------|-----------------|--|
| John | Bannerman . | Workman | Dunkeld | |
| John | Bowie . . . | Mason | " | Guarded Inver Ferry. |
| John | Clark . . . | " | " | Took prisoner excise officer and beat him. |
| Thomas | Hill . . . | Brewer | " | <i>Dead.</i> |
| David | Jack . . . | Wright | " | |
| James | Mann . . . | Baker | " | Ensign in Roy Stewart's, taken prisoner at Carlisle. |
| John | do. . . . | Shoemaker | " | Deserted before Prestonpans. |
| Donald | McEwen . . | Mason | " | |
| John | McFarlane . | Tailor | " | |
| John | Napier . . . | Mason | " | Guarded Inver Ferry. |
| Thomas | Nichol . . . | Workman | " | Took prisoner excise officer and beat him. |
| Laurence | Robertson . | Mason | " | |
| James | Scott . . . | Workman | " | |
| John | do. . . . | Mason | " | |
| James | Stewart . . | Tobacconist | " | |
| Laurence | do. . . . | Cook & tailor | " | |
| Robert | do. . . . | Servant | " | Taken prisoner (in Perth prison). |
| Charles | Robertson . | Farmer | Riemore | |
| Thomas | Neil . . . | Servant | Stenton | To John Stewart, yr. of do. |
| William | Dick . . . | " | Kinclairney | To Mungo Murray, yr. of do. |
| Gilbert | Drummond . | " | Meikleour | To Colonel Mercer. |
| John | Dow . . . | " | Stanley | To Lord Nairne. |
| Hugh | Ferguson . | late " | " | " |
| John | Sangster . . | " | " | " |
| John | Reoch . . . | Cooper | " | |
| William | Cochrane . | Wright | Jackston | Servant to Lord Nairne. |
| John | Fogo . . . | Farmer | Balmacolly | Guard ^{Ground} officer to Lord Nairne (active, but not out). |
| James | Miller . . . | Innkeeper | Five Mile House | Taken prisoner (in Perth prison). |
| Alexander | do. . . . | Servant | ... | To Lord G. Murray. |
| James | Robertson . | Groom | ... | " |
| Robert | White . . . | Painter | from Glasgow | Served in Atholl Brigade. |

Names of Men in Atholl, &c., who were Engaged in the Rising of 1745 not previously mentioned.¹

| | | |
|--------|------------|---------------|
| Daniel | Robertson, | Blair Atholl. |
| Duncan | McLaren, | " |
| Angus | McDonald, | Balnuaran. |
| John | Stewart, | Drumnacreich. |

¹ City of Perth Records (mostly evidences).

| | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Donald | McLachlan, | Kincraigie. | |
| Leonard | Mann, | „ | |
| Donald | McBeath, | Clachghlas. | |
| Archibald | McBeath, | „ | |
| John | McLachlan, | West Monzie. | |
| John | Stewart, | Invertilt. | |
| Alexander | Robertson, | West Craggan. | |
| Donald | Robertson, | „ | |
| Alexander | Robertson, | „ | |
| Donald | Robertson, | Logierait, | Chapman. |
| Charles | Robertson, | Guay. | |
| Patrick | Ramsay, | Sketewan. | |
| Donald | McLaren, | East Kinnaird. | |
| James | McKenzie, | Kincraigie. | |
| Fergus | Ferguson, | Glenelbert, | Fisher. |
| John | McFarlane, | Parish of Little Dunkeld, | Lord J. Drummond's French Regiment. |
| Andrew | Donaldson, | Dunkeld, | Merchant. |
| Thomas | Gow, | „ | Shoemaker. |
| Charles | Duff, | „ | Labourer. |
| Robert | Stewart, | „ | „ |
| Robert | Stewart, | „ | „ |
| William | Miller, | „ | A boy. |
| Hugh | Stewart, | Tcmper. | |
| Duncan | Sinclair, | Innerhadden. | |
| Alexander | McIntosh, | Balnabroich, Strathardle. | |
| Anthony | McLean, | East Downie, Strathardle. | |
| John | Low, | New Mill, Strathord, | Smith. |
| Patrick | McGregor or Murray, | E. Drumlich, Balquhidder, | Keppoch's Regt. |
| Duncan | McGregor or Murray, | W. Drumlich, | „ |
| John | McGregor or Murray, | Monachyle, | „ |

*List of the Duke of Atholl's Vassals that have been in the Rebellion.
Sent to Brigadier Mordaunt, May 16, 1746.*

| | | |
|-------|----------|-----------------------------------|
| John | Campbell | of Glenlyon. |
| Peter | Butter | portioner of Easter Dunfallandic. |
| James | Ferguson | of Dunfallandic. |

| | | |
|-----------|------------|---|
| Thomas | Ferguson | yr. of Balyoukan. |
| Robert | Murray | alias McGregor, of Glencarnock. |
| Patrick | MacGlashan | of Lambtown (Baluan). |
| John | McKenzie | } of Rinakylach. |
| Thomas | McKenzie | |
| Donald | McDonell | of Loghgarrie. |
| Thomas | Ogilvie | of Rinavey. |
| Alexander | McDonald | of Dallchoshnie. |
| John | McDonald | his son. |
| Angus | McDonald | of Kennochknock. |
| Neil | Macglashan | in Clune. |
| Charlotte | Robertson | Lady Lude. |
| Donald | Robertson | yr. of Kinraigie. |
| James | Robertson | of Blairfeaty. |
| David | Robertson | of Easter Bleaton. |
| Charles | Robertson | yr. of Balnaguard. |
| Duncan | Robertson | of Auchliex. |
| James | Robertson | of Balnacree. |
| Charles | Robertson | his son. |
| James | Robertson | of Killychangie. |
| John | Robertson | of Bohespick. |
| Robert | Steuart | yr. of Ballechin. |
| John | Stewart | of Findynate. |
| Robert | Stewart | of Killychassie. |
| William | Stewart | of Garth. |
| James | Stewart | yr. of Inchgarth. |
| David | Stewart | of Kynachan. |
| Neil | Stewart | of Temper. |
| Charles | Stewart | of Bohally. |
| Henry | Stewart | of Fincastle. |
| John | Stewart | of Croftmore. |
| Patrick | Stewart | of Innervack. |
| Gilbert | Stewart | of Wester Kinnaird. |
| John | Stewart | brother to Alexander Stewart of Easter Kinnaird. |
| James | Stewart | wadsetter of Pitdornie. |
| John | Stewart | of Ledcrich. |

Memorandums by Duke James during May 1746.

May 6.—That Crerar may keep possession of the Warran house (Dunkeld), in order to be at hand to take the proper care of the Rabbits; Besides having the use of the house he is to have £5 Ster^{ll} of wages, and the Fishing. He is to have no cattle or sheep in the warran. That Thomas Bisset see that he dispose of all the cattle and sheep he has at present, and that none of his Bestiall be seen in the Warran after Whitsunday next.

Crerar is also to have the inspection of all the Hills, that none of the game be destroyed.

His Grace recommends to the Commissar to talk to Sir Andrew Agnew about M^r Stewart, Minister of Blair, his proposall anent geting the House of Blairfeatty in exchange for his Manse and Gleib.

Peter M^cInnes and James Gentle having been put in the King's pay, when the Castle of Blair was Invested, 17th March last, they are to continue in the King's pay as long as there is occasion for them, (tho' James Gentle was sometime at Dunkeld mending the fences &^c that were broke down by the Hessians). That they are to be no longer employed by His Grace. That whatever carpenters may be wanted for His Grace's work at Blair, when Peter M^cInnes and James Gentle are discharged, Nicholas Harrison is to employ any proper hand.

James Gentle to finish what is to do at Dunkeld, and Tho^s Bisset to send an account of what work he does at Dunkeld to his Grace, and the day he leaves Dunkeld, and send an account of what fences are finished, and how far the fence at the hill is advanced.

May 7th.—That Commissar Bisset get up all the arms in Atholl belonging to the Rebels.

A List to be sent to His Grace of all the damnages sustain'd by him at Blair, Logyreat, & Dunkeld.

May 8th.—His Grace recommends to Commissar Bisset and the severall Ministers of the Respective parishes within the Regality of

Atholl, That upon their hearing of any of the King's Troops marching towards the country, that the Commissar, with the Minister of such parish where any of the troops are comeing, do immediatly wait upon the commanding Officer to give Information what persons within the said parish have been in the Rebellion, and who have continued loyall, that the Innocent may be distinguished ffrom the guilty.

The same is recommended to Baillie Spence and Mr Cornfute for the Town of Dunkeld.

Amongst the "Evidences against the Rebels" taken on behalf of the Government after the '45 were the following:¹—

The evidence given against Lord George Murray, as taken down by Mr. Harding, stands thus:—

1st Witness.—Charles Campbell, Lieut. of the Edinburgh Reg^t.

Lord George Murray was at Edinburgh.

In the months of Sept^r and Oct^r L^d Geo. Murray was very often seen in arms, with his Broadsword and pistol, giving directions in Holyrood House, and particularly was one night going up with a design (as was said) to make an attack upon the Castle.

The directions appeared to be military on the part of the Rebels.

2nd Witness.—John Hickson, Vintner in Perth.

I saw Lord George Murray come into my house when the Pretender was there in Sept^r last, and he was very often with the Pretender's son.

I did not see him in Arms, but in the Highland dress.

I believe he had a Broadsword and cockade, but I don't positively remember.

I did not see him on a march, but in company with some officers.

I saw him in company with the Pretender's son, with whom he dined and supped very often.

He was treated by the Rebel officers as a general officer.

I saw him after the Battle of Preston Pans.

I knew him many years before.

He is a brother to the Duke of Atholl.

¹ Newcastle Papers (add. 33,050), British Museum.

3rd Witness.—John Vere.

I saw L^d George Murray at the same time in arms, as a Highland man with a Broadsword.

I saw him at the head of the Rebel army from the 2^d or 3^d to the 20th Dec^r. He was Major Gen^l and had a Reg^t of his own.

3^d Witness.—W^m Hastie, a surgeon.

I saw the person called L^d George Murray march in arms with the Rebels. He generally went at the head of them.

The evidence given against Lord Nairn, as taken down by Mr. Harding, stands thus:—

1st Witness.—Chas^s Campbell, L^t of the Edin^r Regt.

In Sept. & Oct. last I saw the man called L^d Nairn was once or twice about the Holyrood House, but I never saw him before.

He had a white cockade, but was not in a High^d dress.

2nd Witness.—John Hickson, Vintner in Perth.

I saw L^d Nairn in Perth the first night in September with Cameron of Lochiel. They took possession of my house and likewise of the town. He was in a Highland dress.

I did not see him do any act of Hostility in Perth, but I saw him march at the head of the King's officers.

He commanded the Guard who had the care of the prisoners.

This was the Lord whom I applied to for favour to the Prisoners in the Canongate.

There was a guard in the Town before, appointed by the Magistrates, but possession was after taken, as was understood, for the Pretender's son.

His name is John Nairn. I knew him many years before.

Q. How soon did the Pretender's son come to the house?

A. Two days after, as I believe.

3rd Witness.—John Vere.

Lord Nairn is Colonel of a Regiment of Foot, and acted as Brigadier on the march of the Rebels from Macclesfield to Derby.

The young Pretender gave orders to Lord Nairn to line the hedges the 15th Dec^r.

I saw him every day on the march. He marched with the Rebels.

4th *Witness*.—William Hastie, Surgeon.

I saw L^d Nairn all the way with the Rebels.

He was generally called Lord Nairn.

He was among the Rebels upon the marches, as an officer, from Nov^r to February.

The evidence given against R^obert Mercer, *alias* Nairn, of Aldie, as taken down by Mr. Harding, stands thus :—

1st *Witness*.—John Hickson, Vintner in Perth.

I saw Robert Mercer of Aldie often at my house in Sept. last with the Pretender's son at dinner and supper. He and they all called him Roy^l Highness.

He was in Highland clothes.

I never saw him in arms.

I believe they all had cockades, but I don't remember particular persons.

I have known him before.

2nd *Witness*.—John Vere.

I saw Robert Mercer, *alias* Nairn, first at Congleton the 4th of December last. They called him Major^l Nairn, and he was understood to be Lord Nairn's brother.

I saw him in arms marching with the Rebels.

Evidence was also taken against the Dowager Lady Nairne and her daughter "Lady Lude."²

Concerning the latter lady the following tenants on the estate of Lude were examined :—

| | | |
|-----------|------------|-----------------------|
| Alexander | Kennedy, | Craggan. |
| Donald | Kennedy, | Balnacree. |
| Neil | Kennedy, | Croft 'ic Ewen. |
| Duncan | McDonald, | Tom of Kindrochet. |
| Alexander | Robertson, | Kindrochet (of Lude). |
| Alexander | Robertson, | Park of Kennamoine. |
| Alexander | Robertson, | Drumnanaigeach. |
| Charles | Robertson, | Runroy. |
| Duncan | Robertson, | Kilmavonaig. |
| Donald | Stewart, | Craggan. |

¹ This appears to be a mistake, as he seems always to have been known in the Highland army as Colonel Mercer.

² Public Record Office, London.

They stated that when the young Pretender came to Lude on September 2nd, "Lady Lude" convened her tenants there, and told them they must join his army, which they were very unwilling to do.

She then threatened them that if they would not rise for him she would let loose the Clans on them, who would destroy all they had; to avoid which they were forced to enlist, and joined a company in Lord George Murray's Regiment, which was known as "Lady Lude's Company," and was commanded by Robert Stewart, tenant in Mains of Lude.

That, with the exception of Alexander Robertson, Kindrochet, who was present at Prestonpans, they all deserted during their march to Edinburgh, and that when they returned home "Lady Lude" was very wroth with them, and threatened them with great punishments till they paid a fine averaging about £3 each.

Charles Robertson said that Lady Lude threatened to hang him for his desertion. That shortly after the battle of Falkirk he was taken up as a deserter by a party and rejoined the Highland army. That he marched North, and returned with the force which besieged Blair Castle, at which time he formed one of the guard at the Pass of Killiecrankie. That when Lord George raised the siege he again deserted.

Other evidences were :—

| | | |
|---------|-----------|--|
| Thomas | Fraser, | Tomvoulin. |
| Patrick | Kennedy, | Middleton of Lude. |
| Robert | Stewart, | Kindrochet of Lude. |
| James | Gow, | Tenant and Ground Officer to Duke James. |
| Angus | McDonald, | } Workmen, Blair Castle. |
| Duncan | McLaren, | |
| Thomas | Ratray, | |

Thomas Ratray saw "Lady Lude" hurry to the door of Blair Castle to meet the young Pretender on his arrival.

Angus McDonald saw her kneel and kiss his hand outside the door.

Thomas Fraser often saw her walking on the Castle Green with the young Pretender and some of the Highland officers, and observed "Lady Lude" to elevate when she was about the young Pretender. At that time she looked like a person whose head had gone wrong.

At the time of the siege of Blair, when the rebels seized the sergeant's command at Bridge of Tilt, saw her treat the rebels with brandy, applauding them for what they had done, clapping them on the shoulders, and dancing with them.

Unto the King's most excellent Majesty, the humble Petition of *Charles Robertson, Alex^r Scott, Will^m Scott, James M^cCollie, and Duncan Stewart*, Prisoners under sentence of death in the Castle of York.¹

Sheweth,—That your Petitioners and other Tenants in Strathbran and Gairntilly did remain peaceably in their duty & allegiance to your Majesty when all the rest of that part of the Highlands in their neighbourhood were up in arms and joined in the Rebellion. That after the fatal Battle of Preston[pans], when the rebels were resolved upon their march into England, a strong party, under the command of Captⁿ Fraser, was detached into the Lands of Strathbran and Gairntilly with orders to drive the cattle, burn & destroy the houses and corn of such of the tenants in those grounds as did abscond, and to seise the persons of such as they could find.

That these orders were executed with the utmost rigour and severity in every article. Such of the Tenants of those grounds as absconded had their houses sett on fire, their corn destroyed, and their cattle carried off, and such as they could catch were carried away prisoners, under a strong guard, first to Dunkell, and from thence to Edinburgh. All the time they were upon this march they were guarded in the day time by a party of armed rebels, and at nights were locked up in empty houses or Barns, having centinels placed at the doors, whereby all possibility of escape was obstructed. That as soon as your petitioners and the other persons were brought to Edinburgh they were put into an empty house, under a strong Guard, and from thence, the next day, marched out to Dalkeith, and from thence up into England.


¹ Public Record Office, London.


Your Petitioners do not deny, but that after being thus violently forced away so great a distance from their Familys and habitations, having not a penny of money for their subsistance, they were brought under the fatal necessity either of submitting to carry arms along with the Rebels or of being exposed to their Brutal Fury and Resentment if they had attempted to escape, which at the same time it was scarce possible for them to accomplish, being marched away from Dalkeith at a great distance from their habitations without a farthing of money in their pockets, and most of your petitioners quite strangers to the English language.


Your petitioners have the misfortune to be convicted of high treason, notwithstanding that upon several of their Tryals the facts above mentioned were distinctly proved, nor shall your petitioners presume to doubt they are justly condemned. At the same time it must appear to y^r Majesty that your petitioners are in a singular hard case. They had persevered in their duty and allegiance till this violance and force was committed upon them, and after supposing that in point of strict Law the force and violence used against them should not be sufficient altogether to justify their going along with the Rebels in their march into England, it cannot but greatly extenuate their offence when your Majesty is graciously pleased to consider the meanness of education, the degree of Violence used against them, the terror and apprehension they were under from that armed force in the hands of the Rebels, which, after dragging them from their respective homes, was hanging over their heads ready to crush every one who should attempt to escape if discovered.

If under these circumstances your Petitioners shall be thought proper objects of mercy they shall gratefully acknowledge your Majesty's goodness and clemency, and pray for a long and happy reign to your Majesty.

his mark
CHARLES ^cR ROBERTSON.

his
W^m  SCOTT.
mark

his
ALEX^r  SCOTT.
mark

JAMES M^cCOLLIE'S
mark 

DUNCAN STEWART.

Amongst the Highland prisoners taken south in May the following Perthshire men were on board the transport *Jane* of Leith :—

| | | |
|------------------------------|--|-----------------------------|
| John Kennedy | Rannoch | Keppoch's. |
| Don ^d Campbell | age 20, Herd to Dalchosnie | L ^d G. Murray's. |
| Duncan Campbell | „ 17, apprentice Tailer, Breadalbane | „ |
| Rob ^t Farquharson | „ 21, Servant to Robertson, Balnacraig | „ |
| George Robertson | „ 21, apprentice Weaver, Logierait | „ |
| | also | |
| Alex ^r Ross | „ 20, from Sutherland | „ |

*Account of Cattle, Sheep, &c., taken from the Duke of Atholl
by the Rebels from Blair.*

1745.

| | | |
|--|-----------|---------|
| To 14 Cows at £2 10 | | £35 0 0 |
| To 10 Large Wedders at £1 5 | | 12 10 0 |
| To 23 Wedders at 14/ | | 16 2 0 |
| To 7 Lambs at 5/ | | 1 15 0 |
| To 10 English Ews, killed by the McDonalds & Camerons. | | 10 0 0 |
| To a Black Coult | | 25 0 0 |
| To a Ston'd horse | | 20 0 0 |
| To Lady Jane's mare | | 7 7 0 |
| To a white mare | | 7 7 0 |
| To a Coach horse | | 20 0 0 |
| To Lady Charlotte's Galloway | | 2 2 0 |
| To a Mule | | 5 5 0 |
| To the Spott horse | | 5 5 0 |
| To a Black coult | | 15 0 0 |
| To a young Mare | | 8 8 0 |
| To a Coach horse & Mare | | 10 0 0 |
| To 3 Ews from the Laignwood | | 1 4 0 |

1746.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------|--------|
| To 40 Wedders at 18/ | | 36 0 0 |
| To 4 Large Oxen carried North | | 50 0 0 |

| | | | |
|--|-----|----|---|
| To 16 Oxen killed and taken North at £5 10/ | £80 | 0 | 0 |
| To 13 Bolls of wheat | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| To 50 Wedders from the Forrest at 15/ | 37 | 10 | 0 |
| To 2 Rams | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| To 8 Ewes with Lambs in their Bellies | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| To 18 Wedders and 10 Ews | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| To 24 Ewes from Tulloch at 8/ | 9 | 12 | 0 |
| To 3 Stots, one Quay, and one English Stirk | 14 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Coach horse | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| To 2 Work horses | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| To 30 Swine | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| To 4 Bolls of Wheat | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| To 10 Bolls of Bear | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| To Hay destroyed | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| To Corn for horses | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| To 25 Ews from the muklehaugh at 8/ | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| To 25 Lambs | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| To 30 Geese | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| To 2 Mules | 16 | 0 | 0 |
| To 6 American Sheep | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| To 5000 lbs. Butter used and taken North | 33 | 7 | 8 |
| To Cheese | 10 | 9 | 0 |
| To Milk and Cream | 3 | 10 | 9 |
| To Beacon, Hams, and Smoke Beef used and carryed North | 11 | 17 | 0 |
| To Pork and Piggs | 13 | 8 | 0 |
| To Expenses of keeping the Garrison at Blair from the 1 st of November to the end of January | 91 | 0 | 0 |
| To Forrage to the horses | 41 | 17 | 0 |
| To the Keeping of 20 horses for 8 weeks at different times, [and] when the Pretender's son was at Blair | 56 | 0 | 0 |
| To Carts &c Taken away | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| To Peats and other fuell | 40 | 0 | 0 |
| To Bed and Table Linnen carry'd away | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| To Pleat | 50 | 0 | 0 |
| To Sweivells & Field pieces | 60 | 0 | 0 |
| To 500 Stone Dutch w ^t of Lead carried away by the Rebels from Blair, at 2/6 per stone | 62 | 10 | 0 |

| | | | |
|---|-----|----|---|
| To 18 doz. Arrack | £54 | 0 | 0 |
| To a Hog ^d Port | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| To 16 doz. White Wine | 27 | 12 | 0 |
| To 16 doz. 5 Bott ^s Lisbon | 19 | 14 | 0 |
| To 4½ H ^{dd} Claret | 140 | 0 | 0 |
| To 24 Doz: Brandy | 28 | 16 | 0 |
| To 4 Doz: Cinamon Water | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| To 5 Doz: Aqua Vite | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| To 22 Doz: English Ale | 13 | 4 | 0 |
| To 8 Doz: Coste Rostea | 7 | 4 | 0 |
| To 12 Doz: Maligo | 14 | 8 | 0 |
| To a H ^d Sherry | 28 | 16 | 0 |
| To 2 Doz: Champaign | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| To 5 Doz: Burgundy | 15 | 0 | 0 |

£401 6 0

New House¹ at Blair.

| | | | |
|--|---|----|---|
| To 110 flooring dales, wrought for laying down, at 15 ^d | 6 | 17 | 6 |
| To Window Crown glass, 34 panes at 18 ^d | 2 | 11 | 0 |
| To the Planting & Beads for 23 Windows wood, and work- manship | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| To 16 pair of Pillies and Boxes | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| To the cepheter & Architravé of a window | 0 | 5 | 6 |
| To the chacks & Architraves of 4 doors wood & work | 1 | 17 | 0 |
| To the lyning of a closet, 45 y ^{ds} of new work | 6 | 15 | 0 |
| To 52 dales, sawn for Lath | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| To 30 double Bourdens | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| To 45 planks wrought | 2 | 16 | 3 |
| To a Logg of wood | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| To alm wrought for the stair | 9 | 10 | 0 |
| To 14 Norrway Dales | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| To 15 Pints of Lintseed Oyll | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| To Nails, to the value of | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| To a stone of Glue | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| To 10 lbs. Spanish Brown | 0 | 4 | 2 |
| To hinges & locks to a door | 0 | 13 | 0 |

¹ Long passage wing.

New Stable.

| | |
|---|---------|
| To the Loft—6 doors, locks & keys | £0 12 0 |
| To Wood & workmanship to the Raill & top of the Stair . | 0 10 0 |
| To the hearth laying & plaister to the north room . . | 0 3 6 |
| To 4 big stock locks, below the stairs | 1 8 0 |
| To 4 Rollers and Iron work | 0 12 0 |
| To making up the breast of the manger | 0 3 6 |
| To 2 Stay Bands to the door | 0 5 6 |
| To 4 Stay Bands to the coach house door | 0 5 0 |
| To lock & key of the saddle room | 0 2 0 |
| To the corn chist lock & chist | 0 3 0 |
| To a wiar frame | 0 5 0 |
| To 12 panes of Glass 10 by 10 | 0 12 0 |
| To 24 panes in the Ground Storrie | 1 12 0 |
| To the Coach house door | 0 6 0 |
| To Gate, brok & burnt | 0 10 6 |
| To 14 Drawers | 0 14 0 |
| To an account of Tools, Saws, Planes, Formers, Axes, &c, carried of | 5 12 1 |
| To Wood & workmanship for repairing the 2 Ox Byres . | 3 0 0 |
| To thatching the said roof & workmanship | 5 0 0 |
| To Hacks & mangers in the workmanship to the work horse stable | 1 1 0 |
| To 26 Stalls for Oxen & Cows, done with dales, wood & workmanship of the same | 7 0 0 |
| To the work horse stable at the high gate of the Avinue. A partition of dales, hack, manger, & locks | 2 5 0 |
| To the Raill both sides of Hercules walk, consisting of 4000 in length wood | 5 0 0 |
| To the Raill the low end of the west planting, being 600 foot, wood for the same | 1 10 0 |
| To nails to repair the said Raills | 4 0 0 |
| To the carriage of the said wood | 2 0 0 |
| To workmanship | 7 0 0 |

£1632 9 11

Lord George concluded his letter of May the 25th to Mr. Hamilton of Bangour as follows :—

“I have now wrote what occurs to me, in so far as regards myself, without entring in to minute things, tho', even in these, I could show in a thousand instances that nothing was wanting on my parte to forward the cause. I was always early in the mornings imploy'd in some necessary work ; any thing that was readiest serv'd for brakefast ; & I commonly din'd 'twixt four & five, & no supper. Any body who had busines with me, or the least thing to say, had access at all hours, wether I were at meat or abed. On some occasions I have been wak'd six times in a night, & had either orders to write or letters to answer evry time ; for as I mostly commanded a seperat Body of the Army, I had many detailes that, in a more regular Army, would belong to diferent people. I not only wrote the orders myself, or dicteted them, but any officer that was to goe upon a party, or upon an out post, I indeavour'd to explain evry thing that might hapen, answer'd any objections that could be started, besides giveing the orders in writeing, by which means there was no mistake or confusion, & the officers did their Duty with cheerfullness, & made their reports with exactness. Mr O'Suliman's manner was, when he had partys to send, or a post to ocupie, it was mention'd in the ginerall orders of the day, only mentioning the regement that was to furnish so many officers & men. This might have done well in a very regular armie, but in ours more exactness & atention was necessary, much confusion and mistakes happan'd by it, & it was often night before a party went that should have gone in the morning. But, above all, I was particularly carefull to have discipline as exactly kept as was posible, & to the utmost of my power, I protected the country where ever I went ; & upon any complaints I almost always got them redress. The takeing of Horse for careing their Bagage, or seek men, was what the Highlanders committed the greatest excess in. Many hunders I got restor'd ; & if the people whom they belonged to could but fix where they were, or who had them, I never fail'd to gait them restor'd, tho' we were oblig'd to allow them to be caried a day or two's march, perhaps, longer then they should. As to plundering, our men were not intirely free of it ; but there was much less of this then could have been expected, & few regular Armys but are as guilty. To be sure, there was some notted theevs

amongst the Highlanders, (those call'd our Hussars were not better); what army is without them? but all possible care was taken to restrean them. How often have I gone in to houses on our marches to drive the men out of them, & drub'd them heartily! I was even reprov'd for corecting them. It was told me that all the Highlanders were gentlemen, & were never to be beat; but I was well acquainted with their tempers. Fear was as necessary as love to restrean the bad, & keep them in order. It was what all their cheefs did, & were not sparing of Blows to them that deserv'd it, which they took without grumbling when they had committed an offence. It's trow, they would only receive corection from their own officers; for upon no account could the cheef of one clan corect the faults of the meanest of another; & they would not bear it. But I had as much Authority over them all as each had amongst his own men; & I will venture to say, that never an officer was more belovd of the whole, without exception, then I was; they had indeed from the Highest to the Lowest a greater confidence & trust in me then I could deserve; & any litle disputes that hapned betwixt those of different names I constantly made up to their mutuall satisfaction; & sometimes when some young men, who were officers, did not do their duty with that care & exactness that was necessary, or were any ways remis or faulty, I reprov'd them in such a manner as they not only took it well, but afterwards acknowledg'd that they were much oblig'd to me.

“At any time where there was a post of more danger then another, I had more dificulty in restraining them who were too forward then in finding those who were willing.

“H:R:H: had so much confidence in the Bravery of his Army that he was reither too hazardus, & was for fighting the enemy on all occasions; what he had seen them do, & the justness of his cause, made him too ventorious.

“In the whole march to Darby and back again, nor, indeed, in the whole time we were togither, did I ever goe into a house, or stop at a door, to take so much as a glass of water, till I came to my Quarters; but I often went into houses to turn out others. I thought I could not reasonably find fault with others in that, if I did not show them a good example. I never took the least thing without paying the full value. My horses were either all my own or bought. Fodder and corn I got often out of the magazines, as others did. I had a servant who drest my neat, &

tho', when I had a seperat command, (which was oftenest the case,) I had always some of the officers that dined with me, yet I seldome had anything but broth, & a pice of Boyld meat, & a Roast; & one Botle of Rume or Brandy, in punce, serv'd us for liquor, where we had not good ale. Our expence was very inconsiderable, & I never heard of an Army, ginerally speaking, so temperat. In many partes in England I was quarter'd in privat houses, & they had their diner prepear'd when I came in towards the evnings. Many would not take payment; but I always left, at least, a guinea in these houses, which was more then would have pay'd the expence. The only place that I ever heard a compleant was in our march north, ten miles from Perth, at an Inn where we were badly intertean'd. I pay'd the woman all her bill, which was extravagant; but refus'd to pay for twelve horse she stated more then what I had. But in nothing was I more carefull then about prisoners, even the common Souldiers, when they were under my charge. I caus'd take all the care posible of the seek and wounded. I had many letters full of acknowledgments from the officers. There was an English Officer that I had taken at the Batle of Falkirk, & who was left upon his parole at Sr George Dumbar's house, who wrote to me in terms expressing his owing his Life to me. All those who were taken in Atholl were as civlie used as was posible, so long as they had the care of them. I visited the Souldiers that were prisoners in the church of Inverness, & got relief & assistance Sent to the Seek. There was one thing like to happen there which I was exceeding displeas'd at. An officer of our Army had got a new corps rais'd, & they were very ill cloth'd; what posest him I cannot tell, but a complant was brought me that he and his men were striping the prisoners in the church of their coats, to cloth his own men. I immediatly went to the Prince, & an order was sent to stop it. Before the order came they had got off most of the coats, but they were all imediatly return'd. This was about a week before the Batle of Culloden.

“I think I can safely say that, during the whole time we were together, whatever advice I gave, if followed, had success; and this gave the officers & men such confidence in me. I shall only except the night march, in which I did at first heartily concurr, till the men went off, & then I was against it. I was, indeed, very cautious in offring my oppinion, except at a councile of war, or when most of the principle officers were together in H:R:H: presens; for I thought it both safer & best any thing of great

consequence should be argu'd, so as that the fitness or objections to any measure should be duly consider'd; & then, even if things did not succeed, there was at least the satisfaction that what was done was for the best, & with the concurrence of the principle Officers. I was much for having more frequent councils of War, and this I had press'd as much as I could. We had but very few from the time we left Edin^r. I was, the day before the Batle, of the same opinion with many others for a night atact; but that was only of two evels to chuse what we thought the least. We thought that was better than to fight upon that plain moor; but at night, when so many of the men went off, we alter'd our thoughts. However, as H.R.H. was still much bent for it, we did make a fair tryall; but at last it was found impracticable, for it was not posible to surprize the enemy. Could the whole line have march'd up as quick as the Van, I am persuaded we might have been at Nairn about two in the morning. What would have happen'd, God only knows.

“My reall centiment, & the oppinion I offer'd the day before the Batle, was to retire to the other side of the water of Earn, & take up a strong ground, &, if posible, to delay fighting at least for another day; But the want of provisions, & that the enemy might march to Inverness, was objected to this.

“Upon the whole, I shall conclude with saing, If I did not all the good I would, I'm sure I did all I could.”

The Duke of Cumberland appears now to have turned his attention to having Lord George's son removed from the army.

H.R.H. the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle (extract).

INVERNESS, 8 May 1746.

There is a 13th Company in L^d Loudoun's Reg^t which I hope has never been paid, as it never existed.

It was given to L^d George Murray's son, a school boy at Eaton. Both the Subalterns were also named by the Duke of Atholl, and both have been in the Rebellion.¹

¹ Public Record Office, London.

During May an infantry brigade, commanded by Brigadier Mordaunt, passed through Atholl from the North *en route* for Perth. A detachment was left at Dunkeld, which, for the following four months, was periodically relieved from Perth.

June 3.—Mr. Maule, writing to Duke James from London, mentioned that Prince Frederick of Hesse was in town, but would leave in eight days, and that the King had presented him with a gold (hilted) sword set with diamonds.

Early in June Mr. Lloyd, of the War Office, wrote (probably to Lord Loudoun's army agent) saying that no further sums of money were to be received or paid on account of Captain Murray's company. Duke James appears, however, in the mean time to have got a fresh subaltern appointed.

Lieutenant John Murray to Duke James.

STRAITH BOGGIE, 19 *June* 1746.

May it please your Grace,—As soon as I came up with my L^d Loudoun, who was in Keppoch's Country, I presented y^r Lo^s compliments to him, and told him y^r Gr/ desired to know his commands for Capt. Murray. Lord Loudoun answered, he was sorry to find by a letter from London that Captⁿ Murray's company was reduced; I asked the reason, he said it was reduced, as it never existed; at the same time L^d Loudoun acknowledged there was near forty men joined the Reg^t of that company; how to reconcile this, & their never existing, I know not. My L^d says I was Lieu^t to that company, but in the mean time has ordered me to join the Regiment untill His Royall Highness's pleasure is known. I expect the same fate with the company. The Duke and the Army is still at Fort Augustus, but is to march soon south. I saw L^d Lovet carried from Fort William to Fort Augustus in a litter; there was two servant men and an old woman taken with him. McNeil of Barra was brought to Fort Augustus. There is no body else of any consequence taken as yet. The

common people have mostly layed down their arms, except Camerons, & some brenches of McDonalds.

I am, May it please y^r Gr/,

Y^r Gr/s most faithfull, humble, & ob^{dt} Servant,

JO: MURRAY.¹

As before stated, Duke William had been put on board the *Eltham* man-of-war at Leith on May 13th, but that ship having been ordered North to take on board more prisoners, he did not reach London till June 20th,² on which day he was committed to the Tower of London in a very bad state of health. A few days after, the Lieutenant of the Tower, General Williamson, wrote to Duke James.

General Williamson to Duke James.

TOWER OF LONDON, *June the 26th, 1746.*

My Lord,—I think it my Duty to acquaint your Grace that the Marquis of Tullibarden, who came very sick to us last Friday, continues so ill that it is thought he is in great danger of sinking under it; He has been visited by the King's Phisician, Doctor Willmot, and by Doctor Harvey, to whom I refer your Grace for the fuller account of his distemper, and beg Leave to assure you that we do all here that is in our power for his support and Recovery, and that I am, with the greatest respect,

Y^r Grace's most obed^t & most humble Serv^t,

A. WILLIAMSON.

P.S.—I had heard y^r Grace was not in Towne, or you should have heard sooner from me.

June 30.—Duke James received a summons from Lord Hardwicke, the Lord Chancellor, to attend the House of Lords on July 28th for the trial of the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty and Lord Balmerino.³

¹ Cannot identify Lieutenant Murray.—(A.)

² In H.M.S. *Winchester*, Captain Dryve.

³ The Marquis of Tullibardine would have been tried at the same time, but for his illness and death. *See vol. v. addenda xxx.*

*Lord Cornwallis to Duke James.**July y^e 7th, 1746.*

My Lord,—General Williamson sends me word that L^d Tullibardine is extreemly ill in y^e Tower, and y^e Phisicians think him in great danger, unless his Distemper should soon take a more favorable turn. The General tells me no proper care is wanting, which I have recommended him to be assiduous in.

I am with great respect, My Lord,

Y^r Grace's most ob^t and most humble Serv^t,

CORNWALLIS.

General Williamson to His Grace.

TOWER OF LONDON, *July the 9th, 1746.*
ten a clock in the morning.

My Lord Duke,—Just now your Brother, the Marquis of Tullibarden, expired. I assure y^r Grace no care, pains, or trouble was wanting for his recovery. I wait your Grace's orders how further to act for him.

I am y^r Gr/s most respectfull & ob^t Serv^t,

A. WILLIAMSON.

To H.G. the Duke of Athol
in Savil Row.

*His Grace to General Williamson.**(No date.)*

Sir,—I am very much obliged to you for the civilities which you have shewed upon this occasion, of which I shall ever retain a very grateful sense.

As to what now remains to be done, I shall give you as little further trouble as I can; and as I find that it is thought that the Chappel in the Tower will be the properest place for the Burial, to which my Lord Cornwallis consents, I have sent the Bearer, who will follow your directions, to give the necessary orders for that purpose.

[Draft unsigned.]

Earl of Dunmore to His Grace.

KENSINGTON, July 10, 1746.

My Lord,—In obedience to y^r Grace's commands I have desired to know of his Majesty if your Grace might put on mourning for my Lord Tullibardin, to which his Majesty very Readily consented.

I am y^r Grace's most obed^t & most humble Sv^t,

DUNMORE.

*Due from the Right Hon. the late Marquis of Tullibardine
in the Tower of London.*

| | |
|--|------------|
| For three weeks diet, Lodging, Wine, Warders, and all necessaries for the Marquis, as by agreement made with him at £10 10 ^s 0 p. week, which is for three weeks | £31 10 0 |
| For the Apothicary's bill | 6 10 0 |
| To Gen ^l Williamson's fees from him as a state prisoner, if a Marquis £90—as a commoner | 50 0 0 |
| For the Gentleman Gaoler's fees | 5 5 0 |
| The Gentleman Porter's fees | 10 0 0 |
| For the Undertaker's bill | 7 12 0 |
| The Ground in the Chapple and fees | 3 18 10 |
| for Gloves | 0 18 0 |
| | <hr/> |
| | £115 13 10 |
| | <hr/> |

Received from His Gr/ the Duke of Athol one hundred & fifteen pounds thirteen shillings, in full for the above bill and all demands by me this 12 of July 1746.

A. WILLIAMSON.

About this time William Fleming, who had been principal servant in attendance on Duke William throughout the campaign, sent a petition to the Duke of Newcastle which set forth that previous to the rising of 1745 he had lived at Dunkeld in the service of Duke James.

That when the Highland army had come to Dunkeld he had been seized in his own house by Duke William's orders, who had intimated to him that he must either serve him as his gentleman or go out as a private soldier. Of the two alternatives he had chosen the former.

That at the time of his death Duke William was owing him the sum of £113, os. 5½d. for wages and money disbursed on his Grace's account.

That seeing that he was now reduced to great poverty, he prayed the Duke of Newcastle to intercede with his Majesty that he might give orders that the above sum should be paid to him out of the late Duke William's effects, a list of which he enclosed.

Two certificates were added to the petition, one by the Duchess of Atholl stating that he had served the Atholl family faithfully, the other by the Earl of Selkirk stating that Fleming was an honest man, and that previous to his entering Duke James's service he had been in the service of his (Lord Selkirk's) father, the late Basil Hamilton of Baldoon.

A List of the Arms and other Effects delivered by the late Marquis of Tullibardine to Mr. Buchanan, as set forth in the annexed Petition.

| | | | |
|---|------------|----------|----------|
| Horse Furniture, mounted with Crimson Velvet and trim'd with Gold | £12 | 0 | 0 |
| A pair of Pistolls, mounted with Silver | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| A Gold hilted small Sword | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| A Dirk, mounted with Silver | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| A Broadsword and Cutlast, mounted with Silver | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| A small casket, delivered to Mr Buchanan's Lady, containing rings and other Jewels—value unknown | | | |
| Total amount of effects delivered | <u>£35</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> |

A List of Wearing Apparell, Plate, and Effects delivered to the Deputy-Lieutenant of the Tower, referred to in said Petition.

| | | | |
|---|-------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Two full suits of cloaths trim'd with gold lace | £32 | 0 | 0 |
| One Velvet Suit, being Cutt Velvet | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| One Highland Suit and plaid | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| One Great Coat | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Thirty six pairs stockings, consisting of thread, silk, cottonette | 10 | 16 | 0 |
| Eight pair of shoes | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| One Silk damask night gown & waist coat | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| a case of fine Razors | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| Two sets of Gold Sleeve Buttons | 2 | 14 | 0 |
| One large Silver Salver, two Small d ^o | 13 | 0 | 0 |
| Eleven knives and forks & twelve Spoons, d ^o | 24 | 10 | 0 |
| Two Salts do, one large dealing Spoon, d ^o | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| Two candlestick Snuffers and standish, d ^o | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Twenty Louis d'or in specie in Marquise's pocket the time of his death | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| One dozen new shirts and Stocks | 25 | 4 | 0 |
| Six shirts and several pocket handkerchiefs | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Two pair sheets and pillow bears, new | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Two pair blankets and a quilt | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Two pair preservers | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| A case of pocket Instruments | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Several wigs, hatts, and a pair Buckles | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| A Trunk and three Portmanteaus containing above | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Total amount delivered to Deputy Keeper of the Tower | <u>£167</u> | <u>12</u> | <u>0¹</u> |

July 18.—The Duke of Cumberland set out from Fort Augustus for London, and visited Sir Andrew Agnew at Blair by the way. The following anecdote is told of this rencontre.

The garrison was assembling for parade one morning when, from an upper room, Sir Andrew caught sight of the Duke's party riding up. The men had not yet fallen in, and his eye

¹ Newcastle MSS., British Museum.

lighted on the regimental piper lounging with a nonchalant air quite unconscious of the approach of the royal visitor. Instantly the window was flung up, and Sir Andrew's head obtruded, as with a voice of thunder he roared out, "Blaw! blaw! ye scoondrel! dinna ye see the King's ain bairn?"

The Duke, having extracted many humorous details of the siege, and expressed himself highly pleased with all that had been done, took his departure, the commandant accompanying him to the door, where the guard was duly drawn up to pay the usual honours; here the Duke, offering his hand to Sir Andrew, bade him farewell, promising to recommend him for promotion, adding that he hoped he would always consider him a friend. Great was the surprise of the spectators at Sir Andrew's curt reply to this gracious announcement, which was simply, "Dinna forget, your Royal Highness! mind, dinna forget!"¹

It appears that whilst serving with Cumberland's army in Scotland the Earl of Crawford had fallen in love with Lady Jean Murray, as when writing to his Grace on July 17th from Ter Heyde Camp, after describing the movements of the armies he concludes his letter—

"Pray, my dear Duke, in the most obliging manner present my compliments to Lady Jane Murray, & assure her I am the most devoted of her humble servants."

Again, on August 9th, from Villers Camp—

"Pray, my dear Duke, make my compliments to Lady Jane Murray, and if you will assure her I only value Life upon her account, you will lay me under obligations I incline to owe to non save your self, & which shall be return'd with such a dutyfull Respect as you may possibly meet with from few others."

The draft of his Grace's reply, which is undated, after acknowledging both letters, concludes—

¹ "Sheriffs of Galloway."

“I shou’d have begun w^t making an apology to your Lop/ for my not acknowledging your Lop/s first letter sooner, which was owing to some difficulties I was under w^t regard to y^e latter part of it, about my Daughter Lady Jean, & of which y^r Lop/ spoke to me at Perth.

“As I have no Sons I had thoughts some time ago of disposing of her w^t a view to y^e standing of my Family. How far I can continue that scheme now I cannot yet say, but as she is very young, I have no design at present of settling her, & wou’d therefore wish y^r Lop/ wou’d lay aside the thoughts of it.”

Thomas Bissatt's Journal from 18th May to 16th September 1746.

Dunkeld, May 18.—This day Brigadier Mordaunt came to this place from Fort Augustus with three Regt^s, viz—The Royall, Lord Semple’s, and Poultney’s.¹ They encamped in the South Park, and the Brigad^r lodged in the Duke of Atholl’s house. About ten o’clock at night Captⁿ Dickson of the Royall called for Thomas Bisset, who has the charge of the Duke of Atholl’s house, and told him that he was to continue here with 60 men under his command, that he and his Subalterns were to lodge in the Duke’s house, and the men in the office houses; How soon Tho^s Bisset heard this he acquainted Commissar Bisset of it, and desired him if possible to get the Brigad^r advised to Billet the men in the Town. Next morning the Commissar waited on the Brigad^r and told him the Inconveniency of haveing the men within the gates, and if he wanted to have them all in one place, that he wou’d provide them otherwise fully as well as within the Duke’s gates. That M^r Scot, who was most assisting to the Rebels, had a verry good house in town, with corn Lofts and other convenient office houses round it, which would easily accomodate 100 men, but all to no purpose. The Brigad^r marched with the Troops for Perth Munday the 19th. Cap^t Dickson at length condescended that he and the Subalterns shou’d lye in M^r Harrison and the clerk of the Kitchen’s Rooms, and have the door of the principall house locked up. That the Serjants shou’d lye in the Bell room, the men in the coach house, stable, and charcoall house, and the Servants’ hall to be the Guard Room. The officers eat at M^r Donaldson’s, from whence they

¹ The 1st, 25th, and 13th.

were furnished with Bed Linnens. The officer's Servants lodged in the oyl house. They grased their horses in the park of Funnard. The Subalterns are Lieut: Nailler and Ensign Hawkins. Nothing materiall happened.

N.B.—There was a good deall of Fireing left in the parks where the Hessians encamped, which was carried to the Duke's closs, which the soldiers burnt, and for which Captain Dickson gave Receipt.

May 27th.—The Garrison was relieved by Cap^t Clark of Pultney's Reg^t and Liu^{ts} Carleton and Gordon. The two subalterns wou'd not lye in one bed as the former did, neither wou'd they condescend to lye in one Room, altho' Tho^s Bisset offered to get a Box Bed for one of them; Gordon (who certainly is a meer coxcomb) made a terrible noice, and said he thought he wou'd not be refused the best bed in the house. When better could not be done Tho: Bisset locked the stair head door at the Vestable, and the door at the Back Stairs at the entry to the first floor, the door of the Launry, and the second Table room door, and got Carleton to lye in the housekeeper's room. The officers eat at M^r Donaldson's, their horses grased in the park of Funnard, they were provided in fireing and straw from the Magazine of this place.

Commissar Bisset and M^r Adam Ferguson, minister of Mouline, carried in a great many arms that they got up from the common people in the country that were forced out to the Rebellion, and delivered them to the Capt:; also they brought before him the severall ground officers of Atholl, and made them declare upon oath the number of men in their respective Districts that have been in the Rebellion, whereof Lists were taken.

June 3rd.—The Garrison was relieved by Capt: Home of Lord Semple's Reg^t, Liu^{ts} Lyon and Douglas; they lodged and were provided in every thing as above. The Commissar & M^r Ferguson brought them a good many arms. They behaved extreamly oblidging. They carried Charles M^cGlashan & Andrew Donaldson prisoners with them to Perth.

June 10th.—The Garrison was relieved by Captain Cunningham of the Royall, Luv^t Hews, and Ensign Gillmore, both of Lord Semple's Reg^t. They went out upon partys severall nights, and one night they catched in a country man's house, near Glasclune, M^r Dallmahoie, son to Dallmahoie of that Ilk, Robert Wright, son to M^r Wright, writer to the Signet, and Ramsay, son to M^r Ramsay, professor of philosophy at S^t Andrews.

Nothing else material happened. The officers were verry civill, and keep the men under strict discipline.

June 17th.—The Garrison was relieved by Capt: Lister of Poultney's, and Lu^{vt}s Knight & Sellock. Nothing material happened.

June 24th.—The Garrison was Relieved by Captain Wallop, son to my Lord Portsmouth, Luv^t Clark, and Ensign Hawkins. The Captⁿ did not seem well pleased at the Duke of Atholl; he said that His Grace knew him verry well at London, but took no notice of him when he saw him in Scotland. In a company in this town where one asked if the Duke of Atholl wou'd come to Scotland this year, he answered that he believed not, and signified as much as if his Grace was under arrest.

July 1st.—The Garrison was Relieved by Captⁿ Fevere¹ and Liev^t Mackay of the Royall. They went out severall nights upon partys, and one night they went to the Spittle of Glenshee, where they had verry near seized Lord Pitsligo, Lord Nairne, Drummachine, Solliary, Bleaton, and others that were lurking there; they were verry hearty the night before the party came. John Roy Stewart had been with them, supplying them with money, and giving them a word of comfort. The party seized the man in whose house they were and carried him with them prisoner; he is Tennent to Invercauld; they destroyed his house. The officers were verry discreet.

July 8th.—The Garrison was Relieved by Liev^t Hay and Folliot of the Royall. They went out severall nights with partys, but seized nobody.

The soldiers were complaining that they were overcome with vermine by lying in the stables, which Lieut. Hay it seems represented to Brig^{dr} Mordaunt, upon which the men were billeted in the Town; Liev^t Hay lodged at Mr Scot's and Liev^t Folliot at Mr Donaldson's, and the Duke's gates shut up. The officers were vastly civill.

July 16th.—Woolf's Regt,² commanded by Liev^t Coll: Martine, marched this morning from Pitlochrie, crossed the water at Invar and encamped upon the Green of Invar; the officers came over to Dunkeld and saw the gardens. They were verry discreet and the men committed no disorders. They marched next morning for Perth.

July 22nd.—The command that was here marched to Blair Castle, and has not been succeeded.

August 2nd.—Skelton's Regt,³ commanded by Major Ensford,⁴ came

¹ Favier.

² The 8th.

³ The 12th.

⁴ Rainsford.

here from Blair. They wou'd not cross the water & encamp upon the Green of Invar as Woolf's Reg^t did. The hay in the Bearland park was luckily in the Tramp colls; there was three of the colls in the end next the house carried into the corn yeard to make room for them to encamp; Indeed the officers were verry oblidging, and wou'd not allow a single horse to stay in the park, and placed Centrys upon the hay, which has not suffered the least damage; the horse stood at Picquet in the avinew betwixt the end of the Bearland park and the nursery; they were furnished with forrage from the magazine. The Major begged a bed in the House; he had his own matrass and sheets, and lay in the red damask Room. The officers eat at Mr Scot's and lay in camp. They marched for Perth early next morning.

Nothing Materiall happened since the 2^d of Aug^t.

August 7th.—Lievt McNeill, with a party of the Argyleshire Militia carried off all the cows, horse, and sheep, &c, belonging to the Tennents of Foss and Kynichan; this they did in resentment of Kynichan's being with the party of Rebels that seized the party of Argyle Militia that were in garrison at Kynichan. The provocation was certainly great, and what they did was justly deserveing, had not a great many innocent widows suffered.¹

August 9th.—Captain Wentworth of the Blair garrison being hunting with his hounds in the Duke of Atholl's parks at Blair, chaced his Grace's Deer and killed one of them; when John Willson, the Gardner, told him that he had done wrong, he confined him for a short time in the guard.

August 11th.—The evidences of proveing against the Rebell Prisoners at Carlisle were sent off by Commissar Bisset by my Lord Justice Clerk's orders.

August 15th.—The Earl of Albemarle with five Reg^{ts} of Foot and the Train of Artillery came to Dallnacardoch, where Gen^l Husk and the Troops encamped that night; the Earl Albemarle and Generall Skelton came forward to Blair. Next morning Gen^l Husk with four Regiments marched by Kynichan to Taybridge, where they rested all Sunday the 17th and marched Munday morning the 18th for Crief.

The Earl of Albemarle and Gen^l Skelton came to Dunkeld Saturday the 16th, they lodged in the Duke of Atholl's house, walked through his

¹ This would be no reason for carrying off the Laird of Foss's property. Besides, as far as can now be ascertained, Kynachan was not with the battalion of Athollmen who marched into Atholl in March.

gardens, and liked the place verry well. The same day Lord George Sackfield¹ with his Reg^t and the Train came to Blair from Dallnacardoch and rested there all Sunday; they encamped in the field bewest Diana's Wilderness.

Sunday morning (17th).—The Earl of Albemarle and Gen^l Skelton went from Dunkeld to Perth.

Munday morning (18th).—Lord George Sackfield marched with his Reg^t and the Train to Dunkeld; L^d George with his Major and some more of the officers lodged in the Duke of Atholl's house, the men were quartered upon the Town, and the Train crossed the water at Invar.

Tuesday morning the 19th.—Lord George marched with his Regiment to Dundie, and the Train went from Invar to Perth.

When the Earl of Albemarle was at Blair Commissar Bisset presented him with an exceeding good Deer from the Forrest of Atholl, with one of the Duke of Atholl's large sheep, and when he came to Dunkeld he had three pine apples out of his Grace's garden, and Lord George Sackfield had one pine apple.

The Troops were verry civill comeing through Atholl, although the officers of the Garrison of Blair did represent the country of Atholl to the Earl of Albemarle to be as Rebellious as Lochaber.

The Garrison of Blair marched all off Munday (19th) except the Doctor and half a dozen sick men that were not able to travile.

August 20th.—Capt: Gulston² of Gen^l Skelton's³ Reg^t with a command of Fifty men came to Dunkeld from Perth. They are quartered on the Town, to be relieved monthly.

August 26th.—M^r Home, Soliciter, came to Dunkeld and took Pre-cognitions against Lady Nairne, Lady Lude, and M^r Scot, with respect to their accession to the Rebellion, and found proof against them.

Septem^r 1st.—The Doctor that was left at Blair with the sick men came to Dunkeld in their way to Perth.

Septem^r 2^d.—The Presbtry of Dunkeld did meet to examine the Lybell which they gave M^r Thomas Man, Minister of Dunkeld, for his conduct dureing the Rebellion; the majority of the Presbetry seem'd to favour him; M^r McLagan, M^r Freer, M^r Bishop, and M^r Gow were stiff against him. After a sederunt for Tuesday & all Wednesday, all that was done

¹ Sackville (3rd son of Duke of Dorset), the 20th Regiment.

² Gouldston.

³ 12th Regiment.

was to examine 15 of Mr Man's exculpatory Witnesses, which I thought said pretty strong things in his behalf, but the most materiall Articles in the Lybell against him have not been examined. The Presbetry having adjourned till the 16th, when they are to bring in the evidences for proveing the Lybell, and make additionall articles against him. It was very diverting to hear the Brethren disagree among themselves, particularly Mr M^cLagan and Mr Rob^t Robertson who look upon themselves as Dons in the Presbetry, the latter for Mr Man and the former held furth strongly against him; in short, Mr M^cLagan was so much disoblidged that he demitted his being clerk to the Presbetry. The Article that occasioned this strong debate was Mr Man's being charged for omitting to pray for the Princess of Wales the Sunday that the late Marquis of Tullibardine was in the Kirk, of which he was exculpate. Mr Wood, from Perth, was agent for Mr Man; his brother, Mr Gilbert, not being allowed to speak. Nothing else materiall happened, but the Bretheren's takeing protests full of reflections.

Sept 15th.—The command was relieved at Dunkeld by Captⁿ Hamilton of the Royall.

Sept 16th.—The Presbetry of Dunkeld did meet upon Mr Man's affair; they examined the Witnesses for proveing the Lybell against him except two or three who went to Carlisle for evidence against the Rebell Prisoners; the Presbytery has delayed proceeding any further in this affair till the 2^d Nov^r; the Majority of members seemed to be against Mr Man, even those who pretended to be his friends at the last meeting on the 2nd of this month.

His Grace's "Remarks about Blair," 15th September 1746.

Took the Resolution to take down the Castle of Blair; to levell the green as low as the floor of the new building, to continue the new building to the east dore of the Castle all on the same levell. if any steps must be, they should rather rise within the Castle, or perhaps a graduall ascent through the passage of the vaults to the west end may be better, if it does not occasion too high steps from that Passage to the Offices on each side. it is to be remembred that the first and second vaults, the Kitchen and both larders are lower than the passage, and it will be no great matter tho' the Passage have a graduall descent from West to East,

so that it come to the levell of the new building where the old and new meet. A dore to be struck out at the west end in the servants' Hall, which may still continue a Hall, the other vaults may be put to many uses. If the Roof be taken off, the Timber will be of great use for the new buildings, as will the sleats, but if that be and the old walls made lower, care must be taken that the vaults be so secured that no rain come through them. The joices of the rooms, espeshly of the Low dining Room, are very fine, and will be of great use—at least every other one may be taken away. The linnings of the rooms and Iron in the windows very useful. Some of the High rooms if preserved may make a good Pigeon house.

Reasons for not living in Blair Castle again is the damages it has sustained by haveing a garrison in it, that it will take a great dale more mony to repair it in order to make it Habitable then continuing to finish the new house; besides, if the Castle were to be repaired, it ought to be done in such manner as would coast a great dale of mony: and then there might be danger of makeing it a garrison again. Even the necessary repairs would take much money, as fitting up the windows, new flooring, new linning and plaistring the rooms, the furniture all damaged. The new house can much easier be finished and furnished; but still the difficulty remains of its being made a garrison again if the roof is suffred to stay on, and if it is taken off it will render the whole rooms usless as well as the vaults, which will be necessary for accommodation of servants and many other uses.

To raise the levell of the Bowling Green as High as the walls round with the earth that comes off the hill, to bring it to the levell of the floor of the new building, or out of the foundation at the west end of the new Kitchen, to levell the earth going into the west dore of the gardin so as there need be no steps. ¹

The following account is given in the *Scots Magazine* of the trial of one of the Highland prisoners who had belonged to the Atholl Brigade, which took place at York in October:—

“John Ballantine acted as a piper in Capt: James Stewart's Company in Lord George Murray's Regiment.

“Several witnesses deposed, That he was forced into the Service by a party of the rebels, who took him by violence out of his bed, threatened to stab him if he did not go with them, and did not allow him time even to put on his clothes; and that afterwards they placed a guard over him to prevent his making his escape.

“When the Jury returned their verdict Not Guilty, the poor fellow was in such a transport of joy that he threw his bonnet up to the very roof of the court, and cried out, ‘My Lords and Gentlemen, I thank you. Not Guilty! Not Guilty! Not Guilty! Pray God bless King George for ever; I’ll serve him all the days of my life;’ and immediately ran out into the castle yard, with his irons on, took up a handful of channel-water, and drank his Majesty’s health.”

The above John Ballantine was living in Dunkeld in 1798.

During the autumn numerous appeals were made to his Grace to endeavour to save the lives of several of the Jacobites who had been taken prisoners.

Dowager Lady Nairne to His Grace.

NAIRNE HOUSE, 15th Nov. 1746.

My Lord,—Being inform’d, & I doubt wth too much certainty, that in a new bill of attander, which is expected when the Part meets, my Dau: Lude is to be one.

This is to entreat y^r Gr/ will use y^r best endeavours to prevent her being one of the unhappy number.

Since death has taken off y^r nearest Relation, to whom all y^r applications was justly due, consider she has the honour to be near of kin to you, & is a weak insignificant woman; others can push their fortune thro’ the wide world, but what can she do? Have compassion on her, & let me conjure you by all the ties of Relation, & even friendship to me, which I take God to witness was never infring’d on my part, succour my Daughter now in distress.

I hear from Edg^b the young Ladys, y^r Daughters, are in good health, but are in very unproper Company for their Birth & Quality; I’m told they are to come to Dunkeld next summer; I wish it may be early, for

I verily think, young as they are, they had better be intirely left to themselves then under such directions. I am ever

Y^r Grace's truly affate humble Servant,

M. NAIRNE.

His Grace to the Duke of Newcastle.

(Undated.)

My Lord,—I beg leave to send your Grace the inclosed papers which I received from Carlile. The persons concerned are all of Perthshire, which is the reason I suppose that they transmitted them to me. I have no observation to make upon the contents, having during the whole period of the late Rebellion been determined to have nothing to do with the cases of those whose wickedness and folly should bring themselves into distress on that account, farther then to take shame to myself for the disgrace some of my Relations have brought upon themselves and their family.

I am, my Lord, with the greatest and most sincere Respect,

Y^r obt Serv^t,

ATHOLL.

The Hon. Robert Mercer (Lord Nairne's brother) having fallen at Culloden, the Government confiscated the Aldie and Meikleour estates; but his widow raised an action to have it declared that the forfeiture was inoperative, because she was heiress in her own right, in which plea she was successful. The following evidence was adduced of Colonel Mercer's death:—

1. *Thomas Stewart*, in Meikleour, depones that he was in the service of Mr. Mercer of Aldie for 17 years prior to the Battle of Culloden.

Mr. Mercer was Colonel of the Brigade of Atholl men at that Battle. Deponent was in his company, and was on his left hand during the Battle. Mr. Mercer was shot by a musket ball through the head, and fell. Deponent took his master by the hand, and looked in his face; saw a wound in his head, and found that he was truly dead. Deponent left him on the field, and never saw him more.

2. *Alexander Stewart*, in Meikleour, depones he knew Mr. Mercer of Aldie one year prior to the Battle of Culloden; served at that Battle with him; was at his right hand, whilst Stewart, last witness, stood on his left. While marching on to the attack, Colonel Mercer fell, struck by a musket ball. Deponent went on, but returning in a few minutes, saw his master lying in the posture in which he left him. Deponent took him by the hand, and found he was dead.

3. *John Spalding*, in Ennoch, Strathardle, depones he was, about nine months prior to the Battle of Culloden, enlisted by Colonel Mercer to serve in the company of Captain Murray in the first brigade of the Atholl men, commanded by the said Colonel Mercer. In the Battle Colonel Mercer fell, struck by a musket ball. Deponent being his rearward man, fell over him, but rose, and lifting up Colonel Mercer, his (the latter's) feet folded under him, on which deponent let the body drop. The deceased, on falling, gave a groan. Deponent went on, but returning in a short time, saw the deceased lying as he had left him, and found he was dead. He never afterwards either saw or heard that deceased was in life.

4. *Donald MacGregor* depones that in retreating from before Barrel's regiment he fell over Mr Mercer lying upon the field.

5. *James Robertson* depones that he was wounded by a musket shot at the Battle of Culloden, which made him fall down; and that rising to fly away, he observed Mr Mercer lying upon the field of Battle, the blood coming from about his mouth and nose; and that the Deponent verily believes he was dead, having observed no signs of life about him.

Unfortunately nothing whatever is known of the movements of Lord George Murray after he left Ruthven on the 19th of April, or where he was in hiding for the following eight months. The only fact he recorded was that he sailed on December 16th, and arrived off Helvoetsluis in Holland on December 25th, and landed at Dort next day. After which he kept regular journals of his travels.

The total number of Jacobites who were executed in England for having taken part in the rising of 1745 was

seventy-seven, not including a good many soldiers who had deserted from the regular forces to the Highland army, who, being made prisoners, were tried by courts-martial and executed by military power, nor various Highlanders who were executed by the troops, without any trial, in different places after the rising was crushed.

The above-mentioned seventy-seven executions took place as follows :—

| | | |
|--------------------------|--|------------------------|
| In London 22 | \| | At York 22 |
| At Carlisle 20 | \| | At Penrith 7 |
| At Brampton 6 | | |

The principal persons who suffered were :—

| | | |
|-------------------------|--|-------------------------------|
| The Earl of Kilmarnock. | \| | Hon. Charles Ratcliffe. |
| Lord Balmerino. | \| | Sir Archibald Primrose, Bart. |
| Lord Lovat. | \| | Sir John Wedderburn, Bart. |

None of the Atholl Brigade were executed. A considerable number of Prince Charles's army who were made prisoners, during or after the rising, were transported to the American Plantations, but no record appears to have been kept of their names.

The execution of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino took place outside the Tower of London on August 18, 1746. When the two noblemen took leave of each other, Balmerino asked Kilmarnock whether he had ever seen or heard of any order signed by the Prince to give no quarter at the battle of Culloden. Kilmarnock declared that he never had, but said he had been told, when a prisoner in Inverness, by several officers, that there was such an order, signed by George Murray, and that it was in the Duke of Cumberland's possession. On the

scaffold Balmerino took a paper from his pocket, which he read to those about him, and afterwards delivered to the Sheriff. This paper is now in the Public Record Office, and in it Balmerino made the following reference to the reported order to give no quarter at Culloden :—

Lord Balmerino's last Dying Speech (extract).

“I have heard since I came to this place that there has been a most wicked Report spread and mentioned in several of the newspapers that H.R.H. the Prince, before the Battle of Culloden, had given out in orders that no quarters should be given to the enemy. This is such an unchristian a thing, and so unlike his R: H:’s behaviour all along, that no body who has the honour to know him can believe it.

“If such a thing had been true, it is very strange that neither the Earl of Kilmarnock, as he himself told me on board the *Exeter*, who was Colonel of the Foot Guards, nor I, who was Colonel of the 2nd troop of Life Guards, should have heard of such orders, especially since we were both at the Head Quarters the morning before the Battle. For my part, I declare upon the word of a dying man that I believe it was a maliciouse report industriously spread to excuse themselves of the murder they committed in calm blood after the action.”

In a letter written in 1780 by the Rev. Adam Fergusson of Moulin to John Hume of Kilduff (who published a history of the rising), he stated the following facts :—

“At Culloden the Athollmen had the right wing, commanded by L. George Murray, and the greatest bloodshed among the King’s Troops was in the lines opposite to them. Robertson of Auchleeks, an Athollman, Hunter of Burnside, and one Anderson from about Musleburgh, these two last Volunteers and in the Atholl corps that day, were engaged with the K.’s Troops, and betwixt their ranks, when and after the whole Battallions of Athollmen had retreated and left the Field. The Left wing of the Rebels was the Mackdonalds, but they attack’d so faintly that Major (afterwards Colonel) Foster, who in the Royals, was opposite to

them, told me that they had no more to doe almost than they would upon a Review day. One of the Rebels came out of his Rank to the line of the King's Troops, brandishing his broad sword. Thomas Fergusson, Adjutant in the old Buffs, (an uncle's son of Professor Fergusson's,) stepp'd out of the Ranks to receive him, and at one stroke severed his Head from his Body. Fergusson the Adjutant some years after, when asking him of the Fact, showed me the Highlander's broadsword. Several of the Tenents in the Parish of Mouline and other parts hyred cottars and young fellows to serve for them in the Rebel Army for 100 m^{ks} Scots. I was diverted, as I imagine you would have been, to see the hyrer and the hyred, when the Rebellion was over, contending, and even in some instances before a civil court, about the payment of the stipulated 100 m^{ks}; the one demanding the sum according to paction, and the other refusing payment because the service pactioned and performed was unlawful."

William Home, nephew to Bastlerig, Berwickshire, wrote as follows to Mr. Hume of Kilduff in 1781:—

"I had the honour to carry the great Dundee's Standard in the 2nd troop of Guards, which promotion I owed entirely to the predelection of the intrepid Balmerino, who took me under his particular protection and favoured me with a paternal attention. Of this nobleman I must relate an anecdote. When he joined the P: he was only Mr Arthur Elphinstone, his elder brother being then alive, and without making himself known, he enroll'd himself in the troop he afterwards commanded as a Private Gentleman; in that capacity I have done duty with him myself, and in that obscurity he would have continued, if an accident had not happened which made him known. Lt Col: Maxwell, who commanded the troop in the absence of Lord Elcho, one morning at Lancaster told the P: that there was a vacancy of a Captaincy in the troop, to which he beg'd leave to recommend one Mr Elphinstone, an old gentleman who did his duty remarkably well; upon which he was called up to the P:, who immediately nominated him to the vacant commission, to which Mr Elphinstone made a most profound bow and beg'd his Highness would pardon his not acceptance of that vacancy, as he had had the honour of carrying his Royal Father's commission of Lieut: Colonel for 30 years, and could

not possibly accept of a Captaincy. Such was Balmerino's introduction to his master! and such his invincible modesty and steady attachment that he was willing to serve in any station, provided he had the happiness of serving at all; he was promoted in a short time.

"You may perhaps entertain a desire of knowing how the Standard came into our possession, and what became of it after the defeat of Culloden.

"Mr Graham of Duntroon, the male representative of the Family of Claverhouse, and who after his junction assumed the title of Dundee, was a captain in Lord Elcho's Guards, and presented to his Lordship this Standard to be carried in his troop; but the youthful Colonel, after using it some time, laid it aside as not being gaudy enough, and ordered one more dazzling to be made. Lord Balmerino, on hearing this, hastened to his Lordship and beg'd the Standard, which was easily granted. As it had been display'd with lustre on the field of Gilliecrankie it could not be young, and the using it on our expedition had wore it almost to tatters, to which the night march preceding the Battle of Culloden gave the finishing stroke, there being a brisk breeze of wind all night. On our return to Drumossie Muir, Lord Balmerino, who was going to Inverness in quest of food, order'd the flag to be taken off the staff and put into his cloak bag, which was accordingly done, and his servant carried it to Inverness, on purpose to be darned or somehow mended, so as it might not fall altogether into pieces. Intelligence of the Duke's Army advancing being carried to Inverness, Lord Balmerino quitted the town in a hurry, and left his cloak bag behind, in which the standard was, by which means it fell into the hands of the enemy, who burn'd it at the cross of Inverness."

The following statements were made in 1807 by two old men in Glen Tilt (survivors of the '45) to the 4th Duke's daughter, Lady Amelia Murray, afterwards Viscountess Strathallan:—

Charles Gow, in Croft Crombie, aged 89, stated that he served in the Battalion of Athollmen commanded by L^d George Murray in 1745. When the Regiment was embodied at the foot of Glenalmond it amounted to above 500 men. The Laird of Fascally, Robertson of Blairfettie, Inverlanie, Kinbraigie, Auchleeks, &c., were officers of the Regiment. After

it was embodied it marched by Crieff, Muthel, Stirling, and was engaged in the Battle of Preston Pans.

The Regiment continued its march south, as far as Derby in England; from which they returned and found the main body at Falkirk. After the Battle of Falkirk the regiment marched from the North by Perth, Aberdeen, and Inverness.

From Inverness about one half of the Regt. came to Blair, when Sir Andrew Agnew was in possession of the Castle. They remained for about 10 days at Blair, during which red hot ball was fired from two pieces of cannon worked by Frenchmen.

Upon hearing that Cumberland's army was in the north, Lord George left Blair with his men to join the Prince's army, and was engaged in the Battle of Culloden. In 1745 L^d Geo: Murray was perhaps about 46 years of age.¹ He was a stout and a very handsome man. He was generally dressed in Highland tartans and wore a Broadsword. He very often walked at the head of his regiment. He was beloved by his men, for he was always attentive to their comforts, and "Duine Firinneach" (a righteous man). On account of the sudden retrograde return of the regiment at Derby, a rumour spread among the men that Lord George had given up the cause in which he embarked, but not a man would give credit to the report.

When the regiment, upon its march to England, came to the Tweed, the river was high and not thought to be fordable; the men halted & hesitated what to do. Lord George, accompanied by Solzarie and Bleaton, instantly leaped into the river and forded, while the soldiers looked on with amazement from the Bank. When L^d George and his two companions got out of the deep and strong current, they leaped and danced in the river to show the soldiers there was no great danger, and to encourage them to follow, which they instantly did.²

When the regiment was at Kilsyth, a Sergeant and twelve privates went out one day to pillage, as they were very much in want of provisions. They were accidentally met by the Prince and Lord George Murray, who asked them where they had been.

¹ He was fifty.

² *William Gilbert Robertson* (great-grandfather of John Robertson, Pitlochrie, and late house-steward at Blair Castle) told the same anecdote about crossing the Tweed, with the addition that at the first village to which the regiment came after fording the river each man got a glass of gin and a halfpenny roll.

Their answer was—

“Am fear nach dean cogadh airson a bhidh cha dean cogadh airson an Rìgh.”

i.e., “The man that will not fight for his meat will not fight for his King.”

When Lord George understood that the men were ill supplied with provisions, he immediately sent for the Major, (Robertson of Blairfettie,) complained of the Captain's negligence, and as the twelve men who had gone on the pillaging incursion belonged to Inverslanie's Company, he was removed from its command.¹

General Stewart of Garth, in his “Sketches of the Highlanders,” relates the following exploit, performed by an Athollman, Rob Ban² Robertson of Invervack. He was father of Donald Robertson of Woodsheal, who had commanded Struan's men through the '45 :—

“In autumn 1746 a party consisting of a corporal and 8 soldiers, marching north to Inverness, after passing Tummel Bridge, halted on the road side, and placed their arms against a large stone some yards behind them.

“Robert Ban observed the soldiers, and the manner in which they disposed of their arms. This, as he said, was a good opportunity to make a dash at his old friends the ‘Seidar dearg’ or ‘red coat soldiers’ whom he had met at Gladsmuir, Falkirk, and Culloden. None of his neighbours were at home to assist him, but he sallied out by himself, armed with his gun, pistols, and broadsword, and, proceeding with great caution, got close to the party undiscovered, when he made a sudden spring, and placed himself between the soldiers and their guns. Brandishing his sword in one hand and pointing his gun with the other,³ he called out to them in broken English to surrender instantly, or he would call his party, who were in the wood behind, and would kill them all. The soldiers were so taken by surprise that they permitted the Cearnach⁴

¹ Macgregor papers at Edinchip.

² “Ban,” fair-haired.

³ A difficult feat ; more likely a pistol.

⁴ *Ceatharnach*, a leader of a band of freebooters.

to carry off their arms for the purpose of delivering them, as he said, to his companions in the wood. He quickly returned, however, and desiring the soldiers to follow him quietly, else those in the wood would be out, he conducted them to Tummel Bridge Inn, where he left them, and repairing to the wood, took possession of the arms as fair spoils of war.

“The soldiers soon discovered the truth, and hurried back to recover their arms, and to get hold of the man who, by his address and courage, had thus disgraced them; but the Cearnach had taken care to place himself and his prize out of danger.

“When the soldiers reached Inverness they were tried and punished for the loss of their arms.”¹

Some time after the defeat of Culloden two Athollmen who had been in the battle, James Robertson (nephew to Rob Ban) and Donald McEwen, were in hiding at a shieling called “Cailleach Buidhe,” between Fealar and Loch Tilt. A Strathardle woman betrayed them to some of the Government troops who were quartered at Kirkmichael, and a sergeant and twelve men were dispatched to apprehend them. They surprised them when asleep, but the two made a desperate resistance till the sergeant shot Robertson, when McEwen fled and made good his escape to Dail Mhorair in Braemar. James Robertson’s friends, on hearing of his death, took a horse and fetched his body down Glen Tilt for interment at Struan, and, in order to avoid the troops quartered in the Castle, they went up through Croft Crombie, and passed by the back of Craig Urrard.²

During the winter, rumours reached the Duke of a flirtation between his eldest daughter, Lady Jean, and Mr. Erskine (son

¹ During the battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715 Struan Robertson was taken prisoner, but was rescued by his kinsman Rob Ban Robertson of Invervack. Rob Ban’s grandson John (known as “Iain Achenruidh,” from his having formerly held that farm), died at Milton of Invervack in 1879. In his younger days he was a lieutenant in the Perthshire Militia.

² Communicated to Lord James C. P. Murray by John Crerar.

of Lord Tinwald), upon which he at once wrote desiring his daughters to leave Edinburgh and repair to Gordon Castle, the residence of their cousin the Duchess of Gordon. This did not at all suit Lady Jean's views.

Lady Jean Murray to His Grace.

EDINBR, Dec^r 9th, 1746.

My dearest Papa,—Your Grace's orders to Mrs Stuart concerning us astonish'd me much, as I entreat you to consider the improper time of year for such a journey, Besides no fit person to attend us, and horrid Bad Weather & Bad Roads; besides, as we have bin all the Disagreeable time in Edinbr, I hope y^r Grace will not be so hard as to send us away when perhaps we may have a little more amusement.

If y^r Grace thinks proper, when you come down your self, we will with pleasure attend you wherever you command us, But we both beg for God's sake my Dearest papa will not think of it now, if you have the Least Love for us, as I do assure y^r Grace such a Jaunt will make us both prodiously unhappy.

Dear, Dear Papa, consider Better, and don't expose two people's Lives who would do anything to oblige you, as I'm sure it will endanger our Lives very much to undertake such a journey at present. My Dear Papa has allways bin so good as upon our representing our uneasyness at any thing generally to remove it, so hope from that Goodness that you will not insist upon it, as I do assure y^r Grace it's impracticable, at Least without Hazzard of our healths.

I will not trouble y^r Grace with any further entreaties, as I am confident my Dear Papa is far too good to Refuse us when we Beg for God Almighty's sake. So, Relying on your paternal affection, I am, and ever will be,

My Dearest Papa's most aff., most Dutifull, most

Obedient Daughter,

JANE MURRAY.

I received y^r Grace's letter but this moment, w^{ch} I pray God you will not insist I shall comply with.

December 16.—The Duke replied from London to Lady Jean that he would not desire them to go to Gordon Castle at once, but would send down Harrison and his wife in January, who would escort them to Gordon Castle in February, where Mrs. Harrison would continue with them as their servant.

Lady Jean Murray to His Grace.

EDINBR, Dec. 23rd, 1746.

My dearest Papa,—I received y^r Grace's of the 16th, which surprises me not a little, as I thought my Character and Behaviour in Edinbr had bin above the Reach of the most malicious people, But am more convinced than ever that there's no fence against a Lying tongue, tho' I could not have imagined y^r Grace would so soon give ear to them, when I'm confident I never gave you the Least Reason to think I ever Degraded myself —so far from that, my Dear Papa used allways to be preaching up humility to us, which it seems you think has come to a great degree ended. As to my Company, they have bin allways the Best in Edinbr, & I defy any body from saying I ever behaved in Company But as I ought to Do, & for Diversions I have frequented them much seldomer then other young Ladies of my age whose characters are unquestionable. Your Grace says you allow me the Innocent amusements of this town; pray, my Lord, what others have I bin at? If your Grace knows of any, it's more then I do: had my Dear Papa Restricted me to so many assemblies & so many plays (w^{ch} is all the Diversions we have) I should have bin sure to have gone to no more, but you Left me at my Liberty, and I've the vanity toe say I have not abused that goodness, as I allways have chose such companions whose behaviour might be a pattern to me. I am very sure my good Papa could not so suddenly have so ill an opinion of me without Being told I had comitted some heinous crime or other, which I should for ever think an obligation if you will be so good as inform me what it is, and who says I have behav'd so excessively ill; I think they cannot be my friends, & consequently not y^r Grace's; had they wish't me well they would have told myself what part of my behaviour I erred in, & if I had not mended the fault, then it was time ended to inform y^r Grace of it, But to go & tell Lyes of a Daughter to a Father (whoes whole study is to

please him) is something so cruel that I did not think it had bin posible for any Cristain to be guilty of it.

I should be far from haveing any objection to paying the Dutchess of Gordon a visit with y^r Grace in summer, & when I should have bin attended according to the Rank I hold in the world, but to go by our selves in the middle of winter, as if we were Banished for our Bad behaviour, is so Disagreeable a circumstance that I cannot bear it.

As to parting with my servant, I shall Do as your Grace thinks proper, tho' I had Rather keep her, yet shall look out for another if you please, but must beg y^r Grace to excuse me from asking Lady Milton one; In the first place, I am not in that familiar way to Do it; In the next place, she has used us this winter excesively ill, &, tho' your great friend, has never taken the Least notice of us, but to spread untruths on us, w^{ch} the whole town will testifie the truth of, if y^r Grace Does not Rely on my word, & wish to God she would mend her own behaviour & her Daughter's before she pretends to blast innocent people's Reputations.

As to Mrs Harrison's being our Servant, we might as well have none, as I know she cannot work, so must Do that & everything else for myself; this I would not value, if it was not for the Bad look of our sudden Departure, just as if we had stole something, when your Grace promised we was to be in Edinbr^r every winter, instead of w^{ch} we are to go to the North in the middle of winter; this is a Strange Reverse, but, however that be, I earnestly beg y^r Grace will clear my Character of all these malicious aspersions, as I would not Lose my good name for no consideration in the world, not that lyes can hurt me much, but only at the present time. So remain, with a very clear consience,

My Lord, y^r Grace's most affec. & Dutifull Daughter,

JANE MURRAY.

His Grace to Lady Jean Murray.

LATHAM, 6th Jan^y 1747.

My dear Jany,—I have your Letter of the 13th, which is filled with complaints, arguments, greevencys, and reasonings for your not leaving Edenburgh after I think it proper that you should remove from thence, all which, as I take it, are furnished you from London,¹ therefor shall

¹ *i.e.*, by her mother the Duchess.

blame you no otherwise then that you have taken it upon you to transcribe and transmit them to me; It is now more then six weeks since I wrote to Lady Charlotte of my intentions that you should go to Gordon Castle, and in my last to you I wrote that I thought sometime in February would be a proper time. Is this to be called haveing a bad look, a sudden departure, as if you had stole something, and going to the North in the midle of winter? As I wrote befor, Harrison will be at Edens^h sometime next month, who is to attend you to Gordon Castle, & I expect that you will be ready to set out soon after he comes there, as you have so long advertisement. It is my business as far as in my power to prevent your being subjected to inconveniencys of any sorts, and it is your Duty to comply with my directions as they tend to no other end then your good and future happiness.

I am, my dear Jany, &c, &c.

My blissing to you & Lady Charlote; I wish you both many happy new years.

Isle of
His Grace to Captain Murray (Ex-Governor of Man).

LATHAM, 6th Jan^{ry} 1747.

Dear Sir,—I have yours of the 23rd and 25th, and am glad to find the imediat reason for my wishing my Daughters to leave Edens^h has in a great measure blown over, and I hope they will be gone out of town befor the Lord¹ abroad arrives there; The last letter I have from L: Jane is full of complaints, arguments, and alledged greevences. By the stile I plainly see it has been pened at London. That same person² is going about uttering evry wher her usuall ravings of Barbarity, Cruelty, Inhumanity, &c. I know no way of preventing this injurious treatment, but the corespondence I will, as soon as I come to Scotland. . . .

Lady Jean replied on the 14th January to his Grace:—“If your Grace pleases to reflect, you’ll find I had not time to get the copy to it from London. I do [not] pretend to say that my letter’s well writ, very far from it, But do asure your Grace I

¹ Crawford.

² The Duchess.

never had any help, and if there's any thing blameable in my last letter, it's I that am in fault."

February 9.—His Grace received a summons from the House of Lords to attend the trial of Simon, Lord Lovat, on the 14th.

The Rev. Adam Fergusson of Moulin to His Grace.

MOULINE, *Feb. 9th, 1747.*

May it please y^r Grace,—Your Grace honoured me with a letter on the 25th of Nov^r last, and I now make my Acknowledgements with all thankfulness; and have adventured to write your Grace some occurrences have cast up since in this place of the world, and wish my doing so may be acceptable.

A very few Dayes after the Date of my last, Lord Nairn who had skulked for some severall weeks before, mostly in a poor papist Tennant's House in Baron Reid's ground, and the now Lord Straithallan, Gask & his son, M^r Hary Nairn, & Graham of Garvack, who were mostly in Braemar, Glenshee, & Glenislay, all got to sea in a vessel from or near Monross.

Drummachyn declined goeing with them, as he has some hopes of being saved by the Influence of Friends. He staves still in the countrey, and in no very concealed manner. The Gentlemen of Athol who were in the Rebellion, none of them have gone abroad as yet, as I beleev. Shian and Kinnachan have not hitherto cast up in the countrey, and their Friends will have it that they are dead, but I much doubt if it is so.

One Seton of Lathrisk, who was paymaster General to the Rebels, was for some months in Athol, but has left it in Nov^r last; either himself or Father was, I see, forfeited for the Rebellion 1715.

There is now no stranger Rebell of any consideration skulks in any part of Athol that I know of; if it is not Gourdie Stewart and Menzies of Woodend were in Rannoch or near to it, not many weeks ago.

Strowan keeps Rannoch still, & drinks his whisky as usuall, except that he runs to the Hills or Wood, as do all the other guilty persons, when at any time any party of the Troops begin to Stirr in quest of them, which is not very often.

A vassal of your Grace's, one Robertson of Easter Bletton upon the Blackwater, was apprehended in his own House by a party from Alyth about three weeks agoe, and is in Dundee Prison. The old Laird of Glenlyon dyed about 4 weeks since, and is thereby out of the reach of man's Judgement. A party of Rannoch men (the same who had been driveing cattle from the Glenmore and other places in summer last), betwixt 12 & 16 in number, were out under arms for 7 or 8 weeks from before Michaelmass till sometime in Nov^r; they committed severall Ravages & plunders in different places; were in Glenshee, and on the Blackwater, in a very publick manner, goeing & returning, and they murdered a Tennant man¹ in Glenshee in the night time in their return; he was endeavouring his escape, as they had surrounded his house with design to kill one supposed to be there, who they had heard designed to inform against them. One Cameron was their Leader, and there were severall others of that clann in the party. Two Rannoch men have been lately made prisoners, but it is certain they were but very litle in Rebellion, and were none of this gang.

It is told here, and makes a piece of newes, that the Governour of Fort William has written a Circular Letter in his neighbourhood, intimating to gentlemen as well as commons who have been in Rebellion to come to him, surrender y^r arms & make oath never more to take up arms against the Government, and that they may in consequence live in peace & safety in their own Houses. Commissary Bissat has showed to severalls what is said to be a double of it, and as it bears that this is by Lord Albemarle's order, his Lordship has, I understand, been applyed to for the like Indulgence to other places. If this Application succeeds it will be a Relief to severalls, But I doubt much the truth of the matter, in the extent wherein it is represented.

I don't know what may be the accounts at London, but we beleev here that Clunney M^cPherson, Ludovick Cameron (Lochiel's uncle), and Ardsheill, and Clanronald too, are yet in the Highlands. Lord Albemarle had lately Information that Ardsheill had come to Atholl, but I am very certain his Information was false.

Mr Thomas Man, minister of Dunkeld, his process is now next to being finished, as it is referred to the Commission of General Assembly

¹ John Bruce in Inneridry.

that meets beginning of March, and it is the generall Belief that his censure can goe no higher than a Rebuke. . . .

I pray God it be alwayes well with your Grace, and am with the highest Respect and Esteem

Your Grace's most oblidge'd & ob^t Serv^t,

ADAM FERGUSSON.

February 11.—Commissary Bissett wrote informing his Grace that Lady George and her family had left Tullibardine the middle of January.

His Grace to Captain Murray (Ex-Governor of Isle of Man).

LONDON, 3rd March 1747.

Sir,—I have not wrote to you lately, as by your last there was reason to hope the fears that we were under prety much blown over; the suspision of the Lord abroad made me Imagine that there was the less to aprehend at home, and as he was at such a Distance no immediate danger was to be feared from that Quarter; but now the case is altered, if what is reported here be true of that Lord's haveing gone to Scotland by Sea, where perhaps he may be arived by this time. It is therefor in the first place necessary that the Lady should be strictly watched; and, in order to discourage that Lord or any others from makeing such an atemp, the Lady's circumstances should be represented in the true and proper light, which is, that if she does take such a step without consent, that in that case she will not be worth a groat; it may be obvious to everybody that she has nothing at present. What her Father is posessed of is entierly at his own disposall, and of which in such an event she shall never have the least share, whatever false notions designing people may have put into her head with respect to former settlements being made that can not be altered; this much I think it necessary for me to declair, that an end may be put to all groundless expectations. Next week I shall send down the servants that are to attend my Daughters to the North.

I am, &c,

ATHOLL.

This letter was, however, too late, as Lady Jean had left Edinburgh to meet Lord Crawford before it reached its destination.

Lady Charlotte Murray to His Grace.

EDINBR, March the 3rd, 1747.

My Dearest Dearest Papa,—No doubt your Grace will be very much surpris'd with the contents of this letter, & the inclos'd from M^{rs} Stuart. On Sunday (1st) my sister went away to berwick to be married to Lord Crawford, without aquanting any body with her intentions, so beg my Dearest Papa will not blame any body, as none new of her Designe, and it was as Great a surprise to myself as to any body else. I hope it will not ocasion my going North till my Dear Papa comes Down, as I am quite inocent of the matter, and hope for ever to remain so in my Dearest Dearest Lord Duke's opinion, and I ever am

Y^r Gr/s most Dutifull Loving Dau^r till Death,

C. MURRAY.

Mrs. Stuart to His Grace.

EDIN^H, 3 March 1747.

My Lord,—The inclosed Letter was the first intimation I had of my Lady Jane's having gone off to Berwick to meet the Earl of Crawford; this is what I did not suspect, nor could I guard against it. I hope in God they shall be happy together.

Lady Charlott is very well, and my young Daughter Betty has the honour to be her bed fellow.

I am, with great esteem, My Lord,

Y^r Grace's most ob^t & most humble S^{vt},

ELIZA STUART.

[Enclosure.]

Lady Jean Murray to Mrs. Stuart.

Sunday morning, 10 o'clock.

Dear M^{rs} Stuart,—When you Receive this I Doubt not you'll be surprised, but am sure you will soon see me Return most compleatly happy, w^{ch} I could never be any other way but this.

I should have acquainted you with my intention, had I not thought it might Do you a prejudice with Papa, which I'm sure you're now secure from, as you knew nothing of it.

I have time to add no more but to return you my most sincere & gratefull thanks for your great friendship & goodness to me, w^{ch} I hope soon to be in a way to Repay, w^{ch} will make me vastly happy.

I am ever yours,

J. MURRAY.

My blessing to all your family. Excuse faults, but consider my terrible confusion.

Captain Murray (Ex-Governor of Isle of Man) to His Grace.

EDIN^B, March 3, 1747.

My Lord,—No Doubt but by this post your Grace will know by many hands, even by the parties themselves, the fate of Lady Jane; I shall pretend to give you no other account of it than that Sunday morning she went out by nine, pretending to go to Lady Sommervill's, from whence she was to go to Chappell, that she was to dine and sup there, and desired M^{rs} Stewart not to expect her, for probably she would not return till late; and as Lady Jane used sometimes to do so, M^{rs} Stewart had no suspicion. Next morning when Lady Charlot came to breakfast Lady Jane was askt for; Lady Charlot put a letter in her hand, but as M^{rs} Stewart is to send it to your Grace, I shall say nothing of it. There was a coach ready in the Canongate; Lady Jane, Lord Crawford's two sisters,¹ with Capt: Wemss, set out for Berwick, lay that night at Dunbar, and the Lord and Lady were to be married next day at Berwick; what next I know not. That so great a step should be taken without your consent or knowledge gives me pain, but dare venture to say nothing further.

I am with great respect,

My Lord, your Grace's

Most Devoted and Humble Servant,

J. MURRAY.

¹ Lady Catherine, married to Captain Wemyss; Lady Mary, married to Campbell of Glensaddle.

*Countess of Crawford to His Grace.*BERWICK, *March 6th, 1747.*

Dear Papa,—I with the Greatest submission supplicate your Pardon, not only for myself but for my Dear Lord, who thro' variety of Dangers & Difficulties has flown, in consequence of my Representations, to my Relief. The terrors that weak women represent to themselves on making any strange step that is contrary to their Inclinations, seem so terrible and Dreadfull to them, that their Danger appears Generally ten times greater than perhaps it may in Reality be. It may possibly have been just the case with me at present, & I have thereby been induc'd to require my Lord's presence to put it out of the power of fate to alter the most solemn vows that could be exchanged betwixt two people—the which engagements possibly not being to be made appear so to others, and least, on that account, you might be led to insist upon things, that in obedience to a parent's orders, or perhaps forced (for, as before mentioned, the Dreadfullest things have represented themselves to my view) to break thro' vows made before God Almighty, calling him solemnly to witness, has induced me at all hazzards to Desire my Lord to rescue me from such Dreadfull apprehensions, &, according to his Reiterated Solisitions, to take me for ever to himself, which he has Done; & I have consented to it with all that Duty, Love, & Resignation, that should be, where two hearts have unalterably united themselves, either by accident or Destiny, in the latter of which cases, & the most probable, tho' to be sure in vain to struggle, yet notwithstanding I have Done it, even to the Degree as to hazzard my everlasting Peace, in Rejecting the Reiterated supplications of my Lord, that he would come home & ask your consent upon conditions I would Declare myself in his favours, even notwithstanding he had a Refusal from you, but which upon no account I would consent to, and much less could I have thought of makeing the advances myself, had I not been frightened into it by your mistrust & Dreadfull sentence, in so terrible a season, to send me to Gordon Castle, what could I expect afterwards, where could I apply for Relief? My Lord, whom I could not think of exposeing more, might have hazzarded himself extremly in quest of me; what confusions might it not have produced, for I could not have been any body's else but his after what had past betwixt

us ; to avoid therefore all these misfortunes, and many dreadfull ones that might have followed, I have given way to my own Inclinations, & the first Dictates of my Dear Papa's mind, where he first so much applauded all the Qualifications of the man I chose, so much that you may blame yourself if I first gave the tender passion I conceived for him so much encouragement, & now again yourself in Driveing me to extremities, I Don't believe I ever could have Dream't off, without y^r Dreadfull sentence of a highland Journey, all which my Dear Papa I hope will forgive my laying open to his view, as also all I here set forth, w^{ch} I beg he'll peruse with as little Resentment as possible he can, now there is no Remidy. 'Tis true my Dear Lord is not rich, but we never can want, & those that come after us must be independent ; & if my Dear Papa pleases, we may even Live in the greatest plenty, & Do Good to all that Depend upon us, if you but Grant us your Interest and forgiveness, which my Dear Lord begs me to plead for, as he told me he would also intreat it himself by this same opportunity. I shall only add further on the subject that his fondness of me & engaging manner, with all the other high Qualifications you know he is indued with, will I know make it impossible for you long to Resist our solisitations ; therefore, if you regard your own flesh & blood, who certainly could not for many Reasons better Dispose of themselves, Do not Defer a forgiveness that at the long Run you may possibly be perswaded to grant with a worse grace than at present, when your Doing of it, with the approbation of the highest & the most part of Europe, will do my Dear Papa no harm, & Render compleatly blest the two happiest of mortalls, who must otherways linger away a certain time under the angry frowns of a father we love, & on whose Happiness & Greatness we build all ours. I have endeavoured to be as short as possible the subject would admit of, for fear of tiring out my Dear Papa's patience ; however I flatter myself what I have said above will obtain me at least a certain Degree of forgiveness, with a few lines from my Papa, letting me know so much, before we get the length of London, where my Lord proposes to be as soon as he conveniently contrive it, in order, along with me, on our knees to ask all I have above supplicated for, to which I shall only add that in Return I shall ever Remain, with the most sensible acknowledgement, My Dearest Papa,

Y^r most affec: and most Dutifull Daughter,

J. CRAUFORD.

P.S.—The enclosed is a letter from my Dear Lord, which I hope, if mine does not succeed, will have some weight with you.

I'm sure he will prove a most Dutifull son.

The seperation from my poor Dear Sister has cost me many a tear; I wish my Dearest Papa would allow her to live with us.

Earl of Crawford to His Grace.

BERWICK, *March y^e 6th, 1747.*

My Dear Duke,—It is with a pleasure no words can express that, as I am in duty bound, I inform my Dear Parent I am married to his Daughter Lady Jane. If you are displeas'd, I suplicate forgiveness, I intreat forgivness; I scarcely think you can Long refuse it to both of us. If you do, you render miserable those who otherways might be the two most happy of mortals.

I wrote my D^r Duke a considerable time ago that I was much of the opinion Marriages were made in Heaven. It's true, it is of a Piece with my sentiments, that variety of other things we needlesly puzzle our selves about on this earth are, previously to our decisions here, determined there, with all their consequences.

I'm sure I dare venture to say in this case, if you have been against our being Blest together, which I would be glad to flatter myself you have not in reality been, my Dear Duke's self has been considerably instrumental in bringing it about, in the beginning at Perth, and lately by proposing to send Lady Jane to the north, which I give you my Honour made her Instantly allter her Determinations from what all my Rhetorick could not before change them. I should thereafter have merited the Hottest place in a certain Region, had I not, at all Hazards of life & fortune, of whatever nature, to the utmost of my power exerted myself in preventing her going where she dreaded so much to be.

I shall not Determine with or without grounds, but you may depend upon it I'm not a little oblig'd to whoever advis'd you in that case, for Blest I am at present beyond all description, and I might have been most unhappy for a considerable time longer. But, should I go on to mark all the appearances of its having been decreed that it could not be otherwise than that we should be join'd together, I should quite wear out my D^r Duke's patience; I hope I have not done it already, but for fear I should,

I shall only add that, whither you countenance us or not, we shall to the utmost of our powers proceed in all we do with that Duty we owe to a Parent, and that regard I have ever had for the Duke of Atholl.

I hope you will be so good as to honour us with an Answer before we reach London, where we propose to be as soon as we can conveniently contrive it, & you will for ever oblige, my Dr Duke,

Your most Dutifull son in Law, & most Devoted humble Servant,
CRAUFURD.

P.S.—If yr Gr/ is so kind as to Direct yr answers to both my Lady Craufurd's & mine to the care of the Post Master at Ferrybridge, to be delivered us as we pass, we shall with much greater pleasure make the Latter part of our Journey than the first.

Captain Murray (Ex-Governor of Isle of Man) to His Grace (extract).

EDIN^B, *March 14, 1747.*

Mr Stuart wrot me that Lady Charlot would positively go to Berwick to wait on her sister, that M^{rs} Stuart was at a loss and desired my advice; I writ him for answer that I could not without yr Grace's directions give any opinion in so delicate a juncture, but that if the young Lady was willfull M^{rs} Stuart would do well to go along and bring her back. M^{rs} Stuart is now returned without her; she said she could not leave her sister, but that as soon as L^d Craufurd left Berwick she would return, except yr Grace, to whom it seems they have writ, should give her leave. As M^{rs} Stuart was very anxious to have her return, L^d Craufurd gave her his word of honour she should be sent back. As that Lord made great haste to meet his Lady at Ballfour [Belford], where they were married,¹ the jostling of the chaise had enflamed his wound,² so that he has been confined to bed ever since, so poor Lady Jane commenced wife and nurse at the same time.

His Grace to Lady Charlotte Murray.

LONDON, *17th March 1747.*

My Dear Daughter,—It was with the greatest surprise that I read your letter givinge the account of the undutifull and inconsiderat conduct

¹ 3rd March.

² Received at battle of Krotzka, near Belgrade, 1739.

of your Sister, with which I am so much dissatisfied that, as she may justly expect, so she will certainly find, that I shall take no more notice of her hereafter than if she were not my Daughter, and therefore I look upon you now as the only Daughter left me, and have so good an opinion of your disposition that I hope in God you will never be so imprudent as to give me the vexation that your Sister has done. Could any thing be more foolish in a young Lady not seventeen years old, who has nothing, to make a runaway marriage with one near fifty¹ that has not one shilling to settle upon her.

My dear Charlotte, I am fully of the opinion that you should not continue at Edeng^h longer at this time, and therefore it is my earnest desire and command that you should without delay go to Gordon Castle to stay with the Duchess of Gordon as the fittest place you can be in till I come to Scotland; I expect your compliance in this, having sent Harrison and his wife (who will be at Edinburgh before the end of this month) to attend you there, and take the proper care of you upon the journey. My Dear Charlot I pray God to Bless you.

March 31.—Humphry Harrison wrote to the Duke from Beltonford, announcing that he had reached Edinburgh that morning, and having received his Grace's letter of the 24th, he had immediately hired a coach and six horses, and set out again, with his wife, for Berwick, in search of Lady Charlotte.

Humphry Harrison to His Grace.

EDINBURGH, *April 7, 1747.*

I wrote y^r Gr/ from Beltonford on Sat^y last acquainting y^r Gr/ of Lady Charlot's being there & in very good health: her Ladyship came here on Sunday to Diner. In my Letter from Barwick I had not time to give y^r Gr/ the particulars of our journey from Barwick, so I shall give an account of that expedition.²

We set out at 4 in the morning, and got to Belford Betwixt 8 & 9, stayd there about 2 hours, and set forward for Anwick; when we had

¹ He was forty-four, having been born 4th October 1702.

² Hearing that her mother was coming from London to visit her, Lady Crawford had set out with her sister from Berwick to meet her Grace at Alnwick. Harrison, finding Lady Charlotte had left Berwick, followed them.

got half way a post boy meet us ; I stoped him and asked where he was going. He said with a Letter from Lady Crauford for the Earl, and that he had orders to the Landlord at Belford to have the house ready for the Dutchess, &c, &c. So I Bid the coachman drive softly or we would have been at Anwick by the Time they set out, by which means I thought the horses would not be able to return to Belford ; and for fear that any schem should have been laid for to hinder me knowing if Lady Charlot was in the coach, I hired a horse, and got a boy to ride him till we should meet them, and if they had up the Blinds, or had discharged the servants from telling whether her Ladysh^p was in the coach, I should then have mounted my steed & hover'd about the coach till I had seen who was in it. However, it was a precatation I need not have taken. Upon our meeting, I got out of the coach and desired there coachman to stop. Upon my coming to the side of the coach Lady Crauford let down the glass, but her Grace held up her hands before her face, and cal'd out very loud for the coach to go on ; However that did not signifye, I stop'd him till I told Lady Charlot the coach was just by for her Ladyship, & then bid him drive on ; so we followed to Belford. Upon our coming their, the Dutchess Order'd that nobody should stay in that house but who was of her company, so we was obliged to go to a little ale house, where we was very well.

I told Capt: Weemys that I desired to speek to Lady Charlot, which her Ladyship comply'd with as soon as she could get an oportunity ; I told Lady Charlot that I hoped she would go early the next morning in her own coach for Barwick, but her Ladyship reply'd that she would Rather stay and go in the other coach. I found it nessary to comply with that request, tho' it made us a day longer of coming here, as they was not to set out till 10 or 11 o'clock. Accordingly we all proceeded for barwick the next day ; in the evening I went to Lord Crawford's, who is in a house of M^r Watson's, the member, and desired to see Lady Charlot, she Imediatly came to me, so I beg to know what time she would set out in the morning. She asked me if she might not stay till Monday ; that I absolutly refused, and told her that if her Ladys^p did not go the next morning without fail that I certainly would that moment set out Post for London to acquaint your Grace, and that I had delay two days, which was very contrary to the orders I had from y^r Gr/. Then her Ladyship said she would go, & nothing should hinder her from obeying y^r Grace's commands. So much for this expedition, and I thank God it is so well

over. I hope y^r Gr/ will approve of every step that I have taken. I had a mesage from L^d Crauford that he desired to see me; he enquired after y^r Grace's health, but said little else worth relating to y^r Grace; he is not able to come out of his room, & looks very thinn.

The Dutches has the gout very much in her hand, But it's not come to the stomach. When it arrives there, an other wind fall may be the case.

My wife was yesterday Looking into Lady Charlot's cloaths & Lining, which it seems is in a most miserable condition; she has scarce one whole shift to her Back; a good many gown, but, except 3 or 4 that is Tolerable, the rest being as Dirty & greasy that they will almost stand by themselves. My wife told her Ladyship that she thought it would not be proper to Buy anything to take north but what was absolutly nessary, so Lady Charlot is geting two nightgowns made and the Habbit that y^r Grace gave her Ladyship Leave to get made some [time] ago. The old things Lady Charlot is to give to M^{rs} Geed, who by what I can Learn has behaved very well, and it does not seem to appear that she was any way privey to Lady Jane's marriage.

M^{rs} Stuart does not speek to my wife, tho' she has seen her twice; what the good Lady's Reasons is for such behavior I cannot say; by the chit chatt of this place M^{rs} Stuart is blamed in many respects. . . .

Lady Charlot proposes leaving this on Thursday morning, and her Ladyship chuses rather to go by Sterling then cross the Forth. . . .

I cannot omitt mentioning to y^r Grace that notwithstanding all the Bad things that has been Instilled into Lady Charlot, I hope she will be for ever most dutifull to y^r Grace, and I think, if I can form any Judgment, her Ladyship will not doe anything that she thinks will disoblige y^r Gr/, but by what I can Learn, the Lady that is gon would no more have gon to Gordon Castle then I will go to Rome, unless y^r Grace had been here yourself.

Commissary Bissatt to His Grace (extract).

KINCRAIGIE, 7 April 1747.

. . . . There died lately M^{rs} Alex^r Murray, one of y^r Grace's Life Renters, and two of your Vassalls, Urrard, whose Father died last year, and M^r Duncan Stewart of Dowchrockan, son to M^r Robert Stewart, Minister of Killin. Urrard died at Perth, where he had been for some weeks before his death for the benefite of the Physicians.

I was at Blair lately, where all were going on verry well. John Willson

and his men were Employed in planting ; the new road looks exceeding well and grand, as does another new walk alongs the brink of Tilt lately finished.

There has been stolen lately out of y^r Grace's parks of Tulloch 4 stots. I have been at pains in getting Intelligence of the Thievs, and have at length made a full discovery of their names ; they are Rannoch people, but there will be great difficulty in seizeing them, as there is a gang of them together, that have never delivered up their arms, who keep the hills and live by open Robbery. It was they that murdered a man in Glenshee last winter, and have done much mischief in the Angus Glens, and even in Bon Ranoch and Braes of Atholl. They are mostly Deserters from Lord John Murray or the Earle of Loudoun's Regiments who had been in the Rebellion. . . . There are about 12 of them, mostly Camerons, commanded by one John Cameron,¹ commonly called Serjeant more, who deserted from the Highland Regiment when they went first into England.

April 11.—Harrison wrote from Forfar to his Grace, saying, "It is thought that Lord George did not go from Scotland till some time the beginning of Jan^y, and that he had been at Tullibardine for this some months." This, however, was incorrect, as Lord George had sailed on 16th December 1746.

April 15.—Lady Charlotte reached Gordon Castle, and from thence Harrison returned south *via* Blair to Dunkeld, from whence he wrote to his Grace on the 23rd, mentioning that "John Willson had finished the road from Bridge of Tilt to the Avenue ; also that the road between Blair and Dunkeld (particularly in the pass) was so bad that it was impassable for any wheeled carriage."

Three days later he wrote again at greater length.

Humphry Harrison to His Grace (extracts).

DUNKELD, *Ap^t 26, 1747.*

The leads upon the top of the Castle is so much Damaged that it rains in exceeding much, and, tho' y^r Grace may never design to make any greet reparation about the Castle, I think it is absolutley nessary that the Bartisan should be new Leadéd, as it will ruin all the rooms below if it is

¹ John dubb Cameron or M^cMartin, afterwards executed in Perth in 1753.

not done. The Lead that is upon it, with a small addition and a little expence, will make it quite new; as there is a good deal of the Faulkland Lead to the for, if your Grace approve of having it done, shall get Scot the plumer to come and make it compleat. I thinks as to all other particulars relating to Blair I mentioned in my last, only that there is the greatest Quantity of Fleas through the whole house that posabley can be Imagain'd; they are using all maner of means to Destroy them, such as burning of Brimston and Tarr through the whole house. What effect this may have I cannot pertend to say, as it was but Try'd last week. . . . I send here Inclos'd a plan of the ground by Herculass Pond, and y^r Grace will please observe that the red Line is as the old wall now is. . . .

Now for your Grace's Letter, the persons that went with Lady Charlot from Barwick to Alnwick was Lady Crauford, Lady Mary Campble, Capt. Weyms. As to the person in distress,¹ she I beleave took her Bottle very hertely, and was much Indispos'd, whether by the effects of Liquor or the Gout I cannot pertend to say, but when they came into Belford a bed was Imediatly order, and the person Laid down, but there rest was not Long, for I soon heard the voice of Crying in the Wilderness prepair the way for me & my attendance, so I & my attendance was obliged to move our quarters. As to my prying into there affairs, it was not a thing that I had the Least mind of, as I had other Tou upon my Rock.

. . . As to the chinea, yeasterday the Commisary had a letter from Will^m Douglass, M^r Stuart's clark, & Inclos'd one from one Johnston at Anstruther, acquainting him that there was 4 Boxes come there dedercted for your Grace from Gottenburgh.

. . . I am to be at Tullibardine on Friday next to Look at the Furneture, and what I think will be fitt for your Grace's purpose shall mark on the Inventure, which I shall send to y^r Grace for your aproposition, as the sale is to be 26 next month.

James VIII. to Prince Charles (extract).

[ROME], 25th April 1747.

I have received by the French post my Dearest Carluccio's of the 3rd April. . . .

I am truly sorry to find you in the way of thinking you are to Lord

¹ The Duchess !

George Murray. I spoke very fully about him to Mr O'Sullivan, who should be with you before you get this, and by all he said to me I really cannot see any just reason to suspect his loyalty and fidelity. And I remark you do not now tax him with anything on those points. One who had been guilty in that respect would have rather exceeded in point of flattery than in want of respect, and the fact is that he has lost what he had, and the expectation of much more; that he does not pretend to be in our secrets, or a charge to us, and that he has no other view at present but to get over his Lady from Scotland, and to live privately and quietly with her at Cleves, and all this does not, I am sure, denote any ill disposition or design.

If he has been on several occasions of a different opinion from you or other people, I don't see what crime there is in that, and this would be a very unfit time to enter into such sort of discussions; and as to what he may have failed against you personally, he has owned his fault to me, and begged of me to make his submission to you for him; and I own this last part touched me, for tho' but too many people have failed towards me, yet I scarce ever remember that ever any one made such an act of submission as he has done. All he seeks is your forgiveness, and to be restored to your favor, which you are, I am sure, incapable of refusing him, especially when it is what I ask you for him, and which he proposes to do himself in person in a short time, and after having made his court to you and your brother for a few days to go to Cleves. But as I find you are much exasperated against him, I shall endeavour to have it so contrived that he may stay here till I get your answer to this, for, whatever you may think, it would certainly be of disservice to you should he meet with an unkind reception from you; for as for having him secured, I think in my conscience it would be an injustice, and tho' it were not such an act of despotism, would do us more hurt in our own country than any he could do us, were he the worst of men. The appearance he made in your service is publick as well as what he suffers by it, whereas his faults and mistakes are not, and I know he has amongst our own people his friends as well as his enemies, and he may, on another occasion, be of great service to you. So that all put together, any hard or unkind usage he might receive from you would be really unchristian, unprincely, and impolitick.¹

² Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

John Murray to his Mother, Lady George Murray.

LONDON, *Apr^t* 27, 1747.

D^r Mother,—I had the pleasure to receive your Letter that you sent me by M^r Drummond about ten days ago, and that by M^r Urssel two days ago, by which I am very glad to hear that you are all in pretty good [health] at present, as I am likewise. I am very sensible of the great grief and uneasiness that you must have suffer'd since our last correspondance, but you may be assured that I had my full share of all your troubles. The unhappy step my Father took not permitting me to hold a correspondance either with you or my sister at that time, it was impossable for me to answer Amily's Letters, which you may be sure I would have done if I could, but as I could not here from you I took every opportunity I could to enquire after you. Now things are settled in Scotland I believe we may correspond as usual, therefore I hope to here of your good health in a little while.

You desire me to tell you how I've been employ'd since you heard from me Last, which I shall do in as few words as I can.

At Christmas Last twelvemonth the Duke of Atholl finding that I had a competant knowledge of the Greek and Latin, took me from Eaton, and about a month afterwards put me to an Academy in Soho Square, where I learn'd Accompts, french, Geography, fencing, Dancing, and Drawing, for a twelvemonth; and on Christmas Last the Duke took me from thence to his house in Saville Rowe, where I now live with him more like a sone than a nephew.

I have now finished all my studdies except Ridin, which I now learn for two hours every morning.

I have at present nothing more to add but that I am, Honour'd Madam,
Y^r La^{ps} most ob^t Humble Serv^t & Dutiful Son

JOHN MURRAY.

During the month 'of May Harrison wrote three or four times to his Grace, mentioning improvements at Blair, such as the heightening and building of the Deer Park wall.

That John Willson was casting peats at Hercules Pond to increase its size, and that it was thought the whole proposed increase, 620 feet by 120, would turn out to be peat.

That as to the "clipping" the Castle he could say nothing till he could consult Mr. Winter, further than that stones enough to build the addition could be got out of the lime-quarry.¹

James VIII. to Prince Charles (extract).

[ROME], 2 May 1747.

I should have been glad to keep Lord George here until I had your answer to what I writ to you last post about him, but he is impatient to go nearer home, to be better able to look after his private affairs and bring over his Lady. I did not think it was fit to constrain him, and so he parts in a few days, but I don't believe he will be at Paris before the middle of June, for he goes by Venice and Switzerland. He has again spoke to me with much concern for lying under your displeasure, and if you could have seen how sincerely he owned his faults, and how penitent he was for them, I am sure you would have been touched with it. It is certainly a very great mistake to think he has anything to do with John Murray.² Nothing can be more different than their present situations and behaviour, and I hope you won't do yourself the wrong, nor give me the new mortification, as not to give him a good reception, and make himself sensible that you have forgiven him, which I should think should cost you very little, since there is no question of his staying with you, or of your trusting and employing him.³

James VIII. to Prince Charles (extract).

[ROME], 9 May 1747.

Lord George Murray parted from hence last Sunday. I beg of you when you see him to receive his submissions with goodness, and since he owns so frankly that he has been in the wrong towards you, don't put yourself in the wrong by an unkind, and, by consequence, even an impolitick behaviour towards him for the few days he proposes to stay at Paris.³

¹ This quarry was situated to the south of the Castle Loch, near the ice-house clump. The addition was the cross piece of building which joins the long passage to the old Castle.

² Murray of Broughton, the secretary, who had turned King's evidence.

³ Stuart Papers.

*Lord George Murray to Lady Strowan, at Arnhall, care of
Mr. George Richardson, Writer at Edinburgh.*

29th May N.S. 1747.

Madam,—I had the good fortune to see Miss Gordon's¹ Friend² at this place both in his goeing & comming. he is in good health & he tells me he is goeing for France upon an affair of mear ceremony & complement, & then returns in five or six weeks to Germany, where he is resolv'd to prosecute his former fix'd resolution, which is to take a small farm of 10 or 12 lib. rent, in some agreable parte & pass the remander of his days in pace & quiet, as well of body as of mind, & as he tells me that he is perswaded exercise is necessary for his health. I do not disapprove his thoughts in taking a small farm, but I am perswaded he will not intirely fix till he see Miss Gordon, tho' I think he seems to be for 99.

If his Mistress can provide body, bed, & table linnings, with a dozen spoons, forks, & knives, some old china, and as much bedding as serves two rooms, & a few choise books, a way can be easely falen upon to have them transported to the Farm, after Miss Gordon can get her affairs settled, & the consent of her friends. Tho' he has not mentioned to me anything of money matters, yet I find as he has been at a good dale of extraordinary expence he will very soon have occasion of remittences, as far as his doers can conveniently spare.

It is not improper that his Mistres know that he has manag'd all his affairs (privat ones I mean, for he says he will never concern himself with any others,) with credit and aplause, & the more his books & acompts are examined the more does it establish his credit; for what remains he is perswaded evry thing will be desent, & perhaps to outward appearance a sort of confidence.

As he has given entirely up trade, now that he has settled all his affairs, he will not dip any more espesially in copartnership, & to tell the truth I think he is in the right, for as he is naturally very honest, he is apt to be impos'd upon by others, believeing them as fair dalers as himself, but the captures that have been made during this war, & some unfair practises, which were too barefaced to be disguis'd, has disgusted him from any further trade, & it is better putting up with the losses he has sustean'd, & live upon the litle Farm, as parte with what remains on

¹ Lady George.

² Lord George himself.

projects; at least he has a chance of health, & seems to be sure of a contented mind. Being a Citisine of the world he will be in a constant persute of Virtue and Philosophi, which are more valuabe then the peebles of the East, or the dust of the West, that will bring him content, this would have been atended with care and anxiety, & when all accounts are cast up there is no doubt where the balance will be Due. If his Mistres aprove of these centiments & will take her risque, he tells me it is all his wish. One thing he desir'd me not to forget, & that is to inform you that it is absolutly necessary your sister be always in your company, & that it is not proper to trust her with any other person for reasons he will tell you at meeting. My service to your Mother, Sisters, & Brothers, Grisilda & her Companion. Adieu.

Madam, your daughter will be so good as to deliver this Letter to Mrs Gordon, it being from one who has a great regard for you and all your Familie.

In April 1747 Lord John Murray's Highlanders had sailed for Flanders with a brigade which proceeded to the relief of Hulst, then besieged by the French.

Lord John Murray to His Grace.

ELLEWORTSDYK IN SOUTH BEVELAND, *May 30, N.S. [1747].*

Dear Brother,—I had the pleasure of yours of the 8th inst., and am extreamly glad my letters gave you any satisfaction, and the person you mention, but I was in such a hurry am affraid they were confused, which I have indeed been in ever since that time, which made it impossible for me to give you any particular acc^t of our affair near Hulst, nor had I an opportunity of writing till we landed here, which made me rather delay doing it then abruptly.

Lieu^t Colin Campbell of Edenkip will deliver you this, who can give y^r Grace a more satisfactory acc^t then by writing; I have sent by him a sketch of Fort Zanberg, I think very exactly done by Commissary Bizet's Son,¹ who is a very pretty lad, & applies himself extreamly to fortification, and I should be extreamly glad if you would be so good as to Recomend

¹ Ensign in Loudoun's Highlanders.



LORD JOHN MURRAY
8TH SON OF 1ST DUKE OF ATHOLL.

b. 1711. *d.* 1787



him to the Duke of Montagu to be put on the list at a vacancy as one of the Engineers, which would be three shillings a day to him for life, & preferment afterwards if he merits it.

If you please you may shew him the plan & explanation, which is so full it's unnessary to trouble you with repetitions out of the Journall I have kept, & shall only add that when they had Beat the Chamade¹ in the Fort, where Lieu^t Colonel de Rocque of Canniseu's Reg^t commanded, it was answered by a Dutch Officer in the same manner in the works, & the French took immediate Possession, tho' our Brigade, & a Dutch Reg^t was under arms just by it, as you'll see by the plan, & I had ordred the Piquets to march, in absence of M: G: Fuller, who went that morning to his old Quarters about a league & half off, & I went allongst with Major Salley, who commanded them that day, to discover what was the occasion of the allarm, But, a little before we came to the windmill, was ordred to Halt by M: G: Braunkhorst, who said the Fort was taken, & in vain to go further, having got information of it by a Dutch officer. He thereupon called the commanding officers of corps together, & having proposed to retire about a Quarter of a mile of, without reach of the Enemy's Cannon, & to defend ourselves behind the dike leading to Hulst, in case of being attacked, 'twas unanimously agreed, & immediatley ordred, the British the rear, & Gen^l Braunkhorst also ordred that the Dutch should be on the right, when drawn up, as nearest Hulst, & we on the left to be nearer to retire to our Billanders; But Major General Fuller coming up with the Van of our Brigade, just as they came to the ground where they were to Halt, ordred them to march with all expedition to Wilsoorden where he had ordred the Billanders by the way of Hopledyk. It was about one the next morning before we arrived there, & about four Brag's² began to imbark.

H.R.H. The Duke³ came on shoar about seven, there was then only three companys of mine imbarked besides Brag's, and commanded the rest to continue till he went to our out Post, from thence sent one of his Aid de Camps to endeavour to go to Hulst, but was obliged to return, being pursued by Huzars. About twelve the Duke returned on board, & ordred us all on Board as soon as we could. About an hour after we were attacked, just as my Reg^t was going into the Billinders, & severall

¹ "The parley."

² The 28th Regiment.

³ Cumberland.

shot fired, which wounded Glenmorrison,¹ who lately came from Scotland, & 2 or 3 men, but they were presently put in order, & 2 or 3 platoons went down into the plain & pursued them; they immediatly run of, having left severalls dead, amongst which was Captain Cordis, as two prisoners we took told us, and that there was about 300 of Morlais' Regt of Grasins, who were to be followed by Regular Troops. But they lett us imbarck quietly, & I had only two men killed; As soon as we got under saill, perceived a body of them with horse, which I am since informed, by a gentleman came from Hulst to the Prince of Orange, were about 5000, as they give out, so that had we staid but two hours longer, in all liklehood we had been taken Prisoners. . . . Dear Brother,

Most affectly yours,

[Unsigned.]

William MacGregor or Drummond of Balhaldies to Mr. Edgar
(*extract*).

[PARIS], 31 May 1747.

Lord George Murray is not yet arrived here. I am hopeful we will find in him, when he does arrive, something equal to the character men of best sense and greatest spirit were in the Prince's Army, give of him.

Countess of Crawford to His Grace.

LONDON, June 3^d, 1747.

My dearest Papa,—Haveing taken the liberty to call twice without being so fortunate as to find you, or perhaps have admittance, I have Recourse to this method, either to entreat your premission to come & see you, so to supplicate your pardon in person, and Receive your blessing before I leave this country, or if Refused that satisfaction, Hereby to beg for God's sake you will not carry your Resentment too great a length against me.

It greives me to the greatest Degree imaginable I was not blest with your approbation in my marriage. It is all I want to compleat my happiness. Pray Debar me not any longer the satisfaction at least of seeing you, least I never have the opportunity after this of beging your forgiveness, or of blessing my eyes once more with the sight of my

¹ Ensign Grant. His name is not published in the roll of casualties in Stewart of Garth's book.

dear Father. It is with Difficulty I add not a thousand arguments more in hopes of preswading my Dear Papa to make me so happy, but the fear of saying some thing that may Displease oblidges me to add only that I am unalterably, with the greatest affection, my Dearest Papa,

Your most Happy Daughter if Forgiven, & most miserable if not,

J. CRAUFORD.

Whether the Duke sent any reply to this letter is unknown, but as no further letters from Lady Crawford have been preserved, it would appear that he did not, and the probability is that they never met again.

James VIII. to Prince Charles (extract).

[ROME], 6 June 1747.

I hope to God you will not think of getting Lord George secured after all I have writ to you about him, and that you will receive him at least civilly; for whatever you may think, or whatever he may be, your being unkind to him would certainly do you more hurt than any he ever could, tho' he intended it. His coming to Rome, his now going to you to Paris, and his resolution of living a retired life in Flanders, are, I think, proofs without reply that he is not the ill man you suspect him to be, and as he neither pretends to stay in France, or to meddle in business, I think it should cost you little to be civil to him for the very short time he will be in that country.¹

Early in July the Duke and his nephew, John Murray, returned to Scotland from London, and Lady Charlotte came home from Gordon Castle.

In consequence of the frequent depredations by poachers among the moor-fowl in Glen Almond and Glen Shervie, his Grace gave "a leave of fowling" there to Moray of Abercairney, on the understanding that he would undertake to prosecute poachers, and apprehend dogs, guns, and nets.

¹ Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

During July Lord John Murray was re-elected Member of Parliament for Perthshire without opposition.

Lord George Murray to James VIII.

PARIS, 13th July 1747.

Sir,—However unwilling I am to give your Majesty the trouble of a letter, yet I think it my duty to acquaint your Majesty, that, having arrived here the 10th at night, I next day informed myself where H.R.H. the Prince of Wales staid. I design'd to have gone out early the 12th to St Ouen to have pay'd my dutyfull respects to him, but having receiv'd the inclos'd message, I prepared myself to sett out for Germany, and I hope to be able to leave this place in a few days. In any parte of the world I may happen to be in, and in whatever situation, I shall pray for your Majestie's prosperity, and that of your sons, and my distressed country. Whatever misfortunes may attend me, I shall look upon as small in comparison with what you all suffer, being, with the most devoted attachment,

May it please your Majestie,

Yr Majestie's most dutyfull and faithfull Subject and Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

[*Memorandum enclosed.*]

PARIS, 11th July 1747, 9 at night.

I this moment was call'd to the door by a Gentleman who deliver'd me the following message.

That he was just come from H.R.H. the Prince of Wailes at St Ouen, who had heard I was come to town, that his R: H: desir'd I should not come near him, for he would not see me, & that I would do well to leave Paris as soon as I could.

GEORGE MURRAY.

I ask'd the Gentleman his name, who, after assuring me he would not have deliver'd such a message without H: R: H: positive orders, he at last told me his name was M^r Stafford. I desir'd him to acquaint H: R: H: that I had come to France with no other design but to pay my respects to him, & that I should obey his orders, which I desir'd M^r Stafford to assure H: R: H: off.

GEORGE MURRAY.

¹ Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

Lord George had never met the Prince since the battle of Culloden.

The above was all the thanks that he received from Prince Charles, after having risked and lost everything except life in his service.

King James's treatment of his Lordship was very different.

The above memorandum is amongst Lord George's papers, and differs slightly from the copy sent to the King, and published amongst the Stuart Papers.

James VIII. to Lord George Murray.

ROME, Aug. 8th, 1747.

I received by last French post your letter of the 13th July, with a paper inclosed in it; what you say is a subject of much concern to me, & what you do not say confirms me in the good opinion I have of you; But you will feel that this is a subject I should not enlarge upon.

I am sorry my present situation does not allow me to give you those marks of my favor and kindness which you deserve, but at least, as much as in me lyes, you will always find me a true friend to you on all occasions & in all circumstances.

JAMES R.

James VIII. to Lord George Murray.

ROME, Septem^r 8th, 1747.

I received last week your letter of the 6th August from Boulogne. Could I have foreseen what happen'd to you at Paris, I would certainly have advised you before you left this to have gone into Flanders by another road, but neither before nor since I have never heard any particular thing that appears to me to affect your character, which I think too well established, especially by your late publick behavior in the good Cause, not to make you superior to all that may come from ignorant or malitious tongues. I am persuaded this storm against you will blow over at last, and if in the mean time my good opinion of, & kindness for, you, can be of any comfort or advantage to you, you may be well assured of both.

I am heartily sorry to find that even your Lady personally should share with you in your sufferings on our account, and I heartily wish I were in a condition to supply you in a manner suteable to your merit, & my own inclination, But what little I have in my power I do it at least with good will, & shall send by next French post my orders to George Waters *l'ainè* at Paris to pay to your order 400 Liures p. month,¹ beginning with the month of July last inclusive. I hope this will find your Lady in good health with you. I desire she may find here many kind compliments from me, & heartily wish you both all the comfort & satisfaction which your present melancholly situation can allow of.

JAMES R.

During August the Duke and Duchess of Gordon had paid a visit at Blair. On their return home the Duke of Gordon wrote to his Grace:—"Our kind thanks attends you for the three pine-apples, two of which were eat yesterday in a pretty large company. The greatest part of them had never seen one, & some of the Lairds had never heard of such a thing, & imagined they were the produce of a Fir Tree."

"Lady Faskally" to His Grace.

FASKEILIE, 10 Oct^r 1747.

My Lord,—I apply Y^r Grace on occasion of an insult committed on my house this morning a litle before day break. Seven soldiers in belted plaids & red coats, whom we take to belong to Lord John Murray's Regiment, came here, and under pretence of seeking a servant of the Late Kynachan's, who they said was a deserter, but never haunted here nor hereabouts that I kno' of, they presented their pieces with screw'd Bayonetts to my Servants & by force carried of one of them, Donald McGregor, who had done me singular service. The soldiers did not pretend to have any warrand to apprehend him. We kno' not where they have carried him, or what they intend to do with him, but presume they design to force him to enlist in the King's Service.

I need not represent to y^r Grace the bad consequence of such prac-

¹ £200 a year.

tises, as, not only a helpless woman such as I, but no person in Athole is safe in their houses, if such gross outrages be allowed, & for y^e truth of what is here said I am willing to abide by it, even as ane Information, if that were needfull, but I hope from y^r Grace's Justice, Power, & Freindship to my Husband's Family, that you will save me the trouble of applying to any other for redress, and if you can procure me back my servant you will add a very great favour to the many bestow'd by your Grace upon, My Lord,

Your Grace's most ob^t & most humble Serv^t,

ANNE MACKENZIE.¹

September 24.—Lord George Murray's daughter Katherine, aged twenty months, died.

October 27.—The Countess of Crawford died of fever at Aix-la-Chapelle, aged seventeen.

Lady Charlotte Murray to Lady George Murray.

DUNKELD, *Nov^r 12, 1747.*

Dear Madam,—I just now had the pleasure of your Lap: kind letter, and am much obligè to you for enquiring after my health, which thank God is pretty well, and endeed better then I cou'd of expected after such a loss as I have sustain'd, and which came so unexpectedly, as I had a letter from my dearest Sister on the Tuesday, wherein she was in perfect health, & on the Sunday Papa had letter from poor Lord Crawford, telling that on the 27th of October N.S. his dearest wife had dyed of a most violent fever, six days Illness, and left the most miserable of men behind her. Indeed my greatest comfort is to think that she's free from all the wickedness of this sinfull world, and has now received the reward Due to her spotless life.

I most sincerely sympathize with your Lap: for the loss of your dear daughter, but there is nobody without their troubles, and though God almighty trys some more then others, yett he always gives them sufficient strength to enable them to bear it. . . .

Your Lap^s most aff^{te} & most humble Servant,

CHARLOT MURRAY.

¹ Daughter of Mackenzie of Delvine, and widow of Alexander Robertson of Faskally.

November 14.—The Dowager Lady Nairne died at Nairne House in her seventy-eighth year.

Bailie Spence to His Grace.

DUNKELD, *Feb^y 6, 1748.*

My Lord,—As the following affair was by the commanding officer here communicate to Major Robison, Commandant at Perth, and by him Laid before General Bland, I thought it necessary to acquaint y^r Gr : of it. Two weeks ago, Thomas Clark, Mason, was brought prisoner to me by Lev^t Adams, for drinking Prince Charles's health, who he said was caled Pretender. I took a Precognition, and by Mr Richeson's advice had it sent to y^e justice Clark, who as yet has sent no returne. I belive disloyale expressions will be proven if the thing be trayed. In the main time I have admited Clark to Bail. I do assure y^r Gr/ I do every thing that Lays in my power to keep the Peace of this place, and now and then I have my difficulties. The 2nd of last mounth some of y^e soldiers quarrelled w^t some of the Towne. Lev^t Adams endeavouring to Quell them, the soldiers were disobedient, for which a corporal was broke, and three soldiers whipt. This they impute to the want of a guard, and Major Robison has wrote pressingly to have fire and candles allowed him. My Lord, as my son's time is near out w^t his master, if his Longed for Ensingsy cannot be had, He must now go abroad in some other way. But I hope your Grace will make it good, and I Long to hear of it. I'm, my Lord,

Your Grace's most oblidged and most ob^t humble Ser^{vt},

WM. SPENCE.

Humphry Harrison to His Grace (extracts).

DUNKELD, *Feb^y 14, 1748.*

I must now proceed to Blair. I send your Grace Inclos'd the measurement of the Ground by Hercules Pond. . . . The Carpenters has not begun to put up any of there work, But the forman Tells me that they are going on very fast.

The Stuco people is now working at the Sealing of the Parlour that goes into the Gardine. All the sealings above stairs is finished, except the Dining Room and Drawing Room. Some of the Drawing Room is

done, but the meterrall parts is to be done by Clayton himself. They Judge that by the month of June they will be done. (I wish it may be so.) Mr Winter has 12 men, and besides himself 2 is Joynting of Flags, 2 altering the chimley in the dineing room, 8 and himself taking down the Castle. . . . The taking down the Castle is a greet work, but not so greet as I expected. Winter is of opinion that it will take 6 weeks to get it as Low as y^r Grace Intends, but this is only gues work, as it is Impossible to know how they may find the walls when they come Lower down. Winter set Two men on Saturday to make a cut on the South West side of Cummins Tower, which if he succeed in will set down about 12 foot High on that side, and there is some other place that he is to Try the same experiment on, which if it answers will make very short work with the old Fabrick; it must have been taken down, for there is a large crack made its apperance at the west end of the Castle quite from the Top of your Grace's Bed chamber¹ to the very top of the wall; there is some alterations proposed to be made In your Grace's Bed chamber, such as dividing it and making Two good rooms, but as to the particulars of this I shall reffarr till my next, as Mr Winter is to make a drawing of it, and the Intersole above it, which I shall send for your Grace's aprobation. I have given the carpenters Directions to be preparing the Roof, that as soon as the walls is brought to the hight Intended the Roof may be imeditly put on, and again that time I shall have the Slater from Down, so as to have it finished if posable before your Grace comes home. Upon consulting Mr Winter he thinks it will not answer to have the passage of the Castle & Colinade to slope so much as to avoid steps in the Colinade, for as the Dary is to be Taken into the Servants Hall² it [will] take in 8 foot of the passage, and that room must be all of one Level, that is to the Levell of the West door, so the slop can only begin at the east entrance of the Servants [Hall], which makes the passage only 107 foot, the Colinade is 103, the whole 210. This East Door of the Servants Hall is 8½ Higher then the floor of the new House, so that it will be a slope of neigh 10 Inches to every 20 foot; that is indeed a very easey slope for a walk, but in a house it has a very odd apperance, which your Grace will see if you raise a Line 20 foot long 10 inches at one end;

¹ This would appear to have been the present Tapestry "Bedroom."

² The present pantry appears to have been then the servants' hall, and the dairy must have been the room now known as the Tilt-room.

there may be $2\frac{1}{2}$ foot of a slop got and not to be perceived, so that 9 steps will doe in the Colinade, 4 of which is proposed to be at the East Door, the other 5 at the Turn of the Colinade; these proposals your Grace may think of, and let me have y^r aprobatation. There is another thing that we want y^r Grace's advice in, that is the puting up a chimley in the Servants' Hall; Mr Winter is off Opinion that it will be a very greet work for a thing of so little consequence, for examining that part of the Dary where the chimley is proposed to be put there is a very strong arch which perhaps may not be so proper to strike down as that corner of the house seems to have a good deal of Dependance upon it; this also for y^r Grace's aprobatation. . . .

On Thursday Last passed here one Bailie Steuart of Inverness in chaise, and along with him a man in women's cloths, which it seems was not know till they had been gon some Hours from Inver. As they Lay all night there, it seems the pretended Lady made Love to one of McGlashan's maids, which she discover'd to her mistres after they were gon; it's a pitty that it had not been know befor they went off, as it certainly must be some skulker.¹

Humphry Harrison to His Grace (extracts).

DUNKELD, Feb. 21, 1748.

. . . . As I go for Blair this week, shall converce my Father about the bringing the Deer park wall to joyn the circle² at the corner of the gardine, and shall give John Wilson y^r Grace's orders for carreying the Burn³ in its old course. . . . It certainly will save a deal of Trouble and expence that the Burn go in its old course, as there will be little to be done besides the paving, but a good many stones is Laid down for carreying it streight to Garrey; however these I fancy may be easely moved.

I shall converce Mr Winter about carrying the new building on till it Joyns the Castle, & send y^r Grace a plan of it. I send y^r Grace Inclosed a plan by Mr Winter of y^r Grace's Bed chamber with proposed alterations,

¹ *i.e.*, one who had been out in the '45 and was hiding. Very possibly Mungo Murray, son of Kincairney, late secretary to Duke William, who is known to have escaped disguised as a woman.

² The ice-house clump. Half the wall round it was removed about 1872.

³ The Banvie.

which if y^r Grace approve please Let me know. . . . Will y^r Grace have it continue the same height that it now is, or will you have the present sealing taken down; it's true they will be a great deal too high for the Length and Breadth if the present sealing continues, but it will save a good deal of expence and trouble; this depends much upon what use your Grace may think of making of these rooms. If ever y^r Grace was to Finish the High Dineing Room, then it is presumed the Bed chamber would be made one of the Best bed rooms, so in that case it should rather stand as it does. The Intersole will be much the same divided as the proposed alteration in the Bed chamber, only with this difference, that there is no corner chimley, but one on the south west side of the room, however y^r Grace will see that by the plan. Does y^r Grace propose to make any other use of this Intersole then for Servants or Family use? if for that purpose, the same floor will do very well as it now is; the rooms will be 8 foot high, or better. Every thing is doing very well at Blair. . . . Lady Charlot is very well.

The Rev. Thomas Wilson, D.D., to His Grace.

DEAN'S YARD, WESTMINSTER, *Feb. 24, 1748.*

My Lord,—I am authoris'd by y^e Clergy of y^e Isle of Mann to assure your Grace that whatever moneys you have, or shall be pleas'd for the future to advance, for them in carrying on y^e suite now depending in Chancery, shall be repaid out of y^e Profitts y^t have, or shall arise from y^e estate in Lancashire given to them as a counter security for y^e Improprate Tythes sold to y^m by a late L^d Derby, as soon as ever they shall be in Possession of it, & enabled thereby to repay y^r Grace. This being y^e only method in their Power of repaying y^r Grace, or carrying on y^e suite; And they and their Posterity will think themselves bound in Gratitude to thank y^r Grace for this, & many other favours conferr'd upon them during y^e time that they have been happy under y^r Grace's protection & countenance. That y^r Lo^p may Long enjoy this Island, & every other Happiness, is y^e sincere wish of,

My Lord, y^r Gr/s most faithful & most obliged humble Servant,
THO. WILSON.

Humphry Harrison to His Grace (extracts).

DUNKELD, Feb. 28, 1748.

I must first commend y^r Grace's Improvements in carrying the House to the Castle instead of the Colnade, as the Expence of the Mason work will not be £5 difference, but then I am hopefull y^r Grace will have no thought of a ground story, as it will be a very greet trouble to take away that body of Earth as Low as the bowling Green, and perhaps may meet with Rock, and, if you had these Low rooms, what is the use of them, as y^r Grace has in the new buildings and castle as many offices as you ever can have use for; besides, they must always be very Damp. . . . Mr Winter is going on very well with his puling down, and as the House is Laid open it's very cold Quarters, no room being Habitable except the Low dining room. . . . I must go to Dundee this week to buy Blocks, pulleys, and cappel ropes for Drawing up the Timber, &c, &c, for the Roofing that part of the Castle they are pulling Down.

March 6.—Harrison mentioned that Sandy Morrison,¹ the baker, had married the kitchen-maid.

March 13.—Harrison wrote that Winter had made trial of the Dalnacardoch stones for the "chimleys," and found it would not answer, being very hard and of a bad colour, but would make very good hearths. So the chimleys would have to be either marble or Gellyburn stone.

Humphry Harrison to His Grace (extract).

DUNKELD, March 17, 1748.

On Teusday Last Mr Campble, who came over with Lady Crauford's corps,² was here to wait upon Lady Charlot, and brought a Letter from Lord Crawford; it has made her Ladys^p a little cast down ever since.

This month an Act to abolish heritable jurisdictions in Scotland was passed. £8911 compensation was allotted to Perthshire, of which his Grace's share was as follows:—

¹ Formerly cook to Duke William in the '45.

² Lady Crawford was buried at Ceres, Fife.

| | | | |
|--|--------------|-----------|----------|
| Office of Sheriff for life of Perthshire . . . | £1500 | 0 | 0 |
| Heritable office of lordship and jurisdiction of the Regality of Atholl | 1100 | 0 | 0 |
| Steward of the Stewardry of Huntingtower | 223 | 18 | 0 |
| | <u>£2823</u> | <u>18</u> | <u>0</u> |

At the same time Commissary Bissett was allotted £400 as compensation for the "Office of clerk to the Regality of Atholl for life."

Humphry Harrison to His Grace (extracts).

DUNKELD, *April 10th, 1748.*

Chisles's men is preparing the roof for the west end of the Castle, which will take this 10 days to put up and sark; how the slates is to be got for it is more then I can say, as I have no hopes of Clark, the mason, performing his Bargain, and the countrey people is all now Employed at their oate seed. But I shall see what may posibly be done, not that there may be any greet harm if it's not slated before y^r Grace comes Down; (for one reason) the room above what was caled the Dressing room has no stair to it at present, as this roof upon the west end of the Castle condems that door Intyerly, so that the only way to get into that uper room will be to take a passage of the Dressing room Into the closet in that room, and to put up a stair to the room above; this will be very Little expence, and make the Dressing room a better Bed chamber; but I find now by experance that, either in pulling down or Building, the convenanceys and Inconvenanceys should be well degested befor the work is begun, and perhaps, when y^r Grace sees how this uper room Looks, you will be for Taking it away, which is my reason for not thinking it any harm that this new roof is not slated till y^r Grace sees it, as the pulling down must damage the new roof.

On reference to Mr. Frederick's sketch of the old front of the Castle, it will be seen that the "dressing-room" must have been that known as Baron Maule's room. The room above is there shown, and it was afterwards taken down.

It is curious that 140 years later a passage *was* taken off Baron Maule's room (to make an access between the Cumming's Tower and the Derby attics).

Hon. James Nairne¹ to His Grace.

LAMBETH, *April 13, 1748.*

May it please your Grace,—I think it my indispensable duty to acquaint y^r Grace that Monday next, please God, I intend to marrie the Grand Niece of the late General Wood, a young lady of three and twentie years of age, with whom I have a thousand pound, which I was really wanting of, a considerable part at least, to pay my debts; some contracted since I had a commission, and others before. Ever since I have been in town last, I had (not ?) the command of what money was wanting to answer any necessity. The girl and her mother live at present on the Surry shore at Stangate, where they have a prety convenient house, but we remove from that next Monday to the country. If your Grace will be pleased to let me inform you of other particulars I shall call with that intention. Mean while I have sent the Life of L^t Gen^{rl} Wood to amuze y^r Grace, and I am, with the utmost respect,

Y^r Gr/s most obedient servant and cousin,

JAMES NAIRN.

April 18.—Harrison wrote to his Grace that he would tell John Wilson that his Grace's orders were that all the peats that were to be cast that year should be cast on the north side of Hercules Pond.

The beginning of May the Duke left London for Scotland.

May 13.—Mr. Maule wrote to his Grace from London informing him that he had been created a Baron of Exchequer.

Duke of Gordon to His Grace (extract).

CONDUIT ST, *May 14, 1748.*

There is no news, but to make you laugh, our friend L^d Aberdeen set out Thursday last in a chaise, & carried allong with him my wife's chambermaid, Isabella Edward, from his own door in his chaize along with him, which girl y^r Grace once saw in my House, the day we had been at Gordon the cabinet maker in Swallow St, when I gave her a small looking glass. I'm informed L^d Aberdeen has already laid out above 150£ ster. on her acc^t.

¹ Youngest son of William, 2nd Lord Nairne.

June 13.—The Duchess died in London, aged 55, leaving her estate, real and personal, to her son-in-law, Lord Crawford.

David Moncreiffe of Moredun¹ to His Grace.

ED^R, 7 July 1748.

My Lord Duke,—I this day waited of Baron Maule, whose return to this place gave me sensible Joy, and I told him I intended to write your Grace of a scolding betwixt M^r Pat: Haldane and me, but that I was in some doubt till once I should have his opinion of it, and as he was clear I ought to write y^r Grace, I have ventured to trouble y^r Grace with the following story.

That night the collector for our Land tax was chosen, M^r M^cKenzie of Delvin, M^r Dundas of Blair, and M^r Smyth of Balharrie, returned to Moncreiffe with me, with a design after supper to take our horses for Ed^r, as we did, but a little before we mounted M^r Haldane came in, extremely drunk, and said many abusive things of all the Gentlemen, and me in particular, not even sparing His Grace of Argyle; but as he was mortally drunk I told him we should discuss that point at Ed^r, so I left him and came to town, but as soon as he arrived, first I did ask him if he remembered what he had said at Moncreiffe, and in a Little after M^r M^cKenzie asked the same question, to which he gave the same answer, that he did not, for he was mortally drunk, so both of us said we were glad of it and should take no further notice of it; but as the infamous fellow, notwithstanding of that answer, continued in all companies to say that the Lord Privy Seal, the Deputy Remembrancer, the Comptroller at Alloa, and Collector of Kirkcaldie ought to be complained of to the King for heading a disaffected partie in Perthshire, I was resolved to ask him his reasons for saying so, and accordingly on Saturday last I took him asside in the Parliament house and told him I was confounded to find he had expressed himself in the above manner, that as for those Gentlemen that voted on our side, we were as well affected to the Government as he was, and that most of us all had given more proof of our Loyalty then he had done: that Lies, and his son, M^r Erskine of Carnock, myself, and several others I named, were above suspicion, and as for those Gentlemen in Athol that were there, they had suffered greatly in the time of the

¹ Brother to Sir Thomas and great-great-grand-uncle to Louisa, Duchess of Atholl.

Rebellion because they would not rebel, and that there was not one at the meeting that had either a son or father in rebellion, and by this being fact he must see what he said was injurious ; to which he answered that he had said, and still would, that the L^d Privy Seal, the Deputy Remembrancer, the Comtroller at Alloa, and Collector at Kirkcaldie ought to be represented to the King as joining a disaffected partie that wanted to oppress the Whig interest. I asked if he could condescend on any action of these people that made him say so, or if we all were not as willing to have the Whig interest advanced as he, his brother, and Rob: Craigie, but if he had been of my own age I would have obliged him to give me another sort of satisfaction then I was at present resolved to ask, but that his gray hairs sufficiently defended him against that, but that I would do my best to make or force him to recant what he had said, so I run from him, but in a little after, as I was talking with M^r Craigie of Kilgrastown, he came up and said I had been finding fault with him for what he had said, but (said he) I do say that the Lord Privy Seall, &c, &c, do join with a dissafected partie, so I answered if you do say so you tell a damn'd, malicious, calumnious Lie, and so left him, only folded my fist and told him, " You old dog, nothing but the place we are in protects you from being used as you deserve," but he roared out to get me gone, so that the whole Parliament house were alarm'd, and I told the story ; and indeed by his being so injudiciously officious as to attempt to expose my charracter he has drawn the world anew upon enquireing into his own morals, for any man who ventures publickly to point out the blemishes of others should at least be free from any uncommon stain himself, and have nothing remarkably dark in the complexion of his own private charracter. I forgot likewise to tell your Grace that he said after all we might be supported, as it was the practice of a certain family to court the assistance of Jacobites, as was plain at the last rebellion, 1715. Your Grace will make what use you please of this information, and indeed it is not easy to determine what method to take with such a contemptible old woman. . . .

Y^r Gr/s most obliged & humble servant, D: MONCREIFFE.

In August Lady George, accompanied by her daughter Amelia, went to Cleves to visit her husband, who had taken up his abode there.

*Lord George Murray to James VIII.*CLEVES, 4th Sept. 1748.

Sir,—I should think myself wanting in my duty if anything occurred to me that might in the smallest degree be useful to your Majesty, did I not acquaint you of it. When I was lately in Poland, the great Marischal [Count Belinski] who was pleased to look upon me as a Relation, and knew the part I had acted in your Majesty's Service, told me that when he was at Paris about a year ago, he had endeavoured to wait upon H: R: H: the Prince of Wales; but by some accident and mistake he had not the happiness to see him. He told me also that it was proper your Majesty should know, that with relation to some jewels belonging formerly to the Crown of Poland, and consign'd to the House of Sobieski for moneys advanced to the Republick, if your Majesty thought proper to write to him or any other of the officers of State, to propose that these jewels should be relieved, otherways your Majesty would be obliged to dispose of them. He said the thing would be notified to the diet, and as there was no fund or moneys to relieve them, your Majesty would be desir'd to make what you thought proper. I think I may venture to say, that as all the Polish nobility in general are much attached to y^r Majesty and your Royal House, so none seems to me more particularly than the great Marischal. . . .

I shall only add that at all times, and in all situations, I am ever with the greatest zeal, &c, &c,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹*James VIII. to Lord George Murray.*ALBANO, Oct^r 15th, 1748.

I was very glad to receive y^r letter of the 4th Sept from Cleves, after having been so long without hearing from you. By what you write to Sir William I hope this will find your Lady safely arrived with you; I desire she may find here my kind compliments, and you will not, I am sure, either of you doubt of my constant desire to contribute to whatever may be agreeable to you.

I thank you very kindly for your attention in informing me of what was said to you about certain Jewels, which we have had by us for many

¹ Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

years, and I shall see what can be done to profit of the light you give me in that respect, for it were no doubt to be wished that my children, to whom they belong, were entire masters of them.

The Prince's present situation is too melancholly a subject to enter upon here, neither can one well judge of it till Peace is actually concluded; His Brother and I are now here in the country till the end of the month.

I hope you will let me hear sometimes from you, for you know the share I take in all that relates to you, & the justice I do to your sentiments towards me, which will always secure to you a particular share in my esteem and kindness.

JAMES R.

Lord George Murray to James VIII.

CLEVES, 6th Nov^r 1748.

Sir,—It was with infinite satisfaction that I have received the honor of your Majesty's letter of the 15th October, which is a new mark of your Royal favour towards me. I shall ever retain, with the utmost gratitude, a due sense of your bounty and goodness. Sorry I am that nothing lyes in my power whereby I can testify my ardent wishes to give further proofs of my zeal in your Majesty's service. The present situation of affairs, I am much afraid, have but a gloomy aspect with regard to your Majesty's just right and that of your royal House, as well as to the happiness of your subjects, who must groan under oppression (which indeed most of them deserved) till such time as it pleases the Almighty to open their eyes.

My wife came here the 10th September, but was soon after seiz'd with an intermitting fever, which has not as yet left her. She begs leave to lay herself at your Majesty's feet. She is infinitely sensible of the honor your Majesty does her. I can venture to say in her name, as her principles are founded in religion and justice, her attachment to your Majesty and royal family, and ardent wishes for your prosperity are deeply engrav'd in her heart.

I have the honor to be, with the most perfect zeal, Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithful and dutiful subject and Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

¹ Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

November 15.—Lachlan McIntosh in Cal Bruar, in Lady Faskally's ground, gave information to Commissary Bisset that Donald Stewart in Calvine, also in Lady Faskally's ground, was one of those who stole a cow belonging to the Duke out of the parks of Blair in March 1746, about the time of the siege.

During 1748 the Castle laundry was built at the south-east end of the Long Passage wing, on the east bank of the Banvie, with a stone bridge leading to it.¹

James VIII. to Lord George Murray.

ROME, *February 25th*, 1749.

I received a few days ago your letter of the 22^d January, & easily believe the concern you have been in for what has lately happen'd to the Prince; he had, to be sure, his reasons for driving things to that extremity, and I wish those who direct his councils may wish him as well as you & I do, for all I know is that he writes to me from Avignon that he is in good health.

You will have known long before this comes to you that Lochyel's Regiment is reform'd. A General Officer who is in the French Service without a Regiment, & in time of peace, makes but a poor figure, & has no pay, & I am affray'd it would not be even easy to obtain the Tittle & Rank of Lt General for you in that Service; But as you are at the head of all those who joyn'd the Prince in Scotland, you have, as such, a just claim to partake of the King of France's generosity towards those in that case, and I shall flatter myself that I may be able to succeed in recommending you to that Court for a pension of about 6000 Livres a year. But should you enter into this thought, it would be necessary that you should yourself go to Paris, & sollicite your own pretensions in consequence of my recommendation; By this means you would be at least secure of some little subsistance for yourself and your Family, and if a new War should break out, if you incline to serve in any shape in it, you might the more easily obtain a suitable rank. This is my opinion of the matter, but I

¹ The bridge was pulled down by the 6th Duke about 1850, and the laundry was removed by myself in 1873. The gargoyle over the terrace door of the Castle was found in the laundry walls. It had probably been on some part of the Castle taken down by Duke James.—A.

shall take no step in it till I have your return to this, which will show you the true concern I take in all that relates to you, as well as the good opinion & sincere kindness I have for you, & which will ever attend you.

JAMES R.

February 25, 1749.—Mary Donaldson, maid to “Lady Strowan,” wrote to Lord George from Arnhall to report that her mistress had been taken seriously ill, and was not expected to recover.

Lord Deskfoord to His Grace.

HUNTINGTOUR, *April 1, 1749.*

My Lord Duke,—The post being just about to go away, allows me only very shortly to apply to y^r Grace for your approbation to Lady Mary's accepting of a proposition of marriage I have this day done myself the honour to make to her Ladyship, with my L^d Findlater's approbation. Lady Mary's good qualities don't stand in need of any additional inducements to make me extremely desirous of success in this matter; but if they did, none could be stronger than having the honour to be so nearly connected with your Grace and your family, for which I have the greatest respect.

The same motives which make me at present desirous of the honour of marrying Lady Mary will I dare promiss continue to make it the chief business of my life, as far as lyes in my power, to promote her Ladyship's happyness, and to show the very great respect and esteem with which I have the honour to be, Y^r Grace's

Most humble & most ob^t Servant,

DESKFOORD.¹

The Earl of Findlater and Seafield to His Grace.

CULLEN HOUSE, *Apr^{le} 8, 1749.*

My Lord,—It gave me great pleasure to know by last post that my son had proposed mariage to your Grace's sister Lady Mary. The young Lady's good character, and the great respect I have for your Grace and

¹ Earl of Findlater's eldest son.

your family, engage me most earnestly to entreat your favour and approbation in this matter, which will highly oblige both my son and me, their being nothing I have more at heart than to see him so honourably and so well settled.

I have the honour to be, with the most sincere respect, Y^r Grace's
Most faithfull & ob^t humble Servant

FINDLATER & SEAFIELD.

The beginning of April Lady George left Cleves on her return home, and shortly after Lord George removed to Utrecht.

During this month a petition to the Quarter Sessions in Perth was signed by John Stewart of Pitaneasie and other inhabitants of Glen Tilt praying for a bridge over the Tilt.

May 11, 1749.—His Grace was married at Edinburgh to Jane, daughter of the late John Drummond of Megginch.

June 3.—Governour Lindsay wrote from the Isle of Man informing his Grace that on receiving the news of his wedding they had celebrated the occasion by firing the cannons at Castle Rushen, and several discharges of small arms by the garrison and town companies joined, and making the people happy with what they like too well, strong drink.

Robert Graham of Fintry to Donald Stewart in Dalvorist.

Dalvorist,—I am sorry to hear of your behaveour and bad management in the Duke of Atholl's Forrests, and of the fals and unjust storrys you tell; therefore I have sent this bearer, the Duke of Atholl's ground officer,¹ to take from you all commissions, or orders concerning the forest, preceeding this date, and to discharge you, or any person employed by you, to travell or kill deer in any part of his Grace's forests, till I have time to enquire into your behaveour, and this you are to obey upon your perell.

Signed at Blair of Atholl the 11 of Aug^t 1749.

ROB: GRAHAM.

¹ James Gow.

Robert Graham of Fintry to Thomas Bissett, junr., Factor.

FEALARE, 25th Aug. 1749.

Sir,—It's more then ordenary regard I have for His Grace the Duke of Atholl, and concern for his Forests, that continues my affection after the many slights and signs of indifference I have received in return of all the trouble, time, and expence I have bestowed in hopes of reaping thanks which would been great pleasure to me, and altho' it may be thought mean my meddling any more, or enquireing about the forests, yet I was at so mutch pains, and so anxious for years to have the forests replenished and well kept, when few Deer was left in them, and having so good sucksess, that in the year 1746 there was 100 Deer for every twenty was in Tarfe in the year 1739, and I finde is still well plenished, that I cannot help writing you on that subject, as I always found you faithful and concern'd for the wellfair of every thing belonging to His Grace. When you have proper opportunety you may inform his Grace, that on Munday last I went to Ben-y-Glow, and travelled the most part of it. I saw not a deer but one small hart, but plenty of cattle and hors. I went that night to Tho: Stewart's and quarreled him sharply for haveing that forest in sutch condition; he said that as his Grace had taken his commission from him, and given Dalvorist the power of poinding the cattle and hors in all the forest, he did not know how to behave.

Next day I went to Glen Merk and Glen Deery, and the rest of the Forest of Tarfe, where I expected to see all the stok of Deer, the winde being south. I only saw twelve or fourteen hynds in Glen Crynie, and about twenty hynds and two good harts in Glen Deery, one of which Tho: Stewart killed, which I hope cam fresh to Blair; he was very fat. I asked Tho: Stewart if he had been in Tarf this year before; he said he had, and had seen a great stok of deer, which he thought was driven either over Brewer, or to the north part of the forest next to Badenouch by the number of cattle and hors I saw every where, and Dalvorist traveling every day among them, and shooting without the least prudence, or fear of being found fault with. I saw Dalvorist with his son and his gun at a distance in Glen Merk, but he made out of my sight very quickly, being contious of his bad management. If his Grace please it can be made apear that Dalvorist takes in numbers of cattle and hors to the

forest, besides many other pices of his management that will not justefie ; in my opinion his capacity and integrity is mutch the same.

I shall be glad to know if the Duke of Atholl inclines I should take any further care of the forest ; if his Grace thinks proper to employ any other, I wish he may be well served. If I have any concern I will employ sutch as I think I could answer for their behaveour.

I am, Sir, y^r most humble Serv^t

ROB: GRAHAM.

His Grace to Fintry.

ATHOLL HOUSE,¹ 4 Sept. 1749.

Sir,—I see, by a Letter of yours to Thom: Bisset of the 25th of August, that you pretend a great regard for me, and a concern for my Forrests, tho' as soon as you did procure for yourself a very advantageous bargain of one of my Forrests, and at the same time was Factor of my estate, But as soon as you had gain'd your own ends with respect to the Forrest, you Intirely neglected the last part of what you had undertaken as Factor, and concerned yourself no further but what related to the advantageous Bargain you had of the Forrest, and for an excuse pretends slights and signs of Indifference, when, at the same time, I have never seen you since I came to Scotland but once in a passing manner.

Some of your complaints are that there are very few Deer left in the other Forrests, and the reason you assign for it is because of one Person whom I have employed to prevent encroachments of other people's cattle from grasing in the Forrests, which encroachments you say he allows of, and that the same person, viz., Dallvorest, also shoots there, and besides takes in cattle to grase, which three facts upon examination he Denys ; But at the same time it's said that when you went through these Forrests with many company, Tents, Dogs, and horses, when you say that few Deer was to be seen, It's very possible that tho' there were Deer, they by that means might be scared, and another reason is that it is said you are very assiduous in Driveing Deer from all other parts of my Forrests into that part of the Forrest which you call yours, and it is well known that you have kill'd more deer for your own use, and sent in presents to people in the low Country, since you have had that part of the Forrest, then has been kill'd in all the other Forrests and brought for the use of my family.

¹ First mention of the change of name from Blair Castle.

Fintry to Thomas Bissett(?).FEALARE, 11th Sept. 1749.

Sir,—When I reflect on the short conversation we had the other morning here, I can not help thinking I ought to write you some thing on that subject, as I shall be extremely concerned if my being here with my familie a few weeks in the sumer, and taking my diversion in the forest, be disagreeable to the Duke of Atholl. Every man has his favourite Diversion, and as that is now come to be mine, I expected to enjoy it without giving offence. When I bargain'd with His Grace for this Detached part of the forest, I had no other view, nor have I made any other use of it, and whatever may be people's opinion of that bargain, or however advantageous it may be represented to his Grace by my enemies, I have never made fifteen pounds a year of it, and I have not yet fal'n on a way of keeping it, as it ought to be, under thirty pound a year charges of servants' wedges, mantainance, and cloaths; and as to my Destroying so many Deer in my familie, and sending them to my friends in the low country, what ever is told, I never killed above three or four Deer in a year till last season I killed six, and this season I have killed five, and I humbly think, if I take the fatigue and toill that most be in killing half a dozen Deer myself in a year, and bestowing three or four of them on my friends, no body needs grudge me that diversion.

The storys that is told to his Grace of me or my servants dryving the Deer out of any other part of the forest into this, altho' I be as keen a forester as any man, that is a part of the tread too low for me, let his Grace think what he pleases. And as to my going to Tarf with my company, tents, and dogs, I shall only say, wer my going to Tarf as agreeable to his Grace as it would be for the advantage of his forest, the oftener I wer there the better, for I have a notion I am as capable of giving proper directions for the management of a forest as any man ever his Grace employed, or ever will, and no man shall ever set his foot in it with a more anxious and sincere disposition for its prosperity.

I went to Tarf on a Munday; my company consisted of Mr Milne, who walked with me without any thing but a stick in his hand, a boy leading two dogs, a shelty carrying a small tent, three pair Blankets, and some bread & chees. Tuesday and Wednesday was mist, wind, and rain,

Thursday frost and snow, which drove us back here very fast; but I think I can travell a forest with a gun, a lad, and two dogs, and make as discreet and harmles use of them as any forester in the kingdom. If his Grace thinks that after I bargain'd with him for this pice of his Forest I turn'd carless of his bussiness I had the charge of, he injures me, for I declair that bargain made no difference in my inclination to serve and oblige his Grace, nor can I accuse myself of any materiall part of his bussiness I ever neglected. If I, on accompt of my diversion here or elsewhere, delayed for a week or two to go to a particular place or merkat when rents fell due, and where partiall payment might be collected, I fairly acknowledge that may be true, for I was fully resolved to alter that method which had been the practice before, as you have often hear me say, and would have made four or five weeks betwixt Michallmass and Whitsunday collected all his Grace's Rents with a great deall less trouble to the vassalls and tennents as well as to the factor, and that method I affirm to be very practicable, let others do as they think best. But let that be as it will, I hope His Grace sustain'd as little loss by my intrusions with his rents as any factor ever he had, or perhaps may have; and you know what a confused state the tennents and vassalls wer in with their receipts, and partiall payments they had made to different factors and others, when I entered to the management, and what a pains and trouble it cost to clear with them and put the management in a distinct method, so as those that sukseeded me had easie work in regard of what we had the furst two years.

It seems by what you told me that his Grace takes notice that he saw me but once since he cam last to Scotland, and that in a transient manner; How my visit was taken I know not, but as soon as I understood his Grace and the Dutchess was come to Dunkeld, I went from home of purpose to pay my respects, as I thought it my duty, and went home again without going any where els, having no other errand. If my stay was thought short, it was out of good maners, as I have been at a loss for some years past to know if or not my waiting on his Grace frequently would be acceptable, and I hate to be troublesome.

In the year 1745 His Grace and I parted, as I thought, very good friends; as soon as his Gr/ aravy'd at Dunkeld in 1746, I made haste to be with him, expecting to meet as we parted; the reception I mett with his Grace may remember, and the reason of it is best known to himself, for to

this moment it's surprizing to me when I think of it. You know if my behavouer in his absence, and may remember if the advices I gave you in times of tryall deserved Sutch tratement, so that I am still at a loss, and wishes to be informed if my beeing frequently with his Grace while he is in Scotland would be agreable it would be great pleasure to me, tho' his Grace should be pleased to term my regard for him pretended. The meaning of this long letter is, if you can discover any reasonable ground of offence I have given the Duke of Atholl that you may acquaint me, as I am most willing to give all the satisfaction I am capable of if I have been in the wrong, but it's not impossible if all circumstances had their due weight the ballance might be on the other side; it's an old saying that kings and great men are obliged to hear and see by the eyes and ears of others, which may be the reason they are so often misled in the choice of their favorits, and every man of experience will finde, among the other defects of our nature, that we are sometimes wrong in our likings and prejudices, and, according as that happens, mole hills are mountains and mountains are mole hills. I continue your friend and humble servant

ROB: GRAHAM.

P.S.—I have sent by this bearer a highland cow as my feuduty; she is as good Beef as any I have this rainy season.¹

October 22, 1749.—Lord George wrote to his wife from Utrecht, acquainting her that the "Velt Marishall," Count of Potoski, had given their second son, James, a lieutenancy in his own regiment of Saxon Grenadiers, but that as he was so young, he was to have liberty to be absent for his education for two or three years, and that he would not touch any pay till he joined to do duty. Shortly after, James Murray joined his father at Utrecht.

December 25.—The Earl of Crawford died, having only survived his young wife two years.

April 24, 1750.—Lord George's daughter Amelia (not yet 18) was married at Arnhall to Lord Sinclair (aged 66). His Lordship died 2nd of November same year.

¹For concluding letter see vol. v., Appendix b. c. lxxi.

*James VIII. to Lord George Murray.*ROME, *Aprile 20th*, 1750.

I received not long ago your letter of the 12th March, & was very glad to hear again from you. I remark what you say about Lord MacLeod,¹ whose personal merit, as well as that of his Family, can never be forgot by me, which makes me the more concerned not to be able to assist him as I should desire, but still, as bad as my own circumstances are, I now send directions to John Waters at Paris to pay to your order 1200 Livres, besides your ordinary allowance, which 1200 Livres you will send to Lord MacLeod, but I cannot engage to give anything for the future, considering the straits I am put to myself, being obliged to maintain the Duke² in every thing, what he has of his own as yet being a meer trifle.

You may remember that last year I did not think it a proper time to recommend you to the Court of France, but now, seeing no motive to retard that step longer, I writ there lately to recommend you for a pension, & that in the strongest terms; as yet I have had no return to it, which I do not take to be a good sign, but whenever I have an answer I shall inform you of it.

There are now here some of your countrymen who came to make me a visit, and who are much your friends. I find they are very sanguin, notwithstanding late misfortunes, & seem to be of opinion that your countrymen are as able & willing as ever to enter again into action, and that they might even do much by themselves. I know not whether you would be of their mind, but what I see very plainly is, that whatever was done, we could expect no support from abroad, and were I to determine on the point, I should take it to be a very nice & important affair, which would deserve to be well examined, & that whatever might be undertaken should be well considered and concerted before the execution; But the situation I am in at present makes it but too easy to me to know what to say to them on this subject, for as I am an entire stranger to the Prince's views & projects, & do not so much as know where he is, it would be the greatest imprudence in me to take any step of any kind in the obscurity I am in, neither can I foresee how long that obscurity will last, but wish & pray that it may end well.

¹ Lord MacLeod's widow married, 1794, Lord George's grandson, John, 4th Duke of Atholl.

² York.

I thank God the Family here is well, as I hope this will find you, whom my constant friendship & kindness will ever attend.

JAMES R.¹

Lord George Murray to James VIII.

EMMERICK, 19th May 1750.

Sir,—Your Majesty's most gracious letter of the 20th April I received last post, for which I return my most humble and hearty thanks. I have notified to L^d Macleod your Majesty's favorable sentiments towards him, and shall remit from Holland the 1200 livres y^r Majesty has been pleased to gratify him with, and which I am convinced will be of singular use to him on the occasion to put him in some equipage at his joining the Regiment. I have in my own particular so many instances of your Majesty's Royal goodness and favor, that I cannot find words to express my grateful sense thereof. Would to God that my acknowledgments could be indeed useful and acceptable to your Majesty and Royal House. I should then with pleasure and cheerfulness spend the last drop of my blood in so glorious and just a cause. Your Majesty having had the goodness to recommend me to the Court of France is an additional mark of your royal remembrance, and tho' it could not be attended with the desired success, my obligation to your Majesty is the same.

I am very glad that some of my countrymen have lately had the honor to approach your Majesty's person. It will, I am sure, be an infinite satisfaction to them, and that it will, if possible, double their zeal in your Majesty's service, that they have had that happiness. The inveterate malace of your enemies by obliging your Majesty to be at such a distance from your Kingdoms, to hinder, as much as they possibly can, your subjects from approaching your royal person, shews how much they fear the effects of those virtues, who all that have access to know must admire; but their government is founded in wickedness, and is supported by falsehoods.

I am convinced, Sir, that the Highlanders will always persevere in their fidelity, and will be ever ready to enter cheerfully into action, when your Majesty in your wisdom thinks it proper to order them. How far they are as able as they were a few years ago, I cannot take upon me to say. Doubtless they have got a violent shock, and have lost many worthy

¹ Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

brave men ; but there are daily young people rising up, who, I hope, may supply these. As we all rest assured of your Majesty's paternal goodness, so that whenever you are pleased to order them to the field, they may promise themselves success not only from the justness of the cause, but that they may depend upon your Majesty's weighing thoroughly what measures are properest to be pursued to attain the desired end, as well as the most proper time for undertaking it. If a war should break out in the north, the Hanover family, whose interest are diametrically opposite to those of Great Britain, would in all appearance dip in the quarrel ; and as they have already injured the Swedish nation and the Prince successor in the most tender points, your Majesty knows best how far they could be prevailed with (it being visibly for their own interest) to send ten thousand regular troops under an experienced General, (and such an one there is of your Majesty's faithful subjects in the north,¹ whose immediate master would, I apprehend, not only agree, but promote the thing,) so as to strike the stroke at or near London, where, if the affair were not finally ended, at least the sinews of war could be secured. At the same time, without doubt, the Highlanders would make a powerful and useful diversion, especially if they had a 1000 men to support and countenance their rising.

If I have presumed to say too much on this subject, I humbly ask pardon, and I hope your Majesty will impute it to my ardent good wishes for your Service.

For my own particular, so long as I live, my obedience to your Majesty's orders shall be implicit, and next to that the orders of the Princes your sons. That the Almighty may prosper and preserve your Majesty and them, and in his good appointed time restore you to your Kingdoms, is, and ever shall be, the constant prayer of him who counts it his greatest honour and happiness to be, Sir,

Your Majesty's most faithful & ob^dt Subject & Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.²

In 1751 Governor Lindsay of the Isle of Man resigned his post through failing health, and his Grace appointed Captain Basil Cochrane, a son of the Laird of Ochiltree, his successor.

¹ Field-Marshal Keith.

² Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

Captain Cochrane was formerly in Lee's Regiment (44th), and was taken prisoner by the Highland army at the battle of Prestonpans.

His Grace to Captain Cochrane.

LONDON, *May 2, 1751.*

Sir,—I have of this date signed a Commission appointing you my Gov^r of the Isle of Man, which is sent under cover to Captain Murray to be deliver'd to you. As this is the greatest mark of my confidence of your Integrity & abilities, I make no Doubt but that you will fully answer my expectations in Discharging of that Trust for my Interest and the good of the people of the Isle.

I am, Sir, &c, &c,

ATHOLL.

Please deliver the Inclosed to the Deputy Gov^{rs}, after sealing it.

July 1751.—Lord George's second son, James Murray, joined his regiment, the Saxon Grenadier Guards, in Dresden, his pay as a lieutenant being fourteen rix-dollars (£2, 10s.) a month.

Lord George Murray to James VIII.

DRESDE, *30th July 1751.*

Sir,—I presume, with the most gratefull heart, to throw myself at your Majesty's feet, and to offer the poor tribute of my most faithful duty and humblest thanks for your royal goodness and bountyfull favours which, from my earliest youth, your Majesty has heapt upon me.

I have not words to express the sense I have of what I feel so deeply impress'd upon me by so many transcendant marks of so much undeserved grace. The letter your Majesty has had the bounty to procure me from the Cardinal Secretary of State is so glorious an instance in my favours of your royal approbation of my endeavours in doing my duty, that I shall always recon it the most presious as well as the most honourable instance of favour that a subject is capable to receive. I have the most perfect sense of its inestimable value. I shall ever revolve it in my mind with the gratitude I ought. I am persuaded it will have all

the effect your Majesty had the goodness to intend for me and my son, and the Apostolick Nuncio has assured me all the good offices that depend on him.

Lord Macleod is now in Finland ; as he has got a company, and that your Majesty has had the bounty to enable him to make his equipage, he will now be in a condition to do for himself. I am sorry at a time when your Majesty has many straits and difficultys to struggle with, I should have ventur'd to have askt in his name what I believe, indeed, he had great occasion for in the present situation of his going to Finland.

As he is a young man of real merite, I hope he will not only gain the good oppinion of those he serves under, but render himself capable of serving your Majesty & royal familie. I pray the Almighty in his good providence so to order it, as we may all have some opportunity to do our duty in our most gracious Sovereign's service, and that your Majesty's people may yet be blest by living under your benign Government, which, with my constant petitions to your royal person and familie, is the trust and hope of, Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutifull, and most faithful subject and Servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

Lord George Murray to Mr. Edgar² (extract).

The letter his Majesty has been graciously pleased to procure for me from the Cardinal Valenti to the Nuncio here, was so much above my hopes, and so great a recommendation it contained, that I cannot express my sense of the King's transcendant goodness, & I esteem it as the most glorious mark of his royal favour. The value of such a recommendation I perfectly comprehend, and it cannot miss of having the best effects for my son.

So soon as my son had got his uniforms, I presented him to the Velt Marishal and to the Comte de Bruhl, who introduced us to the King and Queen, and we were most graciously received. I was told since that the King said he would take care of my son, for he is not unacquainted with every thing that has hapned to me.

But much greater protection can I expect from them by the effects the Cardinal Secretary of State's letter will have. So soon as I received it I endeavoured to know when it would be agreeable to the Nuncio my

¹ Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

² Secretary to James VIII.

waiting upon him. He told General Magher that he expected me for some time, as he had received other letters he believed to the same effect that I had to deliver him.

We waited upon his Excellency the 22^d, and I need not say how well he received my son and me. Having so great a recommendation, I acquainted him of all the steps I had taken with relation to my son. He was pleased to assure me he would speak soon to the King and Queen, as also to the Prince and Princess Royal, & recommend my son, in the strongest manner, to their protection, and he does not doubt but the King will speak to the Field-Marshal in favours of my son.

The Nuncio was pleased to say that he would also talk to the Field-Marshal in favour of my son, who, indeed, I told him, was disposed to render me all the friendship possible, and had told me that he would in Winter have my son mostly at his house, for seeing company would be of great use to the young man, who is applying close to the Military & other exercises.

I shall only add that I have the most agreeable prospect of my son's advancement so soon as he can render himself capable of what is design'd for him, and which I entirely owe to the King my master's infinite goodness for me.

I shall set out in a few days on my return to Emmerick, being quite at ease about my second son, as he is recommended in so great and glorious a manner for him and me. . . .

My wife left me on the 20th of May. She had not so good a passage as usual, having been twelve days at sea. She was something out of countenance to go home to be brought to bed after 23 years marriage; for she was four months gone with child when she left me.¹

In August the Duke sent his nephew, John Murray, to travel in Holland, &c., accompanied by one Dr. Crichton and a servant named Christie.

August 24.—Captain Adam Drummond of Megginch wrote from Boston (America), where he was serving with Lascelles's Regiment (47th), informing his Grace that he had sent him six American wood-ducks to add to his collection at Blair.

¹ Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

*Dr. Crichton to His Grace (extract).*ROTTERDAM, Aug. 25th, 1751.

Mr Murray told me y^r Grace was desirous of having a picture of the Prince of Orange that was assassinated, as also of his 3rd wife, Charlotte de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Montpensier. The first I have found, and the picture Broker is in search of the other. For the first the man asks three guineas.

September 26.—Lady George was confined of a daughter at Arnhall, who was christened Charlotte.

The beginning of October Mr. John Murray entered the University at Göttingen, and Dr. Crichton returned home.

*His Grace to Mr. Murray (extract).*FINCHLEY, Oct^r 21 [1751].

Atholl House is mended since you saw it, but they will have good luck that lives to see all the rooms within furnished; but without doors it is to be hoped the place will be improving daily, both as to pleasure & profit.

*Lord George Murray to Mr. Edgar (extract).*EMMERICK, 30th Nov^r 1751.

I shall be pretty lonely this winter, for my wife, who was brought to bed of a daughter the middle of Sept^r, recovered but very slowly, and now the season of the year is too far advanced for her to venture so long a voyage, besides she has some thoughts that Lady Sinclair may come over in spring with her. I am told the Duke of Atholl is desirous of selling the royalty of the Isle of Man to the London Government, for which, they say, he is offered 15,000 pounds sterling. Had it not been for my situation, I believe he could not have done it without my consent; but I'm sorry to say it, and it is a truth, that he is full as much my enemy as any of that Government. He has sent my eldest son abroad, but, as I understand, with positive orders not to see nor correspond with me. All

this is the more extraordinary, that, thirty years ago, before he turned courtier, he seem'd to have very different notions.

Most people in Britain now regard neither probity, nor any other virtue—all is selfish and vainal. But how can I complean of such hard usage, when my royal master has met with what is a thousand times more cruel. He bears it like a Christian hero; ill would it suit me to repine. I thank the Almighty I never did, and I think it my greatest honour and glory to suffer in so just and upright a cause.

Upon receipt of the nott you sent me I have gott the carabin, for which I return you many thanks.

I expect to kill a wild bore with it; but I fain hope Providence may still order it that I may make use of it at Rome, and, if all succeeds to our wishes, how happy should I think myself to send you, when you return to Angus, a good fate stag, shott in the Forest of Atholl with your own gun.¹

Humphry Harrison to Mr. Murray (at Göttingen).

LONDON, 9th Dec^r 1751.

Upon our arrival at Dunkeld, where we stay'd only five days, the first thing that touches the eye was the cascade, which you know looks extreemly fine either from the "Mouse trap" or any other place. . . .

Now for Atholl House. Nothing done at the new Gardine, as the burn took upon the men the most of the Summer, which is put out of danger from below the Stables to the Bridge.

The Octagon was almost compleated when we was there, the Roe buck horns put round the Room above the Windows, which has a very good effect, and upon the whole it is a charming thing.

A Hall or Saloon to be built betwixt the old Great Stair and the round Stair, 21 foot Square, and to be about the same height. This is to make an entrance into the great house in place of a Stair at the outside, where it was intended.

Herculass Wilderness and all the ground there very fine. Diana's Wilderness in great Beauty. The Roness [rowans], Water Alder, &c., &c., was as full of frute as they could hang. The deer thriveing.

A large Building, such as Barn, Bires, and Stables compleated at the Mains. The Dairy Building finished, Inhabited, and very comodious.

¹ Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

In short, every thing exquisitely fine. The Sealing in Low Dining room, Old House, Rich and Grand.

Our stay at Atholl House 18 days, then for Dunkeld 6 days there, then for Finchley. I ever am, Sir,

Your most ob^t, most humble Servant,

H. HARRISON.

Abstract of work done at Blair in 1751.

The old garden behind the house laid down in grass, and a new garden commenced near Hercules' statue.

Old dairy (north) wing finished and occupied by Nicholas Harrison and his daughter.

The small drawing-room and bed-chamber adjoining (Tea-room) and the stucco (picture) staircase finished.

The Octagon¹ and Temple of Fame² built.

This year his Grace bought Balghoulan, near Pitlochrie, from Robertson of Auchleeks for £512.

At this date the Duke had a country-house at Finchley, as well as a town-house in Saville Row, London.

James VIII. to Lord George Murray.

ROME, February 14th, 1752.

I thank you very kindly for your letter of the 1st Jan^y, & your good wishes on the new year, the sincerity of which you have proved on all occasions. I cannot but take very kindly of you the thought you had of coming and making me a visit here, and whenever your circumstances and situation may allow of it, you may be sure it shall always be a satisfaction to me to see a person for whom I have so much value & esteem. I am glad to find by the letter you send me from Lord McLeod that the small supply I sent him came so seasonably to him, and I desire when you write to him you would make him my kind compliments in return to his letter you now send me; my son³ returns you many in return to those you

¹ A summer-house on the hill east of Old Blair.

² A circular summer-house in Diana's Wilderness, in which were small historical busts in plaster, which are still about the Castle. The walls of the summer-house fell in in 1864.

³ Duke of York.

send by Edgar. I hear sometimes the Prince¹ is well, but that is all I know of him these many months past; God grant all this may end well at last.

I thank God my health holds out pretty well; I wish this may find yours as good as I wish it, and you may be well assured of the continuance of my sincere friendship & kindness for you.

JAMES R.

May 2.—Dr. Crichton, writing from London to Mr. Murray at Göttingen, mentioned that the Duke, Lord Stormont, the Solicitor-General, and George Ross were the late Earl of Dunmore's executors, and that he had ordered all his estates in England to be converted into money, and purchases of land to be made in Scotland.

In May, the King having moved from London to Hanover, Mr. Murray, by advice of his Grace, set out for that place for the purpose of being presented to his Majesty.

Mr. Murray to His Grace.

HANOVER, *June 7, 1752.*

My Lord Duke,—I writ to your Grace the 29th of last month that I was arived at Hanover, and had waited upon the Duke of Newcastle, who appointed me to call again upon the Wednesday following, which when I did, he said he was sorry to acquaint me I could not at present have the honour of being presented to his Majesty: That he had heard a good charecter of me, and advised me to return to Gottingen soon. He said he wondered that I had not letter from your Grace to him, for then it might have been otherways, but that he hoped I would be always dutiful to his Majesty and government. I said that had always been my education and principles, and always should be. . . . [The following day] as I was preparing for my return to Gottingen, I received a message from the Duke of Newcastle that he desired to see me next day; so I went accordingly. His Grace told me his Majesty & the Ministry had heard a good charecter of me, and were

¹ Prince Charles Edward.

very well satisfied with my conduct and behaviour; that it was not my fault, but the faults of my Relations, made me stand in a bad light at Court, but he advised me to stay some days longer, and he would see if I could be presented. On Sunday last I had the Honour to dine with His Grace, since which time I have had no opportunity to see him, for the Revews begun on Monday and continue all this week, and he goes to them at 7 and stays till dinner, after which no company are admitted except those who are invited, so I am at present in a state of uncertainty, which prevents my having much pleasure here. I wish to be again at Gottingen, yet the hopes of being presented to the King obliges me to stay. My Lodgins, coach & vallet de louage comes to near a guiney a day, and evry thing else is at the same extravagant rate, which is another reason for wishing to be away. . . .

I am your most dutiful nephew and most obed^t humble Servant,
 JOHN MURRAY.

Mr. Murray to Lady Charlotte Murray (extract).

HANOVER, June 9th, 1752.

Dear Madam,— . . . About an English mile from the town there is a fine forrest, before which lies a large plain; in the middle of it there was a tent pitched, in which the King sat, with the chief people of the Court standing round him. The Prince of Hess was also there. At 7 o'clock on Monday morning the general review begun. There was 16 Regiments of foot, and 18 squadrons of Horse, about 16 thousand men, drawn up in a line about two English miles in lenth. They fired three running fires, which was just like thunder. After that they all marched by the King's tent, which was all that was done the first day.

On Tuesday there was a special rewev of 8 regiments of foot, who first marched by the tent, afterwards went through all their exercises, then drew up in two lines of Battle & made a sham fight, which was as pretty as a real one, but not quite so dangerous.

On Wednesday 6 Battallions of Dragoons were reviewed, and 10 Battallions of Horse. They all marched by the tent, and afterwards went through a great deal of exercise & firing.

On friday the other 8 Regiments of foot were reviewed. They drew up in two square Battallions, with 2 Cannon on every corner. The Cannon

fired 10 or 12 times in a minute, the Grenadiers threw Grenades, and all the men were firing as fast as they could, which made a great noise & was extremely fine to see. His Majesty is in very good health, & was extremely well pleased with the troops. For my own part, I think it is impossible to have finer men or in better order. The foot are all dressed in red, as are the life Guard, but the other Horse & Dragoons have white cloaths. They were vastly well mounted, especially the King's Houshold troops, consisting of about 500, evry horse of which I dare say in England would be worth 50 Guineys.

The King went last night to his summer quarters at Harenhousen.

Mr. Murray to His Grace.

HANOVER, June 10, 1752.

My L^d Duke,—Since I writ last to your Grace I have often had the pleasure to dine with the Duke of Newcastle, and to speak about being presented; and on Friday last L^d North told me that the Duke had desired him to carry me to Court next day, & that I should have the Honour to kiss His Majesty's Hand, which you may be sure gave me a great deal of Joy and satisfaction; I accordingly went with him and was presented. . . . After His Majesty had been in the room a quarter of an hour he went to dinner; there were 4 Ladies and 6 gentlemen dined with him. As soon as ever he Drinks all the courtiers make a low bow and retire. I went again at night; the company meets in the large Orangery at Harenhousen, which I have formerly described. When the King has been there about half an hour he sits down to cards on the right hand of the door, as does as many of the company as please at the Bottom of the Room; they play till 10 and then break up. I intended to have gone to Gottingen today, but I found it is proper to stay till after Thursday, which is the accession day, and a great festival here, so on Friday next I shall return to Gottingen and persue my studies with double dilligence. . . .

My journey and stay here have been very expensive, but as I have at last gained my point I am the less uneasy at it; the cloathes are the greatest article, but they will serve me another time. . . .

Y^r Grace's most ob^t & obliged humble Sv^t and Dutiful Nephew,

JOHN MURRAY.

An Account of Expences at Hanover.

| | Dol. G. Gross. | |
|---|----------------|----|
| To a suit of Silver Laced Cloaths and making | 135 | 16 |
| For a suit of Cloaths with a narrow gold Lace | 87 | 0 |
| For 3 pair Silk Stockings & 3 pair worked Ruffles | 30 | 0 |
| For 4 weeks Lodging at Hanover & Coach & Hired Servant | 123 | 0 |
| Breakfast, dinner, supper & expences | 28 | 0 |
| Hire of a coach for a month | 12 | 0 |
| For post horses & post boys from Gottingen and back again | 26 | 8 |
| Total | 442 | 0 |
| Received | £82 | |
| Laid out | 78 | |
| Ballance | £4 | |

His Grace to Mr. Murray.

FINCHELY, 19th June 1752.

Dear Murray,—Since I wrote last, which was 10th Aprill (but you do not mention that you received it), I have received four letters from you dated 19th Aprill, 23^d May, 7th and 10th June. Those from Hanover gave me very great uneasiness at your not being admitted to be presented. It seems that you should have had a letter from me to the Duke of Newcastle, or that you should not have gone to Hanover without first haveing leave; but your last letter gives me the greatest satisfaction to find that you have at last been presented, which you should look upon as a mark of graciousness, considering the situation you are in, and I hope that you will allways give the strongest proofs of your being well affected, and that you will ever continue so. I believe by the time that you receive this Lord Fincastle will be arrived at Gottinghen; he is in the same unhappy situation with you. I am extreamly glad to hear that he is not only very well affected, but also extreamly cautious not to give umbrage even in appearances, for as soon as Earl Dunmore died his mother came to town from Lincoln to make her son a visit, and he wisely and prudently refused either to see her or have any conversation with her. By the by your mother is gone abroad, and has carryed

Lady Sinclair with her;¹ these Ladys' proceedings may hurt me in some people's eyes, how much more must it affect you. Dear Murray, I am tyred writting on this disagreeable subject. Let our good Behaviour make amends, which is all that can be done by us. Pray make my compliments to L^d Fincastle, and do him all the service in your power, as he will be much a stranger at first.

Y^r most faithfull humble Servant,

ATHOLL.

Mr. Murray to Her Grace (extracts).

GOTTINGEN, June 25th, 1752.

Madam,—I return'd yesterday from Hanover, after having staid there a month, and I must beg your Grace will excuse my not having writ to you during that time, especially as I was in so unsettled a way for the first three weeks I did not go to Court, so had time enough to see what was most curious in and about Hanover. . . .

There is a large work of freestone to prevent too much of the River Line coming into the town, over which the water falls in three large sheets, but it is not near so pretty as the Cascade facing the summer house in the long walk at Dunkeld. I was one day to see a Collection of Relicks which it's said the Roman Catholicks have offered the King great sums of money for, but his Majesty won't part with them for fear they may be put to a wrong use and praid to, but strangers are permitted to go see them. I took a list of some of these, which are as follows:—An Arm of S^t John the Evangelist, another of Mary Magdelin's, & another of S^t Bartholmew's, with the knife that fleid him; Diferent Bones of S^t Peter, Mark, and Luke; S^t John the Baptist's tooth; a great deal of our Saviour's cross, 2 of the thorns of his crown, some pieces of the pillar where he was whipt, a piece of 6 inches square of the table where he eat the last supper & instituted the Sacrament—it was of red marble; a piece of the same size of the floor of the house where our Saviour was born; an old gown formerly belonging to the Vergin Mary's Mother, with a vast number of heads, arms, legs, feet, & other curiosities of the like nature, & which, as the story goes, have all worked miricles. They have all fine cases either of gold or silver, & most of them are very richly ornamented with Jewels.

¹ To visit Lord George.

Humphry Harrison to Mr. Murray (extract).

FINCHLEY, 30 Aug. 1752.

I had almost forgot to acquaint you of my Lord Duke's goodness to me In apointing me Majr General In the Isle of Man. The word Majr General sounds very high, but the profitts is but small. It requires no attendance, so that I shall be the same with his Grace.

In 1752 the formation of the new garden at Blair was continued, and the house at the head of the old avenue (a little west of the present gardener's house) was removed.

This year the Duke purchased Balachandie from Robert Mackintosh for £500.

In the spring of 1753 Mr. John Murray returned home from Göttingen and took up his residence with his Grace.

July 2.—The Duke gave a commission to James Stewart of Urrard to be keeper of the hill of Beinnavrachy, and to preserve the deer that frequent the same from being destroyed, and with power to him to kill deer on the said hill.

James VIII. to Lord George Murray.

ROME, *July 9th*, 1753.

I received last month when I was in the country your letter of the 20th May. It is always a satisfaction to me to hear from you, and to be assured of the continuance of your sentiments towards me, of which I am & ever will be truly sensible.

I take very kindly of you the offer of service you make me on the occasion of your two friends returning home again, but I shall say nothing in return to it, but my hearty wishes for their wellfare, & compliments to them, for I am an entire stranger to all the Prince's affairs, & do not so much as know where he is, so that it would be very imprudent in me to take any step in such matters, for fear of doing more hurt than good, and I can only pray & wish that he may be well directed.

I am a stranger in particular also as to the motive which carryed poor Archibald Cameron¹ into Scotland, but whatever it may have been, his

¹ Brother to Lochiel. Arrested when on a visit to his native land, and executed at Tyburn, 7th June 1753, for his share in the '45.

hard fate gives me the more concern that I own I could not bring myself to beleive that the English Government would have drove their rigour so far.

My son returns you many kind compliments to those you make him. I thank God we are both in good health. I heartily wish this may find you the same, and have nothing further to add at present but the assurance of my constant value & friendship.

JAMES R.

During August Lady George, accompanied by Lady Sinclair and her son James, returned to Scotland from Utrecht, leaving her little daughter Charlotte with Lord George.

October 23.—Lord George's eldest son, John, was married to his first cousin, Lady Charlotte, Duke James's daughter, at Dunkeld.

From the following reply to an invitation to the wedding it appears that Miss Moray of Abercairny acted as bridesmaid on the occasion.

ABERCAIRNY, 26 Sept. 1753.

Lady Fannie Montgomerie, Abercairny, and Miss Moray Return their Compliments in the most Respectful manner to the Duke of Atholl, My Lady Dutchess, and Lady Charlotte Murray, reckon themselves extremly honour'd with the Invitation they have got, and too much done Miss Moray, who in a particular manner begs her Respects to Lady Charlotte, and assures her Lap: she shall go through with the honour she has done her as well as she can.

They shall all have the honour of being at Dunkeld 22nd of October in the evening. Abercairny only return'd late last night from Inverera.

On her son's marriage Lady George made over to him the estate of Strowan.

Work done at Blair in 1753.

The scroggy wood on river bank of Tulloch planted.

Wall at upper end of old bowling green taken down.

Colonnade built from porch of new house to old house.



JOHN MURRAY

AFTERWARDS 3RD DUKE OF ATHOLL, K.T.
ELDEST SON OF LORD GEORGE MURRAY

b. 1729. *d.* 1774



LADY CHARLOTTE MURRAY

DAUGHTER OF 2ND DUKE OF ATHOLL (SUCCEEDED AS BARONESS STRANGE, 1764)

WIFE OF JOHN MURRAY, AFTERWARDS 3RD DUKE OF ATHOLL

b. 1731. *d.* 1805

Peat-house, coal-house, and larder built.¹

Carpenter's shop and cart-house built.²

Cistern-house to supply the house built at the corner of Diana's Wilderness.

Great stone stair in old house taken down.

Stoves in old kitchen (smoking-room) built up.³

New road made in old avenue, with a Chinese gate at the lower end.

Chinese bridge built over the Banvie opposite the centre of the old house.

Bridge built over the Banvie at low end of new house.⁴

Lodge built at back of Octagon.⁵

Moss cleaned out of new garden loch.

Bridge in garden built.

East wall of garden and alcove built.⁶

West wall of garden heightened.

The stone eagle on the garden wall was purchased this year.

At Bunkeld a Chinese temple was erected in the haugh, now called the American Gardens, then known as the Haugh of the Cummings.

April 18, 1754.—Lord George's daughter, Lady Sinclair, made a second marriage with James Farquharson of Invercauld.

Lord George Murray to Lady George (extract).

UTRECHT, Apr^l 27, 1754.

A trow Friend of yours found a treasure in them mountens, preferable to all that the mines of Perou and Potosi contean, I mean a confirmed state of health, with using no other medicines than the Goat whey and exercise. Litle did he then imagine that a person then in embrio would be as this day Mistress of them Vales and Mountens, where he was in a Poetick manner returning his thanks to Esculapious for the benefacts he had in them partes bestowed upon your Friend.

¹ The old slaughter-house buildings, pulled down 1877.

² Pulled down 1878.

³ One opened again and made into a lavatory, 1871. The other made into a recess for books, 1885.

⁴ Removed by 6th Duke about 1850.

⁵ Pulled down by 6th Duke.

⁶ Alcove made into a summer-house, 1888.

Lord George was alluding to his own stay in Glen Tatnich (on Invercauld's ground) in June and July 1732, Lady Sinclair having been born in the previous May.

Cardinal the Duke of York to Lord George Murray.

ROME, June y^e 10th, 1754.

I take mighty kindly of you your obligeing Letter of the 6th of last month. The King, not being as yett quite recover'd of the Rehumatisme he has been troubled with this month past, comands me to thank you for your Letter of y^e 16th.

You may be very sure that wee shall both join with pleasure to what can contribute to your interest or satisfaction, and in my particular I shall allwise be glad of occasions to give you proofs of my sincere esteem and friendship.

HENRY, Cardinal.

In July Invercauld set out for Braemar with his bride, being accompanied on the journey by Lady George and his brother-in-law, Mr. Murray.

In crossing the Lornty, near Blairgowrie, an alarming accident happened to the carriage containing the two ladies, which is described in the following letter, written three weeks later by Mr. Murray to his brother.

Mr. Murray to Lieutenant James Murray (extract).

[DUNKELD], August 8th, 1754.

My Mother was at Invercauld for a month. Both she & my sister had a very narrow escape going there, which is looked upon as almost a miracle. About a mile on the other side of Blairgowry there is an ugly bridge, over a den near 40 foot high, from which the country people have for their diversion thrown the ledgings down. Upon this Bridge the leading horse took a fright, and jumping to one side, pushed the shaft horse over, and went over himself with the boy upon his back, who, when he found himself going, gave a great scream, which made Mr F. and I look back. We saw the two horses just going over with the chaise; we flew directly to try if we could save them, and fastned upon the wheels

& the wood work of the chaise, & by the assistance of Mr Farquerson's groom we three held the chaise up, without the help of any ledging, the horses dangling for about 2 minutes like trinkets at a Lady's watch. At last, to our great joy, they broke off, and fell into the water, which gave us an opportunity of Bringing the chaise again upon safe ground. The Ladies were not a bit the worse for their fright. The boy & the horses after such a fall were gott up so little hurt that they went on with the chaise to Invercald 21 Scotch miles. That very boy, who escaped such an imminent danger unhurt, was that day sevennight dround at Invercald swimming for his diversion, which is very like predestination. You may guess how strong Mr F. and I were at the time when I assure you that Lady Sinclair held a rain in her hand till it broke double, which no 4 men in Scotland could break single; in short, it was a most remarkable preservation.

From the above account it would appear that the chaise horses were harnessed tandem, Lady Sinclair driving the wheel horse, whilst the postilion was mounted on the leader. The two gentlemen were probably riding in advance. Mr. Murray at once sent an express back to Dunkeld, addressed to Mrs. Harrison, so as not to alarm Lady Charlotte, who was shortly expecting her confinement.

Her Grace to Mr. Murray (extract).

DUNKELD, 11 at night [July 18, 1754].

Dear Mr Murray,—I can not alow myself to neglect takeing the first oportunity of congratulating you, and the whole company, Mr Farquerson in particular, upon the narow but providential escape that Lady George and Lady Sinclair has made; I hope in God they will find no bad efects of the Fright. Had I met with it I beleive it would have turned my head.

I am sure my heart bete at least three strokes for one that it used to do for an hour after reading your letter. . . .

Dear Mr Murray, yr very aff^{at} mama and redy Humble Servant,

JEAN ATHOLL.

During July Lord George's son, Lieutenant James Murray, proceeded to Besançon in order to attend the Academy there.

August 2, 1754.—Lady Charlotte was confined at Dunkeld of a daughter, who was named Charlotte.

During 1754 the following lands were acquired by his Grace:—Lettoch, from John Robertson, for £727; Dalcapon, from Robertson of Fascally, for £1334; and Arnagaig, from — Stewart's heirs, for £438.

The estate of Nairne (Strathord) having been forfeited after the '45, the Barons of Exchequer decided to put it up for sale during this year. The Duke of Atholl expressed a desire to purchase it; but as he was obliged to attend Parliament in London, he empowered Moray of Abercairny to buy it for him. The sale was to have taken place on December 11, but, in consequence of Abercairny's being laid up with an attack of measles, it was postponed for a couple of months.

Work done at Blair in 1754.

New kitchen¹ at north-west end of house built, with a yard and offices.

Old turnpike stair (in the wall between the present great drawing-room and tapestry bedroom) taken down.

Windows, doors, and chimneys altered in the high dining-room² (great drawing-room).

South wall of garden built.

A rock built at west end of new garden, and four statues set up there.³

James Moray of Abercairny to His Grace.

EDR, 6 Febr^y 1755, *Eight at night.*

My Lord,—I am rejois'd this post not only affoards me the honor of wishing y^t Grace Joy of the happy prospect you mention'd to me of an increase to your Family, but also of an addition to your Estate, having had the

¹ Made into two rooms, Charter Room and North Room, by 7th Duke.

² This room was restored in 1881.

³ The four statues of the Seasons, now in the wall (1894). They cost 13 guineas.

honour this day to purchas for your Grace from the Court of Exchequer the wholl land Estate of Nairn as it presently stands at twenty years purchas, and what ever errors Captain Nairn and his Doers might have formerly faln in to, none could behave better than they have done in every circumstance of this affair since I came to town, which is ten days ago, and as Mr Stewart will at more length inform your Grace.

Tillybelton, who has been some days in town, has relied upon your Grace doeing him the favour he wanted, and made no opposition, which I own I gave him hopes of, but your Grace will have time to think of that; wou'd to God we could know you intend soon comeing amongst us, and considering what I have drunk in Lucky Wilson's to y^r Grace and Family's health, little more can be expected of me but to assure y^r Grace of the constant and faithfull attachment of, My Lord,

Y^r Gr/s most ob^t & faithfull humble Serv^t,

J. MORAY.

The inclos'd Mr Stewart told me I should write Capt: Nairn after the sale, which I have done. Since I had the honour of your Grace's I have drunk more to Lady Charlotte and her happy advancement than her La^p will pledge me in this twelve month.

Abercairny to Captain Nairne.

EDIN^{BH}, 6 Feb: 1755.

Sir,—Whereas I have this day purchased the Lands and Estate of Nairne and others from the Barons of Exchequer, exposed to sale by them in four different Lots, I hereby Declare I made that purchase for the behoof of His Grace the Duke of Atholl, and in concert with you on these terms. That I should make over my right in favour of the Duke upon his paying for the benefit of the family of Nairne five years purchase of these Lands so bought by me according to a just Rental, with five hundred pounds sterling besides, and his Grace being likeways bound to pay for the behoof of the family of Nairne what further sum I should think it reasonable for him to pay on account of the price to the exchequer, being lower than if these Lands had been bought from a private proprietor at the rate of a twenty years purchase.

I am, Sir, &c, &c,

J. MORAY.

2 D*

Mr. Andrew Stewart, writing from Edinburgh on the same date to Mr. Murray in London, mentioned that the price paid for the estate was made up as follows:—

| | | | |
|---|-----------|----------------|-------------|
| Twenty years' purchase to the Exchequer | . £15,017 | 9 | 11 |
| Five years' purchase to Captain Nairne | | 3,754 | 7 8 |
| The extra to him | | 500 | 0 0 |
| Total | | <u>£19,271</u> | <u>17 7</u> |

Thomas Bissett to Mr. Archibald Stuart.

PERTH, 13th March 1755.

Sir,—Kincairney¹ and I mett yesterday morning at Stanlie, and rode allongs the estate of Nairne.

I observed the woods and planting has been very much Destroyed and Neglected. Kincairney has now given very pressing orders to preserve them, which I wish may have a good effect; he is a good natured easy man, which the People seems sensible of.

All the Park dykes are in a graceless condition, and indeed it wou'd appear, and I am told, that they never were but silly fences. It wou'd take a considerable sum to repair them, which Kincairney says the Barrons² will not agree to pay.

There are three meall millns upon the estate; the mill of Stanlie appears to be in good order in the walls, roof, and Machinry, and as for its subterraneous mill Lead, I am told it was cleansh'd and repaired last summer at a good deall of expence, and that it's thought to be at present in good condition. The mill of Loak appears to be sufficient, but the Mill of Colly is a sheamfull sight; Kincairney promised to try and get something done to it betwixt and Whitsunday. And as for the Tennents' Houses and Biggings in generall, they are neighbourlike.

The House of Stanlie is wind and water tight, but I cannot say so much for the House of Nairne; I am told it is pretty well in the roof, but the windows are in a shoaking order. It's ten thousand pitys that such a Fabrick shou'd be neglected.

I find the Tennents of the ground of Stanlie are in a kind of Delemma

¹ Patrick Murray of Kincairney, factor on Nairne.

² The Barons of Exchequer.

about who is to be their master; they have been told that Capt: Nairne is to get a right to the Barrony of Stanlie, but I hope and wish my Lord Duke will keep all intire.

As I am not acquainted with, nor had not an opportunity to examine into, the state of the Tennandry, I can say nothing at all with respect to the Improvement of ye estate, only I am told there are but very few Tacks existing, which is so far lucky for the purchasser.

The fishings of Stanly are much talk'd of as being low rented, but they are at present under a three year Tack granted by Kincairney in vertue of his Factory.

The Inclosed is from Kincairney to Mr. Harrison. . . . I cou'd wish this was communicate to my Lord Duke, as his Grace will expect to hear of my being at Nairne. I am respectfully, Sir,

Your most ob^t & most Humble Servant

THO. BISSETT.

During 1755 Lord George's third son, George, was sent to school at Mr. Rose's, at Kew.

June 30.—Lady Charlotte was confined at Dunkeld of a son, who was named John.

Lord George Murray to Mr. Edgar (extract).

EMMERICK, 22^d Sept^r 1755.

I imagine things are now come to such a length that it is not to be expected that matters can be made up between France and the present court of London: so that there is all the reason imaginable to expect that his most christian Majesty will find that the only method to be pursued, for his own interest, is to endeavour, with all his might, to assist and support our Master's just right and the royal cause. Had the ministers of the Court of Versailles, 10 years ago, been persuaded that the supporting his royal Highness the Prince, at the beginning of his attempt, in a proper manner, with the best measures they could take for the interest of their Master as well as that of the King our gracious Sovereign, I think I do not say too much if I affirm that His R: H: could not have failed of success.

I had at that time opportunities of knowing the sentiments and way of thinking of most people in Great Britain. Many, very many, wished

well to the royal cause. Great numbers would have looked on, and would have turned to the side that had success. And for those who for their own interest were zealous for the Hanoverian Government, they would easily have been mastered, if, as I have said, his R: H: had been supplied from the beginning with a proper force. But there is no recalling what is past. I believe that in France they are convinced now of the error they were in at the time.

If ever they resolve to espouse the cause of the royal family, it must be in earnest, and their main view must be to that. Then there would be no difficulty of adjusting limits in America.

I have been much longer upon the subject than I intended. Perhaps zeal has led me too far, &c., &c.

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

His Grace to Mr. Murray (extract).

LONDON, 11 Dec. 1755.

If the wether be tolerable I hope planting will go on; if I remember right, there are a good many sweet chesnuts in the Kitchen Garden; let them be planted out with the other trees att Pulnagates,² which is a very ugly name for so prety a place as it will be. I wish you could think of another name for it. Remember I foretell that it will be by much the finest and pretyes thing that is either at Dunkeld or Blair, and of consequence in the whole world!

Dear Murray, Adieu.

This year the estate of Wester Kinnaird or Balmacneil was bought from Dr. Gilbert Stewart for £734.

Work done at Blair in 1755.

Wall built round East Mains field.

Balvenie pillar in Drummond field built.³

Wall built both sides of the high-road from the Kirkton to the Bridge (the old Blair Bridge).

¹ Stuart Papers. Appendix to "Browne's History."

² Pol n'an Geata (the Pool of the Gate), which has since been corrupted into "Polney," or "Polney Loch," which is absurd.

³ The old name of the pillar on Tom na Croiche (Gallows Knowe). Drummond is very probably a corruption of Drum Ard (High Ridge).

Kirkton Bridge widened by 12 feet.

Built part and heightened rest of wall on north side of Diana's Wilderness.

Walls built on two sides of churchyard.

Bridge built over Srabhach¹ at end of Minigag Street.

Small arch built at foot of Glen Srabhach.

Arches built over the King's Road at the Red Gate and in the Glieb.²

Parapet wall built opposite the York Cascade.³

At Dunkeld the cave near Black Linn of Bran was made, and the grotto on the bank of the Tay at the King's Haugh.

Mr. Murray to His Grace (extract).

DUNKELD, Jan^y 1756.

Your thirty wooden cannon are finished; the man brought in his bill to me, which I desired Mr Harrison to pay. They are 2^s 6^d a peice, as formerly agreed; it's more than they are worth, but I don't believe the turner has made a farthing by them, for they were very hard work. I have order'd them to be laid in the new green house. I almost wish the fort was on top of the King's Seat. I am there almost every day, and don't think the vew from it inferior either to Windsor or Sterling Castles.

From the following it appears that Duke James at this time had an eye to the estate of Lude.

Murray of Kincairney to His Grace (extract).

KINCAIRNY, 22 Jan^y 1756.

First time I was at Lude after your Grace left Scotland, I mention'd to the Lady the excambion of Lude with Stanley, and found her no wayes

¹ Srabhag (Strawy) is the name of the little burn which comes down the Blair Uachdar road and runs through Old Blair and into the Banvie just above the bridge; it formerly ran into Banvie below the bridge, and the hollow through which it ran between the Kirkton and the Banvie was called Glen Srabhag.

² The first was probably the arch over the road at the East Lodge, pulled down 1883, and the other the arch leading to the nursery. The Manse was on the east side of the arch opposite the present houses. Minigag Street was the street leading from the churchyard gate towards Blair Uachdar road.

³ York Cascade, the name given to the Falls of Fender. Two fumarts were killed in the garden this year.

inclinable to make any exchange. Her son was modest, and quite diffident of his own Judgement in an affair that required riper years to determine than he had yet attain'd. . . . Y^r Gr^s most ob^t Servant

PAT: MURRAY.

In March his Grace gave up the house he had on lease in Saville Row, London.

In May Lord John Murray's Regiment (42nd) was sent to America. Before sailing, nearly twenty new officers were appointed, and 500 recruits joined the regiment.

The following young Athollmen received commissions as Ensigns, on the Duke's recommendation:—

George McLagan, son of the Minister of Little Dunkeld.

Patrick Balneavis, son of Edradour.

Patrick Stewart, brother to Bonskeid.

James VIII. to Lord George Murray.

ROME, July 26th, 1756.

I received here since my return from the country your letter of the 25th June. I am always glad to hear from you, and the assurances of your attachment towards me are the more acceptable that I do full justice to their sincerity. I have the comfort to hear often that the Prince is well, but I remain always in the dark as to his projects & secrets; he must have, to be sure, strong motives to observe so great a silence towards me, and especially in so great & critical a conjuncture. I cannot but be more than usual anxious for his welfare & solid interest.

You will have heard that I have been much out of order last winter, but I thank God I cannot much complain at present of my health for one of my age. The Cardinal Duke returns you many thanks for your compliments, & always remembers you with friendship & esteem.

I desire your Lady may find my compliments here, and you may be always assured of the continuance of my friendship & kindness on all occasions.

JAMES R.

During 1756 George Murray, Lord George's third son, was moved from the school at Kew to the Academy at Portsmouth, preparatory to his entering the Royal Navy.

John Scott (Plumber) to Major Harrison.

EDIN^R, 14th Aug^t 1756.

Sir,—I received yours dated Aug^t 7th, which you may believe what Layes in my pouer shall not be a wanting to serve His Grace the Duke. The pump I mead I was bound to keep her for a bottle of wine for each time I came to His Grace's house; you having Employed others, and not called me to give me my bottle, the pump being out of tune, if others had not meddled my bottle wood been very chepe to His Grace.

I'll use my indever to be at Dunkell foure or five days before the lead comes over, that I may gitt my work don before I goe to Blair to lay the lead there.

I have spoake with M^r Chessells; he can not Lett me know what time the boat goes off. The timber teakes so long time of sawing, but the Lead has been reedy ten days after your commission. My kind compliments to your spouse, and M^{rs} Macke; you'll accept of the same from

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN SCOTT.

Rattray of Craighall to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

CRAIGHALL, 2nd Oct. 1756.

Sir,—I had the pleasure of yours, and have sent by the Bearer the Spear Head and Javelin head which I promised you. They are thought to be Roman, and were both got in the foundation of an old house of circular form near this place.

Now that I have got a list of what Scots coyns you have, I shall endeavour all I can to Incess your number.

I offer my respectfull compliments to Lady Charlottc, & whcrein I can serve you you'll find non more willing than, Sir,

Y^r ob^t & most humble Servant,

JA. RATTRAY.

October 15.—Lieutenant James Murray of the Saxon service (second son of Lord George) was taken prisoner of war on the Elbe.

In November Lady George returned to Scotland from Cleves, accompanied by her daughter Charlotte.

Mr. Murray of Strowan to Lady George Murray.

DUNKELD, Dec^r 12, 1756.

Dear Madam,—We are very glad to hear by your last Letter that you and little Charlotte are well. I told the D. that you intended to wait on him after Christmass, to which he answered that it would be very improper, after what was past, to see you in his house. What he means by it I don't know, but this I know, that it gives us the greatest uneasiness, and Joyn'd to some other causes of discontent, has convinced us that till we have a house of our own we cannot be happy. . . .

I ever am your aff^{ate} & Dutiful son,

JOHN MURRAY.

This year the Duke purchased the estate of Balalochan and Haugh of Newbigging (for £721) from Thomas and James Bissatt of Glenelbert.

Work done at Blair in 1756.

Sunk fence built from old laundry to Diana's Wilderness.
 Tower and clock-case built north-east corner of that fence.¹
 Bridge built over Banvie, south end of Diana's Wilderness.
 Sunk fence continued from Diana's Wilderness to the corner at the limekiln.²

An ice-house, with summer-house above, built there.³

¹ It stood on the sunk fence near the north corner, where it ends, and was removed by 4th Duke when present clock-tower was built.

² The lime quarry was on the slope of the hill to the south of the loch.

³ The summer-house was removed in 1873. It formed an upper floor to the ice-house, and was a plain square building with door and two windows in front and a fireplace in the back wall.

Sunk fence continued round thicket¹ to bottom of hill.

Walk made round thicket on top of sunk fence.

Hedge between Lagan Leisg and lawn removed.

Old summer-house² in garden removed, also the old swine yards.

North wall of garden heightened.³

House built round Balvenie pillar.

Balvenie arch over the high-road built there.

Walks in Tom na croiche plantation made.

Walk to York Cascade made.

East side of Den above the Smith's Croft⁴ planted.

Walk 20 feet broad made there.⁵

At Dunkeld the Fort was built.

Mr. Murray of Strowan to Lady George Murray.

DUNKELD, Jan. 2, 1757.

I spoke two or three times to the D: about your coming here, as did the Baron and Mr Stuart, but without effect; he says he has no disobligation at you, but that his enemys made such a use of the Letter which was intercepted as did him a great deal of harm; that you coming here so lately from abroad would give them another handle, which, however groundless, they would not fail to make use of to his prejudice, and to ours, and that of two evils the less is to be chose. . . .

Inclosed is a Letter from Jamy, which came in one for Lady Charlotte, in which he informs us that he is at present much at a Loss how to dispose of himself or what to do next. . . .

I see by your copy of Jamy's Letter from Pirna that he has given his parole not to serve against the King of Prussia. You know all our

It was panelled with wood, and had a pretty stucco ceiling. The picture of birds in No. 7 was over the fireplace, and the Spanish Armada prints in the Derby attics were on the walls.

¹ The ice-house clump.

² This was the summer-house in which Lord Crawford entertained Sir Andrew Agnew and his officers after the siege. It stood near the seat at the end of the walk at the low side of the ice-house clump.

³ Pulled down and rebuilt a little farther back by 7th Duke.

⁴ The nursery.

⁵ Made into a drive by 7th Duke.

schemes were for his coming into the British service some time or other. I think there is two strong reasons for its being now; one is that he is at present quite Idle and unemploy'd; the other is that this is the best time to gett him a commission at home. If he getts a Leutenancy it is the same rank he has at present with better pay, but I have reason to hope that in changing services he will gett rank by being appointed a Captain. The Duke has been so good as to recommend him in strong terms to one¹ who I believe will both have it in his Pour and Inclination to do this for him. Mr Andrew Stuart will inform you of particulars.

In the mean time Lady Charlotte and I think it very proper that he come here Immediatly, and I dare say you will be of the same oppinion. I have spoke to the Duke about it; he thinks it will be very right, and the sooner the better. I have sent my Letter to Jamy opne to Mr And: Stuart (who is to show it you and to learn from you how to direct it), that he may give the young man credit for £20 (to bring him home) from the Duke. . . .

Duke of Argyll to His Grace (extract).

LONDON, Jan^r 6, 1757.

As for the two persons your Grace recommends, that of Stewart² is not practicable, because he is a lowlander & cannot speak the Highland language, which is a rule laid down in these levies; the other³ would require an application to the King of Prussia, which, with another objection that I know too well would be made, renders it improper to attempt. . . .

Y^r Gr/s most ob^t & faithfull humble Serv^t,

ARGYLL.

This year two new Highland regiments were raised, the one by the Hon. Archibald Montgomerie (afterwards Earl of Eglinton, and brother-in-law to Abercairny), and the other by the Hon. Simon Fraser of Lovat, who had commanded the Frasers in the '45, and whose father, Lord Lovat, had been executed in 1747.

¹ The Duke of Argyll.

² Brother to Mr. Andrew Stuart.

³ James Murray.

Hon. Simon Fraser to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

DUNKELD, 19th Feb. 1757.

Dr Sr,—I have seen some men that are brought in here by a Constable, some of whom say they have had money for Col: Montgomery, & one in particular was inclinable to prefer enlisting w^t me to any other. As I suppose they came here by the Duke's order, I wou'd not attempt doing any thing without his Grace's permission. At same time, as his Grace was so good as to say he wou'd not discountenance my recruiting, if any of the men prefer enlisting w^t me to going elsewhere, I flatter myself His Grace will have no objection to my getting any who are still unengaged, & make that choice. The man I mentioned to have already made it, had received no money & was perfectly disengaged, but I wou'd do nothing w^t him without asking his Grace.

Pardon this trouble. I am just setting out. God bless you, & do me the justice to believe me very much your faithful serv^t,

S. FRASER.

Hon. Simon Fraser to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

MULENAIRN, *Satud. night*, 19 Feb. 1757.

Dr Sir,—When you did me the honor to call this afternoon, the number of fiddle faddle letters I had just been writing had quite jumbled my Judgement, & it was only upon the road that I began to consider that you said the men I saw were sent for by my Lord Duke for Col^l Montgomery. I had been informed they were impressed to fill up the quota of the county, & seeing a constable with them made me think it was so, & the men themselves thought so. But I suppose the case is that one or two of them may be wanted for that, and the Duke means to make use of it to give the rest to Col^l Montgomery. If I had understood that to be the case when I saw them, I should not have interfered so far as to ask one of them to make his choice of me, & I beg to recall any demand I made of that sort. If they are men the Duke intended & sent for to be given Col^l Montgomery, I wou'd not presume to interfere w^t His Grace's intentions so far as to take them if they came and offered themselves, & I shall be obliged to you if you'll do me the honor to present my compl^{ts} to His Grace, and tell him this, & that when I took the liberty to send to you before I took them to be impressed men for the county.

I beg leave to offer my compl^{ts} to the Dutches & Lady Charlotte.

Pray don't be angry w^t me for this trouble, but believe me w^t great regard, D^r Sir,

Y^r most ob^t & most hu^{ll} serv^t,

S. FRASER.

My paper & ink are very bad, but the place affords no better.

The Countess of Eglintoun to His Grace.

KILMOURS HOUSE, *March 22, 1757.*

My Lord Duke,—The vallouable evidences of your Grace's Friendshipe to my young Highlandere calls forth my wholl heart in acknouedgments. I offer y^r Gr/ that tribute of thanks due to such unheard of goodness, which must give a charecter to my son wen out of his oun countrie, & fix both him & all his kindred & friend for ever your Grace's devoted servants. I veraly believe that non but the members of the antient Society cou'd be so fixt in friendshipe, or give such extencive proofes of it as your Grace has don. I still reflect with delight upon that Institution, & in Solitude delights myself with recolection undipendant of others. To bestow such felisity is the privelege of true worth, & for such Injoyments I am indebted to your Grace, whom I hope will still honour me with the title of, My L^d Duke,

Y^r Gr/s most ob^t & much obliged Servant & Sister of the Old Sociaty,
S: EGLINTOUNE.¹

In March Lieutenant James Murray returned home to Scotland.

Duke of Argyll to His Grace.

LONDON, *July 9th, 1757.*

My Lord,—This is to acquaint y^r Grace that there is to be 3 additional companies raised for L^d John Murray's Regiment, I believe the nomination of the officers will be left to me, & consequently to your Grace; there will be 3 Captains, 6 Leiftenants, and 3 Ensigns, & 100 men each company. The raising the men will be the merit of those who shall desire to be officers, and if any can be found who have served in Holland, so much the

¹ Third wife of 9th Earl of Eglintoun, and mother of Colonel Montgomerie.

better. Your Grace will have your thoughts on this, but don't promise any body till you let me hear from you; I shall speak to L^d John, but I will bid him consult you, & will plainly tell him that the commissions must all be given gratis. The other two Highland Regiments will likewise have the same addition made to them. I am with the greatest Truth and Respect, My Lord,

Y^r Gr/s most faithfull & ob^t h^{ble} Servant,

ARGYLL.

Sir Patrick Murray of Ochertyre to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

OCHERTYRE, 24 July 1757.

D^r Sir,— If you still continow in the minde of takeing some days deversione in the moors, I thinke nixt weeck would be a verry good time, and Amilrie would be a verry proper Pleace for our meeting, and by what I can learne we will have the best chance of good sport in the moors round it belonging to my Lord Duke, My Lord Broadalbine, Sir George Stewart, and Logie. You'll please write L^d Broadalbine and I shall write Sir George and Logie. Glenshervie and the west end of Glen Almond is quite potched, so it won't be worth our while to go there.

If you agree to nixt weeck I thinke we should meet Munday at Amilrie, and you should send your tent and things there Saturday, where I shall send mine, and a tent bead for you, and have the Tents pitched and every thing readdy against we meet there Munday. Colonel Mure Campbell¹ inclines to be of our party, if agreeable. Amilrie is so neare Dunkeld that you can heare every day how all are there. If you agree to nixt weeck, please write a cart with y^e bearer to Haggert, the Landlord at Amilrie, as I promised to give him prevouse advertisment, that he might have provisions of different kindes provided for us. . . .

Dear Sir, y^r most ob^t humble Servant

PAT: MURRAY.

In the meantime the Duke had nominated his nephew James for one of the additional companies in the 42nd.

July 28.—Culdares wrote to Mr. Murray of Strowan, sending one James Menzies, a piper, who, he said, he could

¹ Of Lawers.

keep as long as he liked to assist in recruiting Captain James Murray's company.

Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

OCHTERTYRE, 4th Aug. 1757.

D^r Sir,—I had the pleasure of yours this morning, and am of your opinion that, as to present appearance of weather, there is little pleasure to be expected in the moors, but as you propose letting us have the Pleasure of seeing you soon in this country, I hope the weather will turn better, and we still may have a party on the moors, which I can assure you is no bad recruiting place, for wherever we are all the Idlers of the neighbourhood will resort.

I have sent the Bearer by Abercairny and Gorthy to let them know our meeting at Amilrie is put off.

I hope we'll see you, and the Captain, and M^r Ross Murray¹ here Sunday or Monday first.

Offer my compliments to you and all at Dunkeld. I am, D^r Sir,

Your most ob^t humble Servant,

PAT. MURRAY.

By the Duke's recommendation the three additional companies in the 42nd were given to

James Stewart of Urrard.

James Murray, his Grace's nephew.

Thomas Stirling of Ardoch.

Three of the new subalterns belonged to Atholl, viz., Lieutenant Alexander Menzies, Ensigns Duncan Stewart, son of Derculich, and George Rattray, son of Dalralzion.

The end of October the additional companies marched from Perth to Glasgow, where they remained till November 15th, when they marched to Greenock and embarked in transports for Cork *en route* to America.

¹ Son of Lord Edward, jun., a claimant to the estate of Balnagowan.

*Roll of Captain James Murray's Company, 42nd Highlanders,
November 1757.*

| | | | |
|-----------|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Sergeants | William Grant. | Corporals | John Leslie. |
| „ | Charles Robertson. | „ | Robert McLachlan. |
| „ | John McQueen. | Drummer | Alan Campbell. |
| Privates | George Bremner. | Privates | Thomas McNab. |
| „ | Donald Brown. | „ | Alexander McPherson. |
| „ | Duncan Cameron. | „ | James McPherson. |
| „ | John Campbell. | „ | Donald McRaw. |
| „ | Donald Conacher. | „ | Robert Menzies. |
| „ | William Cowie. | „ | William Munro. |
| „ | James Douglas. | „ | John Murray. |
| „ | Donald Drummond. | „ | Alexr. Nicholson. |
| „ | James Duncan. | „ | Alexr. Norrie. |
| „ | Alexr. Fraser (1). | „ | Alexr. Reid. |
| „ | Alexr. Fraser (2). | „ | Alexr. Robertson. |
| „ | William Fife. | „ | Angus Robertson. |
| „ | Robert Grant. | „ | Archibald Robertson. |
| „ | Alexr. Irvine. | „ | Charles Robertson. |
| „ | James Kennedy. | „ | Donald Robertson. |
| „ | Duncan McAndrew. | „ | James Robertson. |
| „ | Donald McDiarmid. | „ | James Robertson. |
| „ | Archibald McDonald. | „ | John Robertson. |
| „ | Archibald McDonald. | „ | Peter Robertson. |
| „ | Donald McDonald. | „ | James Scroggie. |
| „ | John McDonald. | „ | Alexr. Stewart. |
| „ | William McDonald. | „ | Alexr. Stewart. |
| „ | Peter McFarlane. | „ | Alexr. Stewart. |
| „ | Alexander McIntosh. | „ | John Stewart. |
| „ | Robert McIntosh. | „ | Robert Stewart. |
| „ | Robert McIntosh. | „ | Thomas Stewart. |
| „ | William McIntosh. | „ | William Stewart. |
| „ | Donald McLean. | „ | John Wighton. |
| „ | Donald McLean. | „ | John Wighton. |

The following letter refers to probably the first pheasants imported into Atholl :—

Mr. Andrew Steuart (Edinburgh) to His Grace (extract).

GLASGOW, 7 Nov. 1757.

Before Duke Hamilton left this cōuntry I applied to him for some pheasants which y^r Grace wanted to begin a breed at Dunkeld. He has given me a warrant for one cock & what hens can be spared. He was sorry that at present he could not give a warrant for a greater number, as they are not in such plenty as he expected, but if those now to be sent prove insufficient y^r Gr/ will get a fresh supply when wanted. I should be glad to know whether y^r Gr/ chooses to send one from Dunkeld for them, or if I shall order a person to go from Hamilton with them.

During November the Duke received the following petition :—

Unto ane High and mighty Prince, James, Duke of Atholl, Lord of Man & the Isles. The Petition of me, Gregor M^cEwen, your Grace's Tenent of Rie Riach, a new possession in Glen Bruar.

Humbly Sheweth, that when one Macklauchlane having taken a Tack of Rie-riach for a new possession, as Gregor Murray & Patrick M^cGlashan thought their sheallings prejudged thereby, they contrived his ruin by an alleadgance of his killing Deer. That after I took a Tack of that same possession from y^r Gr/, I was told that I behooved to court Pat^k Mackglashan's freindship or I might expect the same treatment, and therefore I was making presents to him to the value of a crown yearly, whereof, y^r Gr/ being informed, I was discharged to own Pat^k Mackglashan any more, but to pay the addition of the crown yearly to my rent, which I have done; But ever since he, Patrick, has been plotting against me, first by outhounding Constables from time to time to seize upon my only support, a son of mine, who in my old age manages my farm, altho' he is not fitt for the army, being much under size, and refused the other year on that account when impressed; and now, to crown all, he has got two of his creatures, the two Toschachs, to accuse

me of Deer killing, altho' they are notour Deer killers themselves, carrying Guns & Dogs to the Forrest for that end; and one of them, who was servant to M^r Mackglashan, was so far assisted by him that he sent North for a Deerkilling Dog which he kepted for his use, and allowed the use of him from time to time to the Forrest, and now thinks to get himself indemnified for accusing & witnessing against me, as was done formerly to one of those Toschachs, a notour Deer killer, for informing that he had given a piece venison to Gregor Murray's wife, which was done in revenge of his hightning the rent of the Miln of Blair and taking it over the Mackglashans' heads; and as I find my possession is the Bone of contention, and that I can neither have peace nor safety untill I give it up,

May it therefore please your Grace to receive up my Tack from me and suffer me to depart in peace, and I shall ever pray, &c.

December 5, 1757.—Lady Charlotte gave birth to a son at Dunkeld, who was christened James.

December 10.—Lady Sinclair (wife of Invercauld) was confined at Invercauld of a daughter.

Captain Murray (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

YOUGHALL, 11 Dec. 1757.

My Dear Brother,—This is to let you know that I am just now in good health, & safely arived here with my company.

My Transport, together with the other five, set sail on the 1st cur^t in the evening along with the convoy; we had a fair wind and good weather untill Sunday, early in the morning (when we were past Waterfort in our way to Corck), about eight, there came on one of the most prodigious storms, that the sailors said they had never seen the like before.

About two in the afternoon we lost sight of the convoy & all the Transports, & have not yet any sure accounts whether they have got all safe into harbours or not; But since I came here I hear that there was five or six ships lost on this coast that day. The storm abated somewhat Monday morning, but it continued bad weather untill Friday evening, during which time we were often in risk of our Lives, especially twice,

once being within two yards of a great rock, & the other time when we were in two fathom water going on a sand bank.

During all that time we were near severall harbours, such as Dublin, Waterfort, Corck, & others, but all without success.

Saturday & this day we had good weather, by which means we got in to harbour. . . .

Y^r most aff^{te} brother,

JAMES MURRAY.

During the year the Duke purchased Kincaigie in the Bishopric, and Achnahoser in Tulliemet, for £1402 and £570 respectively, which had been feued to Commissary Bissatt.

Work done at Blair in 1757.

Entrance hall built with outside stair.¹

Parapet walls² built on each side of hall along front of house.

Parapet walls and outside stair built on south side of house.

Old wall round court at north end of house pulled down and new wall built.

Cistern-house³ and two houses of office built there.

House built over St. Bride's Well⁴ in Glaic Claidheamh park.

Sunk fence built from thicket to corner near Mains.⁵

Sunk fence from that corner built to slaughter-house.⁶

Wall built from that corner to Mains.⁷

Byre and fold built at the Mains.

During 1757 Nicholas Harrison was succeeded as farm grieve at Blair by William Harland.

¹ The old "Horn Hall," pulled down in 1869 when new hall was built.

² The remains of the parapet walls were discovered in 1869.

³ Made into a lumber-house, 1877.

⁴ Pulled down in 1877, and well made into a reservoir.

⁶ Pulled down 1877.

⁶ Pulled down 1867.

⁷ Pulled down 1867.

February 1758.—George Murray was appointed to H.M.S. *Newark*, Captain Holburne, the cost of his outfit being as follows :—

| | | | |
|--|---------|--|----------------|
| Francis Watkins's Bill, Optician | £0 15 0 | Jos. Graham, Books & Stationary | £6 5 0 |
| A Sea Chest | 0 11 6 | Jas. Calhoon, for Shoes | 1 19 0 |
| Padlocks and packing for do. | 0 10 10 | Richd. Tayler, Stockings, &c. | 3 12 6 |
| James Cullum, Sword Cutler | 5 18 0 | David Douglas, Taylor | 20 11 0 |
| Margt. Gordon, Shirts, Sheets, &c. | 17 1 11 | Himself pocket money and expenses to Portsmouth. | 5 5 0 |
| Eliz. Forfar, Hatter | 1 14 0 | | <u>£64 3 9</u> |

Major Harrison to His Grace (in London) (extract).

DUNKELD, 12th March 1758.

I am extremely glad the Sowed Bed¹ answers so well ; it would been a great pitty not to preserved so valuable piece of Furneture as that sowing. If the work be put on in good taste, the notion I have of this new Bed that it will be more noble then even your Dam'd Damasks or Mohair.

March 14.—Lord Dunmore, writing from London to Mr. Murray of Strowan, mentions his estate in Scotland is now called Dunmore Park.²

Mr. Murray of Strowan to His Grace.

DUNKELD, M^{ch} 19, 1758.

The Billiard table is brought from Nairn and is setting up in the Gallery. Mr Sandeman says it will be much better than any new one, as it can't warp or cast. It is narrower and longer than most I have seen, and fills one end of the room very prettily.

April 22.—Captain James Murray (42nd) wrote from New York to Mr. Murray of Strowan, announcing his safe arrival in America after a voyage of eleven weeks from Cork.

The end of April, H.M.S. *Newark* returned to Portsmouth from a cruise, and Mr. George Murray was invalided ashore with an attack of the itch, which he had caught at the Academy.

¹ Probably the bed in the Derby Room at Blair, which was worked by Lady Derby and her daughters.

² It had been purchased from Lord Elphinstone, and was previously called Elphinstone Tower.

Mr. Murray of Strowan to His Grace (extract).

DUNKELD, May 16, 1758.

I made out my Journey to Atholl House early yesterday morning, and am just returned. Every thing there is really in vast Beauty; it is far the prettiest place ever I saw except Dunkeld, and almost exceeds even that.

The Lawn is all finished except a little bit on the north side of the Burn; it has a fine effect, and the House stands nobly now the ground about it is properly smooth'd.

As the Great Drawing Room exceeds description I shall not attempt it, but only say that it is all finished except the hangings; the niches at each end, in my opinion, are very well executed, and have a fine effect. The only thing about the Room I would wish alter'd is the glass in the windows, which is very much waved, and not a peice with the rest of the finishing. The Staircase is not near don.

Your Summer House at the corner of the Lawn is almost finished, and will be very pretty.²

. . . The great clock, for the honour of Dundee, has not been alter'd since you left Atholl House, and has but varied two minutes from the equation.

Major Harrison to His Grace (extract).

DUNKELD, 16 May 1758.

L^d Dunmore's Fishers is claiming a right to a Fishing that by all I can learn they never was in possession of.

I very accidentally heard of it, being about five weeks ago at the "five mile house,"¹ meeting with some of the Nairne Creditors, when Mr Rutherford, writer in Perth, and Kincarny happened to call there.

Rutherford said that complaints was made to Lady Dunmore against the Stanley Fishers for interrupting Lord Dunmore's Fishers, and desired I would go upon the spot with him & Kincarny, which we accordingly did. The only step I took while there was to desire your Grace's Fishers to take care to fish such parts of the water that they always have been in use of fishing, and not to allow any persons to Incroch upon what has always been understood to belong to the Lands of Stanley since Taymount was seperated from that Barony.

¹ An inn on the old road (on New Mill Farm) near south end of Five-mile Wood. It got its name from being five miles from Perth.

² *Over the Ice-House at the west corner.*

*Colonel Lord John Murray (42nd Highlanders) to His Grace
(extract).*

[LONDON], 22 June 1758.

This morning my L^d Ligonier told me that yesterday His Majesty was pleased to honour the Reg^t under my command with the Title of "Royal Highland Reg^t," & to order it to be augmented with seven companys.

This year an expedition was undertaken by Lieutenant-General Abercromby, the British Commander - in - chief in America, against Fort Ticonderoga. This fort is situated on a point between Lake Champlain and Lake George. The 42nd Highlanders formed part of the force, and Captain James Murray accompanied his regiment.

July 8.—General Abercromby made an unsuccessful assault on the fort, being repulsed with a loss of 88 officers and 1745 non-commissioned officers and men killed and wounded; the loss of the 42nd alone being more than one-third of the whole, as follows:—

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------|
| Officers | 8 killed | 17 wounded | = 25 total |
| Sergeants | 9 " | 10 " | = 19 " |
| Drummers and pipers | 2 " | ... " | = 2 " |
| Rank and file | 297 " | 306 " | = 603 " |
| | <u>316 killed</u> | <u>333 wounded</u> | = 649 total |

Amongst the officers of the regiment killed and wounded the following were from Atholl:—

| | | | | |
|------------|---------|-----------|------------------------|------------|
| Ensigns | Patrick | Stewart | brother to Bonskeid | } killed. |
| " | George | Rattray | son of Dalralzion | |
| Captains | James | Stewart | of Urrard | } wounded. |
| " | James | Murray | 2nd son of Lord George | |
| Lieutenant | Patrick | Balneavis | son of Edradour | |

Captain James Murray (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

ALBANY, 19 July 1758.

My dear Brother,—The last letter I wrote you was dated from Fort Edward Camp, about 18th June. We proceeded on to Lake George, (where Fort William Henry formerly stood, which was taken & destroyed by the French last year,) where we remained untill the 5th cur^t, and then the whole army embarked on the lake in batteaus that held 23 men with a month's provisions; all Artillery stores wer likewise embarcked, and every thing else belonging to an Army. We were divided into Brigads; there was in all about five thousand regulars & twelve thousand Provincials; we had also light Infantry & Rangers, who had Whale botes, which are the lightest & best going boats that can be. We put off about eight & got fairly into the Lake, which I take to be about twenty miles long & not above two mile at the broadest part of it; there is severall small Islands, which are quite covered with wood, & all round the Lake is very hilly & quite covered with woods, as the most part of the country is, at least what I have seen on't. This Lake abounds in fine trout (the meat of which is red), parch, suckers, & severall other sorts of fish; there is also plenty of beavers. On the side of the Lake there is plenty of Deer, but I have not seen any since I came to the country. Sometimes when I have been out on command I have killed Rattle Snakes (about four foot long & as thick as the small of one's leg) with eighteen Rattles, which all together might be about four inches long, (they say some have twenty or more). They have both teeth and a sting; the Rattle being at the tail makes them that they can stand up on end, & spring a short way at one; when touched they make a great noise with their rattles; their bite is not so bad as caled, for it can be easily cured with oil or Salt. They smell exactly like a goat (rather ranker if possible) before they are seized, but afterwards have almost no smell. They make the richest & best soup that can be, which I eat of & liked much; the meat is but insipid.

The 6th we disembarcked at the lower end of the Lake; in the morning our light Infantry & rangers had some scirmishing with the French Piquets; L^d How was killed at the second shott (who is very much regreted). There was taken that [day] about a hundred & fifty prisoners, five of which were officers; they had a great many killed, so that very few of their Piquets escaped, which consisted in all of about

350. The next day, being *the 7th*, we were making preparations to invest a fort called Theenderora (which is five mile from Lake George, & is situate on a neck of Land that runs in to Lake Champelain, as to the dementions of that Lake I can't say) and marched within a mile and a half of it that evening. The next morning the light Infantry made the French Sentrys & small posts retire to their Intrinchments; for the French had an Incampment about half a cannon shot before their fort, and were intrenched after the following manner. They had large cut trees, one laid above another a man's height, & in the outside there was brush wood & logs for about 15 paces from it, which made it impossible to force their breastworck without cannon, which we had not taken up that lenth as then; they were also under cover of the fort, so if we could have beat them out of their trenches they could have retired pretty safely.

Between one & two we marched up to attack the trenches, & got within twenty paces of them, and had as hott a fire for above three hours as possibly could be, we all the time seeing but their hats & the end of their muskets. About half an hour before we were obliged to retire I received a shott through my thigh, after which I stayed a few minutes, but finding if I stayed any longer my thigh would turn stiff, & loosin a good deal of blood, I with help got into the road, & that evening, with Captain Gordon Graham our Paymaster, got into a whailboat and against the next morning got to the upper end of Lake George, & so was transported on here. I am confined to my bed, but the Surgeons say my wound looks as well as can be expected, nor is there any sort of danger in it, as it has only grased the bone, so I shall be well soon again. I am in perfect good health, have a good appetite, & sleep tollerably well.

Our regiment has suffered much; there was the Capt:, Lieutenant, & six Subalterns killed on the spot, & since the Major & a Lieut has died of their wounds. The Collonell, four Capt^s, & twelve Sub^s are wounded; one hundred & eighty men killed, and two hundred & eighty wounded.¹

None of the other Reg^{ts} losses were near so great. Capt: Stewart was not touched. Capt Stirling nor Farquarson were not there, so are well, but Lieut. Farquerson, Sandy's younger Brother, was killed. Lieutenant David Mills, my Lieutenant, is not ill wounded, & is pretty

¹ Captain Murray was not correct in his estimate of the casualties.

well, so if you would inform his Father in Law, Mr Hamilton of Hutcheson, who stays near Glasgow, you would oblige me. Nele Stewart at Perth knows him.

I received a letter from L^d John, 15th May, letting me know you were all well, which gave me a great deal of pleasure, but it would much more so to hear from some of you, for it is very long since I had that satisfaction, the last being at Irland, for L^d John wrote me no particulars.

Offer my humble duty to my dear Mother & elsewhere due, & best love to dear Lady Charlotte, Lady Sinclair, George, Charlotte, & Invercauld, & best Blessing attend all the young ones. My kind comp^s to Shusy Moray,¹ & tell I had her hair about my neck when I received my wound, which might have probably gone to my heart if it had not been wounded already.

I ever am, Y^r most aff^t Brother,

JAMES MURRAY.

The following is the roll of Captain John Reid's company of the 42nd, which was commanded by Captain James Murray during the expedition :—

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------|
| Capt. James Murray, | <i>wounded.</i> | Priv. William Anderson. | |
| | | „ John Buchanan, | <i>killed.</i> |
| Lieut. Kenneth Tolmie. | | „ Angus Cameron. | |
| „ David Mill, | <i>wounded.</i> | „ Hugh Cameron, | <i>killed.</i> |
| Ensign Charles Menzies. | | „ William Carmichael. | |
| | | „ Donald Carr, | <i>killed.</i> |
| Sergt. James McNab. | | „ Hugh Christie. | |
| „ John McAndrew. | | „ Alexr. Cumming. | |
| „ John Watson. | | „ James Farquharson, | <i>killed.</i> |
| „ Alexr. Cumming. | | „ Alexr. Fraser. | |
| | | „ Donald Fraser. | |
| Corpl. John Cumming. | | „ Donald Fraser. | |
| „ Jonathan Grant. | | „ Hugh Fraser. | |
| „ Angus McDonald. | | „ Hugh Fraser, | <i>killed.</i> |
| „ John Stewart. | | „ John Forbes. | |
| | | „ John Graham. | |
| Drum. Walter McIntyre, | <i>killed.</i> | „ Donald Grant. | |
| „ Alan Campbell. | | „ James Grant. | |

¹ Abercairny's daughter.

| | | | | | |
|-------|----------|---------------------------|-------|----------|----------------------------------|
| Priv. | John | Grant. | Priv. | John | McLaren. |
| " | John | Grant. | " | Roderick | McLean. |
| " | William | Grant. | " | Neil | McLeod. |
| " | James | Gordon. | " | Norman | McLeod, <i>killed.</i> |
| " | William | Gordon. | " | Donald | McLeish. |
| " | Donald | Kennedy. | " | Donald | McLeish. |
| " | Donald | Kennedy. | " | William | McLinnion. |
| " | John | Kennedy. | " | Neil | McMillan. |
| " | George | McAdam. | " | Donald | McNeil, <i>killed.</i> |
| " | John | McArthur. | " | Neil | McNeil. |
| " | Donald | McColl. | " | Hugh | McPhee. |
| " | Donald | McDiarmid. | " | John | McPhee. |
| " | Angus | McDonald. | " | Alexr. | McPherson. |
| " | Archd. | McDonald. | " | Donald | McPherson. |
| " | Archd. | McDonald, <i>killed.</i> | " | Donald | McQueen, <i>killed.</i> |
| " | James | McDonald, <i>killed.</i> | " | James | Michall. |
| " | John | McDonald. | " | Donald | Murray. |
| " | Lachlan | McDonald. | " | James | Murray. |
| " | William | McDonald, <i>killed.</i> | " | James | Rea. |
| " | Neil | McEachern. | " | Alexr. | Reid. |
| " | Peter | McFarlane, <i>killed.</i> | " | Alexr. | Ross. |
| " | John | McGillivray. | " | Donald | Ross. |
| " | Leonard | McGlashan. | " | Hugh | Ross, <i>killed.</i> |
| " | Alexr. | McGregor. | " | John | Ross. |
| " | Donald | McGregor. | " | Donald | Robertson. |
| " | Robert | McGregor. | " | Neil | Shaw. |
| " | John | McIntosh. | " | John | Sinclair, <i>died of wounds.</i> |
| " | Alexr. | McIntyre. | " | John | Smith. |
| " | Donald | McIntyre. | " | Walter | Spalding. |
| " | James | McIntyre, <i>killed.</i> | " | Alexr. | Stewart. |
| " | Hector | McInven. | " | Charles | Stewart, <i>died of wounds.</i> |
| " | Hugh | McKay. | " | Donald | Stewart, <i>died of wounds.</i> |
| " | Alexr. | McKenzie. | " | Walter | Stewart, <i>died of wounds.</i> |
| " | Hugh | McKenzie. | " | Robert | Urquhart. |
| " | Hugh | McKenzie. | " | Donald | Watson. |
| " | John | McKenzie, <i>killed.</i> | " | Donald | Wheat. |
| " | John | McKenzie. | " | William | Wishart. |
| " | Roderick | McKenzie. | " | Duncan | Wright. |
| " | Dougall | McLachlan, <i>killed.</i> | | | |

The above roll was made out at the muster in October, and contains the names of those who served in the company for

the previous six months. Unfortunately the names of the non-commissioned officers and men who were wounded at Ticonderoga are not shown.

This year a second battalion was added to the 42nd, the officers being mostly recommended by his Grace and Lord John Murray.

Lord John Murray to His Grace.

LONDON, 22^d July 1758.

Dear Brother,— . . . I have enclosed a list of the officers, & directed two of your Nomination to Mr Murray, that they might be certain of getting them as soon as possible, as it's expected the whole to be raised by the first of October. I wish you had shown me your list before you left London, as some were recommended by us both, which was unnecessary.

I was in hopes of getting Mr. Murray¹ a Company, but the Duke of Argyle said he could not do it, as he was not before in the Army, & all the Captains were in the British or Dutch Service, but did not know it till the list was in the War Office. He seemed surprised you had not sett him down in your list, but I told him you knew I had a promise of a Cornetcy for him, which I supposed the reason.

There is one of your Recommendation, Lt John Stewart,² in the Dutch, for a Comp^y, who was in the late Rebellion. I wish you had not named him, as he is the only one of that denomination in the Reg^t under my command, which the King has been pleas'd to honour with the Title of Royal Highland Reg^t, and I am sure will be very disagreeable to the Corps, & if you think proper to write of it to the Duke of Argyle, & propose Lt John Murray instead of him, I don't doubt it may be done. . . . As he is now a Lieut^t the same objection does not hold, & will be doing him a great Service to get the Rank of Captain. . . .

Yr Gr's most aff^{te} & most humble Servant,

JOHN MURRAY.

¹ Lord Edward's son.

² Of Stenton. He served in the 42nd Regiment till 1771.

Captain James Murray (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).

ALBANY, 17th Aug^t 1758.

As I observed in my last, our Reg^t has suffered greatly. The Major has since died of his wounds. Sandy Farquerson has got a Lieutenancy by seniority, which one would not have thought that the youngest Ensign of the additional would have been so soon a Lieutenant. . . .

Since the engagement there has been several people scalpt at different times going up to Lake George, by French and Indian partys, for they have even scalpt women. . . . I am recovering pretty well & can walk about, altho' I am much pain'd in my knee, but hope will be able soon to join the Reg^t.

The news of the defeat at Ticonderoga did not reach London till August 20th, when General Abercromby's aide-de-camp arrived with despatches.

Sir Robert Menzies to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

CASTLE MENZIES, 31 Aug^t 1758.

Sr,—As I know not whether you have had a letter from Captⁿ Murray since the unlucky engagement, and as I rec^d one on tuesday last from Jammie Stewart,¹ dated from Lake George Camp, 14th July, thought proper to acquaint you of what perhaps you know more than I do. The Captain is in the list of the wounded, but Jammie writes me that it is not dangerous. His own wound was in the left arm, so did not prevent his writing.

The affair has been hard upon their Regiment, having 7 officer killed and 18 wounded. Capt: Murray is Gen^l Abercrombie's principal aid de camp,² and Jammie Stewart is with the old Reg^t in place of Capt. Reid, who was not able to undergo the fatigue, which was the reason Capt: Murray and his being took away from their own companies, which with Capt: Stirling's are at Fort Edward. This is the substance of what he writes to me. I suppose this misfortunate attempt of theirs will serve them for this year's work. . . .

¹ Urrard.

² Captain Murray made no mention of this himself, so it was probably a misstatement.

Sir Robert Menzies to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

RANNOCH, 6th Sept^r 1758.

Sir,—Since writing you last I heard from Ed^r of a letter received there from an officer of L^d John Murray's Regiment, after the unlucky 8th of July, wherein he says that non of the 19 wounded officers were in a dangerous way excepting two, viz: Lieut^s Arch^d Campbell and McIntosh. This account is dated from the Camp the 16th of July, which is two days later than mine was. I am persuaded therefore that Capt: Murray has been in a good way for recovery, otherways it would have been mentioned. I hear many were wounded in the right arm and employed friends to write for them.

I Received a letter from Jammie Stewart, dated camp at the end of Lake George, 26th of June. He writes that they were within two or three days to embark on board Whale boats and Battoes for Ticonderago; that, besides Garrisons left for escorting provisions, their Army consisted of about 15,000 men, whereof 6 Regiment and 6 companies of Regulars, the rest Provincials.

That, after the additional companies arrived at F^t Edward, the best men were picked out to compleat the Regiment in place of sick and old men that were put in their place. That, as Captⁿ Reid was left behind sick at Albany, he was appointed to his company and Reid to the addit^{ls}, as Captⁿ Abercrombie was to Captⁿ Murray's company, Capt. Murray being the General's principal Aid de camp. That the add^l companies, with Capt^s Stirling, Reid, & Abercrombie, &c, were left at F^t Edward, where they had nothing to do but to Garrison the Fort and divert themselves. In Jammie's letter of the 14th July from Lake George camp, he said that contrary to the expectation of every body they had been repulsed with great loss. Their Regiment had 500 killed & wounded. That all the captains were wounded, less or more, excepting Captains McNeill and Allan Campbell. He mentions Maj^r Campbell having gote his right arm wounded; but not dangerous, and that his son, L^d Alex^r Campbell, had gote his arm broke betwixt the elbow and shoulder, but that he was in a good way and in good spirits. I wrote you formerly that he mentioned Captⁿ Murray wounded, but not dangerous. As you seem to be a stranger to what was a doing amongst them, I write this more particular than I did

my last, as I then imagined you would have better intelligence of what was going on than I had, besides I am glad to have it in my power to give you ease and comfort as to the Captain. . . .

Y^r most ob^t & humble Serv^t,

R. MENZIES.

Hon. Henry Drummond¹ to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

BANNER CROSS, NEAR SHEFFIELD, YORKSHIRE, *Sept. 10, 1758.*

Dear Murray,—I take the first opportunity that I could find, without breach of trust, to inform you of what I am sure will give you great pleasure, which is that L^d John Murray is upon the point of being married to a very sensible pretty young woman, of about 26, with a very great fortune, which is generally call'd in this country £3000 p: annum, and the very lowest I have heard is £50,000.

I was sent for by L^d John the very day I wrote you from London, and arrived here (along with the Dutchess of Gordon) about two hours ago, and by the little I have seen of her I have no reason but to think she deserves the above character. The day is fix'd for Wednesday next the 13th inst^t. Lord John has done me the honour to desire me to be his best man upon that day. I forgot to tell you her name, which is Dalton, and her estate lays chiefly in this county and Derbyshire, which, as I am informed, has mines & many other valuable things upon it, and very capable of great improvement, which I beleve will answer as well to his Lordship at Pitnacree. . . .

Y^{rs} ever most sincerely,

HENRY DRUMMOND.

Mr. John Jamieson² to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).

LEITH, 12 *Sept. 1758.*

Sir,—As I cannot properly express the gratitude I feel for the civilitys received at Atholl House, I shall say nothing further upon it. This accompanys a Box, directed for you, containing the two Large Shells I mentioned to you.

¹ Youngest son of 4th Viscount Strathallan, who fell at Culloden.

² The writer was a merchant in Leith, and the shells are probably the two clam shells in the Hermitage at Dunkeld.

Lord John Murray to His Grace.

BANNER CROSS, 15th Sept. 1758.

Dear Brother,—I wrote you of my intended marriage. The ceremony was performed the 13th Ins^t by the Dean of York at Sheffield church. The Dutchess of Gordon, who was present, returned to London this day. We both offer our most aff^t compl^{ts} to the Dutchess, Lady Charlotte, and M^r Murray. I am, Dear Brother, y^r most aff^t humble Servant,

JOHN MURRAY.

Hon. Henry Drummond to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

LONDON, Oct. 3rd, 1758.

Dear Murray,—On my coming to Town I received the pleasure of yours of the 3^d Sept^r, and as soon as Capt: Cunningham¹ arrived I got a friend of mine that knew him to ask him if was acquainted with your Brother, or if he could give any particulars of him, which he informed that Gentleman he did not, which I think is very likely, as your brother's Company was at Albany, and he only went a very few days before the action to join the Regiment in room of one that was left sick, therefore do not think it likely he was the General's Aid de camp, otherwise Cunningham could not have fail'd knowing him.

. . . You would see by the papers George's ship is come into Port, and is imediatly ordered to sea again, and this day George sett out for Portsmouth, in as good health and spirits as ever I saw him in my life, in order to go on board under the care of L^t Drummond. I hope he will meet with no interruptions, and I make no doubt he will soon make up the time he has lost.

Beleve me ever most sincerely yours,

H. DRUMMOND.

The following allusion to the unsuccessful engagement on the French coast at St. Cas, near St. Malo, on September 11, 1758, was written by Lord Adam Gordon, brother of the Duke of Gordon :—

¹ Probably the A.D.C. who brought home the despatches.

Lord Adam Gordon (3rd Guards) to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

HALF MOON ST, 24th Oct. 1758.

My dear Sir,—I should be most ungratefull if I neglected one post to return you my most sincere acknowledgements for the kind concern you have the goodness to express for me; nothing, believe me, could make me happier, and I shall ever retain a gratefull sense of it.

Indeed, my good Friend, I had a narrow escape enough, & do believe I may live to be old enough without risking such another; for the double risk of being shott & being drowned seldom falls to one man's share in one day, or rather at the same moment. Well! it's over, and tho' I had 16 of my comp^y killed, 12 prisoners, & ten wounded, of which two are since dead, and two more disabled, I am thankfull it was not worse, that is, that any escaped.

On my return to town I kiss'd the King's hand, who was most gracious. He told me my comp^y had suffer'd much; I answer'd, "a good deal, Sir." He then said, "I am very sorry for it; it was the finest comp^y of Grenadiers I ever saw in my life." I bowed, and, as you may suppose, felt very comfortable. His Majesty afterwards was pleased to ask the particulars of my comp^y's loss, w^{ch} I answered as I've told you above.

. . . I beg to be remember'd to the Duke & Dutchess of Athol & to L^d & L^{dy} John Murray, not forgetting L^{dy} George & friends at Invercauld, nor Miss Susie Moray, Abercairny. I have seen nothing like her, the three tours I've made in France this summer. . . . Y^r aff^{te} & sincere humble serv^t & old Friend,

AD: GORDON.

Captain James Murray (42nd) to Lady Charlotte Murray (extract).

NEW YORK, 2 Dec^r 1758.

Our Indians are an odd set of people. Only figure to yourself a man of a dark brown complexion, all rubbed over with bear grise (which, by the by, smels very ill), with great black hair (for they are all so) pletted, & painted red, as also their faces, with blew, green, yellow, something like stripped silck. Their noses with earings^g in them, & their ears cut down, with a weight of wire hanging at them, & silver collers about their necks & arms. In generall they are tall & very strait, as the children when very young are tyed on boards, & so caried about. The women dress something like the men, only have not their ears cut. . . .

They like the highlanders, for at our engagement they were helpfull in carrying the wounded off. There was one of them helped me off the field.

In the newly raised second battalion, 42nd Highlanders, the following Atholl gentlemen received commissions :—

| | | | |
|------------|-----------|------------|---------------------------|
| Captain | John | Stewart, | son of Stenton. |
| „ | Alexander | Reid, | son of Straloch. |
| Lieutenant | Adam | Stewart, | son of Cluny. |
| „ | John | Murray, | son of Lord Edward, Junr. |
| „ | Alexander | Stewart. | |
| „ | John | Robertson, | brother of Lude. |
| „ | Robert | Robertson, | son of W. Straloch. |
| Ensign | James | McDuff, | son of Balanloan. |

1757 and

During 1758 Mr. Murray of Strowan built the Hermitage on the Bran near Inver, and began to form the pleasure grounds there.

Work done at Blair in 1758.

Wall 7 feet high built from Bridge of Tilt along road-side to the Kirktown, thence to Gin¹ corner, and thence to Drumnacreich,² and a parapet 3 or 4 feet high along the precipice from thence to the Arch Gate³ near Bridge of Tilt, which encloses all Balanloan and Toldaimh.

Balanloan houses cleared away.

Division between Balanloan and Toldaimh planted.

Walk made along the Tilt side parapet wall.

Pond made in Toldaimh.⁴

Tilt side planted from Bridge of Tilt to Drumnacreich.

Summer-house built opposite York Cascades.⁵

Lime trees planted along wall from Octagon to Kirktown, and ash and alder from thence by Gin corner to Drumnacreich.

¹ The sharp corner on the Blair Uchdar road at the top of the brae, where the Balanloan road branches off. It has been conjectured that the place may have been so called from a geen tree growing there. The name is now forgotten (1892).

² Drum na creich was the farm immediately north of Tol Daimh.

³ The arch was over the road at the east lodge, pulled down in 1884.

⁴ The pond was by the side of Tom na Croiche planting near Balvenie Arch. It has been filled up. Was used as a curling-pond.

⁵ The Falls of the Fender.

100 ash trees planted in gardens of Blair Uachdar and neighbouring farm-towns.

65 ash trees planted in Mill Lane in Ard an Deor.

Road made from Kirktown to Allt Slanie in Glen Tilt, and bridges built over Alltchrombie and Allt an-t-Sheogail.

Porter's lodge built at West Urrard gate.

Summer-house over ice-house finished and furnished.

The whole of Atholl House finished and furnished.

January 5, 1759.—Lady Charlotte was confined (prematurely) of a son at Dunkeld. He was christened George, but only lived three months.

February 21.—Lord Dunmore (who had retired from the 3rd Guards during 1758) was married to Lady Charlotte Stewart, a daughter of Lord Galloway.

The Duke, having received some pheasants from Hamilton, and begun to rear a few about Dunkeld, issued the following order, which presumably was given out by the reader (or precentor) of the parishes named :—

Advertisement.

There being pheasants belonging to the Duke of Atholl turned out into the wood of Cunnings near Dunkeld, and they being very apt to stray or wander, These are therefore to advertise that no person or persons offer to disturb them where ever it may happen that they are seen or found to be, otherways they shall be prosecute in Terms of Law.

To the Reader of the Parishes of Dunkeld, Dowley, Little Dunkeld, Logyrait, Moulin, Caputh, and Cluney.

15th Aprile 1759.

Early in April George Murray sailed from Portsmouth in H.M.S. *Falmouth*, fifty-gun frigate, Captain Hughes, her destination being the East Indies.

May 1.—The Duke, Mr. Murray of Strowan, Mr. Stewart

of Balnakeilly, Mr. Harrison, Mr. McGlashan of Lambtown, Mr. Butter of Pitlochrie, Mr. Thomas Bissat (factor to his Grace), Baron Reid, John Robertson, younger of Straloch, and William Small, younger of Kindrogan, were appointed as a committee for repairing and carrying on the new roads from Blair to Braemar through Glen Tilt and from Pitlochrie to Kirkmichael.

Mr. George Murray, R.N., to Mr. Henry Drummond (extract).

MADDERA, May 6, 1759.

Dear Sir,—I take this opportunity (being the first since we sailed) of writing to you, & I assure you I shall lose no opportunity of doing the same. . . . I have not so much time to spare as you imagine, for the midshipmen on board this ship are at watch & watch, consequently we must be 12 hours out of the 24 on deck, & we must necessarily have 8 hours sleep, & we have but 4 hours left for our mallees & other necessary things. We arrived here the beginning of this month, which at a distance appeared a very agreeable place, being situated at the bottom of a hill (higher than any in Scotland) on the sea shore, & there being almost as many churches as houses, it gives it a fine look; but my curiosity led me to go on shore, & to my great disappointment at a nearer view I found it to be a miserable holl, for I really believe there was not above half a dozen glass windows in the whole place, the houses very bad, & the streets very dirty. Their churches were the only things worth observing in the whole place; they indeed were fitted up in the most elegant manner, & they had a good deal of plate belonging to them. As to the people, they are very greedy & mercenary, & would do any thing for the sake of gain, in so much that it is dangerous to go any where about the town after sun set.

In the winter of 1758 the new 2nd battalion of the 42nd had sailed from Scotland for the West Indies.

Lord John Murray to His Grace.

LONDON, 29th May 1759.

Dear Brother,—I have just had certain accounts that the transport in which Captain Murray & Stewart & Lt John Robertson were in, arrived

safe at Bassterre, almost adjoining to Guaradloupe. They had parted in a hard gale with the convoy four days after they sailed, & on opening their Instructions found they were to go to Barbadoes, which they reached a few days after the other Transports of the Reg^t under my command left it.

I have inclosed part of a Letter from Lieut^t Alex^r McLean, wrote with spirit.

Ensign McLean is killed, L^t Alex. Robertson (Straloch's brother) wounded, & 28 men killed, & only 1 man dead of the country distemper.

These companies who were raised in Nov^r & in action in January, have gained the greatest applause, and behaved like Veteran Troops.

I have a letter from Capt. Ja^s Murray of the 15th April from New York (by L^t Alex^r Campbell, Inveraw's son, who being wounded is to return home for the recovery of his health); he and all the corps were well, and making preperations for the campaign.

[*Enclosure.*]

Lieutenant Alexander McLean (42nd) to Lord John Murray (extract).

GUARDALOUPE, 4 March 1759.

I had the honour to begin an attack at the head of twelve Granadiers, supported by 150 men. We had a steep precipice to climb in sight of an Enemy, defended by a parapet 8 ft high, and within that an entrenchment; within ten yards of this parapet was a slop over a rock, where a man with great difficulty could scramble over without arms; this I passed, and haveing handed over the arms of the twelve men, they soon were over after; the french were so surpris'd at the attempt they fired in the utmost confusion; we immediatly sprang forwards with fix'd Baynets, mounted the parapet and drove them like a flock of sheep with push of Baynet before us. But we sees another, 10 feet high. I was obliged to halt to wait the climbing over of the detachment, haveing now but three men left of my twelve. Forty Highlanders with two officers came up, who were one wounded and the other kill'd the first fire. Here we engaged half an hour without being able to mount; at last I got up and my men followed. I was pushing my baynet into a fellow, who, falling back, drew his trigger; the ball entred at my elbow and came out close to the shoulder, shattering

the bone all the way, but before I left the field I had the pleasure to see them spitted like Larks, and the place our own.

'Twas impossible to save my arm, but I was obstinate not to have it cutt off, for I dreaded being put among the Invalids, and besides, as my ambition was pretty great, I considered that all my hopes were blasted, and I by much preferred death to life in that situation.

Brig^r Gen^l Haldane, hearing of the dispute, had the goodness to come himself, and assured me, from General Barrington, that, so far from being put into the Invalids, I should have the first vacant company, and, if none happned to become so here, I should be sent home with the strongest reccomendations, nay, assured me of one. Haveing this assurance I did not care a farthing for the arm (it was but the left), and now, contrary to the beleif of the Surgeons, I am so well that in three weeks I shall be able to take care of my Platoon again. I go for St Kitts for some time to recover. The Generalls all have wrote in my favour, and such a situation, with such glorious prospects, I am not such a fool as to die, and my stump is in a fine way.¹

During June a law case regarding the teinds of Huntingtower, which had been long going on between his Grace and the Duchess Dowager, was settled by the Court of Session in the Duke's favour.

Captain James Murray (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

CAMP AT THE LINES OF BURNING THEANDEROGA, 27 July 1759.

My dear Brother,—I write you these few lines to acquaint you that I am in perfect good health & that the Army landed at this end of the lake the 22nd, invested the Fort the 23rd, & was very buisy carying on the worcks till the 26th in the night, at which time we had three batteries ready to oppen, when the ennemy abandoned & set fire to the fort. During the time that the enemy remained they could not keep a hotter fire, for I dare say they fired ten thousand cannon shott & five hundred Bombs, & I don't believe there has been forty men killed & wounded

¹ Lieutenant MacLean was afterwards Major of Keith and Campbell's Highlanders, and was killed in the engagement at Brucker Muhl in Germany, 21st September 1762.

during that hott fire, altho' all the Bombs fell in different parts among us, & that we were nigh point blanck of the cannon shott; but the lines that had been of so much hurt to us last year saved our men this. . . .

Y^r most aff^t Brother,

JAMES MURRAY.

Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, to His Grace.

BRUNSTANE, 29 Aug^t 1759.

My Lord Duke,—Yesternight The Duke of Argyll arrived in good health & I acquainted him that y^r Grace was desireous to do every thing in y^r power that you understood would be acceptable to the Government. D: of Argyll bids me acquaint y^r Grace y^t the Government resolve to send a Regiment of Highlanders to Germany, and y^t it would be very acceptable to his Majesty if y^r Grace could raise two Companies of 100 men each, and in that case if your Gr/ will please name two captains, 4 Lieutenants, & 4 Ensigns, the Duke of Argyll will recommend them to commissions from the King, not doubting but they will be well affected to his majesty, & proper for the Service, and as no time is to be lost, the D: of Argyll desires your Grace to send y^r list to him as soon as possible. With the greatest respect, my L^d Duke,

Y^r Gr/s most humble and obed^t Servant,

AND: FLETCHER.

Baron Maule to His Grace.

EDR, 1st Sept. 1759.

My L^d Duke,— . . . The D: of Argyle bids me tell you y^t there is to be a highland Battⁿ raised under y^e command of Murray Keith, who is to be Major Commandant, & it's intended to serve in Germany under Prince Ferdinand. If ever it is broke it will be on y^e foot of any other Regiment, & to have half pay.

No officer is to be taken from L^d John Murray's Regiment to be in this new Battalion w^tout his own consent. He has secured a company for y^r nephew Ross Murray, but whether in this new Battalion or in any other I can't tell, & he proposes y^r Grace should have y^e nomination of y^e officers of two companies, & even of three, if you can raise y^m. . . .

With Best respects to y^r Gr/, y^e Dutchess, & all y^e good family, not forgetting Powrie, who I hope has recovered his drunkenness, . . . I am,
most respectfully,
YOUR SLAVE.

Mr. Murray of Strowan to His Grace (extract).

KINLOCH, 1st Sept. 1759.

As to what y^r Grace writes about having the nomination of officers for two companies, I fancy you will not find it easy at present to find either proper officers or to gett men.

I dare say the difrent parts of your estate within this three years has furnished between 700 and 1000 men to the Service, and there really seems but few middle aged men in the country. L^d John's Reg^t being augmented from the Irish to the British establishment was the first, next came Montgumry's & Frazer's Battallions, then L^d John's 3 additional companies, then the Press act twice put in execution, next L^d John's 7 companies, then 6 additional companies for Montgumrie's & Frazer's, and lastly 300 just raised by L^d John's officer to make up for the Slaughter of Ticonderago. But however, as your Grace finds your getting 200 men Raised for the service will be acceptable, I hope with a proper nomination of officers it may be gott done.

The following gentlemen connected with Atholl were appointed officers in Keith and Campbell's Regiment:—

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Lieut. John Murray, from 42nd (Lord Edward's son), Captain. | } Lieutenants. |
| James Robertson, younger of Killiechangie, | |
| Ensign James Macduff, son of Balanloan, from 42nd, | |
| Archibald Stewart, younger of Findynate, | |
| Duncan Robertson, brother to Blairfettie, Ensign. | |

During 1759 another Highland regiment was raised in the North by Captain Morris, who had married the Duchess of Gordon, the Captain being appointed Lieutenant-Colonel.

October 7, 1759.—Lady John Murray was confined of a daughter.

Work done at Blair in 1759.

Balvenie¹ and Stewart² bridges, of fifty feet each, built over the Tilt.

Fasacharaidh³ bridge built.

Byre and barn, &c., at Toldaimh built.⁴

Sunk fence south side of Diana's Wilderness built.

Walk finished on each side of Balvenie arch, and walk formed from the bottom of the hill east of the arch to join the walk leading to the York Cascade.

Pond in Diana's Wilderness filled up.⁵

at Dunkeld a walk was made from the Hermitage to Torval.

Early in 1760 there was some talk of the Duke offering to raise a regiment of Highlanders for the King's service, which was to be commanded by Lord Dunmore.

Baron Maule to His Grace.

EDINB, 15th Jan^{ry} 1760.

My Lord Duke,— . . . As for what your Grace writes of L^d Dunmore's proposition, I really think it should be well considered. They are talking of raising three more Regiments here, & tho' you shou'd not have one raised by way of a battalion in Atholl, you may lay your account there will be recruiting there, if there are men amongst you to be got. On y^e other hand, shou'd L^d Dunmore get such a battalion, Atholl will not be more drained. Y^e officers that get y^e commissions must find y^e men where they best can, & will recruit y^m over all Scotland. But what weighs most w^t me is, it wou'd be a fine puff for your Grace to raise a battalion at this period, & tho' you have had great merit all along in raising com-

¹ "Gilbert's Bridge." This bridge got its present name from a Hillman who lived there in the 4th Duke's time, named William Gilbert Robertson. He was out in the '45. See note, page 345.

² The "Marble Lodge Bridge." In the 4th Duke's time it was known as Gow's Bridge, from a man of that name who kept a public-house there.

³ The bridge over the burn at the end of the wood, between Gilbert's Bridge and Achgobhal. At this time the road was being formed through Glen Tilt. It had been made as far as Alltslanie in 1758.

⁴ Removed by 7th Duke when Balanloan Farm was built.

⁵ This pond was situated between the Temple of Fame and the Banvie.

panys in different corps, y^t is less known above than if you had had y^e nomination of a battalion y^t wou'd be known by your name. However, I throw all this out for your consideration only, & you are best able to judge whether to push it or not. L^d Dunmore is a plausible man, and fashionable above, so may be very acceptable, & I believe there will be no difficulty in finding officers, y^t humour being so prevalent at present.

I am most respectfully your Grace's

SLAVE.

His Grace to Baron Maule.

DUNKELD, 18th Jan^{ry} 1760.

Dr Baron,—I have the favour of yours by last post, and am much obliged to you for writeing so fully concerning the Batalion proposed to be raised by Lord Dunmore, which has altered the light that I took it in from Lord Dunmore's letter, copy of which I send you Inclosed, for if it be meent to be a Batilian Raised in my name, and the command given to Earl Dunmore at my desire, it is what I shall relish extreemly, for no doubt we shall adjust such a nomination of officers as will have the greatest probability of raiseing their quotas of men (scarce as they are).

Of this I beg the favour of you to acquaint the Duke of Argyll, who will put such a Batalian on the footing to be raised at my request or not as he pleases.

His Grace to the Duke of Argyll (draft copy).

DUNKELD, 24th Jan^{ry} 1760.

As I understand that there are severals makeing proposals for Raiseing Battalians, I should think myself deficient in my Duty (if there is any such intention of Raiseing new troups) not to make an offer of my Service upon this ocaion, and to give assurance of my readiness to exert myself all in my power and at all times for the King's Service, and, if it be agreeable to His Majesty, shall with vigour and chearfullness endeavour to raise a Battalion under the command of Earl Dunmore, who is one of the nearest Relations of my Famely, has been already in the service, and hopes will not be disagreeable to the King and his servants, and upon the first notice will allso Recommend for the Rest of the officers Gentlemen of this County, who are well affected, and may have the greatest probability of Raising men.

*Baron Maule to His Grace.*EDINB, 26 Jan^{ry} 1760.

My Lord Duke,—I have by this post y^r Grace's letter of the 25th, 'as also the copies of y^e two letters you had wrote the day before. L^d Dunmore was w^t me about an hour before they came to my hand, to enquire if I had heard from your Grace upon y^e subject, w^{ch} I luckily had not, & shou'd have been difficulted what to have said to him, as your former letter to me was so explicate, as also y^e one M^r Murray wrote to his Lo^p; all I cou'd tell him was y^t no doubt y^r Grace wou'd write to me soon, & y^t I was perswaded you wou'd write to y^e D: of Argyll in consequence of the advice I had offered, & y^t I myself had wrote to his Grace by Teusday's post to prepare matters, as I had promised I wou'd. Y^r Grace seems now to have other thoughts of y^e matter, & as my only concern upon y^e whole is my friendship for your Grace, I may freely tell you my sentiments upon y^e subject. And in y^e first place my reason for y^e scheme from y^e beginning was, that it occurred to me that it wou'd have a good effect, at this present juncture, when every body was striving to be most forward in offering their service to raise men for y^e Government, that your Grace shou'd not be behind hand w^t any body whatever, & tho' your merit was great in y^e former levies, yet it was lost in y^e croud, & unknowen amongst y^e people of England, who have always had y^e notion that your Grace was one of the powerfulllest potentates in y^e highlands. I thought your offer cou'd not in y^t view but be well taken, whether it was accepted of or not. It was merit to have seemed readie to undertake it, & I'm perswaded wou'd have been look't upon in y^t light, and what you had reason to have valued yourself upon. In y^e next place, as it was improper at your time of life to have offered your own service personally, I thought L^d Dunmore as plausible a person as you cou'd have pitch'd upon, one of your nearest relations, a cadet of your Family, formerly in y^e Army, acceptable above, & having English interest. Your offering to bestirr yourself in y^e raising y^e men must have given you y^e meritt of y^e whole, when it is well known that L^d Dunmore cou'd not have raised a single man himself. I never put y^e question to L^d Dunmore, y^e two times I have seen him, about y^e naming the officers, but both times he was w^t me he always spoke as if he had taken it for granted y^r Grace was to have y^e nomination, & indeed I took it as a thing understood from y^e beginning y^t you was. However, if y^e thing is

to go forward, it's a point may easily be explained, & I dare swear will never be disputed.

There is one thing I must not ommitt, in w^{ch} I'm afraid y^r Grace is mistaken, viz., that you wou'd have Capt: Drummond¹ L^t Colonel, & your nephew² Major; this I doubt cannot well be, as I'm perswaded if y^e project of y^e whole is to take place, it must be a battalion upon y^e foot of the other battalions of y^e same kind, viz., commanded by L^d Dunmore as L^t Colonel commodant, and w^tout y^e rank of Colonel for some time at least, so y^t your other two friends may be made Majors at first, & wait for a future promotion. I think y^e nomination of Agent is not worth y^e asking, & if L^d Dunmore was to have his will in any thing, he shou'd have it in y^t, as having more immediate & frequenter connections w^t him than anybody else. To be sure Geo: Ross wou'd be his choice, as y^e most natural, & wou'd not be disagreeable to y^r Grace, but I judge this wou'd not be disputed either if you insisted on it. But what seems most to weigh w^t your Grace is y^e apprehension of your inability in raising y^e number of men at this time, & y^e naming proper officers. This I own is y^e only stumbling block, & it meritts your consideration; but after all it does not appear so terrible to me as I imagined at first, & what fears you most is y^t it is to be an Atholl Regiment, raised principally in y^t countrey, or in y^e county of Perth, & to consist mostly of highlanders. Now, tho' that may be y^e first cause y^t is to sett it a going, our late experience has taught us y^t these requisites are not necessary. Keith's battalion was to have been a highland one, but every body knows it is far from being so, except in y^e dress; not only y^e officers are lowlanders, but y^e bulk of y^e common men, who are recruited from all y^e quarters of Scotland. Morris's battalion was to have been a battalion of Gordons, w^{ch} was y^e cause inductive for raising them, but y^e commissions were given to all ranks of people in this countrey, & there are companies raising for y^t battalion in y^e shires of Air, & Gallogway, & y^e Orkneys; & tho' you may not find proper officers in Perthshire to supply y^e whole corps with, you'll get y^m elsewhere who will answer the purpose as well. These are my thoughts upon this subject, w^{ch} I submitt to y^r Grace's better Judgement. One thing is only necessary, y^t you come to a resolution w^t out loss of time. . . .

¹ "Megginch" (who declined accepting).

² Captain James Murray, 42nd.

During January Captain Murray (42nd) was laid up with a bad attack of pleurisy at Albany.

February 8.—The Duke wrote acquainting Baron Maule that Lord Dunmore had been at Dunkeld, and that on consideration they had found that it would not be feasible to raise a battalion in Atholl in time to be of any service, and begged that he would represent the same to the Duke of Argyll.

In April the Duke and Duchess proceeded to London.

April 24.—The Duchess wrote to Mr. Murray of Strowan, informing him that the Bishop of Ossory (Pocock), who was deemed a man of learning, and had already written a book of travels, proposed making a tour through Scotland, and that if he should visit Blair or Dunkeld, his Grace wished every civility shown him.

April 28, 1760.—Unto the Sheriff of Perth, the Petition of Humphry Harrison, Factor to His Grace the Duke of Atholl, Donald Seaton, one of his Grace's Tenents at Pitdornie, and Beatrix Seaton, spouse to the said Donald Seaton, Donald M^cDonald, servant to John M^cLauchlan in Strathgarrie, and the said John M^cLauchlan,—

Humbly Sheweth,—That John Stewart of Bonskeid, lately appointed an Officer in his Majestie's Service, having for some time past been employ'd in recruiting in the Country of Atholl, the several Recruiting parties acting under the Direction of the said John Stewart, and by his authority, have committed diverse and sundry acts of violence and outrage, to the great oppression and terror of the Country in general, and the great Hurt and Danger of the Lives of such Individuals as have been the objects of such violent proceedings. And particularly upon the night betwixt Sunday the twentieth and Munday the twenty first of Aprile current, at Dead hour of night, James Stewart and Donald Cattanach, servants to Donald Stewart of Shierglass, and Malcom M^cMillan and Donald Seaton, two Recruits, all persons commissioned by the said John Stewart, did in a most illegal manner assault the house of the said Donald Seaton when all the family

were in bed, and having broke open the door of the said house, and entered the same, all and each of them were guilty of the greatest Barbarity exercised upon the person of the said Beatrix Seaton, who was thrown on the ground with such violence and trampled upon that three ribs of her right side were broke, and she received several other wounds and contusions upon other parts of her body, to the effusion of her blood and imminent danger of her Life, as she has been and still lies dangerously ill ever since. And the said James Stewart and his other associated were guilty of the most shocking Barbarity to Patrick Forbes, an infant grandchild to the said Beatrix Seaton, who was put in great terror and danger of his Life by their thrusting drawn swords thro' several places of the bed in which the Infant lay. And the said James Stewart, and his other associates before mentioned, after having committed sundry other violence within y^e dwelling house of the said Donald Seaton, did in a most illegal manner sease the said Donald Seaton himself, carry him by force to a considerable distance from his house & keep him in custody till an opportunity offered for making his escape. And sicklike the said James Stewart and Donald Cattanach, Malcom McMillan and Donald Seaton, upon the morning of the next day, the twenty first current, did in a violent and forcible manner enter the dwelling house of the said John McLauchlan by breaking in at a window while the family were in bed, and carried off Donald McDonald, the said John McLauchlan's servant, as their prisoner, and endeavoured to force him to list. And as these are only some instances of the many violences which have been committed on the country, where an universal terror has diffus'd itself, and people's servants abscond for safety, It is absolutely necessary for the quiet and peace of the country that a check be put to such violences.

The case was brought before the Sheriff, who decided against the defendants, and awarded £2 damages to Seaton, and 10s. to McLauchlan, with £4, 16s. costs.

At this date Lord Ferrers was found guilty of the murder of his steward and condemned to death. Her Grace referred to the case as follows :—

Her Grace to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).[LONDON], *May 1st* [1760].

I don't hear L^d Ferrers is as yet one bit damp't with his sentence, which is to be execute without mitigation. Two days ago Lady Huntingtone sent a clergyman of her own to him, who recomended it strongly that he should seriously consider of the afull Tribunel he was so soon to give an account of his whole life before; he said he was very sensible his life had been a very wicked one, and that he was perswaded he (the clergyman) was a very good man, very ready to die, and that he would be much obliged to him if he would please to be hanged in his place. His weding coat he has ordered to be clean'd up, and says in it he will finish his misfortunes, as his mariage he considers as the sours of all his evils.

May 1.—Mr. Murray of Strowan, writing to the Duke, mentions that Blair Drummond had been at Dunkeld the previous day, and was very fond of the farm¹ and farm-houses which were done since he was there, and admired the bow-window room much.

*Captain James Murray (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).*ALBANY, *11 June* 1760.

I beleive I have told you in some of my letters that at the end of last campaign I came to Albany to take the Grenadire Company in the Second Battallion, which L^d John was so good as put in my offer. It has cost me a good deal of trouble, as I had the forming of it; you may imagine they are but of a small sise, if that you saw any of the second battallion, which were the smallest body of men ever I saw. The Light Infantry Company and mine are compleated to 100 Rank & file each, the former of which Capt: Will: Murray² has got.

¹ The old Marshall farm, made into otter-hound kennels by 6th Duke.² Lintrose.

Captain John Murray (Keith Highlanders) to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

CAMP AT CASSEL, 29 July [1760].

Dear Mr Murray,—I have really waited with patience for an opportunity of fulfilling my promise of writing to you when I came to Germany, as I dare say you will think me very long considering the time I have been there, but nothing extraordinary has happend since I join'd the Army worth communicating except the affair of the 17th July, conducted by the Hereditary Prince, which long ere this the publick papers must have given you the particulars off. I own to you the reason of writing to you now, at a time when I am particularly Hurry'd, is to give you an account of an affair that happen'd on the 26th In^t wherein our Highlanders were chiefly concerned.

The Grenadiers of the whole and our 2 corps of Highlanders, under the command of the Hereditary, composed the rear Guard of the Army which retreated to cover Cassel, which the French seem'd to have a design upon. About 12 o'clock on the 26th our Irregulars were annoy'd by the enemy, and three companys of Keith's were order'd to support them; mine was one. We drove the French Hussars several times back, but were at Last obliged to retreat with the Loss of the Major, one Captⁿ, and four subalterns (one of which was mine) either killed or taken Prisoners. I had twenty of my company either killed or taken, besides several wounded, was myself taken by a French Hussar when I was faint and out of breath, but before he could carry me off my own Corporal shot him from his Horse and Liberated me, upon which I got the remains of my men together and we went off with great expedition till we were cover'd by two field pieces of our own, which fired upon the enemy and put an end to their pursuit.

The Army is now encamped before Cassel, but I believe will remove soon, as the French seem'd to have a design of marching nearer Han-nover. . . . Capt: Fotheringham, who is with me at present, Desires to be remember'd to you. I am very Happy in his acquaintance; he is a very obliging young Lad, and we are very much together. He has for some time past been distressed with the Flux, which is a very common Dis-temper in this country, but he is now better. When you have an opportunity he wishes you would let his Folks know that he is well. I now remain, Dear Sir, Y^r most sincere & aff^{te} Friend, JOHN MURRAY.

In August Richard Pocoke, Bishop of Ossory, paid a visit to the Duke. In an account he wrote of his tour in Scotland (not published till 1887), he gives the following very interesting accounts of Dunkeld and Blair :—

DUNKELD, *Aug. 14, 1760.*—The Duke of Athol has a seat here, and I did myself the honour to wait on his Grace and the Dutchess, and staid at their house, meeting with a most polite reception.

The town is small but the buildings are improving. . . . The walls of the Cathedral remain entire; a tower is built to it on the north side of the west door, as if the design was to build another answering to that. The body of the church consists of seven arches on each side, and over them are seven circular windows above the roof of the isles, with Gothic ornaments like those at Westminster Abbey, except that the bottom of them is in a straight line, whereas those at Westminster are a segment of a circle. In the Quire all the windows are different, which was the taste of one age. This part is fitted up for the Kirk. To the north of it is the small Chapter House, which is the burial place of the Duke's family, over which there is a room that might serve for the Archives. The Bishop's House they say was to the south of the church by the river, close to the site of the old bridge.

A little to the north of the church is the Duke of Athol's House, which is not large, But as there is a warm winter situation, the Duke has built very extensive offices, and the finest Kitchen I believe in Britain.

Behind them is a very handsome Kitchen Garden, on the east side of which is a long narrow hill, beautifully shaped into walks, and at the end of it, over the avenue to the house, is a statue of the Gladiator. On the S. and W. sides of the house is a Lawn, from which the road is crossed to the woods and fields, that are divided by a high road which comes round by the end of the church, and there is a communication made between them by a bridge over the road. This wood consists of 2 walks, one above, terminated to the east by a view of the church, the other is close to the river, and both end to the east in a lawn which is before the green house, and to the west by a bowling green. There are two ways to the upper part, which consists chiefly of corn fields. One to the right leads up to the farm house, in which there is a handsome room with a fine bow window in it. The other, directly behind the house; from the

latter, one way leads to a fine piece of water on this eminence, on the further side of which are houses for poultry, and a room to dine in. Another way to the left, by an upper and lower walk, leads to a turret called "the Fort," below which are cross walks, as to fortify the hill, and at the bottom a beautiful Chinese house, with the Pheasantry and Dovery near it, for turtles. This is opposite to the Bowling Green on the river. From the Fort there is a walk round to the water, and another from that down to the road by the Chinese house.

To the west of the water ends a chain of high rocky hills, which run from the north east, and there is one single hill to the south of it with a remarkable summit, and a stone on it called the King's Table. Beyond this, in the side of these hills, is a natural cave in the rock, and whoever sits in it sees only the river, and the beautiful fields and woods over it, no part of the hills appearing, which has a fine effect.

A small mile to the south west, on the other side of the river, and just over a cascade on the river Brand, Mr Murray, the Duke's son in law, has made a Hermitage, on the rocks which hang over the water, commanding a view of the cascade, which is near, and falls about 20 feet. A very handsome room is built, with a window towards the fall. The Garden is made within the precincts of the Hermitage, with flower beds and borders about the rocks, which appear in different altitudes, and there are also two little basins of water. Just over the river towards the cascade is a seat formed in the rock, with some grotesque work in it, and water works which, with the basins, are supplied from a reservoir above, where there is a mineral water, and another towards the river, of steel and sulphur, if I do not mistake, which has been lately used medicinally. About half a mile higher up is a great fall of water.

In returning we went on half a mile to the north west, descending through the wood to the Tay, having a beautiful small hill to the right covered with oats, and turning to the right before you came to this is a way leading to Belville,¹ a hill which commands the finest prospect of all, with a winding way to the top of it. We returned down by the river to the Ferry.

They have a fine freestone here, but no limestone nearer than *Fife* and Blair. They use the *former*, brought by sea to Perth.

I saw here the wood of the shrub broom, which is a most beautiful

¹ Torvald?

mixture of brown and white, much like the rose wood when it is worked and polished.

I here also saw a room wainscoted with Larch boards from trees of the Duke's own planting; it is white and full of knots, which add to the beauty of it; 'twas cut green and does not warp, and being put on the fire green, it extinguishes the fire, and does not easily burn, as they say, even when it is dry.

BLAIR OF ATHOL, *August 18, 1760.*—On the 15th I set out with the Duke for the Blair of Athol, 16 computed and 20 measured miles, with mile stones all the way. We travelled 8 miles by the river Tay to the place where the Tummel falls into it. Here there is a road, by crossing both rivers, to go from Blair to Taymouth, being on the other side of the Tay. We travelled about 6 miles further to the place where the Garry falls into the Tummel, by which river we went a mile, and came to the famous Pass of Gillicrankie, which is a road made on the side of the hill over the river, there being no passage on the other side. The road is a mile long, and then the country opens again.

King William's army, under General Mackay, marched through this pass, and just after they had entered the plain, engaged on an eminence to the north, at a house to the right, where they were defeated by the Highlanders under Lord Dundee, who was killed. The King's troops fled up the hills to the south, and the Highlanders came down to the Baggage in the plain, which they plundered, and returned home, which happened in July 1689.

In this road are several small Druid Temples.

In about three miles more, passing over the Tilt, we came to Blair, situated between an Amphitheatre of hills, beyond which the tops of mountains appear to the north, west, and east; the ground is rather uneven, but there are fine meadows on the flat ground to the south and south west towards the river. On an eminence to the west is a summer house, wainscoted with larch, and on a little hill beyond it there is a small obelisk, and a grove of fir trees on another beyond that. All round the house is lawn, and the offices of the house and stables are so disposed to the south east, in separate compartments, as to appear very well from the house, and from every other part.

To the north of the house runs a small stream, over which are three

or four Bridges that appear in view at once, and between them a chinese rail, and close to this a square tower is built for a clock. Higher up, to the north west, this stream passes through a vale, which is most beautifully planted with many sorts of American trees. This is called Diana's Grove, from a statue of her with a stag on a rising ground, from which there are eight walks. Below, in the wood, is the Temple of Fame, and on an eminence in another part are the statues of three boys supporting a basket of flowers and fruit, and there is a walk all round the grove, and a great plantation for near a mile, on each side of the gully, which may be made very fine. In this grove there is a walk of tall Larch trees, cut up like a hedge.

To the north and north east are three little hills ; on that to the west is a pleasant summer house, that commands a fine view of the whole, which consists of about 1200 acres. On the middle hill is an Urn. On the other to the east is an obelisk,¹ with a gilt ball on the top of it ; round this is a building with seats in it, which I believe will be removed. This inclosure, with several fields, continues on to the Tilt, which runs in a deep rocky gully, called a den, with several cascades in it, and a rivulet tumbles down from the east, over which, at a hamlet on the top of the hill, is a bridge, from which there is a waterfall between rocks in a bed rather deep, and adorned with wood ; it falls from several rocks in many breaks, and the whole may be three hundred perpendicular feet, but it is not seen altogether, except perhaps after great rains. All this rock is a blueish limestone.

There is a riding to drive round this part, the three hills and the Kitchen Garden, which is to the north east, between the middle hill and eastern hill, situated in a valley ; in the whole length of which Kitchen Garden the Duke had made a fine piece of water, with six or seven islands and peninsulars in it, two of which are for the swans to breed on, having thatched houses built on them for that purpose, and the wild ducks breed on the Islands. The Garden is formed on a gentle declivity on each side, all walled round. There is a pigeon house at one angle, and a gardener's house at another, and at the south [east] end is a semi-circular summer house, which is all glass in front. In the walk leading to this, and on each side of the cross walk are about 20 grotesque figures in lead, and painted, which have a very pretty effect in that situation. At

¹ Tom na Croiche.

each end is a parterre of many sorts of perennial flowers. The garden is about 1200 feet long; the breadth is not the same, but may be from 400 to 500 feet. This is I believe the most beautiful Kitchen Garden in the world. To the east of it is a fine walk, with a colossal statue of Hercules in it; the walk extends a good way round. Most of the fields are fenced with very broad double ditches, and plantations on them, and there are some plantations made in the fields to break the view, being planted in a manner of clumps. The most beautiful prospect is to Kilycrankie, near which there is a grove, and beyond that a hill adorned with corn fields and groves, or broad divisions planted with trees, which has altogether a most striking effect.

The house consists of a large pile of building, with dairy offices, and a farm house to the west of it, and a long chain of building of two floors to the east, extending about 200 feet in length, with a return¹ that stretches on to the east end of the house near the whole breadth of it; in this latter is a fine Dining room, within it a Drawing room which belongs to a bed chamber. To this you enter from the ground. The other consists of a common Drawing room and five bed chambers, with a smaller room to each of them, in which is a bed for a servant.

But under both these, which form an L, the ground falls so, that there are offices for servants, to which there are entrances from without at the lower end. And yet the ground rises in such a manner, that from the upper floor of these there is a flight of stairs of several steps to the ground rooms of the Grand House, most part of which consists of 4 floors. The Ground floor is arched for offices of different kinds, and the Duke has a Dining room in it, and one room designed for his study,² but never used.

This house consists of three parts. The old tower of the Cummins, of one room and three closets on a floor, one of which is in a turret³ built at the back of it, and probably served as a stair case. There are 2 floors built with a bed chamber in each. It did consist of four more stories, which the Duke took down.

To this an Ancestor of the Duke, about the time of James V.,⁴ built a

¹ The clock-tower passage; this part was burnt 1814.

² Present Duke's sitting-room?

³ The Garry-room tower.

⁴ The 3rd Earl, succeeded ¹⁵²¹~~1513~~, died 1542.

room, 52 feet long and 27 broad, and only began a fabric¹ of 2 very fine rooms on a floor, which was raised but one story. These are now finished with closets to them.

Up one pair of steps is a most beautiful large dining room, adjoining to it a Drawing room, and beyond that a bed chamber. Over this the room is 27 feet high, and is a most magnificent saloon, with two grand bed chambers² in the fabric which was left unfinished. To this part, consisting of the Grand room, there was a round tower that was three stories high, but part of it was taken down, and what remains serves for a back stair case. And an addition is also made to this part for a grand staircase, which is of mahogany, but wainscoted all the way up in compartments for pictures, and with a fine frieze at each landing place of Pomeranian red deal, which looks like Cedar.

Over the two end buildings are rooms for servants,³ mostly in the roof, which do not appear on the outside.

All the rooms in general are finished in the highest manner with carvings and stucco ceilings; But those of the great fabric are exceeding grand, and adorned with costly chimney pieces of marble, and exquisite carvings, some with hangings of tapestry, others with Genoa Damask, beautiful marble tables, fine beds, and the richest furniture. Here is one particular piece, a Bureau⁴ made of the wood of broom, fineered, the folding doors of which are glass in gothic figures, and the frames are most beautiful in this wood, and particularly an urn of carved work at the top of it has a fine effect: this wood is brown in the middle, and white on each side, and is much like rosewood. They have limestone here in several parts.⁵

Unto ane High and Mighty Prince, James, Duke of Atholl.

20th Aug^t 1760.

The humble petition of Donald Robertson of Kincairgie,

Humbly Sheweth,—That where your Grace's pettioner is seventy six years of age, and my children ar all gone from me, after I bestowed

¹ That part containing the small drawing-room and tea-room.

² Red and Derby bedrooms.

³ The Cumming's tower and Derby attics.

⁴ Now in No. 12 long passage. Made at Dunkeld for Mr. Murray of Strowan.

⁵ Published by Scottish History Society.

education and trades upon them, & my wife by all apperance one her death bed, and myselfe more in Bed then out of itt, soe as I ame unfitt for any Bussiness, and ame dally Harassed by your Grace's strick orders, alledged by your Grace's Factor, Mr Thomas Bissat, to the tennants of Tomvulin of Tiriny incrothing on my property, since the granting of my originall charter from your Grace's noble & worthy ancestor, William Earle of Tullibardine, dated year of God 1612, and clearly proven to be myne befor Sherriff Ritchardsonne att Perth, the s^d Mr Bissat, fearing he might be made lyable in giving satisfaction for abusing a great number of trees planted by me thirty or forty years agoe on the contraverted spote, caus'd convene the Mcintoshes & other wittnesses, all under male fama, a purpose to dispossess me of my undoubted right.

May it therefor please your Grace to take my present case to your Grace's consideration, and your pettioner shall ever pray.

*Captain John Murray, Keith's Highlanders, to Mr. Murray
of Strowan (extract).*

WARBURGH, 24 Sept. 1760.

I suppose you heard of a Peice of success the Hereditary Prince gain'd some time ago by surpriseing a village in which was 2000 French, and making a great slaughter, and taking 900 prisoners, with a great deal of Baggage, Horses, &c. Our Highland Bodys got great share of plunder, and made themselves very fine in some of the Tinsel cloaths belonging to the Monsieurs. . . . I must tell you that I am far from being Happy in this Regiment. Coll: Keith is Dirty, Haughty, and asuming; he has behaved allways to me particularly slighting; we are now not on spicking Terms, not by my fault I am sure. He has behaved notoriously Ill in L^d George Sackville's affair, & L^d Granby told him he was not a man of honor. He has no sort of Interest, & I am sorry to say his courage was at Warburgh a little suspected.

For the past three years Lord George Murray had been living in Rotterdam and Amsterdam, and at this date was at Medemblik, in North Holland, accompanied by his wife and daughter.

*Lady George Murray to Mr. Murray of Strowan.*MEDENBLEAK, 10th Oct^r 1760.

Dear Son,—My dearest Friend was not at all well Thursday night last, the 2nd of the month, complaining of a coldness and heaviness; On Friday had a small fit of an Ague; Saturday was pretty well; Sunday another little fit, when the Doctor said it was the ague, and ordered medicines accordingly; Monday pretty well; Tuesday another little fit, but in all this time was not at all confined to bed, excepting the two last days during the fits; but on Wednesday & Thursday grew all of a sudden extremely ill, and today, God pity me, I have small hopes. I delay'd writing you Thursday, it having been only Wednesday evening that we were at all alarmed, & mostly since that time he has been in a very high fever, and is at present extremely bad. There has been two physicians attending him who have the characters of understanding their business, but that, woe is me, does not seem to avail him. I have, you may believe, nether my mind fit for writing, nor time to do it from attending my Dearest.

You will, when you incline, let your Sister know of these sad tidings. God Bless & preserve you, L: C:, and your young ones, & wishing the same to Amily & hers, I ever remain

Yours A. M.

*Lady George Murray to Mr. Murray of Strowan.*MEDENBLEAK, 12 Oct^r 1760, Sunday Evening.

Dear Son,—You would see by my Letter of the 10th how small hopes there was then of your worthy Father.

He turned worse and worse, and at four o'clock of the 11th in the morning it pleased God to take him.

I believe I wrote you before that he had been blooded on the Sunday, sleep'd very well that night; went about through the house on the Munday, only complaining of a sleepyness; Tuesday took again what we imagin'd to be another fit of an ague; on Wednesday turned worse, and upon Thursday was blister'd, had cataplasm apply'd to his legs, and got medicines that the Doctors prescrib'd, but alas no remedys would do, for the fever always augmented from Friday midday with great violence untill the time that he expired.

God only knows my sad and afflicted heart, and disconsolate situation in the loss I have made of so kind, and affectionate, and inestimable Friend and Husband, but I shall not insist upon this so deeply affecting subject. My Dearest & best Life is to be interred in the Church here upon Tuesday, at which will be present some of his acquaintances from Amsterdam, and all the people of any fashion in this place, of whom he was much regarded while living by those who knew him, and now extremely regreted when he is no more.

You will please acquaint your Brothers James and George of this sad event, and any body else whom you think you should, in particular good Aber:¹ who always show'd so great a liking and constant friendship to the worthy Deceased.

. . . I ever am your most affectionate Mother, .

AMILIA MURRAY.

The following is the translation of a paper, written in Dutch, concerning Lord George's burial at Medemblik in 1760:—

The under written Pieter Spaander and Pieter De Zee, Old Burgomasters, and at present Church Masters of the Reformed Church in the Town of Medemblik in North Holland, Certify under our Hands & Seals to all whom these Presents may concern or have occasion for the same, That it is true—

That in the Month of October in the year 1760, Lady Amilia Murray, Dowager of My Lord George Murray (at that time living here in her own House), Bought of the then Church Masters a Grave, N^o 72, in the Choir of the Church. That the Body of the said Lord George Murray was laid in the said Grave with all the Honour & Pomp usual in this place, and by order of the said Lady Murray, there was a new stone laid upon the grave, on which the arms here under affixed by our Seals are cut, and under the same this inscription:—

“Here Lies Interred the Body of the Right Hon^{ble} Lord George Murray, the 5th son of His Grace John Duke of Atholl, who died the 11th Day of Octob: 1760, in the 66th year of his age, Leaving behind him a mournful Widow, three sons & Two daughters. N^o 72. ‘I know that

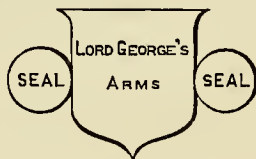
¹ Abercairny.

my Redeemer Livith,' Job 19. 25." And also the Escutcheon of the Family was hung up, and now hangs, on the South wall of the Choir next the Grave.

Moreover, by order of the said Lady Murray, the purchase money of the said Grave was paid, & the same shut up for the space of one hundred years. Lastly the underwritten Burgomaster Spaander Declares that, out of Respect for Lady Murray and her noble Family, he did promise, and now again promises for himself, his children, & Descendants, always to keep, & to have under his & their protection, the Grave & arms of the said Lord George Murray as our own property.

In confirmation of the Truth we have signed these presents & affixed our seals.

In Medemblik, the 20th January 1764.



PR SPAANDER. P. De ZEE.

I do declare the above to be a true translation from the Low Dutch by me, in London, 2nd Feb: 1764. in Testimonium veritatis,

JOHN FRESCARODE, Pub^l Not.

It appears that soon after succeeding to the title the 3rd Duke presented the above Burgomaster Spaander with a silver cup bearing the following inscription:—

Manusculum hoc pij gratique animi pignus dedit Joannes Atholix Dux, præ nobili viro Petro Spaander ab bene merita ejus erga patrem suum Dominum Georgium Murray, qui obiit in Medemblik anno 1760.

Translation.

This small present John Duke of Atholl gave, as a mark of his affectionate and tender mind, to the worthy man Peter Spaander, for kind services towards his Father, Lord George Murray, who died at Medemblik the year 1760.¹

¹ In 1880 I visited Medemblik in search of Lord George's grave, as is narrated under that date.—A.

Captain Drummond of Megginch to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

DRUMMOND,¹ Oct. 20th, 1760.

Dear Sir,—The Bearer hereof, James Wilson, a tenant of Callendar's in this neighbourhood, and as I'm inform'd a person of fair character, and for many years a Trader from this country to Dunkeld, came before me this afternoon to Demand a warrant for apprehending John McFadyen, one of the Sergeants now commanding the party on the Strabrand Road, on the following acc^t. That the said Sergeant came to the House of John McLish, ale house keeper in Laggalloch, where the prisoner [Bearer ?] was asleep a Bed, and sitting down by him awak'd him by striking him on the head, telling him he had giv'n him a shilling in the King's name, and that he was the King's Soldier; that he drove him along with him from that House and carried him forcibly with him to Belliloan, where he kept him all that night a bed betwixt him and his Corp^r, but without allowing him to cast of his cloaths; that the next morning he found his pockets turned out and twenty pounds Scots taken from him, in silver and copper, which he had just receiv'd for cheese he had sold; that the people at Laggalloch would prove his having money about him there, and that he, the complainer, was ready to swear he was possess of that money when he was forc'd to bed att Belliloan. That the said Sergeant Detain'd him all the next day, being Sunday, and when he Demanded to be carried before a Justice of the Peace, on which he took witnesses that he was beat by the said Serg^t and his party, and thrown on the Ground; that the said Serg^t insisted to have 24^{sh} from him, and that he would let him go; that he was carry'd before Bailie Spence at Dunkeld, who, not being a Justice of Peace, could take no cognizance in the matter: that the Serg^t forc'd him back with him from Dunkeld, and that he got one Andrew Gow to pay down a guinea for him to the Serjeant in James Johnston's House, so that he might be sett att Liberty to have an opportunity of going to seek redress, which he did by desiring a Warrant from me to bring this Serg^t before me to examine into this affair. I did not care to grant such warrant, as I knew the Serg^t was employed on the Strabrand Road, and had done that business very well. It is very probable this poor fellow was drunk; however, he seems to have been very hardly us'd, and it is the Business of all of us to

¹ Megginch had obtained a ninety-nine years' lease of Drummond Castle from the Government when the estate was forfeited in 1746 to preserve it for the family. This was given up when the estate was restored in 1783. He was also commissioner of the Perth estate, together with Drummond of Blair Drummond and Drummond of Logiealmond.

protect the country against such outrages. I'm affraid as to the money lost out of his pockets it is gone past recovery, and will not be proven, but as to the money exacted without bringing him before a Justice of the Peace, it is certainly illegall, and ought to be refund, and I think, if the Bearer proves his being beat and bruis'd as he represents, I would find no sort of difficulty in fining the Sergeant to the amount of the money the man was rob'd of, and sending him immediatly to prison till payment. On the whole, if you are so good as cause examine into the affair, and in case the Sergeant is guilty, if he is roundly threaten'd, in case he does not make some satisfaction to the poor man, that a warrant will be issued to apprehend him, I doubt not but he will make ample satisfaction, which if he does not, he ought to be sent to prison by a warrant from some of the Dunkeld Justices. . . .

Y^r most ob^t humble Sv^t,

A. DRUMMOND.

On the death of King George II., which occurred on October 25, the Duke set out for London, where he remained till December.

Mr. Edgar, Secretary to James VIII., to

ROME, Dec^r 9th, 1760.

Sir,—I have received your letter of Oct^r 23rd, and having had the honor to communicate the contents of it to the King my master, his Majesty was p^laced to express the greatest concern for the death of L^d George Murray, for whom he had a very particular regard and esteem, and commands me to make his sincere compliments of condolence to his Lady on this mournful occasion. Mr Lumsden and I beg you'll say to my Lady every thing that is proper from us on this melancholy event, and assure her of our constant attachment to her.

I am very sincerely, Sir, y^r most ob^t & most humble Serv^t,

JAMES EDGAR.

Alexander Robertson of Straloch to Major Harrison.

INVEROSKIE.

D^r Sir,—I heartily rejoyce that my Lord Duke is safely return'd and in good health. I have been some time distrest, and not fit to cross the hill, else had done myself the honour to wait of his Grace.

I send inclos'd letters I had from my sons, which I beg you'll peruse ; I know it will not be disagreeable to you to hear of their well fair, as you had so large a shear in both their promotions. My eldest son mentions my aplying his Grace for a Lieutenant Colnelcy ; it is now these applications are made before raising of the Sessions of parliament. My son has once and again propos'd a purchass at £800 sterl: which wou'd hurt me. If the warr goes on my Lord Duke's Intrest can easily procure it in a vaccancy in an old Regiment, or in a new levied Reg^{mt}. I am extreemly sencible of your freindship, I know your Intrest with my Lord Duke may get it done ; in that case, I shall satisfy you at meeting that I can make you a present of as much superiority as will make you a free holder in Perthshire, and have a vote, &c.

If the warr goes on the Lieutt Colnelcy will be more easily procur'd, because Glengery wrote to me about, or near, a year agoe, when many others were making same applications, to mention his raising and having command of a Regiment. The proposall was that Glengery should be Collonel, my son Lieut: Colonel, and Capt: Ruthven, my Lord Ruthven's eldest son, Major. Lord Milton, at my disire, wrote of it to the Duke of Argile, and my Lady Ruthven wrote to her Brother the Earle of Bute ; the answers from both were the same, that no more Battalions were to be rais'd last campine, so that we were too late.

You see inclosed a letter from Glengery to my Lord Duke, and a memoriall for my son, which were not delivered because of the above answers from London. I now think the same proposall may be renewed. The Glengery men wou'd make the best Regiment in the King's Service, sober, hardie, desperate, noted marksmen. We have since learnt, and my son says in the Inclosed letter that the King never conferrs the command of a Reg^{mt} on a man who was not before in the Army. Glengery was breed in the French and Dutch Service, but it was agreed, whichever had the command, they were to shear all between them, Glengerry and my son ; and therefore you see memorialls for each to command which can be soon transposed from Colonell to Lieutt Collnel in favours of each as we see cause.

I have hinted these things that you may think of and not mention them to His Grace, unless you please, till I wait of you, and let me know what day will be most agreeable for me to be at Dunkeld to wait of you . . . Dr Sir, Y^r affat and most humble Servant,

ALEX^R ROBERTSON.

[*Enclosures sent with the above.*]

No. 1.—*Glengarrie to His Grace.*

INVERGARY, 5th Aprile 1760.

My Lord,—Tho' I have taken the liberty of giving your Grace the trouble of this letter, yet I am at a lose how to apologise for it, and still the more so when I am asking the greatest of favours, both y^r Grace's protection and interest.

The attachment of the family of Glengery to your Grace's Illustrious ancestors is well known over all the north; my Father's was known to your Grace personally, and living wittness still remembers that of my Grandfather's, But I have much warmer and stronger under the hand of the great Marquis of Athols to Lord Mackdonell. I only mention this last but to plead my apologie for the motion I am making to your Grace, That if His Majesty is pleas'd to honour me with the comand of a Regiment, I will, notwithstanding the scarsity of men, upon my owne property, by the assistance of my friends, and my conection with the Clans in generall, raise such a Regement of Highlanders as I am hopfull your Grace would answer for when they face the Enemy. Whither or not this proposall is proper to be mentioned above is Intirly submitted to your Grace, for, had I not thought it my Duty to offer my service at this Juncture, I was to beg your Grace's protection in what greatly concerns the standing of my family, but will not presume to encrotch further at this time, only that I beg your Grace will belive me as much as any of my predecessors, My Lord,

Your Grace's most ob^t and most humble Servant,

A. MACKDONELL.

No. 2.—*Memorial for His Grace the Duke of Athole by Alexander McDonell of Glengarrie.*

Humbly Sheweth,—That till of late years it has been the great misfortune of the Highlands of Scotland to be despised and overlooked; their poverty and warlike spirit made them always too ready a prey to Invaders, but now they are sensible of their errors, and as His Majesty has been graciously pleased to employ & encourage them, it will more and

more appear how faithfully they will support and feight for the Interest of their King and country.

The Memorialist, from his attachment to the welfare of his country, is extremely happy that such Highlanders as have appeared in action acquired honor, and he humbly begs leave to apply your Grace to move, that if his Majesty will be pleased to Employ and Honour him with the command of a Regiment, he will Engage and become bound to Levy a Battalion of brave, stout, Hardy Highlanders, with whom he can chearfully venture his Life in his Majesty's Service, as the men will be of his own name, family and friends, who he has hitherto reserved for that purpose, and thinks it his Duty to make this proposal at so critical a time when men are necessarily wanted. If it's agreeable, begs to know His Grace's pleasure with respect to this application, when he will be ready to present a plan of the whole affair, which he is hopefull will merit approbation.

The Regiment will be ready for action immediatly when raised, and if commanded to attack in their own way with sword in hand, will evidently Demonstrate the importance of their service.

No. 3.—*Memorial for His Grace the Duke of Athole in behalf of Major John Reid of the Royal Highland Battalion, commanded by the Right Hon^{ble} Lord John Murray.*

Humbly Sheweth,—That the Memorialist is extremely Happy to find that such Highland Battalions as have appeared in action acquired honour, tho' Levied so quickly in the low country Towns and villages that few of them are real Highlanders, and he humbly begs leave to apply your Grace to move, that if his Majesty will be pleased to employ and honour him with the command of a Regiment He will engage and become bound to Levy a Battalion of real hardy Highlanders with whom he can chearfully venture his life in his Majesty's Service.

The Memorialist understands that the sons of Highland leaders who were forfeited for the late Rebellion are sensible how much their Fathers and Families have been a prey to, and ruined by the deceitfull Enemies of their King and country.

If a few of them were made officers in this Battalion their Companys wou'd be quickly Levied from among their Friends, and they wou'd exert themselves to the utmost in hopes to regain His Majestie's good will.

The memorialist thinks it his Duty to make this proposal at so critical a time, when men are necessarily wanted. If it's agreeable, begs to know His Grace's pleasure with regard to this application, when he will be ready to Present a plan of this whole affair, which he is hopefull will merit approbation.

This Regiment will be ready for action immediatly when raised, and if commanded to attack in their own way with sword in hand, will evidently demonstrate the importance of their Services.

Captain Alexander Reid¹ (42nd) to Baron Reid of Straloch.

MONT REAL, 9th Sept. 1760.

Dear Father,—Before this reaches you you'll probably have the agreeable news of the total reduction of Canada. This has long engaged the attention of Britain, & has cost it immense summs.

As far as I have seen of Canada, & I am informed it is better & better below this place, it is a very valuable acquisition; & if confirmed to Britain it will open up very rich sources of trade. General Amherst's Army suffered more from the rapid currents & rocks in the River St Laurence than from any opposition we mett w^t. These are not so terrible as they were represented to be, but bad enough in all conscience, & God keep me from returning that way. Where our two Battalions will have their winter quarters we know not, nor whether they will be together. My Brother is very well, & has been so for a long time. I thank God for it, for all the heat & cold & fatigue I have suffered since I left you, I have kept my health pritty well; far beyond what I expected. John Small 8 or 10 days ago was sent w^t the prisoners taken at Isle Royal to New York. The General has great confidence in him, & frequently employs him on particular services. I wrote Straloch² before I left Albany & gave him a distinct state of poor Bob's affairs. I hope my letter came safe to hand. I beg you'll make my affectionate compliments to all our friends. My Strathardle men send their Blessing to you, & hope you'll give notice to their friends that they are all well. I ever am, D^r Father,

Y^r most affate son & obedient Servant,

ALEX^R REID.

¹ Younger son of Baron Reid.

² This must refer to Robertson of Wester Straloch. There was a Lieutenant Robert Robertson appointed in 1758 to the 2nd Battalion.

*Major John Reid*¹ (42nd) to *Baron Reid*.

CAMP AT MONTREAL, 10 Sept. 1760.

Dear Father,—I had the pleasure of receiving both your Letters containing different proposals for my promotion; the first cary'd some air of probability with it, and if backed by the Dukes of Athol or Argile might have succeeded; but the last never could, as the King never will confer the Rank of Colonel on any person, even of the highest birth, who has never served in our army. My being in this country has been of disadvantage to my preferment, and if I am to be reduced as a Major, I may for ever bid adieu to all hopes of a Regiment, which ought to be the point in view of every man of spirit. It is on this account that I have been so very earnest with you concerning a purchase, which now also despair of. In case the War should continue, the Duke of Atholl can easily get me promoted, and I in gratitude wou'd do everything in my power to serve His Grace during the whole course of my life. Lett what will happen as to me, I wou'd advise you to do every obliging action in your power to that Family, either as to votes for a member of Parliament or other ways. My Brother tells me that he is obliged to His Grace alone for his commission, and that Mr Murray was pleased to interest himself for me w^h Lord John when my promotion was still in doubt. These are circumstances which we ought not to be unmindfull of.

We have at last put a period to the War in this part of the world by an entire conquest of Canada. The campaign has been excessively fatiguing to that part of the army immediatly under the command of General Amherst, particularly to the first Battalion of our Reg^t, which has been under my command during the last winter, and the greatest part of the campaign. We lost more men by drowning, in coming down the River Saint Laurence, than by the enemy, and no man of less steadiness and Resolution than Gen^l Amherst wou'd ever have thought of bringing an army that way.

My brother writes you by this opportunity; he makes a good officer, and is much beloved by his corps.

Compliments to Straloch, our minister, &c.

I ever am, Dear Father, y^r aff^{te} Son, &c.

JOHN REID.

¹ Eldest son of Baron Reid.

The Duke's half-brother, Lord John, had sat in Parliament for Perthshire since 1734, but having disoblged his Grace in some way, the Duke determined to run his nephew and son-in-law, Mr. Murray of Strowan, against him at the next general election.

Work done at Blair in 1760.

The road through Glen Tilt
Walk along Banvie, west side of Den } gone on with.

Croy built in the Garry at Abarsuainie.

At Dunkeld the Hermitage was harled and thatched with heather, and a tower called, "Castle in the Air," built on Craig a Barns.

January 1761.—Lady George returned to Scotland from Holland, where she had remained to settle her late husband's affairs.

January 30.—Lady Charlotte Murray was confined of a son at Dunkeld, who was christened George.

It had been feared by the family that at the Duke's death Mr. Murray would be debarred from succeeding to the dukedom owing to his father Lord George's attainder. However, this spring certain eminent counsel gave opinion that, as the patent for the dukedom was by entail, as Lord George had died before the Duke, Mr. Murray's succession would not be affected by the attainder.

Duke of Argyll to His Grace.

LOND^N, March 5th, 1761.

My Lord,— . . . I am very glad to find that the law is likely to turn out clear for Mr Murray succeeding to the Dukedom of Athol. The copy of the paper you will receive was given me by the Laird of Canewood,¹ who tells me that the opinion is right. This makes a great change in the circumstances of your Family. I am, my dear Lord,

Y^r Gr/s most faithfull humble S^{vt},

ARGYLL.

I should be glad to have a copy of the clause of succession in your patent.

¹ William, Lord Mansfield, Lord Chief-Justice.

April 15.—The Duke of Argyll died suddenly in London, aged seventy-nine.

April 21.—The Perthshire election took place. At the last moment Lord John Murray withdrew, and accordingly Mr. Murray was returned unopposed.

Mr. Murray of Strowan to Lady George Murray.

DUNKELD, 24th April 1761.

Dear Madam,—I was favourd with yours this morning, and am happy to hear that you and all at Kinloch are well. I would have sent to you to acquaint you that all was well over, but Mr Farquerson told me he was to send. The unanimity of my election gave me great satisfaction, and the general approbation & good oppinion I mett with gives me more pleasure than any rank in Life can do.

Lord John behav'd extreamly well the day of the election. I have since accomodated matters between him and the Duke. He dined here yesterday, was here all night, and is just now hearing Lady Charlotte playing on the organ. I have no notion of keeping up enmity with any one, especially so near a Relation, and shall always endeavour to behave so as not to have one enemy or Ilwisher in the world. . . .

I never was in better Health in my Life than at present, and can't say I was att all the worse for my Perth expedition. When the company is so large as 70 or 80 it's the Landlord's own fault if he fills himself foo. . . .

Y^r most Dutiful & aff^{te} Son & Servant,

JOHN MURRAY.

Captain John Murray, Keith's Highlanders, to His Grace.

CAMP AT KIRKDENKEREN, July 17th [1761].

My Lord,—I have the Honor to acquaint y^r Grace of a very signal victory¹ Gain'd over the Right wing of the French Army yesterday by a seperate corps commanded by Lord Granby. Peticulars as to the Loss of wh, or the enemy, I have not heard, tho' they certainly have suffer'd extreamly. Our Highlanders have been engaged for three days succes-

¹ At Fellinghausen.

sively, many hours each time. We have had the Misfortune to loss many Brave men & officers ; among them is Major Campbell,¹ and as I am eldest captain in the Reg^t, I beg your Grace to use your Interest in recommending me to this succession. . . .

Yr Gr/s most Dutifull & Humble S^{vt},

JOHN MURRAY.

Captain John Murray, Keith's Highlanders, to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

CAMP AT KIRKDENKEREN, July 20 [1761].

Dear M^r Murray,—I did myself the pleasure of writing you by the Messenger who was sent from Lord Granby the day after the Battle, But as I was in a very great hurry, and had many other Letters to write, I was obliged to make it shorter than I could have wished ; I have therefore taken this first opportunity of resumeing it.

About a week ago we had a very smart Skirmish with the enemy upon the very same ground where the Battle was, within less than half a mile of our camp. Our Reg^t was then the only sufferers ; we lost a Captⁿ and two Lieut^s wounded and about thirty men, and about ten killed. Heitherto we have had very few days without Bloodshed and Great Fatigue ; for twelve days together we have lay'd out, without ever seeing a tent, but I hope since the 16th the enemy will be more quiet.

As far as I am able I will give you some account of that day. On the evening of the fifteenth Monsieur Broglio, with seven Battallions and some artillery, attacked our out posts, and forced them with such Rapidity that, before we could get Intelligence, they were very near our camp. Our Highlanders Immediately advanced, and were soon engaged, and soon put a stop to their career. The engagement lasted till night ; as it was in a very close wood, neither had any material advantage. The whole army lay under arms that night, and about two o'clock in the morning of the 16th the cannonading began ; the engagement lasted till about seven, when the French went to the right about, after suffering a most Prodigious Slaughter. We had the honour with four companys to give them the last fire upon their Flank, which made them go off with as much hast as they came on.

¹ Major Archibald Campbell, brother of Achallader.

We have had most Particular Thanks for the Gallant Behaviour of the Highlanders from the Duke & Lord Granby. . . .

Yr most faithfull & obt humble Sv^t,

JOHN MURRAY.

Major Harrison to Mr. Douglas (Tailor).

DUNKELD, 19th July 1761.

D^r Sir,—Y^r acco^t Discharged is Received. By return of post you will write me what is the properest and best way for my Lord Duke's being provided with Coronation Robes, the Coronate and other Requisites, and whereabouts the amount of the whole may be. This Information you can have from some of the best Robe makers.

As his Grace will want a Sute of Cloaths for the occasion, you will write what will be the properest and most fashionable; you may perhaps find out what sort of Cloaths some aged people of the Duke's Rank has allready made for the Coronation—there is the Dukes of Newcastle, Dorset, Bolton, Queensberrey, &c., &c.

Livery cloaths will be wanting for at least ten, so you had better bespeck the Blew cloath & the silver lace, and in a post or two shall send the names of such as will be at London and that you have their measures. Be shure to write fully in course of post. I suppose my Lord Duke may be in London some time about the middle of September.

Major Harrison to Mr. Douglas (Tailor).

ATHOLL HOUSE, 1st Aug^t 1761.

I have received yours of the 25th July with the two estimates of Coronation Robes. My Lord Duke desires that you may Imediatly set them agoing, so as they may be ready without fail against the time, & Desires they may be of the best of every thing. His Grace would have a handsome sute of cloaths made for him by the time he comes to London, but the patron you sent His Grace thinks much too rich, as he will not be at London time enough for the marriage. Inclosed I send you another patron, and his Grace would chuse to have either that or some thing of the sort, coat, wascote, and Breaches, all the same. The wascote to be Interlined with flanen and made warm; as to the Lineing for the coat &

wascote His Grace leaves it to you, to be what is the properest and most fashionable, nor dos he confine you to this patron, but desires you may chuse what is thought most handsome and fashionable. The Liverys to be Laced as formerly, they must all have frocks, but them can be made after his Grace comes to Town. As I wrote you formerly, there will be Liverys wanted for ten; I beleave you have measures for eight of them, viz: Thomas Marshall, Edward France, Jack Moon, David Smith, the coachman, the two postilions, and the groom.

P.S.—As all velvets are cold for the later end of the year, His Grace would rather wish to have it cloath, but he is afraid that Lace will not be thought fine enough, and perhaps it will be too late for Imbroadrey, tho' it may be the later end of Sept^r befor he comes to Town.

His Grace to Baron Maule (extract).

ATHOLL HOUSE, 1st Aug. 1761.

The 22^d of July last I sign'd a commission appointing Captⁿ John Wood Governor of the Isle of Man.¹

During the first half of this year William Maule, the gardener at Dunkeld, died, and one John Scott was appointed his successor.

His Grace applied this year to the Treasury for a grant of money for the reparation of Dunkeld Cathedral, which was refused.

Abercairny to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).

EGLINTON, Monday, 3^d Aug^t 1761.

Dear M^r Murray,—Tho' I find you would be informed by the news papers of this disobedient step of Susie's, I should reckon myself short in my duty to a Family had don her so much honor as the Duke and Dutchess of Atholl, Lady Charlotte Murray and you has, did I los a post in leting you know all I do of the matter, which was this morning by Express from my Sister, now at Abercairny, that Major Seton came there from F: Augustus and stay'd only one night, and next day had a chaise

¹ Captain Cochrane having resigned on being appointed Commissioner of Excise.

ready, in which Susie and he went to Edr, and was Wednesday evening married, went out next morning to Binston near Haddington, a house his sister lives in, and more I yet know nothing about them. The Major did twice address me with relation to this affair, which had so unreasonable an appearance to me, that I could give him no incuragement to expect my approbation, and for one reason only, which if he obviat I shall be the sooner satisfied, and shall make no sorded use of my daughter's disobedience, nor of his manner of bringing her to it, but this alon to your self and what I think I ow you above all. I was lucky enough to have told all this affair to my Lady Eglinton, my L^d, and the Coll:, who are all here, before the accounts of the marriage came, and was fair enough to let them know I did not think the Lady avers from it, and as they all well know the Major, my objection was the single one to them all, and so the matter at present stands, only that I find much good will here to do every thing possible for the Major's preferment. . . .

I am dear Mr Murray's most obedient and respectfull humble Servant
J. MORAY.

Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre to Major Harrison (extract).

OCHTERTYRE, 4 Aug^t 1761.

Sir,— . . . My wife and I got home here fraiday's fornoon, both verry well, and the only novelty has happened in Strathearn since we left it, is that Munday the 27th of last month Major Seaton came to Abercairnry in the evening, and nixt day, about five of the cloack in the afternoon, carryed of Susie Murray with him in a Haickny Post Chease. Abercairnry is just now in the west country, and not expected home till y^e middle of this month, so you'll let His Grace know that he most drinke his tost now by the name of M^{rs} Seaton. . . .

Y^r most humble Servant,

PAT: MURRAY.

August 4.—Messrs. Stuart & Poulter wrote from London to Major Harrison that they would send a very roomy coach and six horses, pair of horses for the chaise, with a careful coachman and two postillions, to Dunkeld on the 28th, to

convey Mr. and Lady C. Murray to London. The price of the coach and set to be 36s., and the pair and postillion 12s. 6d. per diem.

Captain Hon. Robert Sandilands to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).

MUSLEBURGH, Aug. 6, 1761.

I most sincerely condole with the Duke of Atholl for the loss of his Toast, Miss Moray. Major Seaton is a very good man I believe, but I am afraid he has been so much used to a Life so very opposite to what a Matrimonial one ought to be, that it will be no easy matter for him to settle. What says the Laird of Abercarny to the cause?

His Grace to Lord Kinnaird.

DUNKELD, 6th Aug^t 1761.

My Lord,—I am well informed that your Lordship makes a very bad use of the Warrant you have for Leave to Kill moorfowles upon the bounds of Glenmore, by haveing several others¹ in company with you, with Dogs, guns, & nets, Destroying the game. This will oblige me to withdraw the Warrant I gave you on 24th Jan^y 1759.

As for the Gauger of Kirkmichael, one of your company, I shall have him represented to the Supervisor for being so long absent from His Duty; For the others, orders shall be given that they be prosecuted according to Law, some of whom I am told are not even qualified to carry a gun.

My Lord, y^r Lop/s &c &c

ATHOLL.

Instructions to Mr. Wood.

Mr Wood is to wait of Lord Kinnaird and acquaint him from the Duke of Atholl that the complaint of his killing Muirfowl was by the Information of those Intrusted with the preservation of the Game at Fealair, and that if his Lop is of opinion that he will no longer continue the Tack of Fealair, His Grace is willing Immediatly to release him from it.

¹ The persons reported against were Mr. Menzies of Woodend, Stewart of Gourdie, Freebairne, gauger of Kirkmichael, and Rattray of Tullochcurran.

Mr. Menzies to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

MENZIES HILL, *Aug. 10th, 1761.*

Sir,—It gives me the utmost concern to hear it rumor'd that the Duke of Athole is to procecute me for shooting on His Grace's Hills; am sorry that I shou'd have given the lest cause of Displeasure on any account. I beg leave to inform you of the real state of the affair, which is this. Another Gentleman & myself got liberty from Invercald to shoot in his Forrest of Glenlochsy for 8 days, & likewise in all L^d Airly's grounds. Invercald's Hills marches with the Duke's near Filare. The other Gentleman & I set out from the Spittle of Glenshie and hunted on Invercald's grounds till towards night; were told we were within a few miles of L^d Kinnaird's Shelling, on which we agreed to take a night's Lodging with His Lop: rather as return so far back that night. My Lord insisted on our staying some days with him, as he & any that were along with him had liberty from the Duke of Athole to shoot upon the grounds he had in Tack, and am pretty sure we were upon no other except Inveray's, who Lord Kinnaird likewise said he had a liberty on.

This on my Honor is matter of Fact, and since I have had the misfortune to transgress, I hope his Grace will impute it entirely to my not knowing better. I will esteem it a most singular favour your pleading with the Duke of Athole in behalf of the other Gentleman and myself; it's the first time I ever fell in a scrape of this kind, for I make it a point never to Hunt on any grounds without Liberty. I hope, with your intercession and His Grace's goodness, pardon for this transgression. I am, with the greatest regard, Sir, y^r most obedient humble Servant,

JA: MENZIES.

In consequence of Mr. Murray's representations to His Grace, nothing further took place.

August 24.—The Duke and Duchess, accompanied by Sir Patrick Murray of Ochtertyre, arrived in London in order to attend the King's coronation. Their Graces occupied the Duchess of Gordon's house.

In September Mr. and Lady Charlotte Murray and family arrived in London, and occupied a house in George Street, Westminster.

His Grace to the Duke of Ancaster.

UPPER GROSVENOR ST, 18 Sept. 1761.

My Lord,—As I understand that the Ceremony of my delivering two Falcons to His Majesty on the day of his Coronation, as Lord of the Isle of Man, is allowed to be performed by my Deputy, Sir Patrick Murray, immediately before the second course is served, I am to desire your Grace will be pleased to order that he may have access into the Hall, and a proper station allotted to him, and that your Grace may likewise be pleased to issue your warrant for that purpose.

I have the honour to be, My L^d Duke,

Y^r Gr/s most ob^t & most humble Servant,

ATHOLL.

At the same time the Duke applied to the Earl of Talbot, the Lord Chamberlain, for a ticket for his servant, Joseph Bradshaw, to attend him in Westminster Hall at the coronation, which took place on the 22nd September 1761.¹

Mr. Thomas Bissett, Factor, to Major Harrison (extract).

DUNKELD, 22^d Sept. 1761.

Mr Murray's Hermitage has mett with a little Bitt of Misfortune. A Highlander, who was formerly servant to L^d Strechine, having turn'd Lunatick, was put in the mad house at Edin^r, from whence he made his escape, and coming down Strathbrawn scrambled into the Hermitage, gathered all the fruit and went off without further damage; he came next to Charles McGlashan's Stable, seized upon a horse belonging to Mr Hamilton Gordon, rode off, and being pursued by Mr Gordon's servants, was caught at Perth, the horse took from him, and left raving mad.

¹ One William Stewart acted as falconer on this occasion. His dress was a green coat with yellow metal buttons, green breeches, striped cotton waistcoat, shoes and stockings, and leather cape.

Sir Robert Menzies to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).

CASTLE MENZIES, 26 Sept. 1761.

I have nothing new to entertain you with, no, not so much as a change on Abercairny towards a reconciliation with his daughter or son in Law. The Major went to his Reg^t to F^t Augustus some weeks agoe, and left his Queen of the Hunters¹ in East Lothian. I have not seen Aber: since the affair happened, but did not think he was to be so scrupulous in granting a pardon. I hear Lady F: Montgomery is lately arrived at his house, perhaps to be a peace maker.

Mr. Thomas Bissett to Major Harrison (extract).

DUNKELD, 1st Oct. 1761.

Every thing at Blair is in a good way. John Muckle carried there seven pheasants, three cocks and four hens; they have hitherto haunted the Garden and Hercules plantation, and it's thought they will thrive.

October 15.—Abercairny wrote to Mr. Murray of Strowan informing him that he had forgiven his daughter and Major Seton for their runaway marriage.

During October the Duke and Duchess and Sir Patrick Murray paid a visit to Bath; and about the same time Mr. Murray's eldest son John was sent to Westminster School.

Towards the end of November their Graces set out from London on their return journey to Scotland, travelling slowly on account of his Grace's health.

Sir Patrick Murray to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

NORTHALLERTON, 30 Novr 1761.

D^r Sir,—We lay last night at Burrowbridge and came here this day betwixt one and two to dinner; we are all night here, tomorrow night at Ferryhill, Wednesday Newcastle, Thursday Alnwick, Friday Berwick, Saturday Beltanfoord, Sunday Edin^r. By all accounts the Rodes are very bad befor us, the peace impassable w^t wheels, so we must go about

¹ Miss Moray had officiated as Queen at the last Hunt Ball in Edinburgh.

by Cobberspath, as other cariagess do. Ever since we left London we have had as fine weather as possibly could be expected in this season of y^e year; for the first five days after we left London the Duke eat nothing at all, these three days by past he has eat a little, keeps up his spirites surprizeingly, although he is really a good deale ematiated and his muscular streangth much failed since we set out, of which he is himself senceable, and often says so; but you'll easily imagine we say other-ways, and do all we can to keep up his spirites.

Our methode is, when we make two stagess, to stay about three hours at our dineing Place; we arrive betwixt four and five where we stay all night, when we have first tea, and after tea plays three hand umber till seven, when we supe; the Dutchess stays till neare eight, then M^r Harrison comes in and we drinke a glass and chats till ten. When we make but one stage we dine about two, the Dutchess leaves us about half ane houre after dinner when M^r Harrison comes in, we finish the bottell called for at Dinner and chats, by w^h time he is readdy for his nape, after w^h tea and cards, and the evening passed as befor mentioned. To tell the trouth, his conversatione verry often turns upon his thinkeing himself a dyeing, although quite in ane easy resigned way, and when he changess the subject, verry cheary, highly entertaineing, and figureing happiness and amusement when we get to Perthshire, although he often ades "if ever I be able to get there." Our present plan is to stay only Munday at Edin^r, to be Tuesday at Stirling, Wednesday to dine at Ochtertyre, where we have Abercairny and somebody els I thinke agreeable to meet him. He sends to Dunkeld all his servants but what are absolutely necessary for him and the Dutchess, and stays at Ochtertyre till Fraiday or Saturday senight, and after that you may be assured I'll do everything my inventione can contrive to make his time sweem easily on; but if he does not take a turn by y^e time he gets fairely settled at home, I am affraide he'll weast fast. His couch is more or less as the defluctione gathers in his Breast, & as his streangth has rather failed since we set out, the difficulty of geting up the defluctione increassess. I thought it right to be quite particulare to you with regard to the Duke's state of health, but hope you'll take care that nothing transpires to alarme poor Lady Sharlett. God grant my feares may be groundless, but will write you how all goes on, and if you don't heare from me you may presume all is tollerably well. . . .

Dr Sir, yr most ob^t humble Servant,

PAT: MURRAY.

In 1761 the Duke purchased the lands of Kincaigie in Glen Tilt and Glen Fender from Donald Robertson for £3004.

Towards the end of this year an expedition was despatched from North America under General Monckton against the island of Martinique in the West Indies. The two battalions of the 42nd formed part of the force, and Captain James Murray was very severely wounded during the operations.

Lieutenant Farquharson (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

ON BOARD THE "BIRD" TRANSPORT IN FORT ROYAL BAY
OFF THE ISLAND OF MARTINIQUE, 2 Feb^r 1762.

Sir,—At Capt: Murray's desire, with whom I am just now on board, I give you the trouble to acquaint you that on the 24th of last month, during a warm attack on the Enemy's Battreys and entrenchments, he received a wound with a musquet ball, which entred at the left breast and was cutt out below the right shoulder, & consequently pass'd thro' the Lungs.¹

The surgeons and every body else were at first of opinion that the wound was mortal, but on a proper examination it has happily turn'd out to be quite otherways; He is just now in a fine way, & in great spirits, and would have wrote you with his own hand had he not been desir'd by the surgeons to shun giving himself any motion, and besides he has as yet only the use of his arms from the elbows. As I have here conceal'd no part of his situation from you, I beg you give yourself no uneasiness on his account, or beleive any vague reports that you find mentioned in the public papers or otherways. He is certainly out of all danger, and in a little time will be able to walk about. He expects that in less than two moneths he will be in a way to move, and as his return home will be very requisite for the confirmation of his health, he is therefore designed, how soon he can venture to attempt a passage, to ask the General's leave, and thinks he won't be refused, but chooses rather you would, by applying to the Secretary at War, procure His Majesty's leave for that purpose, and have it remitted how soon possible, and at same time that the General may be acquainted that he has it.

¹ The bullet is at Blair Castle.

I need not trouble here with the mention of the glorious successes we have had since our landing on this Island, which I hope we will soon be entire masters of. The public papers will give more particular notice than I can pretend to.

We have Troops brave enough to attempt the reduction of the Universe. Nothing can or dare withstand us.

I am sorry to acquaint you that Captⁿ Rollo, only son of Lord Rollo, died here some days ago of Fever; He is much regretted.

I have wrote Invercauld of this date, but in case my Letter may miscarry beg you please acquaint him of Captain Murray's situation. I have the honour respectfully to be, Sir,

Y^r most ob^t & most humble Serv^t,

ALEX^r FARQ^rSON.

Your Brother desires I may acquaint you that he will have occasion to draw for some money on the agent before he leaves this country.

P.S.—*Captain James Murray to Mr. Murray of Strowan.*

My Dear Brother,—As I know you are so good hearted, my situation will give you uneasiness. Altho' it gives me a little pain, I write these few lines to assure you that my situation is much better then the surgeons or any body could have expected, considering the badness of the wound, therefore beg that you, or none of my dear friends give themselves the least uneasiness about me, as I am sure I am out of danger, & what will greatly help my mending is the expectation of seeing you all soon.

My sincere Duty to my Dear Mother, and my best love to Dear Lady Charlott, & to the rest of them, & my choysest Blessing to all the young anes. And ever remain, Dearest Brother,

Yours most affectionately

JAMES MURRAY.

Dr. Spence to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).

DUNKELD, 5th Feb^y 1762.

I know of no new works on hand just now. The Drawing Room,¹ now finished, is a most Princely room; the crimson lining, 'tis thought,

¹ At Dunkeld House. The mirror mentioned is probably that in the tea-room at Blair.

looks dull in some lights, but mirrors or pictures will have a fine effect in the cure. I just hear that a fine Sconce Glass design'd for this room is arriv'd at Perth from London. His Grace was not a little anxious about the ship in w^h it was on board.

This neighbourhood is pester'd with recruiting Parties for Coll Graham's Regt,¹ & truly such a Regem^t I believe was never collected; they are of all sizes without limitation, & of all ages from fourteen to four score; there are about 600 recruited who were to be muster'd a few days ago at Perth by the Colonel. Andrew Gow² at Invar is made a sergeant by Capt: Rollo. The youth had run in debt & was in arrears to Rollo for recruiting money. . . .

Y^r most obliged humble Servant

JAMES SPENCE.

This year Captain John Murray of Keith's Highlanders was promoted Major.

Captain James Murray (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

FORT ROYALL, 25th Feb: 1762.

My Dear Brother,—I have taken every opportunity to let you know concerning me, but till now have not been able to write a letter. Lieut Farcherson wrote twice, to each of which letters I added a Poscript as I knew your would make you all uneasy by not hearing from me.

I am still confined to my bed, but hopes soon will be able to sit up; it is now thirty two days since I was wounded, I suffer a good deal still, but by the Surgeons am thought quite out of danger. One thing we are all very lucky in, there can not be a cleverer set of Surgeons than we have. As soon as I am able I intend going to S^t Cristofers, (which I am told is one of the healthiest of our Islands,) untill I be in a condition to bear the fatigue of a Voyage to Brittain. M^r Farquerson mentioned to you my desire of your obtaining leave for that purpose, as I would rather that then to get it here. It will probably be severall months before I be in my former good health, but will undertake the voyage as soon as possible, as it will greatly contribute to my being soon well to have the satisfaction of seeing you all.

¹ The 105th Highlanders, commanded by Colonel Græme of Gorthy.

² The blacksmith.

At present am able to write no more, but my best love to you all, my Duty to my dear Mother, & Blessing to all the dear young anes, & ever remain, My Dear Brother,

Your most affect :

JAMES MURRAY.

March 20, 1762.—Lady Charlotte Murray was confined in London of a son, who was named William, after Lord Mansfield.

Captain James Murray (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).

FORT ROYALL, 26 *March 1762.*

My Dear Brother,— . . . I find myself dayly mending (although but slowly); this country does not agree with me at present. I have been walking about my room this fortnight; my wounds are still open, but will now soon shut up. All the Surgeons are of oppinion (that have attended me) I should go home as soon as I am able to bear the fattigue of the Voyage, as there I will much sooner recover my former health; therefore, as I mentioned before, I beg you'l be so good as obtain me his Majesty's leave for that purpose, as the Generall has refused severals, but beleive that won't be my case, being pretty well entitled to it, as there is few here have suffered more since in America. The Surgeons say they don't think a musket ball can kill me, as it has crossed both lobs of my lungs; they all indeed were of oppinion that it was impossible to survive it, but they happened to be mistaken. . . .

Yr most afft Brother,

JAMES MURRAY.

The Duke, having become dissatisfied with his Edinburgh factors, Messrs Archibald and Andrew Stuart, took his business from them in March, and gave it to Mr. Mackenzie of Delvine.

Captain James Murray (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan.

GARDELOUP, BASSTERRE, 10 *Aprile 1762.*

My dear Brother,—Wedensday evening last I set out from Martinique for St Cristofers, dine here this day with Col^l Melville, & expect to be at

St Kristofers tomorrow; from thence will set out for Brittan in two or three weeks at furthest, which I believe is as soon as my wounds will permit. I am mending but slowly, yet better then could be expected; the passage to England is commonly six or seven weeks; it would give me infinite pleasure and satisfaction could you be at London at the time of my arivall, & it might be at the same time of infinite service to me. This goes by one Lieut. Campbell, belonging to the corps of Ingenires, a very pretty deserving young Lad, who sets off for England at three this afternoon.

You see I take every opportunity to let you here from me, & I realy beleive I am beginning to turn as fond of writing as once I hated it. My kindest love to Lady Charlott, & all of your little ones my blessing attend them.

Generall Mungton made no difficulty of granting me leave to go to England, as the Phisitians judged it absolutely necessary for my health.

Have time to add no more, but most sincerely am, my Dearest Brother,
Ever yours most affectly,

JAMES MURRAY.

Mr. George Murray, R.N., to Lady George Murray.

[LONDON, *May* 1762.]

Dear Mama,—It is so long since I wrote to you that I can offer no excuse for my negligence, but beg you will not atribute to any want of Duty to so good a mother, but rather to an unpardonable Neglegence with which I have used you and all my other relations, but which I have at last got the better of, and I am resolved never to be gilty of for the future.

I arived at Plimouth from the East Indies about a fortnight ago, from whence I sett out five days ago & arived here tother day, whare I had the happiness to find my Brother & Lady Charlotte in good health, but their little family was very mutch afflicted with the chink coff.¹

My Brother is so good as to give himselfe a great deal of troble about getting me a promotion, which I believe he will soon effect. We expect the arival of Jamy every day from the West Indies.

Lady Charlotte desires me to inform you that she would have wrote

¹ Whooping-cough.

to you, but, as she has nothing particular to say, & as I write, she will differ to another opportunity.

I have nothing more to inform you of, as I have wrote this post to Lady Sinclair, but Believe me ever to remain

Y^r most Dutifull Son,

GEORGE MURRAY.

As soon as Mr. Murray's children recovered from the whooping-cough he removed them to East Moulsey for change of air.

June 18.—The Duke at last received a warrant from the Government for £300 to be laid out in repairing Dunkeld Cathedral.

The beginning of July Captain James Murray (42nd) reached London on sick-leave from the West Indies.

Mr. Murray of Strowan to Lady George Murray (extract).

EAST MOLSV, 13th July 1762.

Dear Madam,—All your children here are now, thank God, pretty well.

I think I writ you that I had introduced the Capⁿ to his Majesty, L^d Bute, &c. I hope something will be done for him, but when I don't know. He has had a little of the cold, but has now gott pretty well again, and proposes going to Bristol next week, as advised by the Surgeons, of which I am in great hopes he will find some benefit. . . .

I am very uncertain as to our motions, and undetermined what to do next. The young folks are now so well recovered that we may undertake the journey with them as soon as we please, but my Brother George's time will not be out till some time next month, so as he may pass his Trials, and I would fain endeavour to gett something done for him before I leave England, otherways he will be quite waff. . . . !

Mr. Mackenzie of Delvine to Mr. Bissett (extract).

EDIN^g, 24 July 1762.

Sir,— . . . I laid the case of the swine molesting the Forrest in a full Memorial before M^r Graham, who is clear of opinion that Lude's people have no shadow of right to bring them there, but is against shoot-

¹ See vol. v. addenda xxviii.

ing or escheating them, & proposes that they should be pointed upon the act of Parliamt & kept in a house, tho' they should die there, till they pay the penalties of the Law, which is half a merk p^r day. This then may be sett about, and a parcel of them seized (if that is practicable), & kept in a house till the owners redeem them, or if they do not chuse that way, they must begin going to Law and his Grace will remain on the defensive, which is commonly the most eligible. I shall send M^r Harrison or you a copy of the opinion next post, and I continue,

Sir, your most humble Serv^t

JO: MACKENZIE.

Mr. Mackenzie of Delvine to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).

EDIN^R, 5 Aug. 1762.

There's a fresh war broke out in the Forrest of Atholl which a little decency on Lude's part might have prevented. All his swine are present prisoners for infesting the Forrest.

Mr. Mackenzie of Delvine to Major Harrison.

EDIN^R, 9th Aug^t 1762.

Sir,—Having accidentally met Lude's Doer this day, he tells me that instructions from the learn'd here in the Law are gone to Lude to come in His Grace's reverence & pay what is askt as the legal fine for bringing the Swine within the Forrest. If this Intelligence holds true, the matter is over before this time & the Fine paid, but if it is otherwise, M^r Graham thinks, as I do, that the Forrester shou'd intimate to Lude under form of Instrum^t to call for the swine by himself or his Tenents & pay the legal penalties for the Trespass directly, wherein if he fails, that the Baron Baillie, in a complaint brought before him in name of the Forrester, shou'd ascertain the sum due for the 33 pointed swine at half a merk for each p^r day besides their maintenance, & shou'd adjudge to His Grace & the Forrester the property of as many swine as are equal in value to the sum ascertain'd, & liberate the rest under protestation that His Grace's doing so upon this Transgression shou'd not prejudice his right of escheating all the swine hereafter found within the bounds of the Forrest in virtue of the Forrest Laws. I continue, Sir, Y^r most humble Sev^t

JO: MACKENZIE.

In August Mr. George Murray was discharged from H.M.S. *Terpsichore* (in which he had come home) into H.M.S. *Princess Royal*, guard-ship.

September 25.—Mr. Murray of Strowan and his brother Captain James arrived at Atholl House from England.

October 10.—Mr. Murray left Blair before 1 A.M. and reached East Molesey, near Kingston-on-Thames, at 6 P.M. on the 13th.

During October Mr. George passed his examination for his Lieutenancy and was appointed to H.M.S. *Swift*, ten guns.

Captain James Murray (42nd) to Mr. Murray of Strowan (extract).

ATHOLL HOUSE, 20 Oct. 1762.

My dear Brother,— . . . Captⁿ Howdle,¹ who has been here since Friday, has gone this morning. He desired his respects to Lady Charlotte & you. The Duke turned very fond of him, & gave him an invitation to come to Dunkeld as soon as His Grace went down, which he said would be a fortnight hence. While he was here he drew a very pretty Landskip from the height where the Obolisk stands, taking in most of the House, the summer house just by the Obolisk, Peter McGlashan's, the top of the church, Octagone, Urn, Balvenie Piller, the Clock, Beneglo & the hills nigh it. It is done in China Inck; it is a pitty that the paper was bad, and only two course pencils, but notwithstanding it is extremely neat & well finished.² . . .

Yr very affte Brother,

JAMES MURRAY.

P.S.—When there is a ship coming to Perth please send the smailest pair of snow shoes, which I told you I intended for Invercald.

Mr. John Mackenzie to Major Harrison.

EDINBURGH, 3^d Nov. 1762.

Sir,—Your observation with regard to the chopping, changing, & ex-cambing of Glencarnock's Lands, which the former Vassall was practising all his life, and wherein he was constantly grasping at some little

¹ Captain-Lieutenant Thomas Howdell, Royal Artillery.

² The sketch is at Blair Castle (1892).

advantage or other to himself, gives rise to the difficulty in ascertaining the proper Reddendo in the Earl of Moray's new charter from His Grace. . . . With regard to the Casualties of Wedders, Butter & carriages adjected to, the several Reddendos for the different parcels, I shou'd think it right they were converted, & very reasonable that the Earl of Moray shou'd pay a slump sum to His Grace in place of them. . . . The Casualties are, a present of 2 Wedders & a Quart of Butter when His Grace goes to Balquhidder for Innercarnock and Innerlochlarigmore, and a wedder & a pint of Butter for Easter Drumlich. The present for Wester Drumlich is in general words "that it shall be worthy and sufficient," without condescending either on Wedder or Butter, so the question returns when two great men meet in Balquhidder, such as His Grace & the Earl of Moray, what Present may be worthy of the Earl's giving & the Duke's acceptance: Possibly a Hogshead of strong claret, or in the old Scots style a Barrell of whisky, may not be improperly askt or accepted to digest so much Mutton & Butter as is paid for the other Lands. And Besides these the Reddendo for Innerlochlarigbeg carries 2 Freights for each merk Land (that is carriages) from that place to Huntingtower when requir'd annually, which is certainly worth some conversion, unless they were to be solely apply'd for transporting the Present of the wine or whisky necessary to digest the Mutton & Butter; But it is still to be observed that these presents are only due by the terms of the charters when His Grace himself goes to Balquhidder, and as he will scarce chuse to go a purpose, their conversion is of so much the less value. . . .

Sir, your most humble Serv^t,

JO: MACKENZIE.

Lady Charlotte Murray to Lady George Murray (extract).

LONDON, Nov. 30th, 1762.

I am sorry to find by the Captain's letter of the same date as yours that his spirits are rather low. I was in hopes being amongst you all would have made them better, but his not being able to rest of night is very hard on him. When he was with us I wanted a bed to be contrived for him so at the side as to support him on one side, which might relieve his being oblidged always to lie on his back, but he did not think any such thing could be contrived.

During 1762 the following work was done at Blair:—

The upper part of Banvie Den planted.

A line of ash-trees planted along the west side of the high park.

The garden wall between the pigeon-house¹ and the tool-house was heightened.

The Whim² was built. *The Humbling Bridge at head of Banvie Den was also built about this date.*

The beginning of 1763 Mr. Murray's sons, James and George, were taken ill of small-pox in London.

Captain Murray (42nd) to Lady Charlotte Murray (extract).

DUNKELD, 8th Feb. 1763.

My Dear Sister,— . . . I had almost forgot to tell you we had accounts this day of M^{rs} Seton's being brought to bed of a son the 4th Inst, & both in as good a way as can be wished. You'l perhaps say in reading this that the Captⁿ don't take so much share in what regards "the countess" as formerly, by his saying he had almost forgot to mention any happy occurrence relating to that Lady; in which case the Captⁿ answers his regard never lessens to his friends. . . . Y^r very aff^{te} Brother,

JAMES MURRAY.

About this time Captain James (42nd) was supposed to have received a Brevet Majority, but it turned out untrue.

Lady Mary Menzies to Lady Charlotte Murray.

CASTLE MENZIES, 10th Feb. 1763.

I had lately the honor & pleasure of my dear Lady Charlotte's obliging letter, a happiness much wished for. I should not have been so long

¹ At a later period the pigeon-house was converted into a bothy for the gardeners. It was pulled down 1873, when the present bothy was built.

² Tradition states that after the Duke finished this building he showed it to Mr. Stewart, the parish minister, and remarked that he was at a loss for a name for it; to this the minister replied that it was difficult to fix on a name, as it was just a whim! By which name it has been known ever since.

without writing to your Ladyship had I not believ'd while dear Master George was ill it would have been rather troublesome than otherways.

We were most agreeably stormstay'd at the antient Callidon¹ for some time; we were all very cheerfull & in good spirits, but towards y^e latter part of our stay The Duke's cough & nervous complaints, & agreeable Majore Murray's distress increasing, affected us all greatly; we returned to y^e old Castle Candlemass day, regretting our being obliged to leave Dunkeld the more for having staid there so much longer than usual. How much it would have added to the happiness of Sir Robert & me had your Lap: & M^r Murray been there needs not be told.

Our manner in which our day past, after the Holydays were over & the company gone, was thus, the weather not permitting the Duke and the gentlemen to go abroad; His Grace soon after breakfast went into his dressing room, the Majore & Sir Robert to Billiards, the Dutchess & I to our work. At twelve the Majore & I went to Batle Ombre till past one, then all went to dress, then met at dinner, and sate as long after as was agreeable to the Duke, after which I went in with the Duchess to her room till Tea, & the Majore & Sir Robert gennerally went up to the Majore's room, where they entertained themselves with M^r Murray's Books: we then mett at Tea, the Duke remained in y^e Dineing room as being warmer. After Tea Sir Robert went to His Grace, who, when he found it agreeable, sent for us, & the old Christmas party at Quadrille went on till supper time. The Majore sate by us with some amuseing Book w^h he read to himself, except when determining any point in dispute at cards, of all which matters we unanimously appointed him judge. Your Ladyship knows the Majore & I were always good Friends, & now I like him better than ever, as I dare say Fanny Fair would do were she now to be in company with him, tho' she did not affect him so much formerly in a country dance as I thought she might have done so amiable a young partner. We sat next other at Table, & many little French words past between us, & several agreeable anecdotes he intertain'd me with. Poor youth, I heartily wish it may please God to restore him to health, who so wonderfully preserved his Life in y^e day of his sore wound.

Sir Robert had a letter from him yesterday, telling the good Dutchess had been suddenly took ill Sunday last with a Feverish disorder, but was rather better at y^e time of his writing—that himself had been blister'd &

¹ Dunkeld.

blooded, & found ease—that the Duke's cough & other complaints were rather less severe, & appear'd to be going off. That all happiness here and hereafter may attend their Graces & all the Family of Atholl, old & young, is the sincere & fervent wish both of Sir Robert & my Dear much esteem'd Lady Charlotte's

Most faithfull, ob^t Ser^t,

M: MENZIES.

P.S.—I must acquaint y^r La^p that the pretty Creol, Miss Jenny Menzies, sent home poor M^r Stewart of Urrate in absolute *dispair*, having yesterday finally rejected his offers; she herself set out for Ed^r this morning, & returns to Miggerny after Easter. . . .

In March 1763 Mr. Murray of Strowan moved into a house in South Audley Street, which he had bought for £2500 and £500 for furniture.

Earl of Bute to His Grace.

LONDON, *Apr^l 10th*, 1763.

My Lord,—The King having intended to give my Brother the office of Justice General, but finding upon examination that neither that nor the Great Seal is tenable with Parliament, has come to a resolution to invest the Duke of Queenborough with the office of Justice General, to confer on your Grace the Great Seal, & to give my Brother the Privy Seal, which you now enjoy. As the change is more honorable to your Grace I flatter myself it will prove acceptable. I am, my Lord, with the greatest regard,

Y^r Grace's most ob^t Humble Servant,

BUTE.

In April the Duke made application to the Government to have Mr. Thomas Bissett appointed Commissary of Dunkeld in place of Mr. James Bissett deceased.

The end of May, Mr. and Lady Charlotte Murray, accompanied by their four sons and Lieutenant George Murray, arrived in Scotland from London.

July 3.—Lady Charlotte was confined at Dunkeld of a daughter, who was named Amelia.

Sir John Stewart of Murthly to His Grace.

EDINBURGH, July 9th, 1763.

Sir,—I have the honor of yours of the 6th inst^t this moment. The contents surprizes me, and gives me great concern, finding you have been obliged to purchass the few trees of the wood of Tarfowak from the people had purchased that wood at last cutting. For I declare upon my honor I gave particular and strict orders to Charles McGlashan that in selling that wood that the trees in the shough oposit to the Hermitage should be excepted in the sale, as I had formerly promised you. How it has been neglected is very strange, & gives me reall concerne.

I am sorry that by the entail it is not in my power to give or sell you the property of that tryfling bank, which contributes to the beauty of your charming Hermitage, but be assur'd these trees for the future shall never be comprehended in the sale, as purchassers might take advantage of your being a man of taste, whereas you shall always have them from me at your own price, and am hopefull my successors will have the same just regard to you and yours, as we have always had the honnor to live in frendship with our great & best neighbour. Nothing shall ever be wanting in my power to cultivat & improve a good corespondence does us so much honor. I have the honor to be, sir, with respect & esteem,

Y^r most obt^t humble Sv^t,

JO: STEWART.

July 24.—Major John Murray married Lady Elizabeth Murray, Lord Dunmore's youngest sister, at Mochany. This was a very improvident union, as neither party had means to live. The Major was then on half pay, as "Keith's Highlanders" had been reduced in Perth shortly before.

October 27.—Mr. and Lady Charlotte Murray, with their two eldest sons, accompanied by Captain James and his sister Charlotte, set out from Dunkeld, and reached London on November 8.

In November Lieutenant George Murray was appointed to H.M.S. *Tartar*, 28-gun frigate, Captain Sinclair, under orders for the West Indies.

During December the Duke was taken so seriously ill that Mr. Murray and Lady Charlotte were sent for, and, leaving London on the 21st, reached Dunkeld on the 26th.

Mr. Murray of Strowan to Lieutenant George Murray, R.N. (extract).

EDINBURGH, 25 Dec. 1763.

Dear George,—Here we are safe arived this evening (after numberless Perils) in safety. We broke 2 springs, lost 2 Linch Pins, the water 4 times in the Chaise, and had almost tumbel'd into a Coal Pit. Poor Chaise almost quite worn out.

December 23.—Captain James Murray left London for Aix, in the south of France, for the benefit of his health.

The Duke, whose life was despaired of from the beginning of his last illness, lingered till January 8, 1764, when his death took place, in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He was buried in Dunkeld Cathedral.

| | | |
|--|-----------|---------|
| At the death of the second Duke the rental of the Scots estates, excluding Falkland and Huntingtower, liferented by the first Duke's widow (she died 1767) | | = £4984 |
| Deduct jointure of second Duke's widow | | = £1000 |
| Public burdens and management | | = 900 |
| Interest at 5 per cent. on debt of £43,729 | | = 2187 |
| | | 4087 |
| Left clear rental | | £897 |
| To which add clear rental of Isle of Man | | 8300 |
| Total, say | | £9200 |

END OF VOL. III.

ADDENDA

The following papers, which formerly belonged to William, Marquis of Tullibardine (Duke William), reached my hands too late to be included in the text.

ATHOLL.

Page 21.

Duke William proceeded no farther south than Dunkeld at this time, but wrote from there to Mr. Murray, the Prince's Secretary, as follows:—

Duke William to Secretary Murray, Perth.

DUNKELD, 5 Sept. 1745.

Sir,—I wish his Royal Highness had stopt a day in this place; my earnest desire of being always near his person made me pass the River to have joyn'd him last night, but meeting my Lord Nairn's brother, by whom I found it was necessary, for the effectual bringing out the people in that country for his Highness's service, that I should return. This morning as Mr Mercer & I were setting out to go to the Rendezvous at Pitlochrie I receiv'd the enclos'd from James Stewart of Clunes; what he says of Cope's returning hither I imagine is but a story spread about by dilatory people who would gladly have any pretence for staying at home; the other letter enclosed, which I took the liberty to open, is from young Assintully, directed for you, shows how necessary my presence is in these parts, because, whatever he has thought fit to write you, I hope we

shall be able to raise the number of men was at first promised by the gentlemen of that country who had the Honour to Kiss the Princes hand at Blair, but I am assured from all hands that they cannot be effectually raised before Monday next, so as to appear in any considerable Body before his Royal Highness, qch delay nothing could occasion but my thirty years absence, & not being as yet eight days in the country so as to instill the sentiments they should have of the necessity there is for appearing w^tout the least delay to perform the service their King and Country requires of them, who to tell truth have been long too much discouraged & reduced to a very low pass by their want of men of Honour & arms to support them.

I have spoke w^t some of the Factors upon my Estate, who tell me I cannot expect that any of the Rents can be quickly got up, & not £100 can be rais'd till after Martinmass. In the mean time I'm sure that the little money his Royal Highness was pleas'd to give me when he landed being already laid out for his service, q^{ch} I entreat you'll let him know, & beg some small matter may be directly sent me by the Bearer, John Murray, otherwise it will be hardly possible to conclude anything to purpose amongst people who are in very low circumstances, especially if they see that in the affairs of the last consequence I am not able to defray the charges necessary for a very ordinary gentleman.

I am, w^t perfect esteem & affection,

Sir, Your most Humble & most
obedient servant.

There must be some money sent for subsisting the men till they arrive at the Camp. I beg you'll excuse my making use of another hand than my own, being a slow writer & time is press'ing. It will not be amiss should a gentleman or 2 come up w^tout delay. M^r Murray to acquaint me with the Prince's commands in case he be entrusted w^t any considerable commission.

Page 21.

To His Grace the Duke of Atholl.

The humble Adress of David Hall of Newtyle humbly sheweth,—
That whereas he is fully sensible, that any service he is capable of to

his Prince and Cuntry, in the field, is very unworthy of either; considering not so much his old age, as his want of everything necessary for so glorious an undertaking, except a hearty good will, he findes his going out might rather prove an impertinent burthen on his friends, than any service to his Prince.

Yet as perhaps, it shall be found necessary for keeping right Government and quiet att home dureing your Grace's and many other good and great mens absence to authorise some Body of men for that, or any other End; If your Grace shall please to honour him by laying your commands on him in any of the very meanest station in that, or any other duty whatever; he does heartily and sincerely offer and promise to execute the same to the outmost of his power, and with all faithfullness, for the Service of his King and Cuntry; and on his own proper Charges.

And that God Almighty may bless, preserve, and prosper His Royall Highness the Prince, Your Grace and all Dutifull and Loyall Subjects, grant His Highness the hearts of all his subjects, his Will of all his enemys, and restore our Injured Royall Family in spight of all that dare opose them, is and shall be the earnest prayer of

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most humble, most dutyfull, and
most obedient servant,

DAV: HALL.

Page 22.

Lord George Murray to Duke William (at Blair).

DUNKELD, 7th Sept. 1745, Six in the morning.

Dear Brother,—I have nothing to add to the enclosed which I send you, to read the one & forward the other. We got no further then Mulieinarn last night, which place I left at three today.

I'm told John Murray, whom you sent day before yesterday to Perth, & who was to be dispatched by the Prince's Secretary about two afternoon yesterday, went from hence at 9 last night after me, but the ffool has passed Mulinarn without calling. Believe me he is a Blundering lad,

& not to be trusted in anything of moment. Grigor Murray is just now with me. I am concerting with him about the Glenalmond People.

I ever am, Dear Brother,

Your most aff^{at} Brother & Faithfull Humble Serv^t,

GEORGE MURRAY.

I shall order two or three clever runners to be waiting constantly at Charles Macglashans for to cary letters from thence to Blair or to Perth. (Torn.)

Page 22.

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

PERTH, 8 Sept. 1745.

Dr Brother,—I forgot in my last to tell you that I had stopt your servant & bagage when the Prince determined about marching, & that I shall take particular care to have it meet you on the Rout as soon as possible. The Prince is just now pretty posetive to go from here early teusday & be that night at Dumblane, but this must be kept a secret. If it were possible for you to March Monday afternoon, tho' it were but to Pitlochrie, you could with ease be at Creef nixt night, so that you will be within half a day's March of us. I am to order a hundred boll Meall to be at Creeff tomorow night, it being mostly for your people's use. I have a small shelen at Newton of Glenalmond, where you can have a bed if you be not otherways provided on teusday, (if you can get no further that day), & cold meat will be waiting. There are some liquors there already. If it be imposible for you to march till teusday, I would even have you the lenth of the Newton of Glenalmond that night. It shall be my studdy to have matters so ordered that we be not seperat (I mean the men) at passing the Forth. I refer you to Mr. Murray for anything else. I am ever,

Yrs &c,

GEORGE MURRAY.

Sunday past Midday.—If it were possible for you to be at Tullibardine teusday at diner, your bagage should be there & every thing possible for your accommodation.

Page 22.

Duke William to Secretary Murray.

BLAIR, *Sept. 8, 1745.*

Sir,—This Evening I had the honour of yours of the 7th acquainting me with his Royal highness intention of marching in two or three days hence from Perth. I cant say how it will be for us to leave these parts so soon, as my Lord Nairn, who goes a purpose, will fully Inform you, who goes off tomorrow morning to let the Prince know that he can expect verry few men from home if we get not sufficient time for gathering together the reasonable number he expects should join him, to which I can add no more at present, Being

with perfect esteem & affection,

Sir, your most humble & most obedient Servant.

P.S.—I hop'd as soon as GlenBucket, the Macphersons of Badenoch, and other of the clans who are just coming up, comes into this country we shall be able to march in their company to join the army with a handsome body of able men tolerably well armed.

Page 22.

By William, Duke of Atholl, &c.

These are ordering & requiring you, James Stewart in Clunes, to take a Sufficient detachment of at least two Companies of men with you of the King's Army here present into Strathairdle for to oblidge, force, and compell all our neighbours, vassels and tenants in that and adjacent countrys, particularly Mouline, Strath Tay, the Bishoprick, and downwards to Dunkeld, to raise the competent number required of them, which is at least a man on the merkland, with all the arms can be found in the country, to bring them without any delay hither in our way to join the royal Standart. And you are hereby impowered to kill and carry off the goods and cattle of any person or persons who shall be refractory in obeying these our lawfull orders for the King and Country's service, for which this shall be your warrant. Given at Blair, Sept. 8, 1745.

Page 22.

Duke William to Lord George.

BLAIR, *Sept. 9, 1745.*

Brother George,—I received both yours of the 7th, one from Dunkeld 6 in the morning, and the other from Perth 9 at night, besides one this morning which you writt to Faskeillie. I can say nothing further in answer than what I writt to the Prince's Secretary by my Lord Nairne, who is gone apurpose from here to let his Royal highness know our situation here, so you'll be informed before this comes to hand that 'tis impossible to march from hence with any considerable body of men before Wednesday or Thursday at soonest—for men can't be forc'd to leave the country without sufficient time to execute prudent measures, which his royal highness may be sure are never omitted in anything depends on me, & some of his well inclin'd subjects, who are really very carefull and industrious in helping to promote everything that may be materially of use to his Māties service, as well as for the honour & safety of his faithfull subjects, of which I hope you'll inform the Prince Regent, since nothing is neglected that reasonable people can perform towards the speedy obeying his commands. The meal you writt of is not yet arriv'd here, nor is the recruits which is expected from the clans in the neighbourhood as yet arriv'd. The letter for Glenbuckett was dispatched without the loss of minuits time, so I expect to hear certain accounts of his march by tomorrow or next day at furthest. I am,

D^r Brother, y^r most affect Br, and humble serv^t.

John Murray has deliver'd the fifty Guineas wh^{ch} was sent me by the Secretary.

Page 25.

Lord George Murray to Duke William.

PERTH, 10 *Sept.* (1745).

D^r Brother,—I have your Secretary's letter by John Murray, & have not really time to write, such is our hurry being to March tomorow so early as to Ly at Dumblane & to pass the forth next day. Things

have a more favourable aspect then could have been imaged. We are to be at Glasgow & Edin^r, the last which places Canon are mounted on, but by cutting the water pipes they must surrender in two days. Nothing could be of more advantage to the service then your commanding a Seperat Armie, which will be both for your honour and the good of the Cause. M^r Mercer is to stay with you, and as soon as possible when others join us some persons of distinction to be usfull to you, & we will keep the Communication open by Loch Lomond & Argile-shire as long as we can. There is £300 sterling sent to pay the troups that come & join you & those you raise anew after my Batalion & Lord Nairn's leave gon, who I hope will join at once on thursday. Lady Balgowan is to send you £200 very soon, & Abercairny, Logie & others will I hope assist you in that way. The Prince gives it me in charge to Intreat you will be as saving of the money as posible. The Meall sent will answer for so much. I shall send M^r Mercer a comission from His Royal Highness as Colonel of one of the Atholl regiments. Fair well,

Y^{rs},

GEORGE MURRAY.

Page 25.

BELLINLUIG, 10 *Sept.* 1745.

Then received from Niell M^cGlashan ten guineas towards the pay of our regement by

RO: MERCER (of Aldie).

Page 35.

Duke William to the Laird of Mackinnon and any other commander of the clans who are on y^r way to Dalnacardoch.

DUNKELD, *Sept.* 16, 1745.

Gentlemen,—The Prince Regent has thought fit to leave me, as formerly, commander in chief of the King's forces benorth the River Forth and all over Scotland if he be entred England before I can join him with the rest of his forces. H.R.H. has appointed the first General Rendevouze of his people who are coming up to joyn him from the north & west to be at Blair in Atholl, where meal & every

thing else is prepared for your Reception w^t the men who come along w^t you. This I hope will be a sufficient advertisement for your taking that route. Having nothing else to trouble you with at present, I am,
Gentlemen, y^r most ob^t Humble Serv^t.

Page 35.

John Hickson, Innkeeper to Duke William.

PERTH, 18 *Sept.* 1745.

I have Taken the Liberty to acquaint your Grace that yesterday His Royale Highness was received into Edinburgh by the Provost and Magistrates, and by them Conducted to the Cross where His Majesty was proclaimed amidst (?) the universale aprobation of the Inhabitants. His Highness Lay Last Night at Holyrood House, where its beleived He will Continue for some days untill more of your Grace's friends Joyn Him. The Dragoons and Volunteers Run as soon as they Heard of His Highness's approach, and tis thought M^r Cope will not Land untill He Can with safty doe it in England.

May it please your Grace,
your Grace's Servant,
JOHN HICKSON.

Page 35.

Duke William to the Gentlemen of Atholl.

DUNKELD (?) *Sept.* 1745.

Gentlemen,—This is desireing you'll meet me & several of the Clans that are to be with us in a few days if not already arrived at Blair Castle, Monday next being the 23rd instant, with all your proportion of men & arms for the King & Prince Regent's service, who I'm glad to tell you is in peaceable possession of Edinburgh, which has joyfully open'd her gates to him, blest be God, without bloodshed. As violence should not be used with brave men that love Truth & Justice, I mention this here, that seeing so fair an opportunity you should worthily perform your duty; may it never be said of our Countrey, why are any of you the last to call home the King, since formerly it was unanimously the first

& longest in the field for the publick service. Some of you are gone before to joyn our young master; let the rest come frankly along w^h me, who is yet for that end w^h authority of lawful power amongst you; show that you are not degenerat from the virtue of your ancestors, even after all the pains taken by pitiful cheats to debauch this countreys principles both as to honour & honesty, though they have been long propagating ungenerous sentiments by industriously imposing on the world interested lyes & falsehoods.

I am,

To

who on receiving this must be answerable if any of their neighbouring Gentlemen is not timeously acquainted w^h the contents hereof.

Page 41.

John Campbell of Glenlyon to Duke William.

G——, 21 September 1745.

May it please your Grace,—I did not expect your Grace so shoon back to this country when we parted, but being informed last night you were returned, I did rejoyse least your absence might create some confusion, becaus there was non in this countray to give orders to such as were passing for the army. This moment I had the honour of your Grace's orders after writting what is above. I have bein in grat distrass since I cam hom with a sore back, as I was all the way from Crieff. I had the few men I have convey last day and finds they have few or no armes, but such as they are shall with God's grace attend you there against the tyme apoynted, togithere with the only son I have left me, but being a stripling of fourtein years age, who I hope will do pritty weell, for he'll follow direction and obay orders; And if I in any case be able to travle, I shall wait of your Grace against the tyme apointed, who ever am with esteim, may it please your Grace,

Your Grace's most obedient humble servant,

J. CAMELL.¹

¹ Blair Drummond Papers.

Page 46.

By William, Duke of Atholl, &c., Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Forces, benorth the River of Forth.

Permitt the bearer, John McLeish, servant to Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, to pass to Murthly, Dundie, or any other place belonging to the said Sir George, with three Coachmares of his, hereby Discharging all officers Civil or military to seize the said mares or any other horses belonging to the said Sir George Stewart. Given under our hand and Seal at Blair Castle this twenty sixth day of September 1745.

Page 51.

Duke William to Lord George Murray.

BLAIR CASTLE, 29 *Sept* 1745.

Brother George,—From Tullibardin, where for the first Time I saw my Dear Sister in Law & her lovely Children, I answered your Letter dated from Linlithgow by the same messenger, without as yet hearing if it came to hand. Nor has Secretary Murray acknowledged the receipt of a Copy sent him. It was no small surprize to find that your Lady gave me the first agreable & most distinct account of the Prince's victory. By which she appears to be a woman of much more valuable parts than could otherwise been imagined. I congratulate his Royal Highness, the brave clans, & you on the most glorious success can be imagined to the honour of our Country & the Regents satisfaction. I received yours of the 24th only last night, and hears that your messenger from the field of Battle was taken prisoner by Glenbucket at Perth having no pass, so is not yet come up here. That Gentleman has been beforehand with the Excise in Perth and Lord Ogilvie with that of Angus, so I cannot expect a farthing but from the Prince. I have no precept or order upon the two gentlemen you mentioned, nor do I know what I should ask from them, nor on what footing. I intreat if possible you will be more exact than hitherto in letting me know anything passes of consequence. Should you not have time yourself, pray get some other to do it for you, that I may know how reasonably to perform anything that is

materially expected from me. I send you copies of the Letters I have from Cluny McPherson, with my answer, &c. Mr Mercer is doing all that is possible to get up the deficient men & the Deserters, who can't be again trusted. He takes money from them, which is bestowed on others who go voluntarily; if there is not many of them, they will do better than a number of worthless fellows. Had it not been for part of that money, the little was left me had already been exhausted by many necessary & indispensable Charges I am obliged to be at for the publick service, which requires far more expense & attention than can be expressed. Our Cusin the Laird of Aldie goes on Munday to raise the Grantullie men, and Drumachine will endeavour to fetch up Strowans men, who have deserted. Several of the Atholl & Strathardle Gentlemen have now come here whom I had not seen before, so hopes we shall have a sufficient number of officers who are busied in raising the men who were not as yet got out, besides parties were sent to raise those who wanted that pretence, so that nothing we could think might be useful has been neglected. So hopes you will from what is here said be able to give his Royal Highness a sufficient account of the present situation of his affairs in these parts, which I can add nothing here, being with perfect esteem and affection, ever yours, &c.

Fairbairn and another Gentleman of the name of Mackenzie were here tonight, and says he will do what you desired him about getting up the Marq^s of Seaforths men, and will endeavour to join his royal Highness with all possible speed.

Page 51.

Duke William to Lady George Murray.

BLAIR CASTLE, 29 Sept. 1745.

Madam,—I hope you forgive me that I could not answer with my own hand your Ladyship's most valuable Letter giving a distinct Account of our young masters glorious victory, in which my Brother George acted a very honourable part. I am persuaded no less to your satisfaction than mine. Allow me then to congratulate with you on his particular brave conduct, as well as the singular and astonishing valour of the Royal Army in general. May you and he with all honest people concerned live long

to enjoy the happiness will flow from such a singular proof as Providence gives us of blessed protection. At the same time your servant returns with this who brought me your husbands Letter. I send John Murray directly to Edin^r to carry him my answer if Lord George has anything of consequence to write you. It will be a sure occasion—having nothing more to say at present worth mentioning, but that I shall always be found with perfect esteem.

Page 51.

By William, Duke of Atholl, &c., Commander in Chief of his Majes Forces benorth the river of Forth, to John Murray, Off^r for Glen-Almond.

These are ordering you to advertise all the Tennents of our property in GlenAlmond, particularly Mungo Campbell at Milnrogie and men contained in the List sent you some time agoe by our brother George, who have not risen, and the deserters from the Army, to be ready on six hours advertisement any day after Monday next the third of Oct^r, to march where they shall be ordered, certifying those who shall fail punctually to obey their cattle shall be seized and carry'd off for the use of the Army, besides what other punishment may be thought necessary to be inflicted on them, and this you are to intimate to one and all of them without loss of time, as you shall be answerable. Given at our Castle of Blair the 30th day of Sept^r 1745 years.

Page 51.

Unto an High and Mighty Prince His Grace the Duke of Atholl.

The Petition of Grissel Mc^cDonald, spouse to John Mc^cDonald in Grenish of Strathtimmel.

Humbly sheweth,—That your Grace's poor petitioners Husband went to Aberfeldy with the Army, and left me and a Numerous small family of little strength, and very little to mantain them, haveing some cropt to reap and won without servants to my present Help, and one of my Children is Prodigiously tormented with the Gravel Stone,

which I have alongs with me, of whom your Grace (if pleas'd) may take a view, besides my Husband that went abroad had a very unhappy disease, of which he takes fits now and then, that is very unbecomingly to me to speak of.

May it therefore please your Grace to consider your Grace poor Petitioner's Case, and to Direct to Charless Stewart of Bohaly to set my Husband at Liberty to my present Help, and your Grace's poor Petitioner and Babs shall ever pray that God may Bess and prosper your Grace in all his undertakings. G. C.

Page 51.

Unto ane High & Mighty Prince, William, Duke of Atholl.

The Petition of your Grace's Tenants in GlenAlmond (1745).

Humbly sheweth,—That they being situate in a pass, through which the Forces under his Highnefs the Prince's command must on their march to and from Edinburgh or the army pass. They have already and in all probability still will be liable to be much oppressed by the louse underlings and thieves among the clans, But particularly on their way home after Deserting. They have already had severall horses & cows carried off, & last week a whole fold of cattle were by Deserters carried of and never were recovered, tho' followed by the country ten miles from Glenalmond. But they are now apprehensive that as the whole arms in the country, with the petitioners in number twenty, are going for the army, and the country thereby defenceless, there is nothing that they leave behind that they can call their own, But all will run the risq of being carried of and their families ruined by the first deserters and casualls that may happen to pass. They therefore flatter themselves that your Grace will with your usuall goodnefs take a fatherly care of, and think upon some mean to keep them safe. If thought proper they petition for twenty stand of what arms your Grace will be pleased to grant them to arm those left behind in the country. They propose that those, under a proper command from your Grace, will take care of and defend the country, and if ordered so to do by your Grace be a guard to and actually apprehend and carry where desired all the Deserters that will be passing.

Your Grace will be pleased to grant the (?) of the above petition, and your petitioners will ever pray.

Page 51.

By William, Duke of Atholl, &c., Commander in Chief of His Majesties Forces benorth the River of Forth.

These are desiring and requiring you, Mr David Carmichael of Beaglie, Collector of the Cess at Perth, to Pay to the bearer, Mr John Robertson of Bohespick, all publick money in your hands, and his receipt on the back heirof shall be to you a sufficient warrant. Given at our Castle of Blair the thirty day of September 1745 years.

Page 53.

Duke William to Balnakeilly.

1 Octr 1745.

Sir,—As I am busie in doing all I can restoring the King to his Just Right, I am persuaded you'll heartily concur in so laudable an undertaking, therfor does now acquaint you that all ye Gentlemen of Athol are to meet me here friday next ye 4th instant with all their men. I intreat you'll do ye same & thereby oblige.

Page 53.

By William, Duke of Atholl, &c., Commander in Chief of His Majesties forces Benorth the river of Forth, to Lieut. David Laird or any other officer of his Majesties forces at Dunkeld.

These are ordering you to pass to Cupar of Angus and apprehend the person of Alexander Crooks, Surgeon, and carry him prisoner to this place. For which this shall be to you and the party you'll employ for that purpose a sufficient warrant. Given at our Castle of Blair the first day of October 1745 years.

Page 59.

To John McRitchie & the other ground officers of the noblemen and gentlemen Proprietors about Cluny.

These are ordering you, John McRitchie, officer of the barony of Lighwood, to warn in the Tenents of the next adjacent grounds to the

Kirktown of Cluny to carry in Timber, Broom and Divot for the roof of the Guard House to be built at the Loch side of Cluny, and this they and you are to perform when required by James Robertson, Mason in Dunkeld, as you and they shall be answerable at your peril.

Given at our Castle of Blair the 5th day of October 1745.

Page 59.

To Lieutenant Colonel George Robertson of Faskilie.

You are hereby ordered to march with your men to the Town of Perth and to lie there till further orders, and in the mean time to take special care that no insult nor abuse be done or offered to the prisoners there.

Given at our Castle of Blair the fifth day of October 1745.

Page 59.

Commission by Duke William in favour of Alex^r Crooks.

These are authorizing and appointing you, Mr Alexander Crooks, Surgeon at Coupar of Angus, to be Surgeon Major to that part of his Majesties Forces the Atholl Brigade, commanded by the Right Hon^{ble} Lieutenant General Lord George Murray, the Right Hon^{ble} Major General John Earle of Nairne, and the Hon^{ble} Colonel Robert Mercer of Aldie. You are therefor carefully & Diligently to discharge the duty and trust of Surgeon Major afor^d by doing and performing everything belonging thereto, and all and every the officers and soldiers are hereby required to regaird you as such, and yourself to obey and follow all such orders, directions, and commands as you shall from time to time receive from your superiors, according to the rules and discipline of war.

Given at Blair Castle the fifth day of October 1745.

Page 59.

Commission by Duke William in favour of Alex^r Crooks, junior.

These are empowering you, Alex^r Crooks, junior, Surgeon in Coupar of Angus, to be Surgeon's mate to that part of his Majesties forces the

Atholl Brigade, commanded by the Right Hon^{ble} Lieut Gen^l Lord George Murray, the Right Hon^{ble} John Earle of Nairne, and the Hon^{ble} Col Robert Mercer of Aldie. For which this shall be to you a sufficient warrant.

Given at Blair Castle the fifth day of October 1745.

Page 59.

Hugh Fraser, y^r of Fraserdale, to Col^l the Hon Robert Mercer.

LOGRETT, 5th October 1745.

Honored Sir,—I arived here yesterday by three of the cloack in the afternoon and have taken the Guard of Kilchangy's hands there, but the nights being so long and so very cold as eight of my men want plaids that they cannot stand centrys till they have plaids. I therfor am Necessitate to acquaint you of this, so as you'l be pleased either to order plaids or send money here to buy plaids, as they will be had here. I laid money out for two men ten shillings sterling to each ; you'l therefor send by the bearer four pound sterling to buy plaids for the eight men that want, as I will have use for what I laid out of my own, tho' they want Shoes & oy^r Necessarys. I will not trouble his Grace at present, as I know his Grace will have enough to doe with money at present. I have got subsistance for the 3^d and 4th Instante ; whatever money the bearer gets take his receipt, and I take the same to accompt. I begg pardon for this trouble, & I am,

Sir, your most obedient humble serv^t,

HUGH FRASER.

P.S.—According to your orders, Serg^t M^cFarlane of Capt Anderson's company is set at Liberty, but there is not such a man as W^m Goodyear, serv^t to Capt Basil Cochran, in the Prison ; they talk of his being already relieved.

BLAIR CASTLE, 5 *Octo^r* 1745.—Received from His Grace the Duke of Atholl six pounds sterling for and in name of the within Mr Frazer by Alexander M^cIntyre.

R. Mercer, *Witness.*

George Colvill, *Witness.*

Page 59.

By William, Duke of Atholl, &c., Commander in Chief of His Majesties forces benorth the Forth.

These are requiring you, Evan M^cGregor, brother to Glencarnock, to be aiding and assisting to James Stewart in Clunes, whom we have commissioned for that effect by our orders of the fifth to raise all the men in the country of Balwhidder holden of us, a man on the merk land, and to march with them and join us at Auchterairder on Saturday next, and in case they or any of them refuse or seem refractory, the said James Stewart and you are hereby jointly impowered to force and compell them, and for that end you are to employ such of the King's forces as you have with you, and to call for the assistance of any of his Majesties troops as are next adjacent to you at the time, and they are hereby ordered to assist you for that purpose as you shall direct; this you and they are to perform as you shall be answerable at your and their peril, for the doing whereof this shall be to all concerned a sufficient warrant. Given att Blair Castle the sixth day of October 1745.

Page 59.

The Representation and petition of Alexander M^cGuary, merchant in Mull, to his Grace The Duke of Atholl.

BLAIR, 6 Oct. 1745.

Humbly sheweth,—That your petitioner happen'd to be at Inverness some time befor Generall Coup came ther Last, and ever since did aply myself to be of service as much as I could to the Gloryouse cause & design now in agitation, And in the situation I then was in cud not be of more use than to fomentt & encourage the desertion of the millitary then at Inverness; from which time to the first of this Instant I continued by words & otherwise at different times to make as many convertts as I could, and as I did succeed in that undertakeing I expended theron all the money or effects I could comand in that place, and at Last was necefsitated to sell my rideing horse, and did designe to continue the same practice as Long as I saw ocation, But on Monday Last I was warn'd by some of my prinsipall friends & secretars Imediatly to make

off from the twon, otherwise I wad be taken up as a person suspected to contriboatt to ye disertion, and accordingly I did with speed remove. The truth of my assertion is known to Mr. James hay, minister of the Meitt house, and Bealie Stewart, both in Inverness, as two of my Bast friends & secretars in that place.

May it therfor pleas your Grace to consider the premisses by Granting a suply to your petitioner for suporting him in his creadit & Journey, where ever it shall be thought proper for me to go in order I may in some shape be usefull to the Great and Loyall cause that your Grace hes now engaged. I had the Honour to serve your Grace in the year 1719, and my unallter'd sincerity to the Loyall cause ever since is weell know be many, And the Laird of McKinnon I presume will atest the same, so I make offer of my person & service to your Grace for acting in whatever station I shall be found calpable, in which I shall continue in the outmost faithfullnefs & senerity as my duty is, while I am able to subscribe

May it please your Grace,

Your Grace's suplicant and most

ob^{dt}. humble servant,

ALEX^{RE}. MCGUARRY.

(*Endorsed*) Blair Castle, Oct. 6, 1745.—Received from His Grace The Duke of Atholl one pound sterl: by Alex^r. McGuarry.

Page 59.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., Commander in Chief of His Majestis Forces benorth the Forth.

Whereas John Stewart of Innerslanie, who is presently employed in the King's service, represents that cottars and other loose people are by the standing laws of the nation obligd to serve any person who wants to employ them for reasonable common wages, and as he must be absent for some time, craves a warrant to the following effect:—These are therfor ordering & requiring you, James Gow, Off^r, to summond, order, and charge any cottar or loose person in the neighbourhood who is not engaged with any other person to enter home to the said John Stewart's service and to continue therein till the term of Martinmas next, if not sooner discharged

by him, upon agreeing with the said cottar for the common wages usually given in this country, and this you are punctually to perform as you shall be answerable at your peril. For the doing whereof this shall be to you a sufficient warrant.

Given at Blair Castle the 7th Octo^r 1745.

Page 59.

To all Officers Civil or Military.

You are hereby required to allow the bearer, Robert Ruthven, Glazier, to pass and repass from this place to Edinburgh without let or molestation, he behaving as becometh. For which this shall be your warrant.

Given at Blair Castle the seventh day of October 1745.

Page 59.

DUNKELL, *October Seventh* 1745.

Received then from Jamy Scot in Dunkell two pound sterling, being mony sent by his grace the Duke of Athole to Evin McGrigor, broyr to Glencarnock, and which I preadvanced to y^e sd Evin before y^e mony arrived at Dunkell. In wittnes wherof I have written and subscribed these presents day and place fforsd.

JO McKINNON (of McKinnon).

Page 61.

BLAIR ATHOLL, *October 8,* 1745.

Received from his Grace the Duke of Atholl two pounds the subsistence of the party that got out in Glengary & Earachtie, for which I shall account for. Given under my hand at Blair day and date foresaid.

DUN ROBERTSON (of Achleiks).

Page 61.

DUNKELD, *9 Octo^r* 1745.

Received from His Grace The Duke of Atholl Three pounds sterl, which I shall accompt for when required.

ANDREW RATTRAY (Y^r of Blackcraig).

Page 61.

DUNKELD, 9th Octo^r 1745.

Received from His Grace The Duke of Atholl Ten pound sterling money to accompt of the pay of Colonel Stewart's Regiment.

JO: MACKEWAN (son of Mucklie).

Page 61.

Received from his Grace The Duke of Atholl Five pounds sterling till account of my expenses from Edingburgh on the raizing of Grantulie people by me at Dunkeld.

ALEX. STEWART.

9 Octo^r 1745.

Page 61.

Dunkeld, 10 Octo^r 1745.—Received from his Grace the Duke of Atholl by the hands of Neil Mackglashan six pounds sterling by

ANDREW SPALDING (of Glenkillrie).

Page 62.

To L^t Col Will^m Wright & the other gentlemen officers who are prisoners on their parole of Honour at Perth.

Gentlemen, you were ordered by H.R.H. the Prince Regent to Perth on your parole of honour with leave to remain there the space of fifteen days. Since you are not as yet ordered to any other place more out of the way, this is requiring you to still remain as you are in Perth till further orders, on your said paroles of honour. In the mean time any of the gentlemen that would be removed from Perth, to have the same liberty elsewhere, they may draw Representation to their demands. I shall do all depends on me for their satisfaction, by regularly laying the same before H.R.H. in order to obtain the Liberty they think fit to demand.

Given at Dunkeld the tenth day of October 1745.

Page 62.

To ane High and Mighty Prince William, Duke of Atholl.

10th Oct^r 1745.

The petition of Christian Taus, relict of the Deceased James Frazer in Ballnabegganach, in Barrony of Gay.

Humbly sheweth,—That Your Grace's petitioner being a poor old infirm woman, and possessor of a merk land in Balnabegganach, having neither husband nor child that could be any ways assistant to me in the manaadgeing of my labouring but one Son named James (the rest of my Children being young infants), who was oblidge'd to go along with the army in the beginning of my harvest, whereby I was brought to the outmost Straits, having no person to oversee or assist in sheareing my harvest, and had I not been assisted by my neibours my Cows must undoubtedly have perished, and unless Your Grace allow my son to return home from the Army to oversee my affairs I will be rendered miserable, and my Young Children oblidge'd to begg their bread.

May it therefore please your Grace to take my case into your serious consideration and allow my son to return home to me, and I shall pay Your Grace for allowing him to return Five pounds sterling in money one tomorrow, or give Your Grace a bond of two hundred merks due by John Robertson of Gay to my son, and your Grace's petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

(Endorsed.) It is the Duke's opinion that the woman should rather keep her money, as she can get people to work to her much cheaper than for five pound, which she proposes to give that her son may come home to work to her.

Page 62.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., under his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, Commander in Chief of his Majesties forces.

These are ordering and requiring you, Archibald Menzies of Shian, to raise all the men betwixt sixteen and sixty years of age in the country of Glenlyon and in Bofracts lands to join us with them at Perth, or any

other place shall be appointed, and to carry off and bring with you the cattle or horses of such of them as shall abscond or keep out of the way. This you are punctually and expeditiously to perform as you shall be answerable, for which this shall be to you a sufficient warrant. Given at Dunkeld the twelfth day of October 1745.¹

Page 63.

To the Laird of Strowan Robertson att Carie.

These are Requiring and Ordering a hunder well armed men of Strowan's Regiment, with proper officers on their head, on sight hereof to march to Braemar and there to join Mr Farquharson of Ballmoral or Capt James Shaw of Dalldounie, and execute such orders as shall be given them by the said Gentlemen for raising the Braemar men for his Majesties service. For which this shall be to all concerned a sufficient warrant.

Given at Dunkeld the twelfth Octobr 1745.

Page 63.

Dunkeld, 12th October 1745.—Received from His Grace the Duke of Atholl fifty pounds sterling, which shall be delivered to Mr Menzies of Shian by

DAVID STEWART (of Kynachan).

Page 63.

Dunkeld, 12 October 1745.—Received from His Grace the Duke of Atholl forty seven pounds, which with three pounds received by Fincastle from Mr Mercer is also acknowledged by

DAVID STEWART.

Page 63.

Received by me, John McLeod, son to Drynach, from His Grace the Duke of Atholl the sum of Five pounds ster^s for subsistance to me and Angus McLeod till we join H.R.H. the Prince Regent. Witness my subscription att Dunkeld the fourteenth day of Oct^r 1745.

JOHN McLEOD.

¹ Blair Drummond Papers.

Page 63.

Dunkeld, 14 Octo^r 1745.—Received from His Grace The Duke of Atholl ten pounds ster, which I shall account for to H.R.H. The Prince Regent. I say received the above sum by

JAMES RATTRAY (Brother to Tullochcuran).

Page 63.

Dunkeld, 14 Octo^r 1745.—Received one pound ster : from His Grace The Duke of Atholl to acct^t by

JO STEUART (in Kinnaird).

Page 63.

BLAIR CASTLE, 15 October 1745.

Received from his Grace the Duke of Atholl Thirty pound sterling towards my own and my men's subsistence for a week from this date, for which sum I oblige me to account to H.R.H. the Prince Regent by

JO M^cKINNON (of M^cKinnon).

Page 63.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to Captain Brown of Brigadier Lally's Irish Regim^t of foot charg'd with a Convoy from his most Christian Majestie to the Prince Regent.

Please pay to the Laird of Cluny M^cPherson one hundred pounds sterline for subsisting the Troops under his Command that are on their march hence to join the King's Army. For which this shall be to you a sufficient warrant.

Given at Dunkeld the fifteenth day of October 1745.

Page 63.

Secretary Murray to Duke William.

HOLYROODHOUSE, Oct^r 15, 1745.

My Lord,—I had the honour to write several times of late to your Grace, and received by M^r Oliphant the letter you was so good as write me, which I communicate to his Royal Highness, upon which I have now

orders to give your Grace the trouble of this letter, by Mr Lochart yr of Carnwarth, one of His Highnefs's Aid de Camps, to desire you may not delay one moment to come up. The Prince with advice of his Council being to leave this place with all possible dispatch, and pushed to it by the agreeable news from France as well as the favourable disposition of the King's friends in England. There is a body of men coming from Argyleshire who have almost no arms, so his Highnefs desires all that possibly can may be spared for them as well as those now here, who had a good many of their swords broke at Gladsmuir.

I am, My Lord,

Yr Graces Most Ob^t and Most humble Serv^t,

JO MURRAY.

Page 69.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., under the Prince Regent Commander in Chief of His Majesties Forces.

By virtue of the power & authority granted to me by the King & intimated by the Prince Regent. These are constituting and appointing you, Duncan Robertson of Drumachine, Esqr, to be a Colonell of a Batalion of foot to be levied by you for his majestie's service, and to take your rank in the army as such from the date hereof. You are therefor carefully and diligently to discharge the duty and trust of Colonell aforesaid by doing and performing everything which belongs thereto, and all & every the officers and soldiers of his majestie's Forces are hereby required to observe and obey you as a Colonell, and yourself to observe all such orders, directions and commands as you shall from time to time receive from His Royal Highness, the Commander in Chief under him for the time being, or any other your superior officer, according to the Rules and discipline of war. In pursuance of the trust hereby reposed in you.

Given at Dunkeld this sixteenth day of October 1745.

Page 69.

William, Duke of Atholl, and under the Prince Regent Commander in Chief of His Majesties Forces.

These are Constituting and appointing you, Col. Duncan Robertson of Drumachine, to command in the Country of Atholl and in all other lands

or bounds belonging to us in Property or Superiority ; you are lawfully & diligently to Discharge the said duty and trust by taking special care that the prisoners at Logyrate and Dunkeld be securely kept and well us'd, and that our said Countrys be protected & preserved from theft & oppression by loose people or deserters from the army, and for that one you are hereby impowered to raise and call together what men you find necessary, and to arm them out of our Castle of Blair, House of Dunkeld, or from any other part where armes may be had and to give them amunition and regularly pay them. The whole men of our said Countreys, as well Gentlemen as Commoners, are hereby strictly ordered & required, particularly Robert Graham of Fintry, Esquire, John Stewart of Urrard, Patrick Mackglashan of Lambtown, Patrick Robertson of Trinafuir, & Neill Mackglashan, writer in Clune, who have our orders & warrants dated the eight of this Curr^t, to be aiding & assisting to one another for protecting our country, to answer and obey your orders when required as they shall be answerable, and you are hereby strictly ordered & required to seize & apprehend all deserters from the Prince's army and to secure them in the Isle of the Loch of Cluny, where they are to be kept close prisoners till they are transported to Jamaica or some of the American Plantations. For the doing of all which this shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrant. Given at Dunkeld the seventeenth day of Oct^r 1745.

Page 69.

Duke William to Prince Charles Edward.

DUNKELD, 17 October 1745.

Sir,—Your Royal Highness's gracious letter of the 11 instant with express orders to immediately join you with all the men I have been raising, according to orders under Secretary Murray's cover, came not to my hands till this evening. The letters being taken but luckily retaken occasioned the delay. The convoy under Captain Brown's care, with arms, ammunition, &c, for your Royal Highness's from his most Christian Majesty, arrived here last night after the utmost endeavours. It will be tomorrow night before all the men necessary for bringing them up to your army can be got together. Next morning I shall march them from

hence with the utmost diligence can possibly advance the earnest desire I have of soon being able in person to receive your Royal Highness's commands and fully let you know that nothing has been omitted towards the speedy advancing of King and country's service.

Being ever with the utmost attachment and zeal,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's most dutiful and most
obed^t subject and Servant,

ATHOLL.¹

Page 69.

List of Gentlemen and Servants who accompany His Grace
The Duke of Atholl:—

1. Mr John Murray, Dunkeld, Master of Horse.
2. Mungo Murray, Son to Kincairny, Secretary.
3. Mr William Fleyming, Master of the Household.
4. Mr Dumont, Gentleman.
5. James Murray, Blair, Page.
6. Robert Stewart, GlenBucky, Page.
7. Charles Stewart, Valet de Chambre.
8. Alexander Morison, Cook.
9. Robert Stewart, Butler.
10. William Mengies, Coachman.
11. Donald M^cDonald, Groom.
12. Patrick Stewart, Baggage man.
13. William Hay, Baggage man.

Page 69.

Dunkeld, 17 Oct. 1745.—Then received from Neill M^cGlashan in Clune the sum of one hundred pounds sterling for subsisting the M^cIntoshes on their march to join the Prince's army, by me

JOHN SHAW.

¹ Blair Drummond Papers.

Page 69.

*William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to Major James Rattray y^r of
Ranagulzion.*

These are ordering you, Major James Rattray of the Hon^{ble} Colonel Mercer's Regiment of foot, to march upon sight hereof, with as good a number of men as you can gett together, to Brechin and escorte from thence to this place Colonel Richard Warren, his two brothers captains, and two other of their friends, all or any of these gentlemen with the arms, amunition & money they have with them there. This you and the men under your command are to perform with all possible care & diligence as you shall be answerable. For which this shall be your warrant.

Given at Perth this eighteenth day of October 1745.

Memorandum.

1. It is agreed that Col^l Mercer's Regiment w^t the Athollmen conducted by Kynachan, Shian's men, Garintuly men, and McPhersons who are now upon their march amount to 2000 men proposed.

That 600 of these Troops shall pass the Forth with all expedition, and if it (be) found that the passage at or a little above Aloo is practicable for the Convoy, that those Troops shall remain on tother side to secure the landing against any detachment can be made from Stirling.

2. That all the rest of the men be ordered to Quarter between Crief and Perth, of which 2 or 3 hundred at Moortown, Balhousie, &c., to be ready at a call upon the arrival of the convoy, as the escort from Brechin will be fatigued, and the number of Troops now at Perth is too small for the neccessary Guards till the convoy arrive at the place of Rendevouz, which I would propose to be at Ardoch.

3. Upon this plan send immediate orders to all the Officers concerned.

Page 69.

Duke William to Prince Charles Edward.

PERTH, 18 Oct^r 1745.

Sir,—Yesterday morning, as I was to march from Dunkeld to join your Royal Highness with the utmost expedition with all the men could

be got together for your Service, Mr Lockhart of Carnwath arrived with your gracious Letter and last orders, which I was executing as commanded when I just got the accounts which with this are sent under cover to the Secretary from Doctor Collvill, one of your faithfull discreet subjects whom I sent north with Monsieur le Marquis Deguilles Letters to take care of the ship that is arrived with fresh supplies of arms, ammunition, &c, for your Royal Highness, which, as the former, providence has happily conducted to a safe Harbour. With the advice of all your Servants & Officers here directions are given to bring up that escorte in the manner seems to us most agreeable and conform to your instructions, as hitherto whilst expecting further orders according to my capacity nothing shall be neglected can show that I am no less active and diligent in zealously desiring to prove that I am in the most dutiful manner,

Sir,

Your most dutifull, faithfull, and most obedient
Subject & Servant.

Page 70.

Prince Charles Edward Stuart to William, Duke of Atholl.

HOLYROOD HOUSE, *Oct.* 19, 1745.

Captain Brown is arrived here this afternoon with an account of ye present situation, in answer to which I can only repeat my former directions, so make all the haste you possibly can, bringing up with you the cargo of ye second ship, and not leaving an escorte for it as I mentioned to you in my last. As for the particular manner and place of your passing the Forth, I desire you would advise with the chief Gentlemen you have with you, and then take what you shall judge the most prudent method of doing it. I wou'd have you also bring as many of ye Arms left at Dunkel as you possibly can. All the Advices I receive oblige me to hassen my march into England, and therefore I must once more recommend to you the greatest diligence.

CHARLES P. R.

The Bearer will speak to you more fully by word of mouth.

I have already given directions for the guarding the Country, so I wou'd have you bring with you all the men you possibly can.

Page 71.

William, Duke of Atholl to Bailie Spence.

These are requiring you, Mr William Spence, Baillie of the Regality of Dunkeld, upon sight hereof to provide two riding horses and as many carts as the bearer, Mr Auchterlony, shall Demand for transporting arms, &c, from Dunkeld to this place, for which this shall be to you a sufficient warrand.

Given at Perth 21 October 1745.

Page 71.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to all officers civil or military.

As Thomas Græme of Balgowan, Esquire, and his family are usefully concerned in the Kings Service and have got H.R.H. the Prince Regent's protection, These are certifying the same and Requiring that he mayn't be disturbed by any party in their search for horses, arms, or anything belonging to his family, so that none at their peril meddle with anything that belongs to him, which is hereby sufficiently notified.

Given at Perth 22 Oct^r 1745.

Before leaving Perth Duke William signed a joint Commission of Factory over his estates in favour of Patrick Murray of Kincairny and Neil M^cGlashan, writer in Clune, with a Commission of Bailyary of Atholl and Baron Bailyary of the lands and estates in favour of Kincairny.

Page 71.

To his Grace William, Duke of Athole.

The Petition of Eupham Davidson in Flawcraig in Sir David Threipland of Fingask's grounds.

Humbly sheweth,—That your Grace's petitioner is a poor woman having a house and Keall yeard in possession and only one horse,

by which she carried Keall plants to merkat places arround, for subsisting her & family, and the said horse being seized and brought in to Perth by a party of your Grace's men who were yesterday in the Carse. Your Grace's petitioner must be reduced to beggary with her family if the horse be detained, wherfor your petitioner begs with tears in her eyes that your Grace may be pleased to give orders to deliver my horse back to me, and your Grace's petitioner shall ever pray.

(Abt 22 Oct. 1746.)

Page 72.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to — ?

Madam,—You are hereby required fifteen days after the date to pay the Rt Hon^{ble} the Viscount Strathallan £200 Ster^{ne}, by which you will avoid being distresfed by the utmost rigour of military discipline. For pay^t whereof this shall be a sufficient warrand. Given at Perth the 25 Oct. 1745.

Page 73.

Duke William to Prince Charles Edward.

ALOA, 28 October 1745.

Sir,—Two hours before I set out yesterday morning from Dunblain Sir William Gordon arrived with your Royal Highness's Commands, which I been and am executing in the most expeditious manner can answer your intention of bringing up the arms, cannon, &c., according to your orders all night, and this morning our horse, the baggage, &c, is passing the river as fast as the Tide serves. So hopes before we can know what you would have done with the Cannon in the Batteries here and about keeping this passage open all will be ready to follow directions on the other side of the water, for which end Colonel Kerr sent last night an exprefs to your Royal Highness. On this occasion as on all others I shall be found with the utmost attachment and zeal.

Sir,

Your Royal Highness' most dutiful, most humble, & most obedient Subject & Servant.

Your Royal Highness's equipage from the north will be here this night, and is escorted by part of the Macphersons who are coming up. The rest of that Name waits for their arrival.

Page 73.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to M^cPherson of Cruben.

According to orders & directions of yesterday's date these are requiring you, M^r M^cPherson of Cruben, to bring & ferry over all your men as soon & fast as conveniently possible to this side of the River, and provided the Prince's Equipage be come up, to bring it directly to this place, where carriages are ordered for carrying it on to the army, which you are to escort and if possible join the rest of the carriages & men who will be this night at Linlithgow as you shall be answerable. For the doing of which this shall be to you & all concerned a sufficient warrant.

Given at Elphinston Pans 29 October 1745.

Page 74.

Instructions for His Grace the Duke of Atholl.

30th October 1745.

My Lord Duke of Atholl is to march from Dediston to . . . with the following Troops under his Command, viz^t:

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Atholl's | Mengies |
| Perth's | Roy Stewart's |
| Ogilvy's | M ^c Phersons |
| Glenbucket's | |
| The Artillery & hevvy Bagage | |
| The Perthshire horse | |

Roy Stewart's Reg^t is to be attached & serve as a guard to the Artillery and Bagage, 50 men of which are to be chosen to serve as a particular guard to y^e Bread Wagons, with 50 of Perth's Reg^t.

Fifty men more of Perth's Reg^t are to be chossen amongst Gardeners, Carpenters, and other workmen, with an understanding Officer to serve

as Pioneres, which are to march commonly at the head of the Artillery, or according as it occurs, at the head of the column.

The pioners are to be armed as other soulders, & besides are to have hatcheds, pickaxes & chovells, which are to be carried by y^e Artillery.

His Grace is to observe an Exact Desipline amongst y^e Troops that are under his command and to take all y^e precotions neccessary that nothing shud be wanting to them.

They are to take Bread for fourd days wth them. Mr Hamilton, Aide de Camp to y^e Duke of Perth & one of y^e commitees for y^e fourage, may charge himself with that detaile for y^e horse.

Mr Grimes, who is charged with the viveres, will receive his Grace's orders on that head, but y^e bread he has along with him is not to be tuched but in the last Imergency.

Mr Sheridan & Quarter Masters General will reconnoitre y^e march & mark y^e quarters. they are to have a Detachement with them, which are to be composed of each Reg^t with the Quarter Masters of each corps.

The Troops are to part early that they may arrive by times at their quarters.

The order of march is according as they follow in this Instruction.

The Reg^t that has y^e van guard to day has y^e rear guard the day following & so alternativly.

The Artillery is to march at y^e head of y^e hevvy Bagage. The Treasure at y^e head of his Royal Highnesses Equipage which follows y^e artillery. The Bread wagons after & y^e diferent Reg^{ts} Bagage according to y^e rank they have in their march.

The Quartermasters will give out in orders and apoint a place when the Bagage will assemble every morning, & none are to be permitted to goe before.

The rank the Artillery with the Bagage is to keep in this march is after the Troops. The Reg^t that has y^e rear will march after y^e Artillery & Bagage.

Roy Stewart's Reg^t will be devidid at y^e front, rear, & center of y^e Artillery with its own two companies.

The Detachement of Perth's and Roy Stewart's Reg^t w^{ch} ar attached to his Royall Highnesses Equipage will have particular care of y^e Treasure, w^{ch} is to be sett up every night in y^e Duke of Atholls quarters.

His Grace will give strect orders to place y^e Grand Guards on the avenue of y^e camp, & that y^e officers on Picquet be very exact in their visits, & y^e particular Officers of y^e portes make their Patroule Exactly.

Capitain Brown may be charged with placing the Grand Guards.

Cluny McPherson will consint that his Reg^t shud have y^e rear of all during the march.

This Column decamps the _____ g^{bre} to _____ .

His Grace will give all y^e Intellegence he can learn of y^e enemey to his Royal Hynefs.

His Royal Hynefs parts from Delkeith the _____ of Nov^r to goe to Lauder, the _____ to Kelso, the _____ to Ouller, from whence his Grace will receive new orders from his Royal Hynefs.

31 *October*.—Prince Charles signed a commission at the Palace of Holyroodhouse to Michael Brown, Esq^{re}, to be Lieut. Colonel in the Duke of Atholl's regiment of foot.¹ There is no record, however, of his ever having done duty with that corps.

Page 81.

*William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to the Hon. John Buckney,
Lord Provost of Linlithgow.*

These are ordering and requiring you to have ready assembled in your Town of Lithgow by three o'clock tomorrow morning two hundred carts with two horses each well harnessed, and sixty horses without carts for the Cannon well harnessed as you shall be answerable. For the doing of which this shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrand.

Given at Elphinston Pans 29th Day of Oct^r 1745.

Whilst in Edinburgh Duke William executed a will leaving his estates in Scotland and the Isle of Man (failing heirs lawfully procreat or to be procreat of his own body) to his next brother Lord James Murray and his male issue, whom failing to his youngest brother Lord George Murray and his male issue,

¹ Blair Drummond Papers.

whom failing to the heirs male whatsoever, whom all failing to the heirs and assignees whatsoever, provided in case of female succession that the eldest successor shall have the sole right, so that there may be no division of the estate.

The will, written by John Hay of Annfield at the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, was signed before George Colvill, Doctor of Medicine, uncle to Alexr. Lord Colville, and the said John Hay, 31 October 1745.

Page 81.

Robert Stewart to Duke William.

EDIN^B, 1st Nov^r 1745.

May it please your Grace,—The Bearer, Robert Stewart, Uncle to Stewarts of Balechane, Kynnachan, & Ardsheall, being now near 70 years of age, By the Stoppage of Business at present Cannot get Money, Do humbly Inclose for Your Grace's acceptance a smal Relic of antiquity 424 years old, Not that your Grace wants any such Books, But that you will be pleased to Consider the Circumstances of an Atholman. This with most Humble Duty

& Respects is from,

May it please Your Grace, your most ob^t Servant,

RO^T STEWART.

Page 85.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to Capt. Grant, Commander of the train of Artillery.

These are ordering & requiring you to deliver to the Right Honourable The Earl of Kilmarnock Twenty four Sabres, Thirty pair of pistols, and what flints and ammunition the Perthshire Squadron of Horse Grenadiers may have occasion for. For the doing of which this shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrand.

Given at Peebles the fourth day of Nov^r 1745.

Page 85.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c.

In a Council of War it is resolved by the General Officers and other Commanders here present that

Whereas It has been represented to us that the army notwithstanding they are punctually paid, appointed, and provided for, Have been marroding on their march and taking without leave or authority from the houses and in the fields upon the route cows, sheep, fowls, &c, whereby they discredit their officers, and bring reproach upon the Prince's Arms, These are therefore Certifying That if any person or persons whatever shall at any time hereafter be found marroding, destroying, killing, or taking anything whatever on their march, or be found at any distance from the army on either side the road, That they shall be punished in the most severe and exemplary manner a Council of War shall think proper for Deterring of all others from like pernicious practices for the future, and it is recommended to the Officers That on this account they keep close with their respective corps on the march and continue in their proper places & quarters in the night time, by which all disorders & abuses may be easily prevented.

Given at Moffat the 6th Nov^r 1745.

Page 85.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to Capt: Charles Spaldane of Whitefield.

As the Gentlemen & Commons of Strathardle, Glenshee, Blackwater, Glenfernat & Glenbriarachan, Perseys and the West forest of Alyth have been singularly backward in performing their duty & service to their King & country, which brings a shameful reproach on us and all concerned with them, besides discouraging others who ought to be sustained for the honour & interest of our country both before God and man, These are therefore ordering & requiring you, without regard of persons or any pretence whatsoever, to raise all the men ought to have appeared at this time and join yourselves to Mr. Robertson of Drumachine's Regiment, at the same time you are to use proper methods for

surely apprehending & securing the persons of the Baron Reid & Patrick Small of Lianach, and deliver them prisoners into the hands of the Rt. Hon^{ble}. the Viscount of Strathallan that they may be kept in safe custody, all which you are carefully to perform as you will be answerable. For the doing of which this shall be to you & all concerned a sufficient warrand.

Given at Moffat the 7th Nov. 1745.

Page 85.

At Moffat the 7th of Nov^r 1745.

We, John Gillespie & Robert Stewart, Fleshers in Moffat, being solemnly sworn, do declare That the Cattle brought in to Moffat this night by order of his Grace the Duke of Athole for the use of his Majesty's Troops are worth one pound four shillings sterling each, we having inspected them at the sight of James Stewart Esq^{re} and Duncan Campbell Esq^{re}, Officers in his Majesty's Army and in the Brigade of Athole, and this is Truth as we shall answer to God.

JAMES STEWART.

JOHN GILLESPIE.

DUN : CAMPBELL.

ROBERT STEWART.

Page 85.

J. O'Sullivan, Secretary to the Prince, to Duke William.

JEDBURGH, 7 November 1745,
at 4 o'clock in the morning.

My Lord,—H.R.H. orders me to inform your Grace that he parts this morning from Jedburgh, to be this night at Hagie Haugh, tomorrow the 8th at Strong Garsting, and Saturday the 9th if possible at Bromtum, where my Lord Elco's and Pitsligo's horse which are to be the 8th at Longtown join him. He likewise expects your column and the artillery will join him about four miles at this side of Bromtum about midday the 9th. But if by the difficulty of the cariages it was found impracticable, H.R.H. desires your Grace wou'd advance with the brigade of Athol, Cluny's Regiment, and the Swedish cannon if possible. I am with all respect,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

J. O'SULIVAN.¹

¹ Blair Drummond Papers.

Page 85.

Lord George Murray to the Dukes of Perth and Atholl.

REDEN, 8th November 1745,
Friday 9 att night.

My Lords,—His Royal Highness designs to march from this to-morrow very early so as to be at Rockly by midday if possible, and desires that at least fifteen hundred men from your column join him there by that time with the Swedish cannon and ammunition conform; also the bombs. The troops with us are in absolute wante of ammunition, so bring accordingly. The rest of your column with the cariages, &c., must follow with the utmost expedition.

I am, my Lords, your most humble and obedient servant,

GEORGE MURRAY.¹

Rockly is about four miles on this side Carlile.

Bring with you ten pair pistoles.

Page 85.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to all officers civil or Military.

Whereas William Murray in Archbank has sustained great damage particularly by having a considerable number of his sheep destroyed by the Army. These are therefore requiring you not to trouble or molest him or his family in your search for horses, He behaving as becometh, as you shall be answerable. For which this shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrand.

Given at Moffat the Eighth day of November 1745.

Page 85.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to Cluny M^cPherson.

These are ordering & Requiring you the Laird of Cluny M^cPherson to march directly with the arms & powder left here and leave them with the

¹ Blair Drummond Papers.

convoy of arms and ammunition, &c., so that with the utmost expedition you may be able to join H.R.H. & the rest of his Army without loss of time by Lockarbie, Achilfechan, & Graitney, all which you are carefully to do as you zealously love your king & country. For which this shall be to you & all concerned a sufficient warrand.

Given at Moffat 8 Nov. 1745.

Page 85.

Secretary Murray to Duke William.

BLACKHALL, *Sunday, Nov. ye 10, 1745.*

H.R.H. has determined to leave this village early tomorrow and march to Warrick Bridge there to Rendezvous on Warrick muir, So desires your Grace may march with all your Brigade by day light in the morning, and take particular care that none of the Artillery or Ammunition be left behind—do not fail to begin your march by Break of Day.

I am,

Your Grace's most obed^t & most humble Servant,

JO. MURRAY.

Page 96.

Col. Robertson of Drumachine to Neil McGlashan at Clune.

LOGIVEAT, *Nov. 23, 1745.*

Sir,—At sight of this pay to the order of Captain John Stewart for the use of Guard under his command in this place the Sum of Ten pounds Sterling money, for which his Receipt will be a sufficient clearance.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble Serv^t,

D. ROBERTSON.

Page 96.

Received from Mr Patrick McGlashan in Lamtown fifteen pounds st^s by order & for account of Colonel Duncan Robertson of Drumachine, being for the subsistence of his Regmt, as witness my hand at Blair Castle 25 Nov^r 1745.

THO BLAIR, Lt Col^{ell} (of Glasclune).

An exactly similar rec^d for £30 dated 1st Dec.

„ „ „ £20 „ 9th „

Page 99.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to all officers civil or Military.

These are ordering and requiring you to allow the bearer, Thomas Tunnely, to pass & repass on horseback during the space of two hours, He being employed under pain of Military execution on his master Thomas Gisbone's¹ affairs in this town to get the value of fifty pounds sterling Association Money subscribed by him for raising Troops against H.R.H.'s service. He behaving as becometh. For which this shall be to you a sufficient warrand.

Given at Derby the fifth day of Dec^r 1745, at Twelve o'clock midday.

Page 129.

To his Grace The Duke of Athole.

The Humble Petition of William Edgar, Dumfriess, 23 December 1745.

Sheweth,—That your Petitioner, a poor, old, & very infirm man, living in the Suburbs of this place, was on Saturday Evening attac'd in a most furious manner by about five or six Highlanders in Arms, and robb'd of a Silver Cup, two Gold Rings, about £3 Sterl. in money, a Great Coat, a pair of new blankets, a pair of new stockings, silk handkerchief, & several other things.

That my wife having by accident discover'd two of the offenders upon the street, were by Order of Mr John Hay, brought before him, in the

¹ Whilst in Derby Duke William was quartered in Mr. Gisborne's house in Bridge Gate.

Prince's Lodgings, & examined by him and Captn McDonald of Scotie, to whose Company they belong'd, part of the stolen goods were found about them, particularly the Cup and Rings, and restored by the Justice of Captain McDonald, who examined them very strictly upon Oath, and they deponed they had none of the money but 8 shillings, and that ye rest of it with the great Coat, stockines, Blankets, &c., were taken by some men belonging to your Grace's Regiment, whom they did not know by Names.

That after what your poor Petitioner has got back, he is still a loser between 4 & 5 pounds sterling, which is a great Sum to him, who has not one shilling on earth but the 8 he has now got back, and being assured by Mr Hay, that your Grace, from your known Clemency and Justice, would upon a fair Representation of the Fact order Reparation to be made.

Your Petitioner therefore most humbly prays your Grace may take his distrest condition under Consideration, and grant him such Relief, as to your Grace in your great Wisdom shall seem just.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray.

(*N.B.*)—None of the Athollmen came to this place, but went with the Second Column to Achilfichan.

Page 140.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to Major Stewart of Kynachin.

These are ordering you to deliver to the bearer, R. Stewart, son of Glenbucky, six pounds of powder and Ball conform out of the powder magazines for my use. As you shall be answerable. For the doing of which. This shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrand.

Given at Polmaise the Twelfth day of January 1746.

Page 167.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to John Fraser of Faraline & Simon Fraser, son to Erchit.

Whereas Mr Stewart of Urrard & Mr Stewart of Urchilbeg have been deficient in furnishing their quota's of men for the Prince Regent's

Service. These are requiring you to carry off all their Cattle, Horses & other effects and take them along with you & Faskeily, who is also going with the men under his command, to the army. For the doing of which this shall be to you and all concerned a sufficient warrand.

Given at our Castle of Blair the twenty eighth day of January 1746.

Page 167.

Unto His Royall Highness Charles Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, &c.

The Representation of John Mackewan in Dunkeld.

Humbly sheweth,—That in Anno 1715 I had the Honour to Serve my Lawfull King in the Station of Capt. Lieutenant in the Right Honble the Deceast Lord Charles Murray's Regiment at Preston in England, where I had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, Stood Tryall, Receaved Sentence of Death, pardoned, and thereafter banished to America, and att last came home, And as soon as Your Royall Highness came to Dunkeld, I waited upon His Grace The Duke of Atholl, to whom I offered my Service to serve Your Royall Highness, and was kindly received by His Grace, who promised to doe for me and ordered me to continue in my old Station, as Lieutennant, till He would march up to your Royall Highness at that tyme at Edinbr. and then I should be Better provided. I was stationed in The Honble Collonell Robert Mercer of Aldie's Regiment, which marched from Dunkeld upon the 16th of Octr. last, and was continued therein till the Regiment was Joyned to The Right Honble Lord George Murray's Regiment of foot att Carlyle, and att the tyme there was 52 Private soldiers in the Company I belonged too, And att the time Lord George Murray promised to get me a Captain's Commission. I never receaved any subsistance From the 16th of Octr His Grace marched from Dunkeld till the arrivall of the Army at Preston, except one guinea I gott from The Duke of Atholl at Carlyle: y^after gott subsistance till the Army returned back to Glasgow, and since the last of Decer I have got non, So that I have been obleidged to gett in Lone from others to support me.

May it Therefor please Your Royall Highness to cause order me payment of my bygone Subsistance and for the tyme to come, and Your Royall Highness' faithful servant shall ever pray, &c.

JOHM MACKEWAN.

Page 167.

To ane High and Mighty Prince William, Duke of Atholl, &c.

The pititione of John Low in Ballinluig at the port of Tumble and Robert Stewart in Kilichassie.

Humbly sheweth,—That whereas I, your Grace's petitioner, did serve Ensiencie in Lord George Murrays Regiment in Stentins Company the year 1715, and by your Grace warrand deated at Dunkeld 4th of September Last 1745 years derected to James Robertson of Ballnacrie and me Conjunctly to raisse the Barronie of tullimet, Kilmorich, Gay and Rotmele, and in obedience to the Said order we raist fifty seven Men and marcht with them to the Bridge of Tay and from that to Strabran, at which place by your graces order I was turned Backe in order to raise mor men, and by your graces order Robert Stewart in Gilichassie and I was sent to Glenshie, Stratherdle, and Forrest of Clunie on a party and rais'd on Hundred Men there and brought them all to Dunkeld, and afterwards was sent to garde the arms that landed at Muntross to Perth, and no shuner we cam to pert but was sent out we Grigor Murray to press horses from Strathearn, and brough in Seventeen horses to carry off the Princ's Bagage from perth to Dekeath And from thence to Carlile, at which place Lord Georges and Lord Narns Regiment was filled up with the Men that marched with your grace over the watter of forth. In all this march we hade our Mentinence from the Laird of Aldie untill we cam to Carlile, but no pay, at which place we was Inroled by Lord George orders being the 18th November, and got Half a guniee a weeke alowed us for Six weeks, but never received no pay since Crisamass last being the 25th Decebr. except five shillings Sterl. I got from the Laird of Aldie when I cam hom with your grace from Bannakburn to rais mor Men.

May it therfor pleas your Grace to consider your petitioner, knowing that we was and is rady to Serve his Royale Highness and your Grace to the outmost of our power, and Your Grace petitioners Shall Ever pray, &c.

Page 167.

To ane High and Mighty Prince William, Duke of Atholl, &c.

The Humble petition of Fergus Ferguson, Little Lude.

Sheweth,—That whereas he hired ane able man and furnished him with arms and cloaths, and is not left the army, which all the neighbourhood can attest, and is now again presed upon to hire a second man or go himself, So I beg of your Grace to consider my present circumstances, and the petitioner shall ever pray.

(Endorsed.) This petition does not tell the reason why a second man is demanded from him.

Page 174.

Duke William to Prince Charles Edward.

31 Janv 1746.

Sir,—With the utmost care & diligence I set about fullfilling your R.H. former commands about expeditiously raising all the men I could for the King's Service, as to the utmost of my power I shall perform what is now required by your gracious Letter and positive orders, which I had the honour to receive this evening by the hands of so valuable a person as M^r Buchanan, who again sets out tomorrow in his way to Bannockburn. There is no exprefsing the unsurmountable difficulties every body finds at present when it is question of soon sending men to the army, nevertheless every thing is doing can be expected from one in my situation for your R.H. satisfaction and the honourable safety of our country, which I hope will fully appear to all the world. Having ever been in the most faithful manner with perfect attachment,

Sir,

Your R.H. most humble & most obedient
Subject & Servant.

P.S.—It is most afflicting to me that at present I cannot wait upon your R.H., as hitherto long Rheumatic pains render it almost imposible for me to stir out of the place where I sit, or act vigorously about anything. If there must be a new action, may not I beg you would not

hazard our all by risking your Royal person where there is immediate danger. May merciful Heaven, which has all along most wonderfully delivered your R.H., and in a singular manner hitherto made you victorious over your proud enemies, still blefs you with succets that they may be soon brought to a sense of their duty by seeing their folly in resisting him who through extraordinary advantages over them shows what submifion is due to the protection given by unerring providence. Ought we not then to hope, Great Sir, its own work most gloriously begun will be crowned with the succets should attend so righteous an undertaking as yours has been.

Page 174.

Accounts paid by Peter M^cGlashan, 23 January 1746.

| | | | |
|--|-------|---|-----|
| To 2 exprefes to Clunie M ^c Pherson | £0 | 5 | 0 |
| To Rob ^t M ^c Intosh in Blair for attending 6 days at Dalnacardoch for the M ^r of Lovet, & giving meal out of Magazine there | } | 0 | 5 0 |
| To James Stuart for going exprefs to Straherig . . . . . |  |  |  | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| To the officers & party that searched for the Glentylt Deserters | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| To Coll: Robertson by his order & receipts | 97 | 8 | 0 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £98 | 8 | 6 |

Account due to the men employed in Athole.

| | | | |
|--|-------|----|----|
| To a particular Acc ^t presented to Co ^l Robertson | £1 | 5 | 5½ |
| To the Guard for the 28 th , 29 th , 30 th , 31 st | 1 | 14 | 6 |
| To 4 Orderly men for 2 days each | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| To 4 Orderly men sent exprefes | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| To 15 days Run on of Jo Owar's pay | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| To Candles | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| To Donald Moon this weeks pay | 0 | 5 | 3 |
| To Ja ^s Toshach Orderly man | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| To W ^m Robertson Orderly man | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| To the Rannach men | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| To Ale for Deserters | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| | <hr/> | | |
| | £5 | 7 | 6½ |

Two weeks pay preceding Thursday Feby 6th—

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|---|-----------|---|---|
| 1 Ensign . . . | £1 1 0 | | | | |
| 2 Sergeants . . . | 1 1 0 | } | £8 | 8 | 0 |
| 18 Private men . . . | 6 6 0 | | | | |
| <i>Ditto Employed in Rannach—</i> | | | | | |
| 2 Sergeants . . . | 1 1 0 | } | 8 | 1 | 0 |
| 20 Private men . . . | 7 7 0 | | | | |
| | | | 16 9 0 | | |
| | | | £21 16 6½ | | |

BLAIR CASTLE, *Feb. 1st 1746.*

The above Sum of Twenty one pounds sixteen shillings and sixpence sterling money is due as charged in the above Acc^t.

D. ROBERTSON.

Page 186.

BLAIR CASTLE, 1 *February 1746.*

Then received by me, Major Stewart of Kilichassie, from the Duke of Atholl Ten pounds 10 shillings sterling, for which I am to account.

ROBERT STEWART.

Page 186.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to James Robertson of Killiehangie.

These are empowering & requiring you immediately to raise all the able bodied men below the pass, viz. in the How of Moulin, Tullimet, Logiereat, the Bishoprick & neighbourhood, who ought to come out for the King's Service, with all others who have been already enlisted or have deserted their colours, and to keep & put in prison all those who are refractory besides distresfsing them in their goods & effects, or even if necessary burning their houses That the Service may no longer suffer nor be retarded by the refractory conduct of ungenerous people. These are also requiring all Gentlemen and Officers in the country without lofs of time not only to be aiding & assisting in whatever is necessary for the speedy Execution of what is here required, But also if possible as they regard their own honour as well as the King's & Country's Service to go

along as brave Atholl Gentlemen formerly did to the army, that they may show there are still virtuous as well as Courageous sentiments left among them, for the doing of all which this shall be to you & all concerned a sufficient warrand.

Given at our Castle of Blair the second day of February 1746.

Page 186.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to all officers civil or Military.

These are ordering & requiring you not to trouble or molest Mr Adam Fergusson, Min^r at Moulin, in his person or effects, as you shall be answerable at your peril.

Given at our Castle of Blair the third day of February 1746.

Page 186.

J. S. to Mr John Murray at Blair Castle.

Feb. 4 (1746).

Sir,—You know William Miller & Thomas Clark, Slater, were employed by Col Warren & Col Blair for repairing the Castle, & now they do not know how to be paid for their work unless you represent it to his Grace. I have paid for their scaffolding & nails, q^{ch} I believe will be near 20 shill^s, but have not yet got the acc^t of it. I paid also 18 pence to two of the barrow men. I wish you every thing that's good, and in a hurry am

Y^{rs},

J. S.

Page 191.

William, Duke of Atholl, &c., to Colonel Richard Warren.

These are empowering & requiring you forthwith to raise all the men are fit for bearing arms betwixt y^e age of sixteen & sixty in y^e country & neighbourhood of Atholl, & if any are still refractory notwithstanding repeated warnings, you are hereby empowered to distrefs such in their persons & effects, & even if found needfull to Burn their Houses if not following the Cross tarie which I deliver you out of my own hand, it being his R: H: express Command y^t none should be spared on account of

frivolous or insignificant pretences. All this you are to perform with ye utmost Care & Diligence as you will be answerable. for the doing of which this shall be to you & all concerned a sufficient warrant. Given at Blair Castle this seventh day of February 1746.

Page 198.

BLAIR CASTLE, 8 *February* 1746.

Received by Mungo Campbell in Blairphetys company from the Duke of Atholl one pound one shilling sterling, for which I am accountable.

MUNGO CAMPBELL.

Page 221.

INVERNESS, 26 *February* 1746.

Received by Charles Stewart of Gourdie from the Duke of Atholl Two pounds Two Shillings sterling for my subsistance.

CHARLES STEWART.

Page 296.

Will^m. Buchanan y^r. of Drumakill to Lord Milton.

ROSS, *April* 28, 1746.

My Lord,—The Marquiss of Tullibairn, and one Monsieur Mitchell, a native of Florence, with five servants, who had, after the Battle of Culloden, come over the mountains, with a view of getting their passage to the Isle of Man from some part of the west coast, came, about seven of the clock on Sunday morning last, near to this place. They were much fatigued, in great want of provisions, and their horses quite worn out. I went up to them, and, after conversing with them, they surrendered themselves prisoners and delivered me their arms, and that evening I carried them to Dumbartane Castle, where they now are, and sent ane express to Generall Campbell, giving him ane account of it.

The Marquiss is in a very bad estate of health, and has some difficulty in walking, and seems to me not only of a very crazy body, but even has made some impresion on his intellectuals, so that I think him more an object of compassion then I cou'd have dreamed of before I saw

him. As I judged it necessary to inform your Lordship of this, I hope you will be so good as to pardon this trouble; and believe me to be, with reall attachment,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithfull humble servant,

WILL. BUCHANAN.¹

Page 296.

Capt. Turnbull, Deputy Governor, to Lord Milton (Extract).

DUMBARTON CASTLE, 28 April 1746.

Its my duty in the Earle of Cassills, the Governour's, absence, to acquaint your Lordship that last night Mr. Buchanan younger of Drumikills, one of his Majesties Justices of the Peace, brought here as prisoners the Marques of Tulliberden and another Italian gentleman, who calls himself Mitchell, and of Scots extract, but I have reason to beleive he has another name. He owns he has been thirty years in the Pretender's service and of his household. Drumikill says they surrendered to him, but, be that as it will, they are here now, and shall be secured; and as the Marques is a person of distinction, he and the other gentleman with him, shall be treated with all the good manners I am capable of. But I may remark to your Lordship that there is very little accomodation here for State prisoners or their servants, whereof both he and Sir James Campbell² have more than I could wish.³

Page 296.

Captain Turnbull to Lord Milton (Extract).

DUMBARTON CASTLE, 6 May 1746.

I had this day the honour of your Lordship's of the 4th in answer to mine. You do me great honour in approving my conduct anent the prisoners of distinction, and was there suiteable accomodation for persons of the Marques of Tulliberden's rank, I should not wearie either of

¹ Salton Papers.

² Of Auchinbreck.

³ Salton Papers.

his Lordship, Sir James Campbell, or the Italian, while they were prisoners, for they are most polite persons, and seems well pleas'd of any small civility I am capable of shewing them.

I am told that Drumikill sent in one clothbag trunk to the Marques a few days after his Lordship came here, which, he said, was forgott at his house, but did not own his having any other of my Lord's there. However upon Saturday last he caus'd his servants bring another to the toun of Dumbartan, and came along with it himself, putt it in a private house, where two of the Marques's servants lodges, and where he and Garshake, both Justices of the peace (as I have the honour to be), opened it by themselves, without acquainting me. They found in it severall pappers, which I am told they sealed up, and were to send them to Major Generall Campbell or the Duke of Newcastle. Some silver plate, which was also there, is left with said clothbag in the Same private house. There was likewise some horses and rich saddle furniture, with a pair or fine pistolls, and a sword or two, left at Drumikill's house by the Marques; and whatever freedom Mr. Buchanan took with any other of his Lordship's effects, I hope your Lordship will agree with me that these arms ought to have been lodged in this castle under my care, I being (in the Earl of Cassills absence) commander, and answerable to his Majesty for the persons and arms of all rebels brought here, of whatever degree.

When these matters are clear'd up, your Lordship will judge betwixt Drumikill and me who has treat these persons in the gentlemannyest way, and your approveing my conduct in that and other parts of my duty, I will reckon a great reward of my zeall for his Majesty's Service.¹

Page 296.

Lord Milton to the Governor or Deputy Governor or Commanding Officer for the time of the Castle of Dumbarton.

EDINBURGH, May 8, 1746.

Sir,—I have received his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's orders, by a letter from his secretary, Sir Everard Fawkener, to cause William Murray, late Marques of Tulliberdine, to be transported, under

¹ Salton Papers.

a sufficient guard, from Dumbarton Castle to this place, and in obedience thereto have sent a coach from hence to Dumbarton, and have written to the commander of the forces att Stirling to send a sufficient detachment of Dragoons to Dumbarton to receive him from you and to guard him to this place. I desire therefor that, persuant to his Royal Highness's orders, you deliver over the person of the said William Murray, and the other person calling himself Mitchell, ane Italian, who was delivered to you att the same time, to the Commanding Officer¹ of the detachment that shall be sent to receive them, for which this shall be your warrant.²

Page 296.

Captⁿ. Turnbull to Lord Milton.

DUMBARTON CASTLE, 11 *May* 1746.

Yesterday I had the honour of your Lordship's of the 8th brought to me by an officer of Dragoons, in compliance with an order from his Royall Highness the Duke of Cumberland. Your Lordship's orders to me for delivering to the said officer William Murray, late Marques of Tulliberden, and an Itallian gentleman, who names himself Mitchell, is, according to my duty, obey'd. I have nothing to add on that subject further than what I have formerly said annent the Marques, viz., that he is a most polite, well temper'd person, and, as far as I can judge, is now clearly convinced and heartily tyred of the French schemes and politicks, and, if need be, a strong advocate against them, and consequently an object of his Majesty's wonted clemency, which, no doubt, your good nature will recommend if you find room for it. You know I am no Jacobite; but when the King's enemys are subdued, I, according to my natureall temper, compassionats every man in affliction, and then treats them as human nature and common civility dictats.

There is a Frenchman who attends the Marques as a servant, and who, at his Lordship's desire, sleeps in the room with him, and he takes him with him in the coach. Neither that Frenchman nor any other of my Lord's servants were committed to my charge as prisoners, as my

¹ Mr. Aldcock.

² Salton Papers. Mitchell was left sick at Dumbarton.

Lord and the Itallian were, and I haveing no instructions how to treat them, they went out and in at pleasure, and now comes with him.

What relates to the Marquess's being taken or delivering himself to Drumikill, I'm perswaded his Lordship will give yow a true account, when you ask him.

I humbly await your further commands annent Keir, &c.,
having the honour to be, with great respect,¹ &c.

¹ Salton Papers.

NOTE.—For further addenda to this volume, see pages xxi to xxxvii of vol. v.

END OF VOL. III.

Page 193.

“THE CONTRAST.” Printed 1825.

EXTRACTS from the reprint of a pamphlet¹ containing a series of letters written by a Medical Officer who accompanied the Army of the Duke of Cumberland to Scotland in 1746.

After staying in Perth a day and two nights, on the 7th of February two detachments of 500 foot each were ordered forwards, one to Dunkeld, under the command of Lt. Col: Sir Andrew Agnew, with 120 Argyllshire men added thereto, the other under the command of Lt. Col: Leighton to Castle Menzies, a mile on the other side of Tay Bridge; with the first of which it happened to be my lot to march. The rest of the army remains at Perth.

We set out of Perth for Dunkeld early in the morning of the 8th, it snowing very hard, and arrived there at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. We did not see Dunkeld till we came just upon it, it then seemed to be a very neat and most agreeable small village, but enclosed with most high mountains on every side, having the forementioned beautiful river Tay winding almost round it, and is very broad, so that we are always obliged to be ferried over to get into the town.

The Duke of Atholl has a noble seat, and newly built, in this town. There was also formerly a beautiful and magnificent Cathedral church, dedicated to St. Columba, the seat of a Bishop, whose chapter or prebendaries were Culdees or Black Monks, but they were dissolved at the Reformation, and most part of the church is now in ruins. There is at present a most remarkable crack, all up and through the building of the steeple, which is of stone, and which in painting would make a most entertaining landscape. The Duke's House and this Church makes the greatest part of the town. The gardens here belonging to the Duke of Atholl are all of nature's forming. You have here variety of mounts and flats, adorned with statues, and a neat Green House; as also a handsome stove with many curious plants in it, such as pines, apples, torch, thistles, oranges, lemons, &c., and several curious coffee trees that thrive vastly well, and had ripe fruit now in February.

The Highland houses hereabouts are very oddly built and look most miserable and desolate, they being composed of clods of peat, stones, and broom. As to chimneys they are little acquainted with them; there is

¹ Published 1746.

sometimes a little hole left open in the top, for the smoke's exit ; otherwise it is in the end, and most frequently the door performs this office—nay, what is more odd, in coming into this town, I saw in one house a chimney made of a cart wheel, and out of the hollow for the axle passed the smoke. The Duke of Atholl's house at Dunkeld made a stronghold for our detachment ; and here we stayed several days, but not without frequent alarms from the rebels. While our detachment was at Dunkeld, we were informed that the rebels were about Blair in Atholl with their Pretender, who they told us had been out frequently a hunting and fowling ; but upon our approach they left that place, after having taken several of the Duke of Atholl's large English oxen, and sheep, and many other things that they needed, and were gone for the Ruthven of Badenoch, 20 miles further north in the road to Inverness ; of which we were more particularly informed by some countreymen returning from Dalnacardoch, who had been carrying baggage for the rebels. That a few days before, about 1000 of the clans, with about 40 Gentlemen on horseback, 40 baggage horses, together with all the prisoners carried from Falkirk, who were in a miserable condition, (and several officers that were very fat, who could not keep up with their pace, they forced along, not allowing them horses, although many of them wanted shoes and stockings at the same time,) arrived at Dalnacardoch in their way towards the north ; that the day after, their Artillery with about eight cart load of baggage was carried off from Blair, and that it was given out that they were driving to Ruthven in Badenoch.

After leaving Dunkeld we came for Blair in Atholl, another of the Duke's seats, and is called Blair Castle, a much older and larger house than the former, having a pleasant small river running close by it, which, by means of sluices, is formed into a pond quite in the front of the house, which is six stories high, and a prison in appearance, having the windows covered with iron bars and walls five feet thick. This house is not so agreeably situated as the former, though somewhat like it, only having a much larger plain about it, and has vast high mountains on every side but a greater distance from the house. The gardens here are not so agreeable as the others, nor has it any green houses, but has some curious statues which the other wants ; such as Hercules, a Diana, Bacchus, &c., and has also a Temple of Fame, filled on every side with busts of the ancient philosophers and poets, the Duke himself being placed in the middle, gilt upon lead. He has also English cattle such as oxen and sheep, which thrive very well, and English servants to attend them. The town itself consists of a few peat houses, according to the former description, excepting the minister's house, one pretty good change or public

house, and a poor old kirk ; but the pews are all broken down, and the doors left open, so consequently full of dirt ; the minister however preaches in it once a week an Erse sermon.

In coming the last day's journey, which is 20 miles, (which the stones upon the road show, fixed there for that purpose by the present Duke of Atholl,) we still come into a more mountainous country, and the variety is still the greater, (having plenty of frost and snow,) and in turning out of the road about one mile from Dunkeld, upon the river Bran, (being a branch of the Tay,) there is the most wonderful cascade, caused by rocks, that ever I saw. I believe it is near 30 yards high and is called the Rumbling Brig: for it makes a surprising noise ; and close by it there is two rocks which meet together, by which means it makes a natural bridge. The country people that live near it, to make passing over it the easier, have covered it with clods of peat and sticks, it being the only Bridge they have on the river, and when you stand on this bridge the fall of water is so great, and near 20 yards before you, yet it will wet you all over, like smoke and rain mixed which ascends out of this botomless river by means of the constant fall of water on high, which they say has been frequently plummed but could never find a bottom. We travelled greatest part of this way upon the banks of the famous and deep river Tay, lying in a hollow or valley, having most high mountains on either side ; and in about 14 miles come to the Pass of Killiecrankie, which is certainly a place the most wonderful, and contains the greatest variety I ever saw.

The rebels going just before us had spoiled the road all along this by digging holes, and locking up other parts with large rock stones ; they also broke up one arch of a bridge which we must necessarily pass ; there we expected to meet them but did not, they being nine or ten miles distance, which we afterwards heard. Near this pass of Killiecrankie we have on every side mountains so exceeding high that they seem to be even with the clouds, and all covered with snow, it being a very hard frost at this time, and snowed a great part of our journey ; the cold was also extream, we scarce could bear it. Now and then we saw three or four houses together, built of clods of peat and stone, after the former manner ; but we saw no young men, they being all gone with the rebels as we conjectured. We have now a continual view of rocks, mountains, woods, plains, flats cultivated, and rivers, and on the mountains we saw frequently great herds of cattle, such as oxen, sheep, and goats. This pass of Killiecrankie is situated at the foot of a vast mountain, near a mile long, next, there is a river called the Garry, which divides it from other mountains still higher, on the other side, which are covered with

woods. The road through it is very narrow and dangerous to retreat for the river which is close to you in a vast hollow. From the woody mountains here run frequently streams of the purest water, which are obstructed now by the hard frost, and makes most romantic winter appearances, by the congealed streams of icicles which hang pendulous over the rocky banks of these rivers.

I stayed at Blair Castle in Atholl near a month, in which time our detachment plundered all the houses which were concerned with the rebels for five or six miles compass. The most noted were the Lady Lude, a sister of Lord Nairn's, Lady Fascally, Lady Blairfettie, several Robertsons, Stewarts, &c. I believe most of the whole country about here deserved the same treatment; for I fancy there were few that were not rebelliously inclined.

We got plenty of oxen, sheep, goats, and horses; also plenty of forage and oatmeal, bedding, &c., otherwise I believe we should all have been starved.

The first week of our stay here we had a hard frost with much snow; then came on a great thaw and wind; immediately after that came a frost again; these sudden changes, and cold windy weather, and by reason of keeping our men so closely confined in Blair Castle, as two hundred in one room and one hundred in every¹ room, breathing in the most nasty scents, which arise from one and the other lying upon straw, almost brought a pestilence among them, so that three, four, and five were brought out every day, most extreme ill, into the hospital, which was the Duke's stables; so that our number of sick increased to sixty in three weeks time. They were generally at first taken with a most violent headach, and pains all over their limbs, so that their use was entirely lost, and always attended with a violent burning fever, which mostly first arose with a cold shivering; in many the pain settled in the side and became violent pleurisies; others the fever broke out in eruptions all over the body, and many with these symptoms had a spitting of blood. Fluxes and dysenteries were also common.

¹ ? Another.

