

## Theme 2 – The 1745 Rebellion

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### Document 2

#### **Ne C 1625/2 - Copy of letter from [A. Campbell] 3rd Duke of Argyll to Sir John Cope; n.d. [c. Aug 1745], enclosed in General Cope's letter of 13 Aug. 1745 to Henry Pelham**

Informs that upon the 26th of July a ship having eighteen carriage guns mounted and six upon deck arrived at the Mouth of Lochinert [now Lochailort] on the coast of Moydart or Croy-dard and that Angus McDonald brother to Kinloch Moydart who has been these twelve years in France, landed out of said ship, as the informer was told.

The current news of the country was that the said ship was convoy'd by a sixty gun ship from France, till westward from Ireland a British Man of War came up with them on the 8th July aforesaid and then a sharpe engagement

follow'd betwixt the two bigg ships, till they were both disabled; the small French ship stood away from them, to a great distance all the time of the fight. It was thought this was owing to her having the valuable cargoe undermentioned. Next morning the small ship spoke with the bigg French ship and was told the latter had lost 200 men, and that she was disabled to that degree that she would have enough to do to get home, so advis'd the small ship to proceed in her intended voyage. The first land the small ship made was Berrahead and took three men from that island for pilots to the main land.

At Lochinert they gave themselves out at first to be Dutch. None of them landed save said Mr. McDonald, but countrymen who were thereafter allow'd to go on board, told they had seen a great many gentlemen there richly cloath'd and that the ship was loaded with arms and ammunition.

Upon the 27th young Clanronald, Glenalandal, and Kinloch Moydart went on board, and upon the 28th Kinloch Moydart came ashore and went up Lochseall under night to Fassefern where John Cameron brother to Lochiel lives. He heard he went thence to Locheil and Glencoe and was to go towards Drummond Castle.

Clanronald went to the point of Sleat to meet with Sir Alexander McDonald, and Glenallandall with several of Kinloch Moydart's brothers staid on board and were there when the informer came from Moydart on Monday last the 5th current.

The countrymen were telling they were not to arm till a landing of men from France in the north and that then the Popish Bishop was to take their Oaths that they would be true to [p.2] their officers and would not fly or quitt the cause untill Victory or Death, for that this is the last opportunity they are to have, and that they hop'd to have some Campbells by the necks in a month's time.

Copy of a letter sent from the Duke of Argile to Sir John Cope.

### **Document 3**

**Ne C 1785 - Copy of letter from Charles Stuart 'the Young Pretender', Perth [Scotland,] to James Stuart 'the Old Pretender'; 10 Sep. 1745**

Perth Sept[embe]r 10th. 1745

S[i]r,

Since my landing everything has succeeded with me to my wishes, it has pleased God to prosper me hitherto even beyond my Expectations. I have got together about 5000 (and am promis'd more brave determin'd men, who are resolv'd to die or Conquer with me). The Enemy March'd a body of Regular Troops to Attack me, but when they came near they Chang'd their mind by takeing a Different Route & makeing forced Marches, they have Escaped to the North to the great disappointment of my Highlanders: but I am not at all sorry for it. I shall have the greater Glory by Beating them when they are more numerous & supported by their Dragoons. I have Occasion to Reflect every day upon your Majesties last words to me, Viz. that I would find power if it was not with Justice & Clemency an Uneasy thing to my Self &

greivious to those under me, tis Owing to the Observance of this Rule & my Conforming to the Customs of these People that I have got their Hearts to a degree not to be Easily Conceiv'd by those who do not see it, one who Observes the Discipline I have Established whould take my little Army to be a Body of Pickt Veterans: & to see the Love & Harmony that Reigns Amongst us, he would be Apt to Look upon it as a Large well order'd Family in which Every one loves another better than himself. I keep my health better in these wild Mountains then I us'd to do in the Campania Felice and Sleep Sounder Lyeing on the Ground then I us'd to do in the Palaces at Rome, there is one thing & but one in which I have any Difference with my faithfull Highlanders; it was about setting a Price on my Kinsman's Head, which knowing your Majesties generous humanity will shock you as much as it did me. When I was shewing the Proclamation setting a Price on my Head I smil'd & treated it with the disdain it deserv'd, upon which they flew into a most Violent Rage & Insisted on my doing the same by him. As this Flowed solely from the Poor Men's Love & Concern for me, I did not know how to be Angry with them for it, & try'd to bring them to Temper by Representing that it was a mean Barborous Practice among Princes that must Dishonour them in the Eyes of all men of Honour, that I could not see how my Cousin haveing set me the Example would Justifie me in Imitating that which I blame so much in him, but nothing I could say would satisfy them, some went Even so far as to say shall wee go Venture our Lives for a Man who seems so Indifferent of his Own, thus have I been drawn in to do a thing for which I Condemn my Self, your Majesty [p.2] know's that in my Nature I am Neither Cruell nor Revengefull, & God who know my heart knows that If the Very Prince who has forc'd me to this (for it is he that has forced me) was in my Power the greatest Pleasure I could feel would be treating him as the Black Prince treated his Prisoner the King of France, to make him Asham'd of haveing shewn himself so Inhumane an Enemy to a man for Attempting a thing whom he himself (If he has any Spirit) would despise for not Attempting. I beg your Majesty would be under no uneasiness about me, he is Safe thats in Gods keeping. If I die it Shall be as I have liv'd with Honour, & the Pleasure I take in thinking I have a Brother in all Respects more Worthy than my Self to Support your Just Cause, & Rescue my Injur'd Country from the Oppression under which it Groans (If it will Suffer it Self to be Rescue'd) makes Life more Indifferent to me, as I know & Admire that fortitude with which your Majesty has supported your Misfortunes & the generous disdain with which you have constantly rejected all Offers of Foreign Assistance by terms which you thought Dishonourable to your Self & Injurious to your Country. If our Cold but Interested Friends should at this take Advantage of the Tender Affection with which they know you Love me I hope you will Reject them with the same Magnanimity you have hitherto shewn & leave me to shift for my self as Edward ye 3d left his brave son when he was in Danger of being Oppressed by Numbers in the Field. No S[i]r, let it never be said that to save your son you Injur'd your Country, when your Enemy brings in Foreigners, and you Reject all Foreign Assistance on Dishonourable terms: your Deluded Subjects of England must see who is the true father of the Child. For my own Part I Declare once for all that while I Breath I will never Consent to Alienate one foot of land, that belongs to the Crown of England or set my hand to any treaty inconsistant with it's Independancy & Sovereignty. If the English would have my Life let them take it If they can but no Unkindness on their Part Shall Ever force me to a thing that may Justifie them in takeing it, I may be Over Come by my Enemys, but I won't Dishonour my Self. If I die it Shall be with my Sword in my Hand, Fighting for the Liberty [p.3] of those who fight Against me, I know there will be Fulsome Addresses from the different Corporations of England, but I hope they will Impose on none but the lowest & most Ignorant of the People, they will try no Doubt to Revive all the Errors & Excesses of my Grandfathers Unhappy Reign & Impute them to your Majesty and me who had

no hand in them & suffer'd most by them. Can anything be more Unreasonable than to suppose that your Majesty who is so Sensible of, & has so often Condemn'd the fatal Errors of your father; would with your Eyes open go & Repeat them Again, notwithstanding the Repeated Assurances your Majesty has given in your declaration, & I, in my Manifesto, that you will Invade no mans property, they Endeavour to Perswade the Unthinking People, that one of the first things they are to Expect, will be to See the Publick Credit Destroy'd, as If it would be your Intention to Render your Self Contemptible in the Eyes of all the Nations of Europe, & all the Kingdoms you Propose to Reign Over, Poor at Home & Insignificant Abroad, they no doubt try Likewise to frighten the present Possesors of Church & Abby Lands with Vain Terros as If your Majestys Intention was to Resume them all, not Considering that you have liv'd in Roman Catholick Country's and Read the History of England too Carefully, not to have Observ'd the Many Melancholly Monuments to be seen there, of the folly of those Pious Princes, who thinking to honour Religion have hurt it, by heaping Superfluous Riches on the Church whereby they have Insensibly raised up a Power that has often prov'd an Over match for their Successors,

I find it a great Loss the Brave L[or]d Maerschall [George Keith, 9th Earl Marischal] is not with me, his Charrecter is very high in this Country, as it must be Where ever he is known. I'd rather see him than a 1000 French, who If they should Come only as Friends to Assist your Majesty in the Recovery of your Just Right, the Weak People would believe they Came as Invaders.

[p.4] There is one man of this Country, whom I could wish to have my Friend, & that is the D.[uke] of Argyle who I find is in high Credit Amongst them, on Account of his great Ability & good Qualities & has many Dependants by his large Fortune but I am told I can hardly flatter my Self with the hopes of it; the hard Usage which his Family Receiv'd from ours Sunk deep in his Mind, what have those Princes to Answer for who by their Crueltys have raised Enemies not only to themselves but their Innocent Children. I must not Close this letter without doing Justice to your Majesties Protestant Subjects, who I find are full as zealous in your Cause as the Roman Catholicks, which is what Honest Dr Wagstaff has often told me I would find when I came to try them, I design to March from hence to Morrow, & I hope my next shall be from Ed[inbu]r[gh]. I am your M.[ajesty's] M.[ost] O.[bedient] S.[-] and D.[utiful] Sub.[ject] C.[harles]

## Document 4

**Ne C 1677 - Letter from General T[homas] Wentworth, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to Henry Pelham; 10 Nov. 1745**

Newcastle, Nov.[ember] the 10th 1745

S[ir],

I was this morning honour'd with yours of the 7th and as I am persuaded that you must not be a little anxious for what concerns us, I write by the post, the Marshall not designing to send away an express 'till to morrow or the day following -

By our freshest intelligence, the Rebels were very near Carlisle, but I conceive it must only be meant of one of their partys, as it is pretty certain that a considerable body of them, were two days ago at or near Dumfries, which town lying some miles west of Carlisle, I can not easily account for

their going so far out of their way, if their real design is to move southward, indeed tis said th[a]t they have been oblig'd to take that road for the more easy conveyance of their artillery.

[p.2] Most of the accounts we receive of the Rebels, are, I think, not altogether to be depended upon, as they are but too often dictated by the fears of those who are employ'd to observe their motions; a Clergyman upon the Western border, lately signify'd by letter that he had himself seen 2000 upon their march, which number a second letter writ by the same person a few hours after, reduc'd to sixty.

From what I can judge (as I mention'd in my last) their numbers can not exceed 8000 in Arms; allowing them to be all Highlanders (which is not the case) and even such formidable Heros, as they are describ'd by certain persons on almost every occasion, I shou'd not be under the least apprehensions on that account; cou'd we but bring our people fairly up to them in health and in vigour - our greatest difficulty [p.3] will arise from the want of subsistence, w[hic]h will be unavoidable if we march towards the Western Moors; as we have no Magazines, and as little grain &c. is produc'd in th[a]t barren soil that, in my humble opinion, can be the only obstacle w[hic]h will prevent us seeking them instantly, as soon as it shall be certainly known what route they have taken.

To morrow a Council of Warr is to sit, for, I suppose, determining what measures to take, the results of w[hic]h you will know by the next opportunity.

I am, S[i]r  
With great truth,  
Your most faithfull  
& obliged humble serv[ant]  
T. Wentworth

P.S.

Gen[era]l [-] is on Tuesday to march to Edinburgh, the two Reg[iment]s of foot who are to accompany him, have no less than 300 sick.

## Document 5

**Ne C 1640 - Letter from [A. Campbell], 3rd Duke of Argyll, Edinburgh [Scotland], to Henry Pelham; 17 Aug. 1745**

S[i]r,

I returned to this place yesterday and have conversed with Sir John Cope, the King's Advocate & Sollicitor, and have learnt nothing new except S[i]r John's advices from Fort Bernera & Fort Augustus, where I find they are under great apprehensions; It would be very surprising if after all the boastings of Marishal Wade, these Forts & that of Fort William of all which he has been Governor for so many years should now be in such a condition as to be taken by a Highland Army, but the misfortune is, that in this Country all zeal seems to be vanished on the side of the Government & the Jacobites are wise enough to conceal theirs, reserving it for a proper opportunity; the people have been poysoned for several years with pretended Patriot notions, and those who concurred in raising them have now neither skill, interest, nor spirit to put out the fire they have kindled. I am forced to be so rude as to

beg you will send the inclosed to Mr. Vaughan, for I dare not write by the post. This morning we have had a new alarum from L[or]d Glenorchy, but I hope its only the same rumour, more diffused, which came from Fort William [p.2] of the date of the 7th & 9th which is no ways confirmed by any accounts I have: S[i]r John Cope will march all his foot in a few days to the Forts in the Highlands, which is certainly right if the Rebels are not got together, but if they are, it will be very dangerous for want of Highland militia. I have advised him to keep his dragoons at Sterling & Edenburgh they being of no manner of use in the Highlands; I hope when the King comes over we shall have a Government, & if this affair blows over, it will be a warning to us to put this Country into such a state that the Jacobites in the Highlands may be affraid of us instead of our fearing them; it is a great mortification to me to be obliged to run away from 300 French & 3 or 4 of my Tennants or Vassals, but I have said so much of my self that I am quite sick of it. The Postmaster here has been with me, & is so sensible that its necessary to make the correspondence with the Highlands more easy, that he says he will write to his Masters for leave to send the letters more frequently than hitherto they have done, which I hope you will take care that his Masters may approve of, it is incredible what flattery I meet with from some of my enemies here now that are frightned out of their wits. Capt[ain] Noel sailed from the Clyde as he & I concerted it, [p.3] he wanted provisions which I got him provided with at Greenock in 12 hours time. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you so soon that I shall only assure you how ready I shall be to throw my mite into the scale for the support of your interest & views being with great sincerity S[i]r

Your most obedient  
humble servant  
Argyll

Edenburgh Aug. 17. 1745

## Document 6

**Ne C 1707 - 'Some Reflexions on General Cope's Behaviour in Scotland', endorsed 'Facts relating to the Army in Scotland before the Battle of Preston Pans'; n.d. [c.1745-1746]**

Some Reflexions on Gen[era]l Cope's Behaviour in Scotland

He marched out of Edinburgh, with full 400 Carts.

The D.[uke] of Argyle in the year 1715 with double the Number of Forces had all his Baggage carried by 100 Horses only.

When he arrived at Falkirk, he found he wanted Musket Bullets: there he halted a Day or two.

At Sterling a General Order was issued for every soldier to deliver up his sword and leave it in the Castle.

In the town of Creif he found he wanted Gunpowder, upon which he sent to the Gov[erno]r of Stirling Castle for a fresh supply of Arms & Ammunition: Arms he did not want, but sent for them too to cover the great want he was in for Powder: so the Arms were left behind there, & fell afterwards into the hands of the Highlanders.

[p.2] Two Days March from Crief, that is seven or eight miles, (for he

marched no more, it came out, that there was not a single Bullet in the whole Army that would enter their Musketts: upon which a general Order was issued for everyman at his Leisure hours (w[hi]ch were not a few) to trim his Bullets with his knife, & such as had no knives were ordered to do it with their Teeth, & this gave Rise to the Report after the Battle of Preston Pans, that our soldiers had made use of poisoned Bullets.

In his March he suffered the Troops to do a great deal of Mischief to the Country.

When the Panick seized him, he marched in one Day 24 long Highland miles, & in the next 20.

At the Battle of Preston Pans, the soldiers then wanted their swords to defend themselves: & the Engineers sometimes put powder into the Cannon [p.3] & forgott the Ball, at others put the Ball in first & the Powder Afterwards.

## Document 8

**Ne C 1708/1 - Letter from Brigadier William Blakeney [later 1st Baron Blakeney], Stirling Castle [Scotland], to Henry Pelham; 18 Oct. 1745**

Stirling Castle 18th Octo[ber] 1745

Sir,

I received the Honour of your letter Dated the 5th Instant, and beg leave to return you my most Humble thanks for the favourable opinion you are pleased to have of me, the Continuance of which shall be one of my greatest Studies to deserve.

Inclosed are the best accounts I could get of the Rebels, which I have compared with the several Informations I have had from People I have employed to count all the partys that have passed the River Forth, and by giving allowance for mistakes, I do not believe that their Number now in and about Edinburgh can be three Hundred Men more than is set down in the Calculation.

After having repaired the fortifications of the Castle, I have Barracadaed all the Avenues to this Town, and obliged the Inhabitants to stop up all their back doors and Passages, by which I shall prevent the Town's being Insulted, and if the Men that I have placed to defend it happen to be pressed, I have secured a safe retreat for them into the Castle.

You will see by the inclosed return that our number is Considerably increased, which has happened by prisoners making their escapes from the Rebels; I have rewarded them for their fidelity and entered them into pay; they seem to [p.2] resent the ill treatment they have met with from the Rebels, and wanting all necessaries, I take care to furnish them with linnen, shoes, stockings, and watchcoats, the weather being very Cold and Wet, a particular account shall be kept of what each man has had.

The draught of the several Dispositions S[ir] John Cope made with his Army I had from a very Intelligent Clergyman who rode over the field of Battle, and was well informed of everything that happened. In my opinion, had S[i]r John Cope placed his right at Preston panes and his left at Cockenzie his Foot and Cannon on the right and left, and the Dragoons in the Center, he certainly

would have defeated the Rebels, for they never could have surprised him, nor make him alter his Disposition so often as he did; besides, it is a maxim in the art of War, not to place Horse on any Wing of an Army that is near woods or Inclosures, from whence they may be anoyed by Infantry without being able to offend them.

I have desired Captain Wilson to wait upon you for your Orders how I shall be supplied with money. I am with great respect

Sir

Your most faithfull and  
Most obliged servant  
Will. Blakeney

Right Hon[our]able Henry Pelham Esq[ui]r[e]

## Document 9

### Ne C 1656 - 'Account of the State of Scotland'; 20 Oct. 1745

The Body of the Rebels consists of about Eight thousand Men mostly Highlanders, few Gentlemen of Estates, and fewer Inhabitants of Cities or Burrows [Boroughs] having joined them. They crossed the Forth & came to Edinburg with scarce three thousand Men: The well-affected Citizens, and a Body of brave Volunteers were resolute and keen to defend the Town; which was artfully betray'd by the chief Magistrates, who chicaned every Proposal, and traiterously shuffled in every vigorous Measure until it dropp'd into the Enemie's Hands: So that the Stain of Rebellion brought upon North Brittain by its Capital, lies at the Door of one Man.

As to the other Parts of the Country, the North and North-East is kept in it's Duty, by the truly Hon[our]able Duncan Forbes Lord President, who has done effectual Service, and prevented the Macleods & Mackintoshes from rising. From the north-West came the Strength of the Rebels, the Camerons Macdonnalds, Stuarts &c. Glasgow is zealous for his Majesty & our happy Establishment and wou'd have instantly raised 8000 Men to defend themselves, had there been Arms in the City. It was with the utmost Difficulty that the Magistrates restrain'd 6000 of the Trades from arming as they cou'd, tho but with Pitch-forks & Scythes, which must have drawn the Highlanders upon them in their Passage, and destroy'd the most flourishing and by far best-affected Town in Scotland. From the other Towns, about a dozen Common indigent Fellows have gone to join the Rebels from Inverness 4 from Banff - 3 from Portsoy (from whence a Merchant too, carried a Purse of 500 Guineas to the young Pretender) 18 from Aberdeen As many from Montrose - 8 from Brechin - 3 from Perth - 20 from Dundee - 10 from Stirling and about 50 from Edinburg, all of them the Refuse of these Towns. The Body of Men therefore from the Low-Country is made up of Peasants and their Sons forced out by their Landlords, the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, and (as they are called) the Lords [p.2] the Lords Nairn, Ogilby, Elcho, and do not exceed 1500 Men, of no Account in a Day of Battle. The sole strength of the Rebels consists in about scarce 3000 Men of the Western Clans, (the 3000 they count besides are old Men & Boys or Retainers to a Camp); and these of Consideration neither for their Bravery nor Conduct; but only by their Way of fighting to which regular Troops are not accustom'd. After their first Fire, they throw down their Piece, rush in Sword in Hand, and break the Ranks. They receive the Bayonet in their Target, and then weild their Swords. If their first Shock, which is furious and irregular (as they come on in Clusters) be withstood, they are utterly undone, for they never rally; and the first



Check will end the Rebellion; Of all which his Majesty's Generals are now no doubt sufficiently aware, & have made Dispositions accordingly. It were to be wished that a Body of the well-affected Clans - the Campbells from Argyle, the Mackai's, Macleans, Munroes and Grants from the Lords Rae, Sutherland and their respective Chieftains - were mixed with his Majesty's Forces, to keep their Compatriotes a Minute or two in play. For if the British Regiments have but Time to re-load, and pour a Second Fire upon them, all the Officers in Europe will not make them Stand a third. Their Progress hitherto has been entirely owing (may a Heart-friend to his Majesty tell a sad Truth) to the fatal Mistake of our Troop's passing the Forth, to the sly Treachery of a Magistrate who betray'd the Capital, and to the Insufficiency of a General, to whom the Command of Scotland seems to have been given, as if it had been a Sine-Cure. In other respects their Situation is very mean: they have neither Money nor Officers; and have been for some time intent upon raising Contributions; stooping to trifling Sums scrap'd together from his Majesty's Collectors, or Extorted by way of Loan from the richer Towns. Part of the Arms & Money aboard the Elizabeth, disabled by the Lion Man of War was landed the 8th Instant at Montrose by a Privateer from Dunkirk with Lord [p.3] Lord Strathallen and four Irish Officers; and the Remainder by another Privateer on the 15th at Stonehive (near Aberdeen) with a like number of Officers - one of whom passed for a natural Son of the late Lord Marishall's. - In their March from the West to Edinburg they observed strict Discipline, used no Violence, nor took the smallest Trifle unpaid for. But the Men raised in the Duke of Gordon's Interest by old Glenbucket (during his Grace's Indisposition and to his inexpressible Sorrow), especially about 100 of them under one Hamilton Committed Outrages wherever they passed. They came to Aberdeen the Day appointed for the Election of Magistrates, which they violently stopp'd (as indeed there are few Magistracies this Year in Scotland), hauled the Lord Provost (Mayor) & Aldermen to the great Cross, and offered them many Indignities, while they were proclaiming the Pretender, and reading their rebellious Manifesto & Declaration. Then, under Pretence of Searching for Arms, the following Night they sent Parlys Men into the Town, dragg'd the well affected Inhabitants out of their Beds, seized their Arms and riding Furniture, and made great Search for Mr Blackwell, one of his Majesty's Professors, remarkable for his wa[-] Attachment to his King and Country: But not finding him, they C[-] into the University, burst open his Doors, insulted his Servants, se[-] Fowling Pieces and committed great Disorders. - In fine the [-] Abettors now in Arms, besides the barbarous Highlanders, consist of the Scum of Scotland, collected mostly by Men of desperate Fortunes, not without some few of our late Patriots, such as S[i]r James Stewart and the Mayor of Edinburg. If this suffer any Exception, it must be such as the unfortunate Lord Pitsligo, a Man of excellent private Character, with a Sett of Gentlemen his Neighbours, who allured by his Name, and misled like himself by false Notions of Lure divino & Hereditary Indefeazible Right have unhappily followed his Fortunes. These, and perhaps some few like [p.4] like them excepted, the Rest are such as above described; Many of 'em twice pardoned Rebels, without other Tye than the Person of a popish Pretender and the Hopes of Spoil; So that they must either moulder away of themselves (as many have in fact, deserted) or the first Defeat will finally dissipate them, which I pray Heaven may happen e're this can reach the Hands of any of his Majesty's faithful Servants. - It is written by a Gentleman who has made the Tour of Scotland since the 10th of Septemb[e]r - has been since that time in every one of the Towns he mentions, received his Informations upon the Spot - has been distinguish'd by the Insults of the Rebels, and who on a proper Occasion has a Sword as well as a Pen at his Majesty's Service.

## Document 10

**Ne C 1703 - Letter from [J. O'Hara] 2nd Baron Tyrawly, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to Henry Pelham; 11 Nov. 1745**

Newcastle the 11th of No[vem]ber 1745

Dear Sir,

By a Courier the Marshal is going to send to London, I have Onely time to acquaint you that I transmit to S[i]r Wm. Yonge a Memorial to the King, praying that my Rank, and S[i]r John Ligoniers may be Examined into. I have not time to send you a Copy of the Memorial but I send a rough draught of it to Mr. Tweiss to give you a fair Copy of. Nothing can be less founded that [than] Ligoniers pretentions. We are to March after to Morrow, but hethertoo, not the least Preparation is made for it, and nothing appears amongst us, but hurry, irresolution and confusion. Wade must have a succession of Durouces about him, and so we have a Quarter Master General of that name. The Man means his best, but does not know his Right hand from his Left. What it will all come to God onely knows. Huske is the onely officer amongst us. Count Nassau is indolent, and [p.2] seems not to give himself any trouble. Swartzenbourg is not a Puzzlepate but a too methodical officer. Wentworth is a Trifler, and the rest of the General Officers are boys and upon the whole I never saw so ill a conducted Machine as Our Army, and if we dont get into some better way of Acting before we come near the Rebels I wont Answer for what befalls us. This Everybody sees, and saies that ever saw an Army. I pay my Court with Assiduity to the Marshall, and in the most respectfull Manner tell him my oppinions at propper times. I should not blame him for not following my advice, if he followed any at all, but nothing is determined, or done. In short we are no Army, but rather a Fair or a County Election, and I am ashamed that Sir Harry Liddal, and several Zealous Gentlemen of the Country should see, how little we know our business. I am Dear Sir

Your most faithfull  
humble servant,  
Tyrawly

## Document 11

**Ne C 1698 - 'State of what sum of Money is proposed to be paid upon account to the Dutch Troops to enable them to march'; ; n.d. [c. Oct. 1745]**

State of what sume of Money is proposed to be paid upon account to the Dutch Troops to enable them to march.

For the General and Staff Officers

	£
General in Chief	300,,,-
One Lieu[tenant] General	150,,,-
One Major General	120,,,-
Two Brigadiers at 60£ each	120,,,-
Adjutant General	30,,,-

Seven Aides de Camp at 20£ each	140,,,-
Two Majors of Brigade at 20£ each	40,,,-
Quartermaster General	30,,,-
Lieu[tenan]t Quartermaster General	20,,,-
L[ieutenant]. Waggonmaster General	10,,,-
Deputy Paymaster	20,,,-
Two Commissarys each 10£	20,,,-
Auditor	20,,,-
Physitian	20,,,-
Surgeon & two Mates	20,,,-
Minister	10,,,-
Secretary	20,,,-
Provost marshall	20,,,-

#### For the Troops

To every Captain that is present to enable him to march	£10 -
To every Colonel that is present	£30 -
To every L[ieutenant] Colonel d[itt]o	£20 -
To every Major d[itt]o	£20 -
For the Staff of each Reg[imen]t	£20 -

## Document 12

### Ne C 1839 - Letter from Morpheus Landlowper, Edinburgh [Scotland], to Henry Pelham; 10 Dec. 1746

Sir,

If I was to write to you on News or Politicks It is ten to one in these suspicious times if my Letter should come to stand, and yet considering the Freindship that subsisted betwixt us when I had the pleasure of being with you in Jamaica I should be looked upon as unkind if not ungrateful If I did not make some Enquiry about your Health and Welfare in these perilous times and at the same time study to entertain you with something tho' ever so trivial to spin out my Epistle to a reasonable Longitude. As for News I say it would not only be dangerous to meddle in since every Letter now a days on that subject is constructed to contain in it a plot. But besides it would be idle since every thing that happens in this Countrey is most faithfully and ingeniously communicated to the Publick by the dayly Gazetteer, the dayly Advertiser and the St. James Evening Post. Permitt me then to fool away the Remainder of this Letter in narrating to you a Dream of my own which I do verily beleive had never any Existence but in my own Imagination and which for Want of a better subject I shall literally relate to you as I dreamt it.

As you know I am remarkably zealous for the Protistant Succession. I dreamt I enlisted myself Volunteer under the Banner of G-I C-pe [General Cope] in his Expedition to the North and as we marched from E-nb-g with full 400 Carts methought the Army was so well provided with every portable Implement th[a]t no Officer could complain he was oblig'd to leave behind him his Scullore, Bass Fiddle or German Flute. When I beheld the Magnificence of this Procession What a pitiful Figure thought I to myself must the D-ke of A-g-le [Duke of Argyle] have made in the Year 1715 when he marched against the Rebels with double the Numbers of Forces and had all his Baggage carry'd by 100 horses only and how infinitely must we have encreased in riches since that time to be able to make so

important a Parade.

When we arrived at Falkirk, methought we were throwughly sensible that we had forgot nothing that was necessary either for Subsistence or Convenience or for Destruction or Defense except a few Muskett Bullets to pepper the H-I-d-rs [Highlanders] with. But that was a Matter of no Consequence since there was then no Enemy near us and since we had only about 18 miles to send back for them to the C-tle of E-nb-g [Castle of Edinburgh]. Some indeed thought we might save ourselves the trouble of sending back since if the H-I-d-rs did not run away from us we should run away from them, yet the wisest Heads thought it [p.2] decent to halt a day or two first to rest the weary'd troops 2d not to tempt Providence by too much Security.

When we came to Sterling methought I heard a general Order issued for every Soldier to deliver up his Sword and leave it in the Castle. This to me tho a young Warriour appeared a very extraordinary Step. But many reasons in Conversation were given for it; some said that Swords were cumbersome and fatiguing to the Men in their March and of no Use in an Engagement, others said it was done to distinguish the private Men from the Officers, for as we were a marching into a barbaroud Countrey no one thought it worth his while to change his Linnen or put on a better Coat than that of a private Centinel, our ruffled Shirts fine Cloaths and Brocade Waistcoates being carefully pack'd up in our Scrutores and Chests from the Inclemency of the Togs that perpetually infest these Mountainous Countreys. But the Sword was a proper Mark of Distinction and pointed out the Patrician from the Plebeian Blood to the Ladys and Gentlemen we should happen to pass upon the Road. While others again insisted that it was done because there was more Safety in our Heels than in our Swords. But be th[a]t as it will I thought it my Duty to given implicite Faith in the superior Understanding of my Commander and so I thought no more of the Matter till I saw the Consequences at the Battle of P-n [Preston, i.e. Prestonpans] which I shall relate to you in the Sequel of my Dream.

As we were entering into the town of Creif methought I spyd a very pretty black Ey'd Wench and my Mouth watered to be at her. When I came to the Inn I ordered my Man directly to powdder my Wig well knowing that in Matters of Gallantry there comes by many Degrees more Rhetorick from a good Frontispeice than from the Inside of the best Pericranium. Powder your Wig Master says he, By God I have neither white Powder nor Black Powder, But if your Honour pleases I'll borrow some Powder for your Honours Wig, I know where to get it. But as for your Hounours Gun there your Honour must shift for it yourself for I ask'd but tother day of Mr Loggerhead's Servant, Mr Scatterbrains Servant and Mr Frizleheads Servant and I dont no how many more but for as much Gun Powder as to shoot as Pidgeon, and ne'er a one of 'em had any and I question if there is any in the Army. But to pass over the Wit I engrafted on the Wit of my Footman, the Mirth of the whole Army and the Raptures I had in my Sleep, procured by the pondering of my Periwig, with the pretty little Rogue I mentioned to you above, An Embassy is sent back to the Governour of Sterling Castle for a fresh supply of Arms and Ammunition. Arms and [p.3]Ammunition was the shadow but Ammunition alone alias Gunpowder was the Substance of the Embassy; and a G-I is highly to be commended for putting a good Face upon things. Then Arms and Ammunition being arrived the Lord be praised. There is nothing wanting now methought to extirpate the H-I-d-rs root and Branch. But softly what shall we do with this additional supply of Arms every Man has a Firelock already and no Man can use two and they are troublesome to carry along. O its an easy Matter that, says the G-I, we'll leave the Arms here at Creif and bring them back with us to Sterling on our return. No Man could oppose a Motion of that kind since the Arms being in our Rear were safe from the H-I-d-rs and since it was certain we were to

come the same Road back again. Besides if the H-I-d-rs should get behind is, as Supposition impossible to happen, what would the arms signify to them When we had the Ammunition along with us and it was far better that they should have them than that our Blunder of forgetting Gunpowder should be discover'd which must be the Case if Arms were sent immediately back. But so it happened methought in the Sequel that the H-I-d-rs got behind us and were very thankfull for the Arms tho without the Ammunition.

When we had got full two days march beyond Creif, id as 7 or 8 Miles for as we had nothing to fear and little to gain it was neddless to harrass the Men with longer Marches than 3 or 4 Miles p[er] Diem by which Means we had Leisure enough to make Discoveries, pass Jokes and lay Wages, at this time it was that Jack laid a Wager of a Guinea with Tom th[at] he would shoot nearer to the Mark with a single Bullet than he would do. The Money methought was stak'd in my hand. Out to the Feild we went and clapt a peice of white paper for a Mark upon a Tree. But alas when the Combatants were going to charge, the Bullets being too large would not fit the Muzells of their Musketts, other Bullets were try'd but all in Vain. In short it came out that there was not a single Bullet in the whole Army th[at] would enter their Musketts upon which a general Order was issued for every Man at his Leisure hours (which were not a few) to trim his Bullets with his Knife and such as had no Knives were ordered to do it with their Teeth, And this Accident methought was what afterwards gave rise to the false and calumnious [p.4] Aspersion propogated against the innocent Soldiers, after the Battle of Pre-t-n [Preston], that they had shot at that Battle with poison'd Bullets. The Bullets in reality, as I thought, being cut, bruis'd and bit to make them enter their peices, made such horrid Wounds that the H-I-d-rs who knew not the real Cause, could attribute it to nothing but Poison or the Devil.

As we were now in an Enemy's Country and knew no Disjunction among H-I-d-rs, we took it to be our Duty to our King and Country to do as much Mischeif as we could, and for that reason we squeas'd and tyranniz'd, we press'd Men and Horses and we laid it down as a Rule to pay for nothing we had. If there was a feild of Corn better than another in View tho out of our Road and that we had to go thro' other feilds of Corn before we could come at it, we were sure to pitch our Camp on such and pay nothing for the Damage, and if the Proprietor happened to complain we beat him heartily and cursed him for a Rebel Rascall.

In this manner did I Dream we proceeded and in this Manner conquer our Enemys till a Pannick seiz'd which made us fly as it were over a ten Days wonted March in the space of two for in one Day we marched 24 long Highland Miles and in the next 20. In this last day it was that I fancyd to myself th[at] I was no longer able to undergoe the Fatigue of marching and was left behind and seiz'd as a Prisoner by the Rebels.

As I was now a Prisoner of War, I thought I was carry'd South along with them the said Road as I had come; But I was so kindly dealt with th[at] I used often to enter into familiar Chat with them, sometimes endeavouring to point out to them the Improbability of Success and to shew them the Mischeifs they were going to bring upon themselves and their Country by introducing Popery and arbitrary Power which would infallibly be the Consequence of their success and sometimes exhorting them to be peaceable, to lay down their Arms and return home as the only method to appease the Presentment of their much injured and angry Sovereign. "Sir" sayd they in answer for I remember their Words as well as if I had been awake, " We are neither so ignorant nor so mischeivous as you apprehend us and tho' our Estates are not so great as many of you Whigs, Yet we have more Virtue and such as they are they are sufficient not to mantain us comfortably at home but to give all of us that are Gentlemen a liberal Education

in France, We know [p.5] the World perhaps better than you do and it is the Sensibility of our Wrongs that has rous'd us to Arms". And here they gave me a distinct Catalogue of all the pretended Greivances for 20 Years by past and concluded with their own particular Case as follows, "Have we not been" said they "like slaves rob'd of our Arms, our Defence, the Birth right of every free Agent, Have they given us anything in return for them but scorn and Contemp? Have they encouraged us in any Branch of trade, Manufacture, or Fishery and if any sham Law has been carry'd over their Bellys Has it not been always clog'd with so many difficultys and Provisoes that it render'd it of no Effect. We will have" said they "a King of our own who shall have no seperate Interest from ours, he shall owe his Crown to us and in Gratitude he will make our Country his H-r-nk-ws-n". In short they talk'd so wildly on these Matters and made such Game of me for being so simple as to beleive that our Laws Libertys or Religion were in Danger th[a]t if they had not otherwise been very civil to me I should have been frightned out of my Witts with their Way of talking. They were at great pains methought to wheedle me to kiss their Prince's hand for so they called him, But by what Authority I know not. But I told 'em roundly that I would as soon kiss the Pope's Toe, still they kept up their good Humour and smil'd at the Prejudice of my Education. The story was told to the P-ce [Prince] and he often jok'd me about the Pope's Toe, and indeed to tell the Truth he us'd to make as free with his Holyness as anyone about him. In short the longer I was with them methought I lik'd them the better. But I thank God it was only a Dream. As for the P-ce himself (for as I am still as it were a Prisoner in Imagination and that it would not be mannerly to name him by any other Appellation than the form of speech used there) he is handsome, he is manly sedate and quick, he has a good deal of Cheerfulness but not many Words, he likes better to hear others talk than like some Baboons I have seen to engross the Conversation to himself, he cares not for eating above once a Day or for more than three hours sleep of a Night. He does all his Business and writes his [p.6] Letters while others are asleep. He is capable of any Fatigue and is the first to wade thro' a River and go wet shoe'd all the Day. As he had no Tents he often lay all night in the open Feilds with no other Covering but the Canopy of the Heavens, and often methought I have seen him of a morning when others had scarce rak'd up their Eyes, set his shoulders to an Oatmeal sack to help it on the Horses Back such being the only Food they had for many Days. As for the Men they were temperate and sober. I never saw nor heard any of them being drunk and they lived upon Oatmeal, Potatoes, Onions and Apples. Neither was it known that a Robbery or Theft was committed during the whole course of that tedious March from the H-I-ds to E-nb-g. Methought I saw one day some of the Men gathering a few Turnips off a Feild by the Wayside and that they were severely rebuk'd for it by their P-ce. Methought I saw them another time as they were in a Corn Countrey and no Grass Feilds in the Neighbourhood obligd thro' necessity to lie all Night in a feild of Pease but th[a]t next Morning their P-ce paid Double the Dammage.

These Circumstances methought were so good and mild that notwithstanding of my violent Principles I could almost have wished th[a]t I had been bred and born a I-c-b-te [Jacobite]. But then again when I began to reflect th[a]t all publick Money and the Revenue of the Customes and Excise were uplifted by unhallowed Hands my softness and Moderation gave Place to the Transports of Fury and Revenge.

In short when we got to E-nb-g methought I mix'd among the Croud and made my Excape to my old Freinds and former Princoples which by the by led me as I thought into a most confounded scrape a few Days after. For the very same Devils th[a]t had run away South from our Army when they had but taken a trip to Inverness came upon us of a Saturday (I shall never forget the Day of the Week as it was before the sun rose in the Morning which I had not seen for

seven Years before) and had the Rudeness to salute us with a Volley from the very Musketts we had had the Complaisance to leave for them at Creif, a sorry Reward for the favour conferr'd and a Specimen of what we may expect from the Pope and his Adherents. We had indeed the Ammunition as I told you before, But it seems they had got enough to do our [p.7] Business tho I do verily beleive they had not much more else why should they have flung their peices immediately upon discharging of them and run like a parcell of wild Bulls. We indeed to nick them did the very same for we flung away our peices and run too, But as ill Luck would have it we run the wrong Way and they ran the right. In short we were all Hicklety Picklety in a trice and such of us as were in the Way got many a sad Knock o' the Pate for leaving their Swords behind them at Sterling as I dreamt to you above which they might have saved had they brought them along with them. In the Hurry of my story, I had almost forgot to tell you w[ha]t I dreamt concerning the Wisdom of our Engineers which was this that some put in the Pouder into the Cannon but forgot the Ball while others to make sure of the Ball put in the Ball first and the Pouder afterwards. The noise I heard and Terrour I was in wak'd me out of my first Sleep, When I found it was but a Dream I turned me on my other side and fell asleep again and dreamt another Dream like a Sequell to the former which I shall communicate to you in my next, I am

Your most obedient H[um]ble Ser[van]t  
Morpheus Landlowper

Edinburgh the 10th Dec[embe]r 1745

## Document 13

**Ne C 1720 - Letter from George Jonestone, Musselburgh [Midlothian, Scotland], to Henry Pelham; 21 Jan. 1745/6, endorsed 'Account of Action in Scotland, 1745/6'.**

Jan[ua]ry 21st 1745/6

D[ea]r Sir

When I wrote to you last This Country was in the utmost Consternation w[i]t[h] the News of the Defeat of our Army. But since the Arrival of the Volunteers and of his Majestys Troops Our Spirits are soomewhat elevated; For tho' the rebels do brag (as I am inform'd) of having gained a compleat Victory if not a rout of his Majestys forces, we are positively assured there was no such thing and that on the Contrary the rebels were so much defeated that tho' they had Wind and Weather for them they durst not venture a second Brush tho' our Army stood a full hour in View of them. In short by all the acc[oun]ts that I can hear each side affirm they g[a]ined the Day and neither will allow they lost it. Each Side maintain they have kill'd vast Numbers of the Enemy and none will allow they have lost any thing considerable of their own. As Facts therefore are not yet adjusted it is impossible for me to form any Judgement of the Matter. But as affairs of this Consequence must raise in you as it did in us the greatest Curiosity, it would be acting a part to you contrary to what I pride myself in if I conceal'd anything that might be, because I was not absolutely certain that it was. I shall therefore give you as acc[oun]t of w[ha]t I have heard from Eye Witness' on one Side and from hear say o' tother and lastly of w[ha]t both Sides agree in and leave you to judge which side has the title to clain the Victory.

**Our Army consisting of 14 Regiments of Foot, of 3 Regiments of Dragoons, of**

near 1000 west Country Militia, of 1500 Loyal Highlanders from Argyleshire, some Yorkshire Volunteers besides the Volunteers of this Countrey and upwards of 1000 Countrey people arm'd as they best could, for he th[a]t had not a sword or Musket had a good stick or a fork in his hand and this last Circumstance I hope will convince our freinds in England th[a]t we are not all rebels here. Our Army I say being encamped on Friday last in the low Grounds to the westard [p.2] of Falkirk spyd the Standards of the rebels on a rising Ground about three miles off and as it appeared by the moving backwards and forwards of their Standards on the same Spot of Ground that they were not intending to come forwards. Our Army judged there was no Occasion to move being confident there could be no Engagement till next Day it being now past midday. Our people had been viewing before this time the adjacent Grounds and had pitch'd upon a Hill for themselves to draw up on when the Engagement should happen, but the rebels were before hand with them and took Possession of this Hill by a road out of View of our Army whilst they were amusing them with their Colours and a few Men on a different Quarter, as I have mentioned above. When the News of this was brought to the Army and that the rebels were hard by them, an unexpected Drum was beat to Arms and the whole Army run up the Hill like as many Goats. Never was an Army in greater Spirits and so eager to engage. As the Highlanders had taken Possession of the Ground they had intended to form on, In Order to take the next best Ground the three Regiments of Dragoons being swifter of Foot were ordered to the left, the Wing at the greater Distance from whence they set out, to take Possession of a rising Ground towards the South which they accordingly did, Pirce's Regiment, the Royal Scots and Wolphs &c being next to the Dragoons. The Militia, Volunteers, Argyleshire Highlanders &c made a line behind the left Wing. The Army being drawn up, their right to the North, their left to the South and Front to the West, They marched up in Order & attack'd the rebels. The Day being rainy and a high Wind from the South West the rebels to get the Wind of them turn'd to their own right and came down upon our left Wing with the Wind on their Backs. The Dragoons suffered exceedingly in this attack particularly Cobham's regiment Jondon the [p.3] Lieutenant Col[one]l and many of the officers being kill'd. When the Dragoons fled they disordered and trod down the line that was behind, and in the Confusion the Militia fired upon the Argyleshire Men taking them by their Dress for the rebels. It is confessed th[a]t the left Wing the full half of the Army was drove down to the Bottom of the Hill full faster than they came up at least a part of the Way. It is here said that the Highlanders made themselves Masters of the Canon which were but half Way as yet up the Hill. But that Hush [i.e. Huske] rally'd the foot, but back the rebels and regained the Canon and that the two Armys stood very near one another for a compleat hour without moving till night came on and th[a]t our Army retired to Linlithgow and next Day to Edinburgh with the Loss of 300 Men only, 7 pieces of Canon out of 10 & all their Bagage save w[ha]t the Men could Carry on their Backs. It is agreed th[a]t our right did not engage as no Enemy appeared on that Quarter. Hush & Hawley are both safe, Ligonier is kill'd and Whitney. I think it is allowed they have lost about 8 Captains. Sir Rob[er]t Monrow and his Brother are said to be both killed. This is the acc[oun]t th[a]t our freinds give of the Matter.

And next you shall have the Story the Jacobites tell me they pretend to have from undoubted Authority viz. They acknowledge the Decay of their Colours on the formentioned Hill. They give out that they had not near 3,000 Men engaged th[a]t the party engaged was but an advanced Party sent out to take Possession of the above mentioned Advantageous Post. That they dreamt so little of having any Encounter th[a]t Day th[a]t above one half of their Army was at Stirling 60 Miles off and th[a]t they had some Thousands within two



Miles who knew nothing of the Matter and by reason of the Wind being contrary did not so much as hear the firing, th[at] they were determined at all hazards to maintain the Ground they had occupy'd and finding the Weather favoured them [p.4] by taking the Wind in their Backs they were determined not to lose the opportunity tho' they were far from their freinds. They pretend to say that their Leaders was w[ith] the Body at two Miles Distance and th[at] none of the horse men w[hi]ch are called his Life Guards and consist of 500 men there north one [?] of the French Troops th[at] were landed in the North but such as they were that they drove all that oppos'd them to the Bottom of the Hill. **They acknowledge th[at] the right Wing of our Army stood whilst they were driving the left Wing before them and give th[at] for the reason of not following further their blow lest the right Wing of our Army should turn upon them and attack them in their rear w[ith] the Advantage of the hill and Weather o' their side. They doing that they took the Canon or came to far or were beat back again, they acknowledge that Hush [i.e. Huske] rally'd the foot at the Bottom of the hill and that they advanced up again but that the right Wing met them above half Way and that in a very short space, night coming on, they endeavoured to set fire to their Bagage but the Straw being wet it would not burn, that 7 pieces of Cannon were not gained by them but left for them upon the field, that they got their Bagage and pursued them in the Dark to Falkirk and took several Prisoners. The reason they give for not engaging again was they they never dreamt our Army would march nine long miles in the Dark in a downpour of rain and that as they expected to find them next Morning somewhere thereabouts they thought it better to wait for their freinds coming up than to run the risk of losing the honour they had gained. They add further th[at] they marched after them next Morning and th[at] when our Army had heard th[at] their advanced Guard was got o' this Side Falkirk th[at] they made the best of their Way from Linlithgow to Edinburgh 12 miles further, upon w[hi]ch they returned to Stirling and th[at] they are now laying Siege to the Castle. [p.5] They pretend to have lost only 30 private Men in this Engagement and th[at] no Officer is kill'd and th[at] only Lochyell and two of his Captains are wounded, that they have kill'd 700 of our Army and have many Hundred Prisoners.**

The facts that they agree in are these, th[at] our left Wing was beat but th[at] our Army offered them battle a second time which the Highlanders declared and wh[ic]h plainley proves there was no Victory. It is agreed further th[at] we lost our Bagage and Artillery and th[at] we marched 9 Miles in the Dark. But th[at] proves nothing neither, since no body will chuse to lie in the open Feilds in a rainy night rather than be under Cover and tho' Falkirk was nearer yet no body can deny that Linlithgow was better Quarters.

Since writing the enclosed I have convers'd with two Persons who give the following acc[oun]ts Viz. the first being an officer of the Glasgow Militia affirms th[at] the right Wing gave way tho' not engaged as well as the left and th[at] the whole Army fled as fast as they could to Linlithgow excepting three regim[en]ts of foot commanded by Hush who run in between and stop't the pursuit of the rebels. The other is a person th[at] went out of Curiosity to view the Field of Battle on Saturday Morning and convers'd with the Cheifs of the rebels at Falkirk as he passed thro' who stopt him in his Way. The acc[oun]t that he gives is this viz. that our Army was drawn upon on Friday forenoon in the field where their Camp was but not expecting the rebels th[at] day they went into their Tents again and continued there till 3 o'Clock in the afternoon th[at] Ward was brought them th[at] the Highlanders were within a Mile, That The rebels had march'd 6 miles in a down pour of rain th[at] our Army came dry out of their tents th[at] they marched up the Hill safe and attack'd the rebels on the rising Ground th[at] they stood on. That

the rebels purposely retired so as to cover themselves from our Army by the Summit of the Hill, that so soon as our Men got to the Brink of the summit the rebels run upon them and gave them a full Discharge, that the rebels pressed upon them and fired very regularly and th[a]t some of the Clans went in among them sword in hand th[a]t [p.6] the rebels for the Benefit of the Wind were obliged in the pursuit to keep moving towards their right which retarded them from following so fast as they might have done, th[a]t when they had got far enough to the right they bore most violently upon our left Wing and as they advanced came nearer to our right. That our whole Army fled and that three Regiments of foot only, and the Dragoons run in between the two Armys and covered the retreat of those th[a]t fled, th[a]t this Circumstance kept the Highlanders employ'd till it was Dark and saved the Army who lookd not over their shoulders till they had got to Linlithgow, that the Highlanders having march'd 7 Miles, being all Day in the rain, and having tasted no Victuals contented themselves with the Tents Covered Wagons Arms, Ball, Gunpowder and Artillery of our Army and surrounding the town of Falkirk in the night where they expected our Army to have taken up their Quarters, that there were about 6,000 of the rebels at this Engagement, tho' there were not 3,000 engaged, th[a]t the pretenders son came up to the Engagement at last and put on his Coat of Mail, th[a]t he counted upon the feild of Battle 100 horses kill'd and about 600 Men & that he saw but a Highland man's body dead here and there that they pretend that they have not lost no Men. That there is no officer kill'd of the rebels and only the person called Lord John Drummond wounded in the Leg and Lockyell in the arm and two of Lochyells officers slightly wounded, th[a]t he saw the prison and Church of Falkirk full of Prisoners and th[a]t some were sent to Stirling, th[a]t the prisoners taken are about 600. There were no Canon fired of either side. As to w[ha]t is here said I pretend to no knowledge of, as I am 300 Miles distant from the place and only relate w[ha]t I have heard from others th[a]t you may be able to form some Judgment of it yourself. But hope Matters are not near so ill as is represented. The Highlanders are in possession of the towns of Linlithgow, Falkirk & Stirling tho' not the Castle w[hi]ch we hope will hold out. We are terribly alarmed with the fears of a Visit at Edinburgh.

I am

S[i]r Y[ou]r most H[um]ble Serv[an]t  
Geo. Jonestone

Musselburgh the 21st Jan[ua]ry 1745/6

## Document 14

**Ga 12,835 - Two pages from the book of 'Military Orders by His Royall Highness The Duke of Cumberland', being the entries for 2-3 Mar. 1745/6.**

The Watchcoats to be delivered to the Regim[en]ts th[a]t have not rec[eive]d any before.

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March the 2d

Parole

Cambridge

Field Officers for the Night

Old Town	L[ieutan]t Col[one]l Ramsay
New Town	(L[ieutan]t Col[one]l Rick (Maj[o]r Lockhart

Duke's Guard -	Howards
Maj[o]r of Brigade	Fleming

The Brigade of the Royall does no duty tomorrow and the Other 3 Brigades & Semple's Regim[en]t to take all the Guards in the New and Old Town.

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March the 3d                      Parole                      Cork

Field Officers for the Night

Old Town -	Maj[o]r Forrester
New Town -	(Maj[o]r Heighingtn (L[ieutan]t Col[one]l Jefferyes

Duke's Guard	Wolf for Barrell
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Barrell's Brigade to do no duty tomorrow.

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Major of Brigade - Oughton

---- The Gen[era]ll Court martiall is Disolvd

--- Alex[ander] Douglas of Price's Reg[imen]t is pardon'd by HRH at the Request of the Ministers of th[i]s town.

--- Serg[ean]t. McColeman of Batterean's try'd for Plundering a house at Brickin is Reduc'd and to receive 800 Lashes.

--- Ja[me]s Dunnisaw, And[re]w Malliby & And[re]w Metcalf of the Same Reg[imen]t Sentanc'd to receive 400 Lashes. Each are pardon'd by HRH they having been Influenced by the Sergeant.

--- A Serg[ean]t of each Regim[en]t to wait at the Parade to Receive the Recovered men brought up by L[ieutenan]t Napper.

--- The Surgeon of Each Reg[imen]t are to visit their sick twice a Day & Rep[or]t to their Comm[an]d Offic[e]r every morning.

--- The Reg[imen]ts of Foot here are Immediately to provide th[e]mselves w[i]th Camp Necessaries according to the Returns of this day and are to Compleat th[ei]r Ammunition to 24 rounds.

--- 100 Days Forage money will be paid to each Regiment except those th[at] rec[eive]d it in the south upon Marshall Wade's Regulation, viz. 78 Rations p[er] Regim[en]t p[er] Diem on Condition that they take up their Quartermaster's Receipts to the severall Commissaries for Forage Delivered and pay when Order'd at the Rate of 6d p[er] Ration. His Majesty the surplus to the s[ai]d Contractor or Commissaries.

## Document 15

### Letter from Sir Everard Fawkener, Inverness [Scotland], to Henry Pelham; 18 Apr. 1746

Inverness the 18th April 1746

Sir

You will [have] had the good news from Lord Bury, & will know the particulars of it by his Royal Highness the Dukes dispatch of this day; so nothing remains for me but to rejoice with the publick & you who have so large a share in the administration of the Kings affairs, & so much love & honor my Master, upon the great & auspicious day; there is hardly a circumstance which could have been wishd that is wanting. The Duke has march'd his Army with great ease & without their wanting anything in the every rude season of the year where it was thought an Army could not pass, the Enemy have had the choice where they would make their [p.2] stand, for the King's Army pass'd several Rivers where great resistance might have been made. They had here their terrible Clans up, they chose their ground, they made their effort with those broad Swords which were to cut down all opposition. They fought as it were in the centre of their own Country, were to contend for every thing, out numberd the Duke Army by a quarter, & yet were beaten with the greatest ease, & with very little loss on our side. Where they came up our soldiers fairly beat them with their Bayonets, & made great Slaughter of them, & where the Duke was, & by his Presence, inspired the souldiers with such firmness that after having presented they recoverd their firelocks & stood with them shoulderd, til these scoundrels came within a hundred yards. They dared not to attack at all, tho' they made three different [p.3] efforts to rouse their courage, & ran eagerly to within that distance, but went off at last without attempting any thing. The Duke had indeed made a wonderful change in our Army. He had not only renew'd but reinforced their spirits & courage, & both officers & soldiers did all that could be expected from brave men, & I dare say the terror of broad swords is as much effaced, as if there had never been any impressions of that kind, & in the present temper the Fellows would fight them with their Bayonets; What doe not the Nation owe to the Duke? Tis his Presence have spirit to the Troops. His activity quickned & animated everything, & got together Provisions, He formed the whole scheme, orderd all the marches, & made the disposition as well as orderd the execution of every thing the day of the Action, so that I believe there is not an Officer of the Army who pretends [p.4] or has foundation to do it, any thing more than the honor of having cheerfully obey'd his orders. What his Royal Highness has so well begun & so gloriously carried on, he will I dare say see carried to such perfection that the Government will have it in their Power to put things here upon such a foot as not to be again endangered as they have been from hence. We are in the heart of the McIntoshes who were rumaged the first day, the men all fled, but the Party brought in the Heroine of this part of the world the Laird of McIntosh's wife. About 400 black Cattle as many Sheep & 60 Horses, they also killd some straglers who had been in the Rebel Army, the 17th Mordaunt was sent with nine hundred men into the Frasers Country, the People were mostly fled with their Cattle, but he had destroyd their instruments of Husbandry, & to day the good Lord Lovats house was to blaze, & those of the Chiefs, that ArchVillain has had his hand [p.5] in all this Villany, but has been endeavouring to keep Himself out of danger of a confiscation but I hope chance has thrown into our hands enough for that. We have a pretty long Letter to his son about an invitation of the cal'd Prince to his

house, to see salmon fishing. This is the heaviest blow the Clans ever felt, & will be rememberd, had they dispers'd & thrown themselves upon mercy the affair would have been done very imperfectly, many of their Chiefs are fallen; if they disperse they will soon be at the Kings Mercy, if they attempt to assemble again, they, that is this corrupted part of them, will be quite destroy'd. They are a nest of Thieves, & if they cant be made to change their way of life, they are a burthen to the Country, & would have driven all honest sober People out of all places where they could reach. I heartily rejoice with you that this thorn is drawn from your side, & that you will now be more at liberty [p.6] to attend to the great national Interests now depending in other parts; & I hope & trust that the National spirits so signally exerted, & the great additional Glory to his Royal Highness, will have their influence all over Europe, & I should rejoice to see Him act upon a Theatre more worthy of Him, tho no service was ever of greater moment & concern to the Nation than that He has been & is employ'd in. My heart opens itself to you with the greater satisfaction; as I know the Interest You took in endeavouring to prouduce his Royal Highness upon that stage where his great & extraordinary talents are rendring such high & important services to these Kingdoms. I hope these are beginnings of greater prosperity in which you will have a large part, & which will lead us to a safe & honorable Peace. I wish for occasions of approving my self [p.7] with that truth & respect I have always made profession of.

Sir  
Your most obedient  
& devoted humble  
Servant  
Everard Fawkener.

The 19th

Capt[ain] Dore of the Hound has just brought in Lord Cromarty, his son, Lord McLeod, eight or ten other officers of different ranks & about 150 private Men; they were taken by the Sutherland Men in that Country.

## Document 16

**Ne C 1725 - Letter from Major-General Humphrey Bland, Fort Augustus [Inverness-shire, Scotland], to Henry Pelham; 9 Jun. 1746**

Fort Augustus 9th June 1746

Dear Sir

A few days ago I had the Pleasure of yours of the 19th May. Your Nephew is now at Fort William, Brigad[ie]r Houghton's Regiment being sent to that Garrison about 8 days ago, where it will probably remain 'till next Year, according to the Usual Custom; and in 8 or 10 days more I believe we shall all (except what is destin'd to Garrison this Fort, which H.R.H. intends to repair for that purpose) leave the Highlands and March into Quarters of Refreshment, which you may easily believe will be necessary after so long a Campaign as ours; but more particularly so at present, as it has rain'd pretty hard for these three days; tho' in all other respects we have plenty of Provisions for the Men, thro' the great care and Vigilance of H.R.H. who is an Excellent Providore as well as a General, which Quallification, you know by Experience, is absolutely Necessary in a Commander in Chief, but more particularly so with us, as this weighty and Troublesome Branch is annexed to the Employment: whereas in France, the Indendant of the Army, has the entire Management of it, and by that means leaves the General at

full liberty to think of the Military Operations only.

At present all things are as quiet here as if no Rebellion had happen'd, and the Detachments H.R.H. has sent thro' the Heretofore inaccessible mountains, as they were Supposed to be and so called by the Caledonians, has struck such a Terror amongst these Brutes, that they are entirely dispersed, and Fly at the Sight of a Red Coat. Such is the happy Effects of the Battle of Culloden. This Ascendant over them may be easily maintain'd, if we are not wanting to ourselves, and reduce them to Such a State as will put it out of their Power of raising any future insurrections, and even make them in time usefull Members to the State, tho' at present they are quite the Reverse. This will [p.2] will depend on the Resolutions of both Houses of Parliament: and as they have the finest opportunity that ever offer'd, and the means in their Hands to Enforce the Laws they shall make, I can't Suppose they will let it Slip thro' a Childish Tenderness, or the Sollicitations of the Gentlemen of this Country. Besides what you mention, that of destroying the dependance of the Highlanders on their Chiefs, others must be added, such as disarming them for ever, making it Death or immediate Transportation, to any who shall be found with Arms, by which they will in time lose the use of them, as in Ireland, and instead of being Dangerous, may become usefull Subjects to the Common Wealth. In order to keep the Poor People here in an entire Submission and Dependance on their Chiefs, they lett their lands only from Year to Year; they should therefore be obliged to grant pretty long Leases, leaving out all those Clauses of Slavery, which obliges them to appear in Arms at their Command. This will give them a Taste of Property, a thing hitherto unknown to the lower People in this Country, which is the Surest Pledge I know of to Preserve their Loyalty. As the Religion that is Predominant in this Part, if they have any, is Popery, no Priest must be allowed to come amongst them on pain of being Castraited (a Punishment those ve[r]min dread more than the loss of Life); but a proper allowance made to Presbyterian Ministers to dwell amongst them and Convert them from the Errors of Rome. No Episcopal Meeting Houses must be permitted here, under pretence of the Church of England, as they have been only Seminaries of Jacobitism and Rebellion: and if they won't be Saved by the means of the Kirk of Scotland, they shall be Damned as Heathens, for I would allow them no other. This may appear harsh in the Ears of a Divine, and make him conclude that we Soldiers have no Religion at all. To this I shall only make this Reply, that I am for Abollishing all Religions that inculcate Principles to the Prejudice of my King and Country and the overturning of our happy Constitution. Schoolls should likewise be Establish'd in Several Parts of the Highlands, not with a view of making them Learned, but to Teach them English and the Rudements of the Protestant Religion, as the greatest part of the Common People here are ignorant of both. The Charity Schoolls in Ireland is an Excellent [p.3] Excellent Plan for them to follow. By this you see I am not so Bloody minded as to desire a Total Exterpation of these poor Wretches, knowing that the Abject Slavery they are kept in by their Chiefs and the bad Example Set by them is the Chief cause of their Roguery and Rebellion, being certain that Numbers of them were Forced into it contrary to their inclination; and am therefore for endeavouring to Civilize them and make them Taste the Sweets of liberty, and independence on all but the Laws of the Land, neither of which they ever Yet knew, nor any thing but the Sole Will and Pleasure of their Chiefs. These Reflections have carried me beyond the Bounds of a letter, to which a wet day has contributed a good deal as I could not walk out, therefore blame the weather and not me for this tiresome Epistle. In fine, whatever Laws you make for this Country, if you imagine they can be Executed by the Sole Power of the Civil Magistrate, you'll be deceived and tho' I am a Soldier, I am not for investing the Military entirely with it; but would give each a proper share in the Execution, at least for some Years to come, Bad Habits of the

**Mind, being sooner Cured by Correction, than Exhortation.**

As a good many of the Highland Estates must now fall into the Crown, by the Attainers; and as these People are vastly Devoted to their Landlords, I am of opinion that the King should keep them, giving the Tenants good Profitable Leases for a certain Term of Years, by which he will not only gain their Affections, but at the Same time, make it their Interest to Support his Government; whereas, should His Majesty give them to the leading Men in this Country who have not been in the Rebellion, it may be agreandising them too much, and make them in some measure independant of the Crown, for Gratitude is not the Growth of this Country, Since the Tenants would then look up to their New Masters and not to the King. You see that I Speak my thoughts freely to you just as they enter into my mind, without ranging them in proper order, as you Senators must do before you deliver them to the House, if you expect to be well heard.

Your Nephew is gone on Command to the Barrack of Bernara, near the Isle [p.4] Isle of Sky, where pleasure will not interrupt his Studies, if he is inclined to follow them. When you see our Friend the Mareshal, Assure him of my most Sincere Respects. The News papers say Lord Stour has got leave to Retire from Bussiness and is coming down here to Spend the remainder of his days. I think he is quite in the Right in doing so, as Age impairs the Mind as well as the Body, and Renders us unfit either for the Field, or Cabinet. I have looked upon him in this light, for some time past, and am glad his understanding is yet strong enough to convince him of it. Lord George Sackville has been on Command with 800 Men Ranging over all the Highlands on the Western Coast, in pursuit of the Rebells, from Bernara down to Argyllshire. This expedition was for a Fortnight, and he returns to Morrow. Lord Loudoun with the McDonalds and McCleods are doing the Same in Badenock; Brigad[ie]r Mordaunt is sending Part[icu]lars from Perth thro' that County and M.[ajor] Gen.[eral] Campbell with the Argyllshire Men is Employ'd in those Parts and in the Islands, in Short H.R.H. will so Effectually Subdue this Country before he leaves it, that Rebellion will not in haste raise up its head again. We hear Lord Lovat is taken somewhere in Argyllshire, Lord George having drove him from these parts; and we are in hopes that Locheal, Mr Murray and Several others will likewise fall into our hands, as it will be almost impossible for them to get of by Sea, as our Ships and Sloops of War are very Active. One Sir James Stuart of the Orknies is taken there. I will now release you, only make my compliments to your Lady, and believe me with much Sincerity,

Dear Sir

Your much obliged and very  
Affectionate Humble Servant  
Hum. Bland

## Document 17

**Ne C 1793 - 'List of persons who were usefull to the Government during the late Rebellion, and thereby intituled to their favour'; Edinburgh, 6 Apr. 1747**

List of persons who were usefull to the Government during the late Rebellion, and thereby intituled to their favour.

George Cheap Collector of the Customs at Prestonpans. I sent him to meet Marshall Wade at Doncaster, who employed him to provide Forrage &c for the Army: He suffered much by the Rebellion, was always ready

and employed by those who commanded in Scotland, acted with Judgement and honesty, and thereby on many occasions saved money to the Government, but never asked or received a farthing for his trouble or expence, and therefore merits a Superiour office than what he now enjoys in the Revenue.

Robert Fall Merchant in Dunbar, (a Town where there is no Jacobite), and where he has the Chief Interest. He went at my desire to England to confer with Mr. Cheap about the Forrage &c, Was active in getting Intelligence, providing for and accomodating the King's Troops at Dunbar on their March, where the Troops were well provided without any expence to the Government, he was zealous and active in obeying all orders sent to him for the service of the Government, and was at considerable expense in maintaining and accomodating the Officers of the Army at his house as they passed at Dunbar; So that it were to be wished that something that is good was done for him, both to reward him, and to [p.2] to encourage others to follow his example; And for that purpose, May I beg leave to recommend him when a proper opportunity of providing for him, shall happen.

Alexander Lind of Gorgie Advocate Deputy Shirriff of Edinburgh was most active in preserving the peace of the City of Edinburgh, raising and bringing the Militia to Edinburgh for the defence of the City, and in quartering the King's Troops in that City and County, and in ordering and providing every thing necessary for them, particularly Carriages; Was most oblidging to the Officers of the Army; He was at a considerable expence, and never received a farthing, but as he acted from principle, he never asked anything, but the tanks of those who employ'd him; But that is no reason why upon a proper occasion he ought not the rather to be taken notice of: As he was bred to the Law, the place of one of the Commissarys of Edinburgh, in case of a Vacancy, would please him, or some place of £100 a year in the Exchequer, or in the meantime one of the Shirriffs with a Sallary.

Walter Grosett Collector of the Customs at Alloa, Was a very good Aid d'Camp, very alert and zealous, Attended me closs [close] during the Rebellion, except from the 21st September to the 13th November 1745, during which time I was in the North of England, But as he will represent his own case, and is now at London, I need say no further about him: I advised him to [p.3] to accept of being Collector of Customs at Leith, which he said was in his offer, and I wish every one that have served the Government faithfully, were rewarded in the same proportion.

Alexander Shanks Surveyor of the Customs at Kirkcaldy, Was employed in getting Intelligence, particularly upon H.R.H. The Duke's March from Edinburgh to Aberdeen, and had often the honour to deliver his Intelligence to the Duke, and in executing the Duke's orders he got a fall from his horse, which brought the misfortune of a rupture on him, whereby it becomes very uneasy for him to execute the active office of a Surveyor, and his present ambition is a place of less drugery, such as that of a Comptroller.

Lauchlane Grant Writer in Edinburgh has been usefull in many different respects, both in conveying and getting Intelligence, and was sent by me to H.R.H. to Perth to employ persons known in the highland language to get and bring Intelligence, and in that way attended the



Army till after they passed Spey; Was most usefull to General Bland while he commanded the Advanced post of the Army for several weeks at Strathbogie, and is still always ready and usefull when desired in finding out persons and things: May I beg leave to recommend him when any opportunity happens for his being provided.

[p.4] The persons abovementioned, tho' they have merit, are not in want; But those that follow, unless the Government provide for them, they are undone, because having bestowed all their time in the service of the Government, and received little more than their neat charges, they have lost what little bussiness they had, and raised Enemys to themselves who make it their bussiness to do them all the harm they can, and have influence even on those with whom they ought not to have any interest in such cases.

George Miller Clerk and Shirriff Deputy of Perth, is the first of this Class, A Man of Worth hearty and zealous for His Majesty's Service, he was employed with His R.H. The Duke's approbation, in taking the first Examinations at Perth against the Rebels, and attended the Tryals at Carlisle, to which place he conducted the Witnesses who came from Perthshire: He has all along been active and dilligent in His Majesty's Service, and most usefull and serviceable and much liked by all the Officers of the Army who commanded and resided at Perth: A place of E100 p[er] Annum or thereby would make him happy, and I know H.R.H. The Duke thinks he deserved it; In the Meantime he proposes to have the little Offices of Clerk of the Justices of peace and Keeper of the Register of Sasines for Perthshire.

William Gray Writer in Edinburgh Was very zealous and active in [p.5] in geting Intelligence, for which he only got his neat expence, he was afterwards employed in taking down the Evidence against the Rebels at Perth and else where and preparing and ranging the Evidence for the Tryals at Carlisle, conducted the first division of the Rebel prisoners from Edinburgh to Carlisle, Was usefull in taking care of the Witnesses; I had thanks from Mr Webb the Sollicitor for the Crown for sending him to Carlisle, where he found him active and usefull: He has incurred the displeasure of the Jacobites, who have prevailed with many of his Clients to take their bussiness from him, and I had the greatest difficulty to prevail, with Lord Shualton (tho' a good friend to the Government) the last named Lord of the Session to continue him in his service as his Clerk till he should be otherways provided which I hoped would be soon: A place of 70, or 80 £ would do his bussiness.

Peter Henderson Writer in Edinburgh was also employed the same way, attended the prooff taken against the Rebels at Perth and elsewhere, was at Carlisle, Wrote Volumes, and has not had better payment than if he had been employed by a private person; He is also an Object of the wrath of the Jacobites, which must hurt him unless some provision be made for him by the Government: A place of 50 or £60 will do his bussiness. It is not impossible but that in the management of the forfeited Estates these [p.6] these three last persons might be taken care of, and this seems to be no unnatural way of providing for them.

Patrick Campbell One of the Magistrats of Inveraray, has been constantly employed in the service of the Government since the beginning of the Rebellion in geting intelligence, taking care of the witnesses at Carlisle, and being Interpreter at the Tryals, making a Circuit through all the

disaffected Highlands at the Earl of Albemarle's desire, and to his Lordship's Satisfaction; And was presented by the Commissioners of Customs to be a Landwaiter at Leith, but his case not being timeously represented, he is as I am informed only warranted for Landwaiter at Alloa, which is rather too small a place; He went to London as a Conductor to two prisoners sent by His Grace The Duke of Newcastle's orders, and was employed to meet Lord Lovat's witnesses on the road and hasten their march, and afterwards to take care of these witnesses.

Charles Campbell Officer of Excise was early employed to get Intelligence, to disperse Marshall Wade's proclamations before the Rebels as they marched to Carlisle, was afterwards a Lieutenant in the Edinburgh Regiment, and then sent to London to Conduct witnesses by His Grace The Duke of Newcastle's order in the Bill of Attainder, Was afterwards employed by Mr. Webb at Carlisle, and carried up witnesses to York to the Tryals there; And by his long absence has lost his place in the Excise, so he must starve if he is [p.7] is not provided for; A place of 40, or 50£ would do his bussiness.

Mr. Reid recommended to a place of about £30 p[er] Annum by a Family of Farmers of that name, who were very zealous and serviceable to the Army, and distinguished themselves so much as to be taken notice of by H.R.H. The Duke who told them as they asked nothing for themselves that something should be done for their friend.

I have forbore to mention persons of Superiour Rank who distinguished themselves without any view but their love to their King and Country: Neither have I taken notice of a great many zealous and loyal Citizens of Edinburgh, who exerted themselves in the service of the Government by taking care of the peace and quiet of the City, raising and maintaining a Regiment for the King's Service, Quartering and providing the Army, and furnishing them with Blankets before we had any Commissarys without any Charge to the Government.

I should not have omitted to mention

James Findlayson 2d Clerk to the Sheriffs of Edenburgh a very zealous & active man in the Service of the Government and under Mr Loud had the Executive part of Quartering the Troops and providing Carriages & many other things, & never grudged his Labour by day or by night, nor failed in the performance, a small office of 30 or 40lb p[er] an.[num] would be well bestowed on him.