NEGLECTED SOURCE MATERIALS
ON THE
JACOBITE RISINGS

While conducting research for a new biography of John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, I have come across several manuscript collections containing valuable information on the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745 - material which seems to have been overlooked in the numerous works on Jacobitism that have appeared in recent years.¹

The purpose of this article is to draw attention to this material and where appropriate, briefly summarize the more important items in the collection in the hope that scholars will be encouraged to undertake a detailed study of the originals either in microfilm format or by personally visiting the holding institution.

The first collection comprises the papers of John Calcra (1726-1772), on deposit at Dorset County Records Office.² Deputy Paymaster (1745-1757), Calcra was well known in high political circles, and his correspondence is a rich resource for contemporary events, both domestic and foreign. Of special interest to those engaged in Jacobite studies is Calcra's out-letter book (1745/46), containing letters and notes from General Thomas Wentworth co-commander of the
government forces mobilized against the Highland army, as well as detailed references to Jacobite military movements. Also important is the out-letter book of Henry Fox (Secretary at War, 1746-1754) which contains much material on various aspects of the '45 and its aftermath, including letters describing the trial of Lord Lovat.

Another important resource is the collection of the papers of Edward Weston (Under-secretary, 1729-46; 1761-4) in the Lewis Walpole Library at Farmington, Connecticut. A seasoned professional with extensive connections, Weston devoted much of his correspondence to diplomatic matters, and this material has great value previously because of its confidential and informal nature, because he had access to vital information and because the collection contains letters and dispatches unobtainable elsewhere. Indeed, his papers are an instructive example of how private, political manuscripts can enhance our knowledge of events that Weston and his contemporaries regarded as being of critical importance.

The Farmington collection, which is especially useful for the 1740's and for 1760-1763, is larger than that of the Weston papers held in the British Library or that still in private hands, owned by a descendant, Dr John Weston-Underwood of Mill St. House, Idem Green, Kent, England. Below are listed the more important and interesting items relating to the Jacobite movement.
Vol. I. Papers on the rebellion: two letters from Gen. Ligonier to Weston, concerning the Young Pretender's plan of campaign.


A lengthy, exceptionally valuable letter from the Duke of Cumberland describing the Battle of Culloden, dated: Inverness, April 1746.

Assorted correspondence relating to the rebellion with lists of killed, wounded and prisoners.

Vol. II. Three letters to Townshend and Weston, 1726-8, from Sir Robert Walpole describing the Jacobite intrigues of the Duke of Wharton.


Robert Wightman commenting on rebel movements; divisions within the Jacobite high command, France's position, and the battles of Falkirk and Culloden. Extremely useful.

Vol. IX Intercepted Jacobite correspondence, including papers of the Duke of Ormonde, Oct. 1736-Feb. 1738, concerning his activities on behalf of the Pretender.

112 letters, all original, with a key to the names and places mentioned in the correspondence.

The remaining material is located among the papers of the Campbell family, Earls of Loudoun, on deposit in the Huntington Library, California. Composed by prominent correspondents, including the Countess of Loudoun, the 2nd Earl of Stair, Lord Glenorchy and Colin Lindsay, 3rd Earl of Balcarres among others, the letters in this collection provide perceptive and knowledgeable observations on developments in Scotland during the turbulent period 1715-1717. Specifically the manuscripts illuminate the military aspects of the rebellion and its suppression. They indicate that while Argyll felt confident of dealing with the rebel threat from the North, he declined to advance in that direction partly because his cavalry would be
hampered in the Highlands and partly because he feared the prospect of being attacked from the south. What ultimately proved decisive were Jacobite military blunders - well chronicled here - and the superior military leadership and resources which the royal army enjoyed. The letters also show that the rising 1715, although perhaps triggered by private ambitions - the Earl of Mar’s in particular - was given impetus and sustained by more general discontent with the workings of the Union. It also seems clear from the documents that what dealt a decisive blow to the Jacobite cause was the death of Louis XIV in September 1715, an event which, as Bolingbroke himself agreed “rendered vain and fruitless all we had done.” Plunged into the uncertainties of a regency, France could ill afford rash ventures in European politics and hence proved resistant to the Pretender’s illusory schemes.

Letters to Hugh, 3rd Earl of Loudoun concerning the rebellion of 1715.

1. Correspondent: Campbell, Margaret (Dalrymple), Countess Loudoun (47 letters).

LO 7370-7379 (Sept. - Oct. 1715) - Lord Rothes dispatched to secure Perth. The Pretender sailed from Saint Malo. Preston is to command Edinburgh Castle. Scattered references to the Rebellion and interesting reflections on leading participants. Discontent in many sections of Scottish society with the Act of Union.
LO 7380-7382 - Report of disturbances at Alnwick. Occasional references to the insurrection. Failure of rebels to take Newcastle.

LO 7383-7416 (Oct., Nov., Dec., 1715) Family affairs and social matters. Frequent references to the rebellion, as well as the Earl of Mar; account of operations at Preston; Earl of Mar and Loudoun in the battle of Sheriffmuir; Mar’s army seriously depleted - government forces reinforced by Dutch contingents; preparations for flight of Pretender to France.

II 24 Letters to the 3rd. Earl of Loudoun from the 2nd. Earl of Stair. ⁷

LO 7670-7673 (March 20, 1716 - May 26, 1716) - Activities of the Pretender at Versailles and his relations with the Duke of Orleans. The Earl of Mar’s residence in Paris; measures to pacify the Highlands generally a failure.

64 Letters to the 3rd Earl of Loudoun from Charles Cathcart. ⁸

LO 7935 (Jan. 3, 1716) - Rebels are in a state of despair, low in supplies; little trust in their leaders.

LO 7905 (March 24, 1716) - On measures to complete the pacification of Scotland. Cadogan has entrusted the North coast (Peterhead to Dundee) to Cathcart with 2000 men.
III. 70 Letters to the 3rd. Earl of Loudoun from General Sir James Campbell.

**LO 8092** - Stirling (Jan. 21, 1716) - Artillery being hurried forward/ 26 cannon and 7 mortars. Supply ship has arrived but further artillery expected from London is despaired of for now. Intelligence from Perth that rebels do not number more than 5000-7000 at most. Army is suffering from the cold. The Pretender is at Scone and is reputed to be ill.

**LO 8149** (Jan. 10, 1716) - The Pretender has entered Dundee in company with the Earl of Mar. Evidently had a good reception. He will proceed to Perth. Information on strength of royal ordinance. Royal troops have 18 cannons - some 12 and some 8 pounders, altogether 23 pieces of artillery without the train due from London.

**LO 8124** (Jan. 31, 1716) - Rebels have left Perth for Dundee and Cadogan has marched to occupy Perth with a detachment of Dragoons. Rebels reported to have left 200 men in Perth with orders to burn the town; must be prevented.

**LO 8099** (March 22, 1716) - General Cadogan plans to advance to Inverlochy if the Clans
do not bring in their arms. Lord Balcarres has surrendered to Sir James Campbell; the latter has allowed him to retire to Balcarres because of ill health, but under guard. He will die if put in prison.

**LO 8190** (Aug. 17, 1725) - General Wade's reports that Inverness is pacified and the Highlanders have agreed to deliver their army. The town has also submitted to the malt tax.

IV. **Sir James Campbell (2nd, Baronet) to the 3rd, Earl of Loudoun**, 38 letters.

**LO 8188** (Jan. 26, 1716) - On the rebels at Perth.

**LO 8200** (Jan. 30, 1716) - The rebels have burned houses from Ochterander to Perth.

V. **3 Letters from John Campbell, Lord Glenarchy to the 3rd, Earl of Loudoun.**

**LO 8275** (March 29, 1716) Edinburgh Castle - Was surprised to be summoned to Edinburgh when his loyalty to the King's government was so well established. Unable to come because rebels would have seized him on the way. Notice served on him was too late to permit action within the set time limit of 15 days. He has done all he could to encourage
his followers to support the government. He did come the moment the ground was clear and he prevented possible uprising in Caithness and was not responsible for his father's actions.

LO 8274 (Apr. 12, 1716) - Complains that he received a citation to appear in 15 days after the time limit had expired. Could not come because the Highlands were in rebellion and he would have risked capture. He sent a bond of presentation and bail to Edinburgh, but it came too late to be received. He did all he could to keep the peace as Sheriff and Justiciar of Caithness. The Earl of Sutherland has a prejudice against him, hence he has petitioned the King and appealed to the Duke of Argyll for protection. He is not responsible for the rift between his father and Argyll and he wants Loudoun to help him.

LO 8273 (Apr. 12, 1716) - Complains that he is shut up in Edinburgh Castle despite his innocence. He used his influence to stop his father's tenants from joining the rebels at Perth. He wants Loudoun to convince the government of his loyalty and sincerity instead of appealing on his own behalf. He begs Loudoun to prevent his aged father from being taken to London by sea for trial. He is over eighty years of age.
VI. 26 Letters from Lord Berwick Lord Advocate 1713-1718.

Contain important information on rebel troop movements, military strength and strategy. Also provide vital information on Jacobite intrigues in Sweden and Russia.

VII. 42 Letters from Colin Lindsay, 3rd. Earl of Balcarres.

VIII. 2 Letters from John Campbell, Provost of Skipness.

LO 7778 (July 31, 1715) Edinburgh - The Royal army is now marching toward Perth. The Duke (of Argyll) was at Dunblane Sunday night and was to be yesterday at Ardeth and this night at Tullibardine or Gask. They will probably have to leave their artillery at Stirling. The rebels have summoned all their men from Fife and Dundee; their numbers are uncertain but rebel army not near so strong as at the battle of Dunblane; still, they give out that they will venture a battle. They have already burned Auchterarder and Blackford. Rumours of similar happenings elsewhere remain unconfirmed. He thinks that they will burn Perth and then march northward until supplied with more forces from abroad. Last week a ship with about 50 officers landed at Aberdeen.
IX. 9 Letters from Major James Cathcart to the 3rd Earl of Loudoun.

**LO 7859** (Dec. 28, 1715) - Colonel Campbell of Ffinale has taken two considerable posts, the Castles of Ffinlarig and Callichorne, which threaten Perth and deprive the rebels of resources and strategic centers. Mar left Perth to go and meet the Pretender. The Duke of Argyll is the best of commanders.

**LO 7858** (Jan., 1716) - The state of affairs better at Stirling than when Loudoun left for London. The rebels are drawing together but not in such numbers as was expected from the landing of their king. They have clothing for 3000 and arms in proportion. Our fleet has not prevented one ship from going to them. The Earl of Sutherland has obliged Seaforth to disperse his men and to undertake in writing not to act against the government pending decision at court as to his pardon. Sutherland can prevent the Marquis of Huntlie from joining the rebels as he is superior in numbers. The Duke of Argyll will not make any mistakes at this critical juncture.

**LO 7860** (Jan. 28, 1716) Stirling - Even the common soldiers are pleased with the prospects despite the intense cold. The dragoons from Glasgow and the foot from Linlithgow are headed this way. The rebels should be settled within...
a week - they have burned all barns within 10 miles of Perth and the town of Achterairdoch. The Duke (Argyll) leaves today and we shall all march from Dunblain on Monday morning. It is reported that the Pretender has gone from Troone to Glamis. The rebel force cannot exceed 5000 men. They have marked out a field of battle to meet us upon the Upper Moore within two miles of Perth.

X. One Letter from William, 1st. Earl of Cowper to the 3rd Earl of Loudoun.

LO 8059 (Jan. 12, 1716) House of Lords - Summons to attend as soon as possible the proceedings now pending in this House against several Lords who stand impeached of High Treason.

XI. One Letter from Adam Cunningham to the 3rd. Earl of Loudoun.

LO 8259 (Jan. 1718) - On the return of arms used in the rebellion.

XII. (1715-1717) - 12 letters from William Boyd of Kilmarnock on military developments in the Highlands.

K. W. Schweizer
New Jersey Institute of Technology
Endnotes

1 These include but are not limited to: B. Lenman, The Jacobite Risings in Britain, 1688-1746 (London, 1980); F. McLynn, The Jacobite Army in England (Edinburgh, 1998); P.K. Monod, Jacobitism and the English People, 1688-1788 (Cambridge, 1989); Stuart Reid, 1745: A Military History (Glasgow, 1996); M. Lynch, ed.; Jacobitism and the ’45 (London, 1995).

2 The full address is: Dorset County Record Office, Bridgeport Road, Dorchester, DT1 1RP England.


4 Egerton MSS, 2683-94; Additional MSS. 6808-9, 6823, 6831, 38201-5, 57303-8, 58213, 57927-8.


7 John Dalrymple, 2nd. Earl of Stair (1673-1747) Scottish general and diplomat; was prominent in the War of the Spanish succession as friend and lieutenant of Marlborough; active promoter of the Union; later became field marshal and governor of Minorca.

8 Charles, 8th. Baron Cathcart (1686-1740). Distinguished military officer who played a key role as leader of royal cavalry at Sheriffmuir.

9 John Campbell, 1st Earl of Breadalbane, who joined in the rebellion.