

**THE ALBEMARLE PAPERS, BEING THE  
CORRESPONDENCE OF WILLIAM ANNE,  
SECOND EARL OF ALBEMARLE, COMMANDER-  
IN-CHIEF IN SCOTLAND, 1746-1747. WITH AN  
APPENDIX OF LETTERS FROM ANDREW  
FLETCHER, LORD JUSTICE-CLERK TO THE DUKE  
OF NEWCASTLE, 1746-1748; VOLUME II**

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**CHARLES SANFORD TERRY**

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Photography by Rosen & Kent from the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds

*George Third Earl of Arundell*

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# The Albemarle Papers

BEING THE CORRESPONDENCE OF

WILLIAM ANNE, SECOND EARL OF ALBEMARLE

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN SCOTLAND, 1746-1747

WITH AN APPENDIX OF LETTERS

FROM ANDREW FLETCHER, LORD JUSTICE-CLERK

TO THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, 1746-1748

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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## INTRODUCTION.

WILLIAM ANNE KEPPEL, second Earl of Albemarle, whose military correspondence during the years 1746-47 forms the greater portion of the papers printed in these volumes, was the son of Arnold Joost van Keppel, first Earl of Albemarle, and his wife Geertruid Johanna Quirina van der Duyn. He was born at Whitehall on June 5, 1702, and was baptised at the Chapel Royal, Queen Anne being his godmother. His father also had received abundant tokens of royal favour. As a lad of nineteen years he had accompanied William of Orange to England in 1688 as Page of Honour. Eight years later (1696) he was raised to the Peerage with the titles of Baron Ashford of Ashford in the county of Kent, Viscount Bury of Bury in the county palatine of Lancaster, and Earl of Albemarle, a town and district within the Dukedom of Normandy. He also enjoyed the esteem and friendship of Queen Anne and George the First. Before his death in 1718, his son, the second Earl, who had been educated in Holland, had returned to England and had been gazetted in 1717 to the Coldstream Guards. He was appointed to the colonelcy of that regiment in 1744. Meanwhile in 1742 he had accompanied Lord Stair to Flanders and had been present at both Dettingen and Fontenoy.<sup>1</sup> After four years' absence he returned to England in the autumn of 1745 with the object of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. articles on the first and second Earls of Albemarle in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxxi., pp. 36, 44.

serving as a volunteer under the Duke of Cumberland,<sup>1</sup> at that time confronting the crisis created by Prince Charles's bold march to Derby. Albemarle, who had left Flanders at four hours' warning, was compelled to leave his horses and equipment at Antwerp, and when Cumberland took the field in Scotland in 1746, Albemarle proceeded thither hurriedly with the modest outfit of six shirts, and found himself compelled "to borrow, hire and buy everything in a strange manner" in that country.<sup>2</sup> While Cumberland remained at Aberdeen before his advance to Culloden, Albemarle was placed in command of the advanced post of the army at Strathbogie, "hardly ever pulling off my coat and breeches". On April 8 Cumberland left Aberdeen and on the 11th concentrated his army at Cullen. Albemarle joined him there that day.<sup>3</sup> To the Duke of Newcastle he had already expressed his anxiety for an engagement which "would put an end to this cursed and unnatural rebellion," for otherwise he feared "these villains will Lead us a dance from one bad country to a worse," and he added, "throw y<sup>e</sup> worse people I ever knew; for I protest I prefer y<sup>e</sup> soil to y<sup>e</sup> Inhabitants, for more malice, falsehood, cunning, and self interest was never mett with in any country whatesoever".<sup>4</sup> Anxious though he was for a decisive engagement, it would appear that even on the eve of Culloden Albemarle was doubtful whether Prince Charles's army would venture to meet Cumberland.<sup>5</sup> The victory of April 16, in which he commanded the first line of the Duke's army,<sup>6</sup> proved him incorrect in his anticipations. From Inverness, after the battle, he was ordered to Perth, much to his disgust, to join the Hessian troops under Prince Frederick of Hesse,<sup>7</sup> who had landed at Leith on February 8, 1746. They sailed from Scotland on June 10, 1746,<sup>8</sup> and Albemarle was at once called

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 6.<sup>2</sup> P. 7.<sup>3</sup> P. 3.<sup>4</sup> P. 2.<sup>5</sup> Cf. his letter of 15th April, *supra*, p. 3.<sup>6</sup> *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxxi., p. 44.<sup>7</sup> *Supra*, p. 4.<sup>8</sup> *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 289.



upon to undertake a duty seemingly not less repugnant to him.

The Duke of Cumberland after his victory at Culloden on April 16 had remained at Inverness until May 23, 1746. On that date he marched to Fort Augustus,<sup>1</sup> and on July 18 vacated the command and proceeded to London.<sup>2</sup> General Hawley, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief in Scotland in succession to Sir John Cope, and had been no more successful at Falkirk than his predecessor at Prestonpans, had been allowed to tender his resignation,<sup>3</sup> and to Albemarle's chagrin he was appointed his successor. He had no desire, he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle on June 14, to be left "in this cursed country". "I know y<sup>e</sup> people, I know y<sup>e</sup> country, and that my predecessors have split against a sharpe rock," he explained.<sup>4</sup> Albemarle, in fact, was anxious to accompany Cumberland to Flanders, whither the Duke proceeded at the end of the year. Cumberland, however, refused to entertain Albemarle's objections,<sup>5</sup> and on August 23, 1746, the appointment of the new Commander-in-Chief in Scotland was gazetted.<sup>6</sup>

On August 22, 1746, the Duke of Newcastle directed a despatch to Albemarle urging him in particular to use every endeavour to secure the person of Prince Charles.<sup>7</sup> The letters printed in the first volume sufficiently attest Albemarle's vigilance in that matter. Otherwise his administration was marked by no particular incident. In the somewhat difficult task of maintaining good relations with the civil authorities he appears to have been successful, and to have acted with judgment and tact. He remained at Fort Augustus until August 13, when he proceeded to Edinburgh, and remained there, seemingly in

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 284.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. viii., p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> P. 5.

<sup>5</sup> P. 9.

<sup>6</sup> *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 399.

<sup>7</sup> P. 137, *supra*.

Sir John Cope's house,<sup>1</sup> until he vacated the command and sailed for Flanders on March 6, 1747.<sup>2</sup> At the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) he was sent to Paris as Minister Plenipotentiary, and in the following year he received the Garter. In 1754 he was again despatched upon a mission to Paris, and died there suddenly on December 22 of that year. His son George Viscount Bury succeeded him.<sup>3</sup>

The English army in Scotland under Cumberland's command at Culloden consisted of fifteen battalions of  
The Army in  
Scotland. foot, three regiments of hussars, the Duke of Kingston's horse, the artillery train under Colonel Belford, and some of the Argyllshire militia. The line regiments consisted of: 1st Royal Scots, Midlothian (St. Clair's); 3rd, the Buffs, East Kent (Howard's); 4th, Royal Lancaster (Barrell's); 8th, Liverpool (Wolfe's); 13th, Somersetshire (Pulteney's); 14th, West Yorkshire (Price's); 20th, Lancashire (Bligh's); 21st, Scots Fusiliers, Ayr (Campbell's); 25th, Scottish Borderers (Sempill's); 27th, Inniskilling Fusiliers (Blakeney's); 34th, Border, Carlisle (Cholmondeley's); 36th, Worcestershire (Fleming's); 37th, Hampshire (Munro's later, Dejean's); 48th, Northamptonshire (Ligomer's, later Conway's) and Batereau's. The three regiments of hussars were the 3rd (Bland's); 10th (Cobham's); 11th (Lord Mark Ker's). Cumberland's effective strength in the battle is given officially as 8,811, to which number the infantry battalions furnished 6,411.<sup>4</sup> Four days (April 20) after the Battle of Culloden,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 437, 438.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mr. H. Manners Chichester's article in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, vol. xxxi., p. 44, where the authorities for Albemarle's career are cited. Mr. Chichester has misdated Albemarle's command in Scotland to a period subsequent to 1748.

<sup>4</sup> On this matter, cf. *Notes and Queries*, January, 1901, p. 24; *Blakie, Itinerary*, p. 98; *Home, History of the Rebellion*, p. 229; *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 216.

Skelton's, Handasyde's, Houghton's, and Mordaunt's regiments arrived in transports at Leith and after a few days proceeded to the Moray Firth to join the army at Inverness. At about the same time the Stirling militia were called out to guard the Fords of Frew, while detachments of the Edinburgh militia were stationed along the south bank of the Forth, west of Edinburgh, thereby effectually holding the passes from the Highlands into the Low country.<sup>1</sup>

With so large a force at his disposal Cumberland resolved to follow up his recent victory, and to advance into the heart of the Highland country to inflict punishment upon the clansmen and their Chiefs. On May 23 he marched from Inverness, taking with him Barrell's, Wolfe's, Skelton's, Sackville's, Campbell's Scots Fusiliers, Houghton's, Dejean's, and Conway's foot, with Kingston's horse, and reached Fort Augustus the following day.<sup>2</sup> A week later (May 31) Houghton's regiment occupied Fort William and relieved Guise's regiment, which had withstood the siege of the Fort in the spring.<sup>3</sup> The work of vengeance was at once and rigorously prosecuted. From Fort Augustus parties were sent through the Highland glens. "Wherever these came they left nothing that belonged to the rebels. They burnt all the houses and carried off the cattle."<sup>4</sup> In Appin Campbell's Argyllshire militia were engaged upon the same task.<sup>5</sup> Loudoun's Independent Companies, which had

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. viii., pp. 241, 284. Major-General Bland, with Price's, Howard's, and Cholmondeley's regiments, had preceded the Duke from Inverness on May 16. (*Ibid.*, vol. viii., p. 284.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. viii., p. 286. Guise's regiment proceeded to Berwick. (*Ibid.*, vol. viii., p. 394.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. viii., p. 287. This short sentence is sufficiently expressive. Cf. a letter in *my Rising of 1745*, p. 158, and Bishop Forbes's "Barbarities after Culloden," in Chambers, *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 231. The State Papers in the Record Office contain unpleasant details of Cumberland's orgies.

<sup>5</sup> *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii., p. 241.