Transactions

OF

THE FORTY-FIVE

ASSOCIATION

Edited by

GEORGE PRATT INSH

C.B.E., M.A., D.Litt.

NUMBER 1 MCMLIV

PRICE - TWO SHILLINGS

Transactions of the Forty-five Association

VOLUME I NO. 1 JUNE, 1954

TRANSACTIONS OF THE FORTY-FIVE ASSOCIATION

AMONG the many tributes which the Association can render to the memory of the men who fought in the Forty-five that of endeavouring to set on record, in the light of modern historical scholarship, the significance of the Jacobite Movement as a whole, claims a place of high honour.

Such an endeavour implies no easy task. It means, in the first place, that we must get back to the documents. When, for example, we study in the Public Record Office the dispatches of the Duke of Argyll to the Secretary of State, we realise that for the Government forces the Battle of Sheriffmuir was a much more critical engagement than the traditional accounts would lead us to believe.

It demands, in the second place, that we must learn to view a campaign, such as the Fifteen, against the background of European History: to be prepared to consider that the true crisis of the Fifteen may be found not in the scrambling fight on the windswept moor above Dunblane but in that siege of the old Baltic city of Stralsund which kept Charles XII of Sweden shut away from the conflict in the West ; Charles who hated passionately the Elector of Hanover who had cozened him of his two Duchies of BREMEN and VERDEN.

And, in the third place, we must view the Jacobite Movement against the far-stretching background of our country's history. Nor must we limit ourselves to political history : we must take into account the many aspects of our economic and social history.

An exacting task. But a study which has never lacked willing, nay, enthusiastic workers. Yet unless the results of such work can be published its influence must be restricted to comparatively small circles. To make possible the wider appeal of such work is the purpose of the *Transactions of the Forty-five Association.*

All communications should be addressed to—
Dr. George Pratt Insh, C.B.E., Ardenvohr, Bothwell, Lanarkshire.

MESSAGE FROM THE PATRON OF THE FORTY-FIVE ASSOCIATION

(CLUNY MACPHERSON OF CLUNY MACPHERSON)

PLEASE accept my heartiest congratulations on such an enterprising attempt. I do not think I can send a message more suitable than the words which the late Duke of Atholl and the late Lord Strathcarron (then Sir Ian Macpherson) used at the opening meeting of the present Clan Chattan Association. The latter, referring to the Appeal in 1933 to raise funds to save Cluny Castle and the relics, said:

> In a weary and distracted world anything grand, noble and magnificent out of the past ought to be maintained. If the spirit of Scotland is to survive . . . I feel that every effort should be made to preserve something tangible of the glorious past.

And the former, also referring to the same, used these words:

> The whole thing is a tragedy for Scotland and not for Scotland alone, but for the Scottish race scattered all over the world. For when the traditions go, so also will go the pride of race—'a race of men', to quote the words of Barrie, 'the wind of whose name has swept the ultimate sea'.

COURT OF THE LORD HIGH CONSTABLE
OF SCOTLAND.

Old quarrels are finished in the family of Scots, and the ancient royal line of Scotland continues in our much-loved Queen. Today we are as united in loyalty to Prince Charles's mother, as in the '45 the Jacobites were to the other Prince Charles's father. But we are right to remember our forefathers who suffered and died for loyalty long ago.

I would therefore like to take the happy opportunity, afforded by the publication of the first number of our Transactions, to send a message of greeting to all the members of the Forty-five Association.

Erroll

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Transactions of the Forty-five Association The Editor	1
Message from the Patron Cluny Macpherson of Cluny Macpherson	2
Greetings from the Honorary President The Rt. Hon. The Countess of Erroll	3
Ireland and the Forty-five Sir Charles Petrie, Bt.	5
Letters of Lord George Murray, Part I Edited by Miss K. Tomasson	8
The Strange Friendship of General Wade and Struan Robertson Donald Matheson	11
Naval Operations in the Forty-five Cyril Hughes Hartmann	13
The Forty-five Association	16

IRELAND AND THE FORTY-FIVE

By Sir CHARLES PETRIE, Bt.

(Vice-President of the Forty-five Association.
President of the Military History Society of Ireland)

IT is always difficult for the Scot and the Englishman to understand why no blow for the Stuarts was struck in Ireland in the Forty-five. Within living memory that country had been the scene of a fierce struggle on their behalf; of the Seven Men of Moidart four were Irish; and the detachments from the Irish Brigade played a notable part at Falkirk and Culloden. Yet Ireland itself would appear never even to have stirred in its sleep when events were taking place in the other two kingdoms which might, had victory inclined to the Jacobites, have vitally affected its destiny.

There is, however, another side to the picture, for there can be little doubt that Prince Charles Edward's landing in Scotland made a great impression on that Gaelic " Hidden Ireland ", as Professor Corkery has so well termed it, and had the Prince advanced from Derby there is no telling what might not have happened across the Irish Sea. In this connection the seeker after truth is at a definite disadvantage, for the Letter Books, which should have been a mine of information, perished in the destruction of the Public Record Office in Dublin during the civil war in 1922. All the same, recent research has established the fact that if Ireland remained calm in 1745-46, that calmness was to no inconsiderable extent superficial.

In August 1745, when the Prince was consolidating his position in Scotland, the Earl of Chesterfield arrived in Dublin as Lord-Lieutenant. Outwardly no man could have been a more convinced supporter of the House of Hanover, and to an avowed Roman Catholic and suspected Jacobite, whom he one day summoned to the Castle, he said, " Sir, I do not wish to enquire whether you have any particular employment in this kingdom, but I know that you have a great interest amongst those of your persuasion. I have sent for you to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet. If they behave like faithful subjects, they shall be treated as such; but if they act in a different manner, I shall be worse to them than Cromwell." [1] Chesterfield was certainly under no illusions as to Irish feelings, for on 27 November 1745, when Prince Charles was at Preston on his way to Derby, he wrote: " I have with much difficulty quieted the fears here, which were at first very strong, partly by contagion from England, and partly from old prejudices, which my good subjects are far from being above yet."

Nothing could have been more correct than such an attitude on the part of the representative of George II, but was it the whole story? Chesterfield had always been credited with a good deal of sympathy

[1] Cf. S. Shellabarger, *Lord Chesterfield*, p. 226.

for the exiled Royal House, and as recently as 1740 he had visited Ormonde at Avignon.[1] Horace Walpole at any rate suspected his loyalty to the Guelphs, to judge by a story he has left on record. " Being at Dublin at the height of the rebellion a zealous bishop came to him one morning before he was out of bed and told him he had great grounds to believe the Jacobites were going to rise. The Lord-Lieutenant coolly looked at his watch and replied, ' I fancy they are, my lord, for it is nine o'clock '." [2] In Protestant circles in the north the bishop's fears were taken more seriously, and there was much resentment at the official failure to adopt any precautionary measures. In October one William Macartney in County Down was writing: " We have certain advices by many different ways that the Pretender's son and rebels in Scotland, finding it vain to attempt meeting our forces, have seized all ships and boats on that coast of Scotland, and are determined to land at Carrickfergus, of this we advertised the Government by Saturday night's post, and of further accounts last night by express." [3] These fears were probably occasioned by the widespread rumour that the detachments of the Irish Brigade which had been sent to Scotland by the French government were to be landed in Ireland.

In these circumstances, and in view of the fact that even in the north local arrests were being made for the drinking of James's health, it is not surprising that in Whig circles in Ireland there should have been a growing suspicion as to the Lord-Lieutenant's real views. The distribution of the forces at his disposal could not but have served to strengthen doubts as to Chesterfield's loyalty to the House of Hanover, for of the 9,263 troops in the country he only stationed in Ulster, that is to say the one place where a Jacobite blow was likely to fall, a half-company at Charlemont and another at Enniskillen.[4] It is difficult to believe that the concentration of the government forces where they were least needed was purely accidental. However, the crisis passed; the Irish Brigade did not arrive; and the Prince fell back from Derby : but it is at least interesting to conjecture what attitude Chesterfield would have adopted had fortune favoured the Stuarts.

Of the feelings of the Irish people as a whole there was never any question. When the news of Prestonpans reached Connaught the peasants showed their delight by going to market with pieces of tartan plaid pinned on to their clothing. The local authorities took alarm, whatever the attitude of the Lord-Lieutenant might be, and at Galway in particular the most stringent precautions were taken against a Jacobite rising. All persons entering or leaving the town were searched; the town gates, which were normally closed at 10 p.m., were shut at four o'clock in the afternoon; and strict discipline was maintained by the garrison, sentries being posted at all the more vulnerable points. In spite of this we hear that " about this time it was also represented that two Irish officers of the name of Burke, belonging to Dillon's regiment,

[1] A. Shield, and A. Lang, *Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York*, p. 79.
[2] *Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of the Reign of George II*, vol. I, p. 53.
[3] Cf. John Stevenson, *Two Centuries of Life in Down*, p. 333.
[4] Cf. also C. T. Atkinson, *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research*, vol. XXII, p. 283.

who were made prisoners at Culloden, appeared publicly in town; and that one Sarsfield (of Lally's regiment), an avowed Jacobite, who escaped from that battle, was also seen in the neighbourhood, and at the house of his kinsman, Robert Martin, of Dangan, who, it was stated, could in twenty-four hours bring at least eight hundred men to the gates of the town, as absolutely devoted to him as the Camerons to Lochiel ". [1]

Nor did the threat to the established order cease with the failure of the Forty-five, at any rate so far as Galway was concerned, for in 1747 " riots and mobs were frequent, and within the last twelve months three sentinels had been knocked down at the west gate ". In 1753 there was a rumour that the Prince himself was in the neighbourhood, and had actually attended a cock-fight near the town. In this connection it may be noted that two years earlier the British ambassador in Paris, the Earl of Albemarle, believed that preparations were afoot for an Irish rising; and in August 1752, Mann actually reported from Florence that Charles Edward was in Ireland. These statements were probably based on garbled information concerning the Elibank Plot, though there is no evidence that it was ever intended to extend to Ireland.

What is not always understood in Scotland and England is how close was the connection between Ireland and the mainland of Europe during the first half of the eighteenth century. There has, until recently, been a widespread tendency to concentrate on the transient, if brilliant, society of " Ascendancy " Dublin to the neglect of the outlook and aspirations of the vast majority of the Irish people who remained Jacobite in their sympathies until a late date. The " Wild Geese " came back from France, Spain and Austria from time to time to visit their homes, and to tell their fellow-countrymen of camps and messes where Irishmen could openly drink to the health of King James and to the confusion of the Elector of Hanover. Recruits for the Irish Brigade were never lacking, and its triumphs rejoiced many a heart in Connaught and Munster.

The Scottish and Irish attitude towards the Stuarts was different, and this feeling is reflected in the Jacobite literature. In the Scottish poems the keynote is warm affection for the persons of the Stuart princes, and with the appearance of Prince Charlie this note of warm affection becomes one of warm love. It has been well said that he is the inspiration of all that is best in Scottish Jacobite poetry. This was not the case with the Irish. " The place ", Professor Corkery writes, " that the Stuarts themselves occupy in the Scottish poems is occupied in the Irish poems by Ireland herself. So that, in spite of their theme, we get from them the feeling that their writers are playing with a far-off woe when the Stuarts are in question, but with a living sorrow when Ireland is their vision." [2] Despair, rather than personal loyalty, was their guiding motive, and the only banner that promised another fight for freedom, if not the reversal of their hard doom, was that of the Stuarts. Moreover, their natural leaders had been in exile ever since the broken Treaty of Limerick, whereas for Scotland that fate was still in store.

So the Scot tended to wait at home until a Stuart prince arrived to claim his allegiance, while the Irishman went off to enlist under the

[1] *The Galway Reader*, vol. III, pp. 113-114.
[2] *The Hidden Ireland*, pp. 130 *et seq.*

Lilies of France. Such being the case it is not in any way remarkable that the material contribution which Ireland made to the Jacobite cause in the Forty-five were the detachments of the Irish Brigade. They were among the best troops in Europe, as the Prince well knew, when, pointing to the enemy battalions at Falkirk, he said to the veterans from the Dillon, Ruth and Lally regiments, " Those are the men you beat at Fontenoy ". Had the Irish Brigade been better represented the verdict of Culloden might well have been different.

LETTERS OF LORD GEORGE MURRAY

Published by kind permission of the Duke of Atholl

Part one

THE following letters, written by Lord George Murray to his wife, were recently discovered at Blair Castle by Miss Tomasson, a member of the Forty-five Association. The letters began at the time of his marriage in 1728 and ended in 1760—the year of his death. Those written during the Jacobite campaign had been taken out for publication. The remaining three hundred, varying in length from one to twenty-six closely written sheets, are now being edited together with many other letters from Lord George to his brother, the Whig Duke of Atholl.

I

Dunkeld 27 Febr. 1732.

As my Brother is not to be home till this day, I believe it will be Wensday morning before I can leave this place, & consequently thursday or I can be with my Love.

I see advertised in the Current fine Limons & bitter oranges at sixpence per dozen choise, be so good as to send for six dozen of the first & four of the other it is at Mr. Childs Shope where they are advertised. You must also Commission two punch Searchers one finer the other courser, but if they be bought at toy shops they will be too dear. Fairwell my Soule & belive me ever your Faithfull

II

Edr: Der: 14 1732.

My Dearest Life,

You may imagin by my long stay here that I'm turned fond of the town, but indeed that is not the kace, for I am very tired of it, & the more so that besides other things I have got a very bad Coald, & I can scarse say I have been above one night mirry since I came to town.

My Brother Atholl goes for the Country to morrow, & I'm sorry I cant goe alongst with him, in which kace I should perhaps perswade him to have a night at Mugdrum in his way home, but he is in such a heast & and I not being to goe over the water, that I find he wont be with you at this time.

I was in hopes our carrier would have been here last night, & that I would have heard how my Soule & the young folks were. Seing I have been disappointed that way, pray so soon as this comes into your hands send off Sandy Murray that I may have the pleasure of hearing from you. Were I even left this place before he came it would be but his trouble lost.

I have provided six bolls of Malt which is to be at Kinghorn tomorrow so you'l give directions that our own Seven horse come off early on munday morning, & let John Brown & what other of the Servants he thinks necessary come with them. This goes by the Erroll carrier, and I have given him sixpence to deliver it to you safely.

Now, my Dear Life, I should leave this place on tewsday tho' the Hunters' Ball is that night, fairwell my Love.

I am just going to looke in to the assembly but shall be in bed by nine a clock. Adiu. . . .

(Written to Lady George when she was still living at Mugdrum, near Newburgh.)

III

Edr: Decr: 18th 1732.

My Dearest Life,

Your letter is so filled with the sweetness which its writer is possest of, I am afraid if I should go on to write what is in my thoughts at present, this would be more a love letter then an epistle of one friend to another, but as we have made resolutions against these sallies of the heart, I hope you'l excuse me constraining myself & stopping.

I am much better of my Coald, I let blood on saterday, and this day I have taken Phisick, tho' good for both. Let me intreat that you will take that care of yourself that you so earnestly recommend to me, seing that upon your account I shall always have a value for my health. Give me leave to say that its upon your account more then all others put together that I wish to live.

If the carrier should not come to town you must send some body, for I have severall things to be caried. I only send you two ounce of the Thea as you desired mixed, the rest being to come by the carrier. I send you a Book which I belive will be very interteaning & the more so that it is History.

ffor news I can only tell you that Mrs. Nany Gordon is to dance tomorrow with Duke Hamilton as Queen of the Ball, & your humble Servant Dances with Lady Crichton your good Friend who came to town two or three days agoe.

IV

Tull: 27 Sepr. 1723 nine a clock.

I had a much better day than I expected, the Water of Ardoch was not so big but horses went easely over, but I lighted & walked alongst the new bridg, I was no sooner here when it came on great reain which lasted all night, & it does much prejudice where it is not sleated. (slated) I forgot to tell your Mother that the Duke of Atholl desired me to make his excuses that he had not called at Arnhall in his way to Edr: but he found that it would not looke well for him to goe in to Edr. on that occasion upon a Sunday.

I propose being here on munday & I belive will goe to Creef Market on tewsday, I will take that opportunity to veu what Lochland proposes, & least I should not have time to return here that night, Id willingly know if I could be all night at Strouan. Im just going for Mugdrum.

V

Edr. 29 May 1734.

I had a litle agoe the pleasure of your of yesterday. . . . This is the third night since I cam to town that I have been all alone at home, for after dineing leat & makeing some Visits it would be what might be unconvenient for me to be evry night in the Tavern, especially being of such a temper, that you know I would not be the first Starter if I were much pressed.

The Town begins to fill in such a manner that I belive by the end of this week or begining of nixt it will be thronger of Gentilmen than any time since the Union.

All the Elections of the Shires for Scotland will be over on ffriday . . . The Contest has been strong all over & continows soe, I'm sorry to see such devisions; & any person would be deficulted what to belive, if we could be intirely disinterested in what regards our Country. The Post is just now arived but as I have seen no body I dont know if there be any materiall news, I have read the wroten letter since I began this it says now that Stanislous is retyrd from Danzike, (Dantzig) as also the Muscovites, but in evry thing we must Suspend our belive. The Elections are mostly if not all over in England, some pople here say (how justly I cannot tell) that the Courte did not attempt but seven Elections of Shires in England of which they have lost three, Norfolk York Shire & Northumberland.

Some Party pople say it is only in towns where the Courte used their best indeavoures, & where money was not spared, nay it is confidently afirmed that a poor Clerck had £500 Sterling in his hands if he would have accepted it to return otherways than he did—Burntisland. There were some Characters in a London jurnall, I have sent you those that were reprinted gere. You will know some of them especially an Ally of ours, its the longest tho' not the best. However that or any thing I write is to your selfe. . . .

VI

(Dunkeld) 28 Sepr: 1739.

I would begin plewing in the west park of Tullibardine as soon as possible, even before all the Corns are led: Early plewing makes an early seed time, & that makes an early harvest.

Sanders Kelly must goe about the end of nixt week to sow the two bolls wheat at Arnhall. Two plews will till it in two days. Sanders is to hold one of them, & the other must be hyrd or borowd & all under his direction. Send word to Andrew Donaldson if he cannot get Lime imediatly from the man that furnishes me, that he is to take what Lime is in the house at the bigens & lay it on upon that parte nixt the Lady Strouans dike so far as it will goe, & to take of the best of the Lime midden at the bigens to put upon the other parte where the wheat is to be.

There must be a head rige & a foot rige at the upper new hedg & the lower new hedg for the plews to turn upon so as to doe no hurt to the Hedges; & the rigs to be made as Straight & Smooth as can be beginning at the cart walk & hedg & so westward as far as the two bolls wheat will sow. If there be any green ba(n)ks or breas in that bounds they must be trenched so as to be of a pice with the rest.

As I will have a good deal of forage I doe not incline to sell the Cows below the price I put upon them nor would I send them to Crieff.

(To be continued)

THE STRANGE FRIENDSHIP OF GENERAL WADE AND STRUAN ROBERTSON

By DONALD MATHESON

WHEN one recalls that Wade was sent to Scotland to perform, as far as Scots were concerned, the most hateful task conceivable, the enforcement of the Disarming Act, one is astounded that after ten years' labour, which involved making roads and bridges, on which incidentally his fame rests, he never made a single enemy in all that time, except one (see note at end). On the contrary, he made many friends, and perhaps his greatest friend of all, apart from Duncan Forbes of Culloden, was Alexander Robertson, Struan, the Chief of the Clan Robertson.

Struan was a fierce Jacobite, a poet of some note, if of indifferent quality, and a Graduate of St. Andrews University. He was therefore a man of some education with the capacity to think for himself, and it must have been obvious to him, that the successful conclusion of Wade's mission would spell the end of the Clan system, and the doom of the Clan Chiefs as such. Yet his friendship with Wade was real. They had much in common. Wade was well-known to be fond of wine, cards and women. (Although he was never married he left £100,000 to two natural sons and a daughter.)

Struan had been " out " with Dundee. He had been captured but was allowed to escape, when he went abroad and joined the " set " at Saint Germains. Here, in the idleness of that set, he learned all he previously did not know of wine, women and song. He was pardoned by Queen Anne and returned to Rannoch, where, between drinking bouts, he composed indifferent verse. Of his popularity with his Clan there can be no doubt, because when the " Fifteen " rising took place, five hundred of his clan joined him to fight at Sheriffmuir, where he was again captured, but again escaped and went to France.

Once again he returned to Rannoch; his sister Margaret had interviewed George I and induced him to pardon Struan. The King, however, this time took the precaution of granting all Struan's property to his sister and not to him, to be held by her during his Majesty's pleasure.

Struan repaid his sister in peculiar fashion. He had her imprisoned in a small tower on a little islet on Loch Rannoch (the tower still stands). Later he sent her to one of the Outer Hebrides, where she died of a broken heart. On the other hand, his relative, Murray of Abercairney, who used to stay with him frequently at Rannoch, has said that nothing was more brilliant and delightful than Struan's wit, and that his remarks on men and matters were well informed and pertinent. The only thing that disturbed his guest's comfort and pleasure in his company, was his addiction to heavy drinking. He started the day with whiskey and honey, and continued with brandy and sugar.

There seems no doubt that Wade and Struan were fast friends. There is a local tradition that Struan used to ride over from Rannoch to Weem when Wade was resident there, during the building of the Tay Bridge (the Tay Bridge was designed by William Adams the famous

Dundee Architect.) The house that Wade occupied at that time is now part of Weem Hotel, and carries a notice in front to that effect. In Wade's time the house and the Inn were separated by a court yard, and according to this tradition, Struan and Wade used to sit all night gambling at cards, and periodically sending a sentry to the Inn for more drink. Presumably they had taught the landlord to concoct a drink, invented by the Lord Advocate, which they called a Culloden Bumper.

A very old inhabitant, long since dead, told me, many years ago, that he had it from his great grandfather, that there was always a musket pointed out of one of the windows of the house, with a soldier behind it, covering the road from the bridge.

One wonders if these men were wont to discuss Wade's difficulties. We know from his letters to the Lord Advocate, that Wade was not reticent at committing his woes to paper, and one can imagine that Struan, who must have had an abundance of local knowledge, could paint a pretty picture of the Tay in spate. Certainly the foundations of this bridge were extraordinary, and were considered worthy of record by Wade himself, because he wrote that: " There are twelve hundred piles, iron shod, to support the foundations of the Piers and Landbreasts, and the Starlings are made of the best oak ". Much if not all of this oak was supplied by Struan's Rannoch estates. Many of Wade's bridges have long since been swept away, but the Tay Bridge at Aberfeldy, which he always regarded as the crown of his achievement, still carries the main road traffic.

I have drawn attention to the fact that both these men were self-indulgent in the extreme. When Struan was in need of medical advice, it is significant that he went to Bath to consult the celebrated Dr. Cheyne there. Wade, whose home was in Bath, had a reputation for over indulgence there. The inference is that it was with a recommendation from his friend Wade, that Struan went to consult the physician.

The close contact that existed between these men was not confined to the period of the building of the Tay Bridge. Whilst doing the Bohespic section of the road, Wade had a Barracks near there on Struan's ground. The ruins are still visible. Whilst he was resident at " The Hut " at Dalnacardoch Struan would be a frequent visitor, and doubtless they played their favourite game of cards all night and drank their fill of Culloden Bumpers.

How long their friendship remained active, there seems no means of telling, but the last recorded meeting of the two was in 1735 when Wade returned from a two years' sojourn in London to perform the opening ceremony of his famous bridge, which had then been completed and ornamented as it stands today.

There was a large assembly of all the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood. Wade had visited the Earl of Breadalbane at Taymouth Castle, and with the Earl and Countess drove to the Bridge. Here was Menzies of Menzies and his Lady. There were Lord and Lady Glen Orchy, Lord Monzie and Lady Monzie. All the Breadalbane and Menzies Chieftains and their ladies. In fact everyone of note from miles around, gathered to do honour to this man, who had opened up the Highlands to trade with the South, and in so doing, had taken the power out of the hands of these very Chiefs.

After the troops had been reviewed and the bridge declared open, Struan stepped forward and placed a sheet of paper on the parapet of the bridge. It was a poem of his own composition, entitled "Tay Bridge to the Passenger", and it was later printed in an Edinburgh newspaper.

This was Struan's tribute to his friend. Queer bedfellows. A Jacobite "rebel" and a Whig General! Their association, as far as is recorded, ended here. They were both about the same age, and they both died fourteen years later. Wade, a senile old man, who defended General Sir John Cope at his trial for allowing himself to be out-generalled by Prince Charles at Corryarrick, using for his success the very roads which Wade had made.

Struan came out again in the Forty-five, fought at Prestonpans, and drove up the Wade road to Rannoch. . . . In General Cope's own carriage, and dressed in Cope's fur coat! The irony of fate. And, when Wade was being laid to rest in Westminster Abbey, Struan died in his bed at Rannoch. Two thousand people followed the coffin which was carried all the way from his house to Struan Churchyard. Eighteen Miles.

Note: I have said that Wade made only one enemy in Scotland during his sojourn. This was Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, and by a strange twist of fortune, it was Lovat's Memorial to the King about the conditions in the Highlands, and the manner in which the Disarming Act was being carried out, or not carried out, that was the cause of Wade's being sent to Scotland to do the work.

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE FORTY-FIVE

By CYRIL HUGHES HARTMANN

NOT for a moment did the Chevalier de St. George imagine that the Stuart dynasty could ever regain the throne without foreign aid, and it was only because Louis XV had promised to invade England with naval support that he allowed his son, Prince Charles Edward, to leave Rome for France to take part in the expedition. And when this attempt had been scotched, partly by stormy weather and partly by the vigilance of the Royal Navy, he wanted the Prince to abandon the project and return to Rome. He strongly disapproved of the desperate venture in the summer of 1745.

The British government had remained on the alert in case such an attempt should be made, and the Admiralty had ordered that all available ships of war in British harbours should be fitted for immediate service "as an instance that the naval operations were the supreme dependence of the kingdom". In July 1745, Admiral Vernon was appointed to the supreme command of naval defences in the Channel, though he did not receive orders to take up his command until news

was received of the encounter between H.M.S. *Lion* and two mysterious French ships, one of which was credibly reported to be carrying Prince Charles Edward to Scotland. When it became known that he had landed in the Western Highlands and was rallying the clans to him, the Admiralty reasoned that, if the French intended to invade in his support, they would make the attempt from their Channel ports, and ordered Vernon to proceed to the Downs. Vice-Admiral Martin was to remain in the western Channel to keep a watchful eye on Brest.

On 7 September Vernon informed the Admiralty that he had received news that shipping was being collected at Dunkirk, and believed that some ships had sailed for Scotland with troops and supplies for the insurgents. He suggested that Rear-Admiral Byng should sail north with a squadron in pursuit of them. The Admiralty consented to this course, considering that in any event Byng's presence off the Scottish coast would be valuable as a deterrent and would " give life and spirits to those who are in the King's interests ". Arriving too late to intercept this first contingent of French ships, which got through safely to Montrose, Byng returned to the Downs, but was promptly sent back by Vernon. He sailed into Leith again on 26 October. From that time no other French squadrons reached Scotland completely unscathed, even if, as sometimes happened, they were able to elude Vernon's patrolling cruisers in the Channel or the North Sea. Voltaire estimates that, throughout the campaign, most of the French ships carrying men and arms to Scotland were detected and taken by the British Navy. Byng's presence off the Scottish coast also contributed greatly to the Prince's embarrassments. Not only did his ships prevent the arrival of French help, but also they were able to hinder Jacobite communications across the firths, while at the same time carrying supplies to Inverness and other places held for King George.

The Prince's victory at Prestonpans considerably enhanced the chances of French intervention. Louis XV issued a Manifesto affirming that he had agreed to send an army to invade England at the request of the English themselves, and the Duc de Richelieu was sent to Calais to take command of it. Throughout this autumn the British fleet awaited his coming, and Vernon's cruisers and privateers continually harried his preparations. Troops were sent down to defend the coast, and there was eager response to a call for volunteers from Sussex, Kent, and Essex. Fear of French invasion united the country against the Stuart cause as nothing else could have done, and was probably in great measure responsible for the apathy with which the Prince was greeted when he advanced into England.

Soon Vernon received intelligence that the French were concentrating their transports in Calais and Boulogne, and concluded that they meant to make their descent upon the coast of Kent opposite these ports. Expecting the invasion to take place towards the end of December, when there would be a full moon, he stationed himself off Dungeness, while Martin, who had been sent to join him, remained in the Downs with some of the larger ships. Boscawen was blocking access to the Thames, and a mobile squadron under Commodore Smith was hovering off the East Anglian coast. The Channel was protected by the heavier ships under Vice-Admiral Stewart at Spithead and Commodore Mostyn at

Plymouth. Byng's squadron remained off the east coast of Scotland in case a diversion should be attempted there. For days the winds blew fair from France, and the weather conditions for a crossing could not have been more favourable for the time of the year. Yet the attempt was never made; Vernon's admirable naval dispositions effectively prevented it.

Having frustrated the projected invasion, the Navy continued to play an important part in inflicting the final defeat on the Prince. As Cumberland moved north from Edinburgh, the fleet performed the double task of ensuring his supplies and intercepting those designed for his opponent. Two out of the five ships carrying the Comte de Fitzjames with reinforcements to Scotland were intercepted and captured : the *Prince Charles*, with a cargo of arms and gold, was chased by the *Sheerness* in the Pentland Firth and driven ashore on the Sands of Melness. The Navy, too, was largely responsible for the Jacobites' failure to reduce Fort William, since throughout the siege the place was plentifully supplied by sea with provisions from Inverary, while naval landing parties constantly harassed the besiegers. When Loudoun's forces in Sutherland were attacked by Lord Macleod in the month before Culloden, it was the Navy that came to the rescue and transported Loudoun himself, Duncan Forbes, the Macleod of Macleod, and some 800 Macdonalds and Macleods in safety to Skye. And, in the closing stages of the campaign, when Cumberland advanced from Aberdeen, supply ships convoyed by the fleet and laden with provisions, ammunition, and all necessary stores kept level with the army as it marched along the coast road towards Inverness.

Full use was made of the Navy in the mopping-up operations after Culloden. General Campbell accompanied the naval squadron in the search for the Prince himself in the Western Isles, and men-of-war patrolled the coasts to intercept vessels in which fugitives might attempt to escape. Many did succeed in getting away, for it was not difficult for occasional French privateers to swoop down upon remote harbours, especially along the western coast. But they never dared to stay for long. The *Mars* and the *Bellona*, which took off the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lord Elcho and others, were located and attacked by three small British frigates, and, though their greatly superior strength enabled them to beat off this first attack, their commanders thought it prudent to sail before the frigates could return with reinforcements, as in fact happened next day. They dared not wait for the Prince, whose rescue from Moidart was later effected by a similar rapid descent of two French privateers sent for that very purpose.

In assessing the reasons for the failure of Prince Charles Edward's gallant but hopeless venture, the importance of the maritime factor has always been under-estimated. To attain his object, the Prince—or, at least his allies—needed complete control of the sea, but this was rendered impossible by the loyalty to the existing government, the preparedness, vigilance, and activity of the Royal Navy.

THE FORTY-FIVE ASSOCIATION

Patron:
CLUNY MACPHERSON of CLUNY MACPHERSON

Hon. President:
THE RT. HON. THE COUNTESS OF ERROLL

Vice-Presidents:
Captain IAIN MONCRIEFFE of Easter Moncrieffe
Sir CHARLES PETRIE, Bt.
Sir JAMES R. WILSON, Bt.

Hon. Secretary:
Miss M. F. CAMERON, Barncluith, West Kilbride, Ayrshire

Hon. Treasurer:
Mr. W. MACDONALD, 53 Meadowpark Street, Glasgow, E.1

Editor of *Transactions:*
Dr. GEORGE PRATT INSH, C.B.E., Ardenvohr, Bothwell, Lanarkshire

COUNCIL

Captain CHEYNE-MACPHERSON of Dalchully, F.S.A. Scot.
Miss K. TOMASSON
Canon W. H. DE VOIL, M.A., Ph.D.
Rev. F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A. Scot.
Miss KYLE CLARKE, S.R.N.
Miss L. MACR. DONALD
Mr. B. CAMERON DEY
Mr. SETON GORDON, C.B.E., B.A. (Oxon.), F.Z.S.
Mr. A. MCINTOSH
Miss MAUREEN MOORE CRAIG
Miss M. I. MURRAY
Rev. ALBAN WHEELER
Mr. R. MACDONALD ROBERTSON, W.S., F.S.A. Scot.
Mr. H. R. BAILLIE
Miss I. DICK
Miss RAY MCINTYRE
Mr. F. S. CAMERON-HEAD of Inverailort, J.P., M.A.(Oxon.), F.Z.S.

Aberdeen: The University Press