

## THE ARMY OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, 1745-6

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### LORD PITSLIGO'S HORSE IN THE ARMY OF PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD, 1745-6

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Alexander, 4th Lord Forbes of Pitsligo (generally referred to as Lord Pitsligo), was born on 24th May, 1678, and at the age of 37 he joined the Earl of Mar when the Stewart Standard was raised in 1715, and he was present at the Battle of Sheriffmuir. After the battle he went into hiding, in London of all unlikely places, then, after some years abroad, he returned and settled down quietly on his estate with his books. He was of an extremely studious nature and published a volume of his works entitled *Essays Moral and Philosophical on Several Subjects*.<sup>1</sup>

When called upon by Prince Charles to join him, his age, 67, in itself would have been sufficient excuse for his staying at home, but he nevertheless left his books and came out once again for the Stewart cause; at the head of a party of horse.<sup>2</sup> That in addition to his loyalty to the exiled Royal house he was a whole-hearted opponent of Scotland's *chiffon de papier* is evident from the fact that, in 1705, he protested strongly against the projected Union and, when it was passed, withdrew to his castle at Pitsligo.<sup>3</sup>

On his own confession, Pitsligo joined the enterprise without enthusiasm,<sup>4</sup> but considered it his duty to do so, and such was his reputation for excellence of judgement, caution and prudence, that he succeeded in influencing many others to come out when they might otherwise have stayed at home. He met his friends in Aberdeen when he then formed his small party of cavalry composed of gentlemen and their servants, their strength being estimated at between 100 and 200 and somewhat more at a

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<sup>1</sup> *The House of Forbes*. Edited by Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, 1937, 349.

<sup>2</sup> He was described by John Murray of Broughton, the Prince's Secretary, as "a little thinn fair man, has lived much at home, being a great Schollar and fond of Study, of the primitive Stamp, and fitter to have been a martyr in the days of *Nero* than to live in an age of villany and Corruption, where piety is ridiculed, humane to a fault, and brave to admiration, extremely affable and engaging in Conversation. The deservedly most popular man in his Country, not beloved but adored, being ever employ'd in doing good offices to his neighbours. In short, to do justice to his Character, it would be necessary to cull out the most conspicuous virtues of the Saints and heroes of old, all of which he is alone blessed with in an ample degree, and it would seem descending too low to imitate the often undeserved Characters given by news writers, I would conclude by saying yt he is the best husband, the best father, the best friend, and the Best S-bj-t in Brittain." *Memorials of John Murray of Broughton*. Ed. by John Fitzroy Bell, 1898, 225-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in the Forty-Five*, by Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, 1928, 379.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 380.

later date. In addition to the horse, a party on foot also joined him under Robert Sandilands, a writer, of Aberdeen. These marched to Edinburgh with the horse when they were then incorporated in the Duke of Perth's Regiment of Foot, Sandilands being given the rank of Captain, and Walter Mitchell, a farmer, that of Ensign and Adjutant.

When Lord Pitsligo's body of troops was drawn up he wasted no time in haranguing them, but merely lifted his hat and said, "Oh Lord thou knowest that our cause is just — Gentlemen, march."

On 9th October Pitsligo and his men arrived in Edinburgh where they received an enthusiastic welcome, the *Caledonian Mercury* describing him as arriving in Duddingston Camp, from Linlithgow, "at the head of a squadron of Horsemen, consisting of 132 Knights, Freeholders, and landed Gentlemen, besides their servants, all extremely well mounted and accoutred: They are all Gentlemen of experience, and are mostly above 40 years of age. There came in at the same time 6 companies of Foot raised in the shire of Aberdeen by the said Noble Lord Pitsligo. *N.B.* — The Lord Pitsligo's squadron are all in Highland Dress, amounting in all to 248 men."

According to O'Sullivan, "Ld Pitsligo joined, who is a worthy vertouse gent & brought with him from the Est Coast about a hundred gents, or their servants, from yt contry well mounted, the most of them entertained themselves at their own expences".<sup>5</sup> This would account for the large number of volunteers who rode with Pitsligo.

Amongst those who followed Lord Pitsligo was James Petrie, Sheriff Depute of Aberdeen, who is thought not to have followed him to Edinburgh, merely continuing with his normal duties, but in the Prince's name. Another who joined was William Cuming, Younger, of Pitullie, who rode as a volunteer. He suffered from a broken ankle and was unable to serve on foot.

Of those who accompanied Lord Pitsligo to Edinburgh many have been named, but it is not known if they served under him and, if so, in what capacity. These included Robert Gordon, Younger, of Logie; Charles Cuming of Kininmonth; Alexander Ogilvie of Achirries; Thomson, Elder, of Fachfield; Thomson, Younger, of Fachfield; John Turner, Younger, of Turnerhall, and William Fraser, brother to Inverallochy.

Of all the volunteers in the squadron the most prominent was Sir William Dunbar of Durn whose social position alone would have obtained for him a commission, but this he refused for no known reason. It has been suggested that this may have been due to an awareness of his own lack of military knowledge or, yet again, to prudence. There was always the possibility of the failure of the enterprise, in which event the less prominent the part taken by him the less likely would he be to suffer.

<sup>5</sup> *1745 and After (O'Sullivan's Narrative)*, by Alistair and Henrietta Tayler, 1938, 87.

Adam Hay of Asslid, a writer of Aberdeen, was another volunteer who, later in the campaign, after the invasion of England, transferred to Stonywood's Regiment. James Gordon of Cobairdy, who "acted in the character of an officer," came out with Lord Pitsligo, but there appears to be no record of which regiment he served with.

Of all those known to have held commissions in Lord Pitsligo's, the most prominent was Sir William Gordon of Park. Unlike most of the others, he did not join the Prince with Pitsligo, having done so in September at Perth and he had therefore been present at Prestonpans. He received his commission, as Lieutenant-Colonel in Pitsligo's Horse, from the Prince, the commission being dated 18th October, 1745. He was one of those who served on the Prince's Council in Edinburgh.

A major in the regiment was Arthur Gordon of Carnousie whose appearance occasioned some surprise, for, as a contemporary described him, he "was esteemed a wise, solid man and some one not at all wedded to Kingscraft. But as many debts of his never heard of formerly are appearing, this somewhat unravels the mystery."<sup>6</sup> Another major was Andrew Hay of Rannes (who arrived with two servants, James Guthrie and James Donaldson), the tallest man in the Prince's army, being 7 feet 2 inches.

James Gordon of Glastirem came out with Lord Pitsligo and was described as a "Captain & very active in Recruiting men for the Rebels", but his regiment is not known. He later claimed that he had not been at either Prestonpans or Falkirk.

Thomas Mercer of Achnacant, a merchant of Aberdeen, was aide-de-camp to Lord Pitsligo, and Alexander Ramsey, of Roseheart, "Had a post in one of Pitsligo's troops", not necessarily as an officer although this would seem to be indicated. James Hay, of Aberdeen, was described as an Ensign, and a William Forbes, son of a farmer of the same name, was one of Pitsligo's officers, but his rank is not known.

George Gordon of Hallhead acted as Secretary to Lord Pitsligo. Andrew Spruel (Sprule or Sprewl), an Edinburgh writer, was a captain of Pitsligo's, but in a list of prisoners he is said to have been "a Capt in the Rebel ffoot till their dispersion". At his trial, one witness quoted him as saying that "he belonged to the horse in the rebel service", and two others that he was a "private man in Lord Pitsligo's Horse", and yet a further witness stated that he was "a volunteer in Pitsligo's."<sup>7</sup>

Alexander Irvine of Drum was another who followed Lord Pitsligo to Edinburgh, but in his case it is yet again not certain whether he continued to serve under him.

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<sup>6</sup> *Origins of the Forty-Five*. Ed. by Walter Biggar Blaikie, 1916, 121.

<sup>7</sup> *A list of Persons Concerned in the Rebellion*, by the Earl of Rosebery and Rev. Walter MacLeod, 1890, 278-9. *Historical Papers Relating to the Jacobite Period, 1699-1750*. Ed. by Colonel James Allardyce, 1895-6, Vol. II, 408-9.

On arrival in Edinburgh, Pitsligo's Horse was ordered to proceed to Dalkeith, and Lord Pitsligo was made a member of the Prince's Council. In orders for 19th-20th October, issued in Edinburgh, it was laid down that "The Foot that came with My Lord Pitsligo, and Tulloch's men, will furnish a Captain and 100 men on H.R.H.'s Guard, and a Captain and fifty men on the Canongate guard; they'll observe to make regular Patrols." On 27th-28th, "An Officer and 12 Gentlemen of Pitsligo's will Patrol this night from Leith along the sea side, by Newhaven. The Officer of this Corps that Patrol'd last night can give them the Directions he had." This patrolling was most necessary, as enemy troops had been concentrating at Berwick and Newcastle, and might have been expected to march on Edinburgh, but throughout the whole campaign, their commander, Marshal Wade, appears to have displayed a complete incompetency and lack of all enterprise.

On 31st October the Prince marched out of Edinburgh on his invasion of England, at six o'clock in the evening "at ye head of his Guards and Lord Pitsligo's horse, and lay that night at Pinckie House. Next day he went to Dalkeith, where he learnt that Marechal Wade's Army was Arrived at Newcastle."<sup>8</sup>

On the army dividing into two columns, Lord Pitsligo's Horse formed part of that commanded by the Prince and Lord George Murray, their strength being given as about 120. On 4th November they marched to Kelso and two days later the foot crossed the Tweed and marched to Jedburgh, the horse remaining drawn up on a height near Kelso and sending out scouts to gain intelligence of Wade's army as he was reported to be on the march, and also to have parties at Wooler.<sup>9</sup> A body of cavalry under Colonel Henry Kerr of Graden was ordered out to this place, where Gardiner's and Hamilton's Dragoons were encamped, but these Dragoons galloped off to Whittingham on learning, as they thought, of the Prince's approach, the impression having been given that he was marching on Newcastle.

In a letter written from Kelso on 5th November, William Gibbon, one of Pitsligo's who had marched from Dalkeith, mention was made of the fact that the Prince had marched all day in his boots.<sup>10</sup>

On 7th November the horse were sent on to Hawick and Langholm and on the following day they rejoined the Prince near Longtown, and on the 9th the Prince's column marched towards Carlisle, when it was joined by the second column under the Dukes of Perth and Atholl, encamping in villages to the west of the city. On the 12th, learning that Wade was not within 30 miles, it was decided to besiege Carlisle, this duty being assigned

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<sup>8</sup> *A Short Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the Years 1744, 1745, 1746.* By David, Lord Elcho. Ed. by the Hon. Evan Charteris, 1907, 307.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* 309.

<sup>10</sup> *Intercepted Post.* Ed. by Donald Nicholas, 1956, 80.

to the Duke of Perth who marched from Brampton in command of five battalions of foot, and the horse of Lords Elcho, Pitsligo and Kilmar-nock."<sup>11</sup>

On the surrender of the city the Prince entered it on 17th November and orders were issued that on the following day "Thirty of my Lord Pitsligo's Horse will part tomorrow at break of day, to go on the road to Newcastle by Brampton, to have an account of the Enemy's motions; they'll receive further instructions tomorrow morning." Wade had in fact left Newcastle on the 16th and had reached Hexham on the 17th when, as the roads were almost impassable on account of snow, and as he had learnt of the fall of Carlisle, he returned to Newcastle on the 22nd.

On the fall of Carlisle, all horses found were divided between the bodies of cavalry.

On 22nd November the Prince marched to Penrith and then to Kendal, where he halted, and orders for the 24th-25th gave instructions for the baggage to march "between Pitsligo's Horse and the Hussars which are to have the Rear of all with an Officer of each Regiment." Pitsligo's were the first to enter Manchester, Major Andrew Hay of Rannes riding at the head of them.

From orders issued in Manchester for 30th November-1st December, we learn that, on decamping the next day, Pitsligo's were to bring up the rear and that "An Officer of each Regiment is to keep in the rear with Pitsligo's Horse, and will not quit them until they come to their Quarters."

Whilst the army was in Manchester (where the Prince received his finest welcome in England) a man entered the Bull Head inn and informed the officers of the locally-raised Manchester Regiment that Justice Dukinfield had fled from the city taking a large number of arms with him. After a considerable delay, Lord Pitsligo was given a search warrant, signed by the Prince, with orders to bring in Dukinfield and all arms and horses found, but by the time Pitsligo and what has been described as a party of hussars arrived at the place to which the Justice had fled, the bird was again found to have flown. He was known for his detestation of Jacobites in general and of the Manchester Regiment in particular.<sup>12</sup>

On the 30th November, whilst the army was in Manchester, Laurence Oliphant of Gask, who had been left behind with Lord Strathallan to deal with reinforcements assembling at Perth, was experiencing trouble with a riotous anti-Jacobite mob, in dealing with which 15 recruits for Pitsligo's Horse were involved.<sup>13</sup>

According to Lord Elcho, on 1st December, his own troop of Life Guards, together with Pitsligo's Horse, marched to Altrincham, when

<sup>11</sup> Elcho, 312-3.

<sup>12</sup> Allardyce, Vol. II, 448. *The Prisoners of the '45*. Ed. by Sir Bruce Gordon Seton and Jean Gordon Arnot, 1920, Vol. I, 118-9.

<sup>13</sup> *The Jacobite Lairds of Gask*. By T. L. Kington Oliphant, 1870, 128.



they used the new bridge at Crossford, the rest of the army marching to Macclesfield, at both of which places there were parties of dragoons who retired on the Prince's approach. Orders were issued at Macclesfield for 2nd-3rd December: "The Army decamps tomorrow, at the break of day, from Macclesfield. A Field Officer with 50 horse of Pitsligo's have the Van Guard . . . The rest of Pitsligo's Horse in the rear of all." Similar orders were issued for the following day, at Leek. The strength of the regiment at that time was about 150.

On arrival at Derby, Lord Pitsligo was lodged in the house of a Mr. Meynell, and when it came to the matter of what direction the army should take when leaving the town, at least one of the regiment's officers, Sir William Gordon of Park, was for going to Wales. On the decision being made, orders for "Black Friday" (6th December) contained the information that "The Army decamps tomorrow at break of day . . . Pitsligo's Horse in the rear of the Foot . . . An Officer of each Regiment in the rear with Pitsligo's Horse to bring up their stragglers." On the following day, on leaving Ashbourne, the army was to advance in two divisions, when "Pitsligo's Horse will escort the Quartermasters".

On quitting Ashbourne on the 7th the army marched to Leek, but the town being too small to accommodate them all, Elcho's Troop, Pitsligo's, Roy Stewart's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments went on that night to Macclesfield where the people were expecting the arrival of Wade's army.<sup>14</sup> The next day, still a day ahead of the rest of the army, the party went on to Stockport, in a village near to which, during the night, the country people having been armed, several patrols were fired on and some of the men killed.

Orders for 9th-10th December, issued in Manchester, directed "An Officer and 15 men of Pitsligo's Horse are to patrol in the town and towards the Artillery park, on the road that leads to Crossford Bridge."

On quitting Manchester, O'Sullivan, to quote his own words, "was left to make the retraite, & until the money wou'd be delivered, he had Ld Ogilvy's, John Roy Stuart's Regiments, Ld Pitsligo's horse & part of the Guards with him. The retraite was made without any other danger, then yt of Sullivan being Shot at out of a windor or door, as he retired his last poast."<sup>15</sup> Leaving Preston "Pitsligo's Horse have the van of the Foot," and on reaching Lancaster, "My Lord Pitsligo's Horse will Patrol with an Officer and 12 men until 8 in the morning, on the road of Preston about  $\frac{1}{2}$  a mile from town."

Orders for 14th-15th December contained the information that "The Army decamps tomorrow at break of day from Lancaster. Lord

<sup>14</sup> Elcho, 343.

<sup>15</sup> *1745 and After*, 103-4. Elcho, 344. The money referred to was a tax levied on the town by the Prince and was, according to O'Sullivan, between £2,000 and £3,000. Lord Elcho gives the sum, more specifically at £2,500.

Pitsligo's Horse to assemble at 6 in the morning at the Market place and to escort the Quartermasters". and in the following day's orders, issued at Kendal, "Two Officers and 24 of Lord Pitsligo's Horse are to be in rear with Lord George, the rest of Pitsligo's Horse are to march for the Quarters with Kilmarnock . . . The Detachment of Lord Pitsligo's that is to be in the rear is to assemble at 7 in the morning betwixt the Inn called the Cock and Dolphin and the bridge over against it that leads on the road to Lancaster, where they'll wait Glengarry's Regiment that has the rear of the Foot . . . Lord Pitsligo's Horse are to patrol till the break of day with an Officer and 30 men on the road that leads to Lancaster. The Body of the Detachment are to be betwixt the Bridge and the Inn called the Cock and Dolphin, where half of them may unbridle and refresh the horses, whilst ten of them will patrol behind the bridge on that same road, unto the second great barn or house on the left hand."

In the affair at Clifton, on 18th December, so skilfully carried out by Lord George Murray, the cavalry played a very minor and not too gallant a part. Lord George referred to Pitsligo's Horse, stating that, "When I came to Clifton, I sent off the cannon, and other carriages to Penrith . . . Lord Pitsligo's horse had joined me, so I was in hopes, by scouring these enclosures, to meet with the light horse." Whilst being quietly scathing regarding the conduct of the hussars on this occasion, he contents himself by stating that "Pitsligo's horse and hussars returned to Penrith."<sup>16</sup>

On the departure from Carlisle, Pitsligo's were placed in the centre of the cavalry, all following the foot, but one poor unfortunate of the regiment was left with the ill-fated garrison.

Writing from Penrith on 30th December, the Duke of Cumberland advised the Duke of Newcastle, that, before the recapture of Carlisle he had "offers from two persons of note in the Rebel Army to come off if they can be secured of his Majesty's Pardon. They are Arthur Gordon of Karnousy, Colonel of Pitsligo's horse, and Francis Gordon who acts as Quarter-Master-General. They made their application before the action and are known to Colonel Abercromby of the Royals. I have given them no hopes, but thought it best to acquaint his Majesty with it." Receiving no reply to their offers, the two men perforce continued to serve with the Prince.<sup>17</sup>

After crossing the Esk, on 20th December, some 2,000 men under Lord George Murray marched by Ecclefechan and Moffat, and about 4,000, including Pitsligo's, under the Prince, marched by Annan, at which place a short halt was made, the horse being sent on to take possession of Dumfries which they did next morning, the Prince, with clans, coming up from Annan in the evening.

<sup>16</sup> *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745*. Ed. by Robert Chambers, 1834, 65-8.

<sup>17</sup> *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire*, 205. The action referred to was Cumberland's attack on Carlisle.

On arrival at Glasgow, on the 26th or 27th, the Prince halted there until the 31st. During his stay in the town, where he received a very cool welcome, he held several reviews of his little army, at one of which, on the 30th, it is recorded that all the horse were drawn up behind the foot, at 10 o'clock in the morning, "on the place called the green".

To the relief of the Glaswegians, the Jacobites marched out of the town on 3rd January, 1746, heading for Stirling, leaving at break of day, separating into two columns about a mile out of the town, some of the clans forming one division, under Lord George Murray, most of the rest of the army, including the horse, marching with the second division, under the Prince, Pitsligo's and Kilmarnock's Horse bringing up the rear.

Arriving in the Stirling area on 4th January, Pitsligo's were quartered at Airth, during which time the Orderly Book of Lord Ogilvy's Regiment makes no mention of them whatsoever, but it is well recorded that, in the expedition made by Lord George to Linlithgow, on 13th January, the regiment was included in his party. It was doubtless employed, with the rest of the horse, in patrolling and pursuing the dragoons who approached the town, later covering Lord George's retreat when Hawley's troops were seen to be coming up in force.

At the battle of Falkirk, Pitsligo's Horse were on the extreme left (their strength being given, by Lord Elcho, as 100), but what part it took in the engagement seems not to have been recorded.

In Lord George Murray's ill-advised and fatal retreat, after Falkirk, to Culloden, Lord Pitsligo with his regiment was sent on to Peterhead to secure £4,000 and 2,500 stands of arms which had been landed from a Spanish ship. According to Lord George Murray, a "vast many carriages of arms and military stores had come in a Spanish ship to Peterhead, and were upon the road coming up to us; many of them had come the length of Brechin. Lord Pitsligo was at vast trouble, and we got all that was upon the road carried back to Aberdeen."<sup>18</sup>

On leaving Aberdeen the weather was so bad that Pitsligo's Horse, like those of Kilmarnock's and Balmerino's Troop, "went to nothing", as the march had destroyed their horses. Lord Pitsligo, however, was made Governor of Elgin (for whatever the appointment may have amounted to), his regiment being quartered in the town, which had been entered on 16th March. At some time in February, Lord Pitsligo is known to have spent one night at Cullen, but none of his men were with him.

The defence of the River Spey was entrusted to Lord John Drummond (later joined by the Duke of Perth), and Pitsligo's, in common with the rest of what was left of the horse, came under his command. On 8th April, with the others, they retired to Forres and Nairn, and on the night march on the latter town were in the rear with the other cavalry.

The position occupied by the remnant of Pitsligo's Horse, at

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<sup>18</sup> Elcho, 388. *Jacobite Memoirs*, 101.



Culloden, is hard to place: they are not shown in Lord Elcho's sketch map, Drummond Nories shows them as being in the centre, behind the second line; Hume, in his *History*, places them on the left, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* as on the left centre of the second line. It would seem that the little troop was somewhere in the rear, near the centre.

After the battle, poor old Lord Pitsligo spent a wretched existence and many are the tales told of his adventures, and it is little short of amazing that, at his age, he survived the rigours of his existence. He returned to his home, in the area of which he lurked, often living in caves, visiting his wife in Pitsligo Castle, dressed in rags, and receiving tips from the troops whom he helped in their searches for him. On one occasion he acted as guide to the cave which he was known to be occupying and on another occasion, whilst staying in the house of a tenant, he aided the party sent to search the house, carrying a lantern whilst doing so.

Pitsligo's naturally kind and considerate nature was shown to the full in one instance, when the house in which he was concealed was surrounded by a search party. He hastily hid in a cupboard in the wainscoting behind the bed occupied by Miss Gordon of Towie, who was hard put to it, coughing loudly, to cover the sounds of husky breathing emanating from Lord Pitsligo who was afflicted with asthma. Miss Gordon's bed was examined and her chin felt by a soldier, to ensure that she was not a man.

On the search being given up, and as soon as he could speak, Pitsligo instructed a servant to see that the soldiers, "poor fellows", got some breakfast and warm ale as it was a cold morning, and they were only doing their duty and could bear him no personal ill-will. On being congratulated on his escape, he remarked, "a poor prize had they obtained it, an old dying man."

During his concealment, Lord Pitsligo wrote several religious essays under the title of *Thoughts concerning Man's Condition and duties in this life and his Hopes in the World to come*.<sup>19</sup> This fine old man died on 21st December, 1762, aged 84. All this time he was in hiding, under the name of Mr. Brown, and none of his friends and tenants betrayed him although all recognised him.

James Petrie went into hiding after Culloden, but again took the oath of allegiance to King George, on 14th April, 1748, when he then resumed his practice at the bar in Aberdeen, where he died on 19th October, 1763, aged 61. William Cuming also escaped after Culloden, but in some way he managed to obtain a pardon and succeeded to the estate of Pitullie (which he sold later), dying in Edinburgh in 1799.<sup>20</sup>

Sir William Gordon of Park, after lurking for some time, got away with Lord Strathallan (Master of Strathallan until the death of his father at Culloden), Oliphant of Gask, and others in a Danish ship. He was

<sup>19</sup> *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire*, 382-5.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 377-9, 139-141.

fortunate enough to obtain a lieutenant-colonelcy in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment in the French service. He died at Douai on 5th June, 1751, and was buried in the ramparts of the town.<sup>21</sup>

Arthur Gordon of Carnousie made good his escape to France, where he was granted a "gratification" by King Louis, and died abroad. Andrew Hay of Rannes also took refuge abroad, but returned home eventually and died on 28th August, 1789, aged 76. James Gordon of Glastirem surrendered in the summer of 1746 and died on 22nd February, 1783, aged 64. Ensign James Hay was taken prisoner, but his fate is not known, nor is that of William Forbes.<sup>22</sup>

Thomas Mercer of Achnacant escaped to France and lived in Paris. He is to be found in a 1748 list of pensioners as "Thomas Messer, Garde du corps".<sup>23</sup> He died in 1770. One other who escaped to France and was granted a "gratification" of 1,500 livres, was George Gordon of Hallhead. His wife had suffered much at the hands of the uncouth General Hawley. In February, 1746, he robbed her of every bit of china she had and all bed and table linen, in fact, everything she possessed, and in words attributed to her, Hawley "sent one of his aide-de-camps to me (whose name is Wolf) who after telling me rudely enough that he had a great deal of trouble to find me, said that he had come to let me know that I was deprived of everything but the cloths on my back." This Wolfe was later the victor of Quebec, and it has been said of him that he refused to shoot a wounded Jacobite officer at Culloden.

Captain Andrew Spruel was unfortunate enough to be taken prisoner at Culloden, but at his trial he was acquitted, probably because, at Falkirk, he protected from the fury of the Highlanders the house of Sir Michael Bruce who had raised a company for the Government.

Alexander Irvine of Drum is known to have been at Culloden, but he was not taken and went into hiding, when he led an existence somewhat similar to that of Lord Pitsligo. It is pleasant to be able to record that, on one occasion, whilst he was in hiding at Drum, a party of troops came to apprehend him, approaching quite openly, with drums beating and fifes playing! Some at least of King George's officers seem to have had little liking for the duties with which they were entrusted.

Of those of Pitsligo's Horse known to have been taken prisoner, James Donaldson (servant of Hay of Rannes) was transported; Adam Hay of Asslid, John Lawrence, John Mair, John Reach or Reoch, Donald Ruston and Andrew Spruel were released, discharged, pardoned or acquitted; a Mr. Irving died of wounds; Alexander Reid escaped, and the fates of George Addison, William Gibbon, Ensign James Hay, and Thomas Boston, are unknown.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 281-4. *Jacobite Epilogue*, by Henrietta Tayler, 1941, xi.

<sup>22</sup> *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire*, 206, 430. Allardyce, Vol. II, 611. *Prisoners*, Vol. II, 280-1.

<sup>23</sup> *Persons Concerned*, 367. *Jacobites of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire*, 354.



**ALEXANDER, 4TH LORD FORBES OF PITSLIGO**

From the painting by A. S. Belle, 1720