

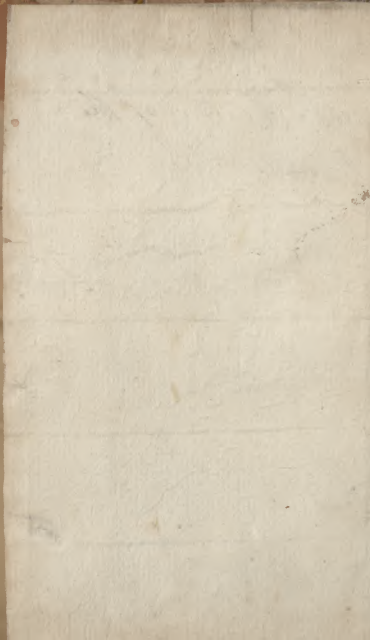


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The History of the
Rebellion

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
RISE, PROGRESS, and EXTINCTION
Of the late
REBELLION
IN
SCOTLAND.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.

EDINBURGH,

Printed for W. GRAY, in the front of the Exchange.

MDCCLIX.

HISTORY

OF THE

ROYAL CANADIAN MOUNTED POLICE

OF CANADA

REVISION

2000

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND



ADVERTISEMENT.

THE design of the following history of the late rebellion, is to give a just account of all the material transactions relating to that important event; in which brevity has been all along studied, and truth told of all men and parties.

But it is impossible, in a country so divided in religious and political sentiments, as G. Britain unhappily is, to write the history of a period, in which every subject was supposed to have taken a side, so as to please every body. Mens opinions differ as much as their faces, and few can bear to have the whole truth told. Truth sometimes wears an unpleasant aspect. It too often happens, that a fact, however great the evidence for it be, will be branded as false, when it is found to contradict a favourite sentiment, or bear hard on a certain party: and it as frequently happens, that a fact will be greedily swallowed without the least evidence to support it, when it serves to gratify a particular humour, or promote a beloved cause. Amidst such divided sentiments, but too prevalent among readers, the author professes the calmest indifference. He is conscious, that he has neither wilfully nor designedly misrepresented a single fact, though he has learned to call things by their proper names. As he flatters himself with the approbation of every lover of his country, every loyal subject; so he disregards the malignant reflections and impotent menaces of Papists and Jacobites, those avowed enemies to the religion and liberty of their native country.

Mean time the author is not ashamed to declare, that he is a Presbyterian, and firmly attached to his Majesty's person and government, the Protestant succession and the Protestant reformed religion, in opposition to a Popish pretender and all his adherents, to Popery, and every other mode of worship which is not derived from a divine source. And he cannot see that
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those persons deserve the name of Protestants, who entertain a favourable or calm opinion of an insurrection, which was plainly designed to dethrone the best of Kings, and set up a Popish pretender, a pensionary of France, Spain, and Rome, those inveterate enemies to the Protestant name and cause; and consequently to overturn the religion and liberty of the British isles, and introduce amongst us all the horrors of arbitrary power, and all the abominations and blasphemies of the church of Rome.

He does not, however, give out this as a complete history of the rebellion. Perhaps several facts of great importance, and worthy to be transmitted to posterity, have been overlooked, or not come to the author's knowledge; and perhaps some mistakes are undesignedly committed, though care has been taken to guard against them. At the same time he is sensible, that this account is extremely defective, as to the transactions posterior to the battle of Culloden, the proceedings of the King's troops in pursuing the remains of the rebels, the behaviour of those fugitives, and of the skulking and escape of the pretended prince.

Of this last sufficient materials are not wanting. But as a much larger and more particular account of this interesting period is intended, all gentlemen, lovers of truth, who are possessed of any original papers or anecdotes relating to the transactions in 1745 and 1746, that will serve to rectify mistakes, supply omissions, or illustrate any particular fact, are earnestly requested to transmit them to the publisher, who will give security for their being returned in a limited time. Proper attention will be given to whatever will throw light on this history. Well-attested accounts of the conduct of the rebels in the different towns and countries through which they passed, and of the proceedings at and after the battle of Culloden, will be particularly acceptable, and received with gratitude.

A N

A C C O U N T

O F T H E

RISE, PROGRESS, and EXTINCTION
of the Rebellion in Scotland in the
years 1745 and 1746.

THE late rebellion in Scotland is one of the most important events that had happened in that kingdom for a long time backward, and was attended with very interesting consequences. Of all the miseries of war, those attendant on a civil war are the most dreadful; for in this baneful strife, countrymen shed the blood of their countrymen, children rise up against their fathers, and those of the same house are divided against each other; laws are silent, justice is banished, violence unrestrained, and an hereditary enmity established amongst the survivors of the common calamity.

At the time when this unhappy event took place, the people of G. Britain enjoyed more liberty than any nation ever possessed; every man had the unmolested privilege of exercising his own religion, and was secure in the possession of his property, through the exercise of law and justice; even the nonjurors met with no disturbance, though their attachment to the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right was no secret, and though they did not pray in their assemblies for the preservati-

on of that monarch and government who allowed them such ample privileges.

The pretender's declared design was, to recover Britain and Ireland, which he had been taught to look upon as his natural inheritance, descending to him by divine hereditary right, and from which he thought himself unjustly excluded ; to redress the grievances of the nation ; to secure to all Protestants their religion and liberties ; to encourage trade and manufactures ; in short, to make us a free, an independent, and a happy people. As this was the purport of his declarations, his friends readily believed him, and resolved to venture life and fortune to accomplish his design. But the body of the nation could not be induced to enter into his views, as they thought the real intention of the enterprise, however speciously coloured, was, to overturn our religion, laws, and liberties ; to place a Popish pretender upon the throne, whose ancestor had made the most vigorous efforts to wreath about our necks the heavy yoke of Popery and arbitrary power ; to dethrone the present king, whose study has ever been the happiness of his people, and under whose government the most bigotted Jacobite, the boldest rebel never had reason to complain of the least violence or oppression ; in fine, to subject us to the see of Rome, and to make our nation a province dependent upon France and Spain.

The plain case was, that the friends of the house of Stuart longed for a revolution in favour of the pretender ; believed it would be a great and glorious work to effect it, and that they would be happy under the new government ; and, consequently, thought no means unlawful that tended to promote their favourite scheme : while, on the other hand, the great body of the nation were well pleased with the revolution-settlement, and determined to oppose every attempt to overturn it, the consequence of which they apprehended would be to entail misery upon the whole kingdom.

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This rebellion, from small and unpromising circumstances, gradually acquired strength, made surprising progress, triumphed over renewed opposition, and seemed to be on the point of succeeding in its aim ; when Providence, by one battle, reached it a mortal blow, by which it was soon extinguished, to the ruin of many of those concerned in the enterprise. We have not yet forgot the depredations and the bloodshed that spoiled and stained those countries through which the rebels passed ; the distress of public credit, the stagnation of trade, the interruption and loss of various branches of our manufactures, and the dismal apprehensions which seized on the minds of all the loyal subjects ; nay, we can never forget the loss of the lives, the blood, and the limbs of those officers and soldiers who died in the defence of our religion and liberties, and who conquered in the famous battle of Culloden ; a battle that will be perpetuated in the annals of time.

The rebellion, no doubt, was suffered to prevail for a time, that its fall might be the greater. It involved many of the actors in ruin, entailed misery upon their descendents, and at once extinguished all their hopes of raising their darling prince to the throne of these kingdoms. Happy would it be, if the remnant and successors of those who were engaged in that rebellion, warned by the unhappy fate of their predecessors, would beware of splitting upon the same fatal rock, by espousing the cause and supporting the interest of a family that seems to be preserved for a scourge to its friends and adherents ; and would learn to submit to the rulers which Providence and the choice of a free people have placed over them.

Of this rebellion several accounts have been lately published, both at home and abroad. But the most part of them are imperfect narratives, full of mistakes. Facts have been misrepresented, and the power of the pathos has been exhausted in laboured descriptions of

scenes of horror, which either never were exhibited, or which will be found to be greatly exaggerated, or may admit of an apology. The actors in the rebellion have been represented as an innocent inoffensive set of men, and their prince as a magnanimous and mild hero, whose good qualities deserve a crown; but the loyal subjects, and the gentlemen of the army, especially the last, have been stigmatized as blood-thirsty devils, and the savage ministers of vengeance, who slaughtered the rebels, and those connected with them, in cool blood, spread fire and sword through their country, and involved them all in one general undistinguished destruction.

To rectify mistakes, to undeceive the simple and unwary, who may be apt to be imposed upon by the artifices of designing men, who write histories, apparently with a view to seduce the people from their loyalty to their lawful sovereign, and to keep up the spirit of rebellion and disaffection; in short, to give a genuine narrative of the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion, is the design of this appendix.

The Chevalier de St George, the real or supposed son of the late K. James II. has two sons, viz. Charles Edward, born Dec. 31. 1721; and Henry Benedict, born March 6. 1725, so called from Pope Benedict XIII. Charles assumes the title of *Prince of Wales*. Henry styled *Duke of York*, entered into the church, and was some years ago raised to the purple by Pope Benedict XIV.

In the year 1743, the late Cardinal Tencin, then prime minister of France, who had been advanced to the purple upon the recommendation of the pretender, did, upon an application from the Papists and Jacobites in G. Britain and Ireland, the known and open adherents to the Stuart family, project an invasion of Britain, in order to restore the pretender to the crown. For this purpose he concerted matters with the old Chevalier at Rome, who, being too far advanced in years
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to engage in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions to his eldest son Charles, who is represented to be a youth of a genteel and graceful person ; of free, generous, affable, and engaging manners ; of a forward, daring, and enterprising spirit ; to have the spirit of a Sobieski, without the timidity of a Stuart ; and though nursed in all the delights of the effeminate country of Italy, to be able to encounter hardship, hunger, and cold. In fact, Charles set out from Rome about the end of December 1743, and arrived in France, where he was graciously received by the French King. He then set out for the coast of Picardy, where an army, consisting of 15 or 16,000 men, was assembling, under the command of the late Count Saxe ; and transports were provided at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, for carrying them to England. It was intended to land them on the coast of Kent, where an insurrection of the Papists and Jacobites in favour of the young pretender, was promised and expected. At the same time a squadron sailed from Brest, to convoy the transports. This intended invasion, however, turned to no account. The Brest squadron, like another invincible armada, fled before the British fleet under the command of Sir John Norris, and had almost shared the same fate. About 7000 French troops were actually embarked at Dunkirk ; but a violent storm drove ashore and destroyed many of the transports, and damaged and disabled the rest. A great many of the troops were drowned, and the rest discouraged. The expedition was then laid aside, and the young adventurer returned to Paris, resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. Happy had it been for him and his deluded followers, had such a supposed opportunity never come ; but that he had immediately retired to Rome, to live under the protection of the Pope, as his father did, upon his disappointment in 1715, without thinking of a crown, which there is no probability he will ever attain.

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This disappointment, however, did not discourage the ambitious adventurer. The splendor of a crown dazzles his eyes, the fallacious hopes of succours from France and Spain animate him, and the warm solicitations of certain malecontents in Britain incite him to try his fortune once more. The animosities and dissensions which prevailed in G. Britain, the great loss our troops sustained in the unfortunate battle at Fontenoy in May 1745, and the false accounts he received, that the nation was ripe for revolt, and would almost to a man assemble to his standard, are all-powerful motives. Perhaps too an overweening confidence in the strength of his own personal interest and qualifications, with the loud clamours of political writers and discontented pretended patriots, who were continually harping upon our national debts and taxes, a continental war, and Hanoverian and other foreign troops in British pay, might be in his view as additional reasons. Certain it is, no opportunity could be more favourable for exciting a rebellion in the kingdom: for Scotland was almost destitute of troops, the King was in Hanover, and great part of the highlanders, a people bred to arms, nursed up in ignorance or Popery, of hardy robust bodies, and greedy of plunder, were keen for insurrection. Perhaps they might be stimulated on this occasion by the suggestions of revenge, for the treatment some of their countrymen had met with two years before. In 1739, the six highland independent companies that had been raised for preventing thefts and robberies in the highlands of Scotland, having, with four new companies, been formed into a regiment, and ordered for London, in order to embark for Flanders; when arrived at London, about 150 of them deserted with their arms, on pretence that they had been decoyed into the service, by promises and assurances that they should never be sent abroad. They were overtaken by a body of horse, persuaded to return, brought back prisoners to London, committed to the tower, and tried for deser-

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tion. Three, viz. Samuel and Malcolm Macphersons corporals, and Farquhar Shaw, a private man, were shot to death, upon the parade within the tower, on the 18th of July 1743; and the rest, to the number of 136, were sent in exile to the plantations. The fate of the sufferers was, 'tis said, deeply resented by the clans to which they belonged; and the highlanders, naturally vindictive, waited impatiently for an opportunity of vengeance.

Towards the end of May 1745, Charles having prepared a manifesto to be dispersed in Britain, and made necessary preparations for his expedition, left Paris, and took the road to Nantz. He was accompanied by William Marquis of Tullibardine, elder brother to James Duke of Athol, who had been attainted for having been engaged in the rebellion in the year 1715; Sir Thomas Sheridan, formerly tutor to the young pretender; Sir John Macdonald; Col. Strickland; Capt. O'Sullivan; Mr George Kelly, a clergyman of the church of England, who had escaped out of the tower of London, as concerned in the Bishop of Rochester's plot; and Mr Æneas Macdonald, a banker at Paris, and brother to Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart.

Having been furnished with money, arms, and ammunition, by two merchants, he, on the 20th of June, set out, with his attendants, from Nantz, in fishing-boats. On the 21st he embarked on board a small vessel of 110 tons and 16 guns, called *La Doutelle*, provided and furnished for him by one of the above-mentioned merchants, said to be one Mr Walsh, an Irish merchant at St Malo's. Next day he set sail out of the river Loire, off St Nazaire, and on the 23d anchored off Belleisle. Here he continued till the 4th of July, when he was joined by the *Elisabeth*, a French man of war of 66 guns, procured, it is said, by the owner of the *Doutelle*, as convoy to that vessel, on pretence of going a voyage of traffick. Both ships sailed on the
5th.

5th. The young pretender was incog. dressed like a student at the Scotch college in Paris, and known only to his seven friends. It is said, that when he was at Nantz, and not till then, he wrote letters to the old Chevalier, and to the Kings of France and Spain, acquainting them of his expedition, and asking succours; and that this was the first intelligence those princes had of his expedition. The accounts, however, of those times assured us, that he received the money and arms from the French King; that the ministry of France were privy to the design, and gave him strong assurances of assistance; that they not only gave him the frigate on board of which he embarked, but ordered the *Elisabeth* to convoy him, which had on board 400,000 l. Sterling, with arms for several thousand men. And indeed it is very improbable, that two private merchants should fit out a frigate at their own expence, and that they should have the address to procure a French ship of the line, as convoy to a paltry frigate.

But be that as it will, the two French ships sailed from Belleisle on the 5th of July, with design to sail round Ireland, and land on the western coast of Scotland. The *Lion*, a British man of war of 58 guns, commanded by Capt. Piercy Brett, who had been one of Lord Anson's lieutenants in his voyage round the world, being then on a cruise, fell in with the two ships on the 9th, about 93 leagues west from the Lizard. The *Lion*, though inferior in strength, yet resolutely bore down upon them, and a very obstinate and bloody action ensued, which lasted five hours. The *Dostelle*, in the beginning of the engagement, twice attempted to rake the *Lion*, but was soon beat off by her sternchace, and after that lay off at a great distance. The *Elisabeth* had her captain and 64 men killed, 136 dangerously wounded, and a greater number slightly; and was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached Brest. The *Lion* had

had 45 men killed and 107 wounded, of whom seven died soon after, and was so terribly shattered that she looked like a wreck; she got, however, safe into Plymouth.

Charles not discouraged at the loss of his convoy, and of the arms and money that were on board her, could not be persuaded to return, but obstinately resolved to sail for Scotland, saying, that he would brave all dangers, and that he should either die or be crowned. Meeting with no further interruption, he, on the 22d, came opposite to Bernera, the southmost of the western islands of Scotland; next day landed at Eriska, between the islands of Bara and South Uist; anchored on the 25th in Lochnanuach, between Arisaig and Morar; and landed on the 28th at Boradale, which borders on Lochnanuach. He went that day to Kinlochmoidart's house, where he was met by young Clanronald, Lochiel, Keppoch, Glenco, &c. Messengers were immediately dispatched to the several clans, to notify the young pretender's arrival, which was expected, and to desire them to raise their men. John Murray of Broughton, afterwards the pretender's secretary, apprised of his landing, joined him at Kinlochmoidart's house, where he found the seven persons who had accompanied him from France, Lochiel, Keppoch, and a few others. Mr Murray, and some of the other gentlemen, endeavoured to dissuade him from proceeding in his intended enterprise, and earnestly advised him to return to France, and wait a more favourable opportunity; telling him, they had no prospect of his succeeding, as the government was alarmed, and making preparations to oppose him.

Deaf to advice, and fired with ambition for a crown, the pretender set up his standard about ten days after Mr Murray joined him, at a place called *Glengary*; and circular letters were wrote to all the clans in his interest, and to others who were thought to be friends to his cause, particularly to Simon Lord Lorat, to ac-

quaint them to bring up their men. In this service Kinlochmoidart and young Clanronald were particularly active. Lochiel's and Keppoch's men were the first that repaired to his standard; others came gradually in; and some, though strongly attached to his interest, stood aloof for a time, waiting the event. It is said, that the pretender having taken his standard in his hand, and the clans shewing an aversion to the service, through fear of the consequences, he threw it down in a passion; declaring, that if none took it up, he would immediately return to France; at the same time telling them, that he had come upon their invitation, and was willing to run any risk with them; that he was in their hand, and they might do with him as they should think proper. Lochiel immediately took up the standard, saying, with some emotion, he should not be the last man to venture life and fortune for the royal house of Stuart.

Rumours of this expedition began to be universally spread in the beginning of July; but, unhappily, the design was treated as a matter of ridicule and mere rumour, both by the loyal and the disaffected.

Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, received the first notice of the intended rebellion on the 2d of July, from the Lord President Forbes, who had received an account of the design the night before in a letter from a gentleman in the highlands. Though both the Lord President and Sir John believed the report to be groundless, the latter wrote of it that very day to the Marquis of Tweeddale, Secretary for Scottish affairs; and desired, that arms might be sent down to be lodged in some of the garrisons in the highlands, for the use of the well-affected clans, in case there should be occasion for them.

On the 24th of July, by virtue of a warrant from the Lord Advocate Craigie, Capt. Duncan Campbell of Inveraw, of Lord John Murray's highland regiment, attempted to apprehend the Duke of Perth at Drummond

mond castle; but he made his escape into the woods, and some time after joined the pretender.

The Marquis of Tweeddale, by letters of July 30. and Aug. 1. informed Gen. Cope, that they had received intelligence of the pretender's son's having sailed from Nantz on the 4th of July; and that 5000 stand of arms were sent down to be lodged in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Inverness; and recommended to his Excellency, in case the Duke of Argyle desired any arms, to deliver them to his Grace immediately.

Of the few troops then in Scotland, there were none in the highlands, except in the garrisons. Had the government acted with proper vigour when they received the first intelligence of Charles's enterprise, by immediately causing all the regular troops march to the highlands, and arming the well-affected clans, they might have crushed the adventure in embryo, before any great number of Papists and Jacobites could have been brought together; and might thereby have prevented all the mischief that happened, and saved the honour of the nation; but the Lords Justices seemed to slight the information, and to treat it as an idle chimera. Perhaps they might think, that a few Scotch highlanders would not be so mad as to take it into their heads, that, without any assistance, they could effect a revolution in Britain; and that even supposing the French should land a few troops in Scotland, they would not be joined by any great number of the inhabitants. They might think, that his Majesty's government, ever since his accession, had been so just and mild, that there could be no discontents in that or any other parts of the kingdom; that even the Papists and nonjurors had been made so easy, and had been allowed so much liberty, with respect to both their civil and religious concerns, that they would not be so wicked and ungrateful as to rebel against a government which had allowed them so much favour and indulgence. But they were unhappily mistaken.

The Papists and Jacobites immediately took up arms against the best of kings and the mildest of governments. Even some who had partook of the royal mercy in a former rebellion, now renewed hostilities; and some who had eat the King's bread, were among the first to lift up their heel against him.

On the 6th of August was published by the Lords of the regency a proclamation offering a reward of 30,000 l. to any person who should seize and secure the eldest son of the pretender, in case he should land, or attempt to land, in any of his Majesty's dominions. About the same time a courier was dispatched to Hanover to hasten the King's return. His Majesty accordingly arrived at Kensington on the 31st, having been huzzaed, in passing through London, with the loudest acclamations, expressing the great joy of the loyal citizens at his Majesty's happy return. The first notice of the young pretender's landing in Scotland, was given in the London gazette of August 17. The pretended prince having got notice of the above-mentioned proclamation, issued a counter one, dated, *Camp at Kinlochiel, Aug. 22. 1745*, pretending to offer a reward of 30,000 l. for apprehending his Majesty, whom he styled *Electer of Hanover*. This daring paper was printed at Edinburgh after the rebels took possession of that city, and was, with some other treasonable manifestos, burnt at London, by the hands of the common hangman, on the 12th of November thereafter, by an order of both houses of parliament.

As it was now too certain that the young pretender was landed in Scotland, that the disaffected clans were crowding to his standard, and that several persons attached to his interest were privately setting out from different parts to join him; Gen. Cope ordered all the troops he could collect to march to Stirling, where a camp was formed, and all military persons to repair to their respective posts. He also took care to have the garrisons reinforced, and supplied with provisions

ons. Two new-levied companies of the Royal Scot^s foot, quartered at Perth, received orders, Aug. 10. to march to Fort William. Having passed Fort Augustus, they fell in, on the 16th, with a strong party of highlanders on their way to join the pretender, commanded by Donald Macdonald of Tyendrish. The party immediately attacked the troops; who, after an obstinate resistance, a retreat of eleven miles, and expending all their powder, were obliged to surrender. They were carried to the rebels camp. The officers, and some of the men, were liberated upon their parole. Capt. Scot went to Fort William, to be cured of his wounds; the other officers and the men came to Edinburgh. Capt. Campbell of Inveraw, with his company of highlanders, having gone the west road, got safe into Fort William.

By this time Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod, two of the most powerful chieftains in the highlands, had offered their service to the government. Macleod wrote to the earl of Loudon on the 13th of August, that if there were a method of sending arms to them by sea, Sir Alexander and he could immediately bring 1500 men to any place they should be ordered; assuring his Lordship, that both of them were ready and willing to exert their utmost efforts in behalf of the government. Their offer was accepted, but the arms were not sent to them in due time for quashing the rebellion. These gentlemen were greatly importuned to declare for the pretender; but they absolutely refused to engage in his cause. It was an unlucky circumstance, that the well-affected highlanders had no arms; otherwise, being the most powerful, they would soon have dispersed the disaffected.

Sir John Cope having received positive orders from London to march north and attack the rebels, as he could muster no more than 1200 foot, many of them but raw troops, he wrote to the Duke of Athol, Lord Glenorchy, only son of the Earl of Breadalbane, and the chiefs

chiefs of the other well-affected clans, requesting their assistance. In their answers they expressed great zeal for the government, and concern that they could not be useful, because their clans were disarmed; and their chiefs conceived that they could not arm without legal authority. In hopes of assistance, however, the General, accompanied by the Earl of Loudon, and a great many officers, set out Aug. 19. from Edinburgh for Stirling, having previously caused a quantity of bread and other provisions be got ready to serve the troops on the march. On the 20th and 21st, all the troops, consisting of infantry only, and not exceeding 1200 men, crossed the Forth by Stirling bridge, with design to march by Tay-bridge to the highlands. Though the General had ground to expect assistance from the Duke of Athol and Lord Glenorchy; and though he promised to discharge at the end of three months certain, or sooner if the service permitted, such of their men as should enlist; yet at Crieff the Duke told him, he could not supply the troops with any men, and expressed great concern about it; and there Lord Glenorchy told him, that the notice he had received was so short, he could not get his men together. The truth seems to be, that though these Lords were heartily in the interest of the government, yet many of their people were attached to the pretender, and means had been used underhand to secure them for him. Of about twenty or thirty men whom the Duke kept as a guard to protect his country from thefts, his Grace got twelve or fifteen to join the army; but, after marching a day or two, they went home again. It was in expectation that a body of the well-affected highlanders would join the regular troops on their march through the highlands, that the march was projected; and Sir John, finding no reason to expect such a junction on the first part of the march, would have stopped at Crieff, if he had not had positive orders to march to the Chain. Lord Loudon was of the same opinion.

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At Dalnacardich Lord Glenorchy offered to send 300 men, if the army would stay there two or three days: but the hurry of the expedition could not admit of delay. Sir John had caused 1000 stand of arms be carried along with his troops; but finding none join him, he sent 700 of them back to Stirling castle.

The little army now marched on by themselves with the greatest chearfulness, desiring nothing more than to come to action with the rebels. At Dalwhinny, where the Fort Augustus and Inverness roads meet, the General was informed, that the rebels were posted on Corryarrich, a noted advantageous pass, seventeen miles distant on the way to the Chain. Here the commanding officers of the several corps were called together, and their opinion asked about what was proper to be done. It was certain, that the rebels were to wait for the King's troops at Corryarrich, where their different parties, from the head of Loch-Lochy, and Lugganauchnadrum, could easily join them. They intended to line the traverses or windings of the road, up the mountain, being seventeen in number; and in these traverses their men would be intrenched to the teeth. They are flanked by a hollow, or water-course, which falls from the top of the mountain; this water-course they intended to line, where their men would be well covered; as likewise numbers of them might be among the rocks, on the top of the hill. They proposed to break down the bridge at Snugburrow, which lifts the roads over a steep precipice, and to place men in two hollow ways, which flank the roads both ways. Several of the officers had formerly marched over that ground, and all of them unanimously agreed, that to force the rebels in that post was utterly impracticable; that it would inevitably be attended with the loss of all their provisions, artillery, military stores, &c. and indeed of the troops; and that the giving the rebels any success upon their first setting out, was by all means to be prevented, as what might be attended with bad consequences

consequences to the service. It was next debated whether they should return to Stirling, or march to Ruthven, and so on to Inverness. The officers were unanimously of opinion, that to return to Stirling was not adviseable; as the rebels could march to Stirling a nearer way than they could, by marching down the side of Loch-Rannoch; that they could get to the bridge of Kynachin before the troops, break it down, and cut off their retreat; that to stay where they were, and thereby pretend to stop their progress southward, was folly; as they could, without coming over Corryarrich, go south, by roads over the mountains. It was therefore determined to march to Inverness.

On the march from Dalwhinny towards Ruthven, the General received a letter, Aug. 27. from the Laird of Grant, giving him full expectation of being joined by a considerable part of that clan. But, on coming into Grant's country, he received a message from him, importing, that his house was threatened by the rebels; that he must therefore keep his men at home, and could not send any to join the army.

Thus Sir John Cope met with a series of disappointments in this ill-fated expedition. It was evidently a wrong measure, and a solecism in politics. The fate of it might have been foreseen, and the consequences happily prevented. The army should not have marched from Stirling; there they could have secured that important pass, and kept the rebels on the northside of the Forth. But Providence seems to have infatuated our measures, that almost all Scotland, with a considerable part of the north of England, might be exposed as a prey to a ravenous banditti.

The army arrived at Inverness Aug. 29. not having rested one day since they set out. Here they were joined by 200 Monroes, under the command of Capt. George Monro of Culcairn. As it was now foreseen that the rebels would march southward, having no
troops

troops to oppose their progress, Sir John made no longer stay at Inverness than was necessary for preparing to march to Aberdeen, where he ordered transports to be ready for carrying the army by sea to Leith. After a hard march, the army arrived at Aberdeen on or before the 8th of September; and having soon after embarked, they put to sea, and arrived off Dunbar, twenty miles east from Edinburgh, on the 16th. The troops were landed on the 17th, and the artillery, &c. on the 18th. Here the General received the astonishing news of the city of Edinburgh being given up to the rebels early in the morning of the 17th. But here we leave the royal army, to trace the progress of the rebels, and the transactions at Edinburgh.

The young pretender, in expectation of Gen. Cope's marching by the hill of Corryarrich, had decamped, in the morning of August 27. from Aberchallader in Glen-gary, with design to fight him. On his arrival at Garvamore in the evening, he learned, that Sir John had taken his route to Ruthven in Badenoch, and had made such dispatch, that in two days he had performed a four days march.

The rebels having now no forces to oppose their progress, and invited by their friends in the south, they did not fail to improve their good fortune. They reached the braes of Athol on the 29th, and arrived at Blair on the 30th; the Duke of Athol, with several gentlemen of Perth and Fyfe, retiring on their approach. In Athol the disaffected people of the country joined the young pretender's standard, and every march drew out the lurking rebels. From Blair the rebels marched to Dunkeld, where the main body arrived Sept. 2. From thence, their advanced guard, under the command of Lord Nairn, proceeded to Perth, which they entered on the 3d. Here the pretender's declarations were read over the cross; here the ensigns of rebellion were formally displayed; and hither the disaffected from all quarters repaired. From this place detachments were

sent to Dundee, where they read the papers formerly read at Perth, levied the public money, ransacked every corner for arms and ammunition, invited the people to join them, and seized whatever could contribute to their success. Parties of them likewise made excursions into different parts of Fife.

At Perth, the young pretender was joined by several of the disaffected nobility and gentry, such as, the Duke of Perth, Lord Strathallan, James Graham of Duntroon, titular Viscount of Dundee, Lord George Murray, Lord Nairn, Sir William Gordon of Park, Sir James Kinloch, Sir John Wedderburn, Mess. Oliphants of Gask, Robert Mercer of Aldie, Mr Hunter of Burnside, and others, with all whom their influence could excite to rise. A demand of 1000 l. Sterling was made upon the town of Perth; one half of which was paid; and for security of the payment of the other moiety, two hostages, with the town's charters, were carried off. The magistrates had fled on the arrival of the rebels.

Before Charles left Perth, his army was said to consist of 4000 men, though scarce 1500 of these were tolerably armed. He marched from Perth to Dunblain, Sept. 11.; proceeded to Down on the 12th; and next day passed the Forth, at the ford of Frew, a few miles above Stirling; the adventurer himself being the first who took the water, and waded through at the head of his corps. Col. Gardiner's dragoons, who were posted near Stirling, retired upon the approach of the rebel-army.

After crossing the Forth, the Chevalier seemed inclinable to direct his march towards Glasgow; but having received repeated invitations from his friends in Edinburgh, he resolved to make the best of his way to that capital. However, as the city of Glasgow had always been distinguished for opposition to the pretender's interest, he sent a letter to the magistrates,
demanding

demanding a contribution of 15,000 l. which demand was afterwards compromised by payment of 5500 l.

Let us now turn our views to what was passing in Edinburgh. From the commencement of these intestine commotions, the magistrates and loyal inhabitants of Edinburgh seemed to be very attentive to every transaction. Archibald Stewart, Esq; then Lord Provost, and member of parliament for the city, had been early apprised of the young pretender's arrival, by a letter from the Marquis of Tweeddale, one of his Majesty's secretaries of state, dated Aug. 13. in which it had been warmly recommended to him to exert his utmost efforts for preserving the public peace within the city; and his Lordship, by his answer, dated Aug. 17. assured the Marquis that the town was never better affected, nor more peaceable, than at that time; promising not to sit down in security, but to keep a watchful eye to prevent any public disturbance. On the 7th of September, the magistrates and council agreed on a loyal address to the King, which was presented by the Duke of Argyll on the 11th, and graciously received. And though the far greater part of the inhabitants were zealously attached to his Majesty's person and government; yet it was certain the pretender had many friends in the city, who lay as a dead weight upon every vigorous and spirited measure that was projected. It is not necessary to give a detail of all the steps taken for defending the city; but only to glance at the most material.

As it was foreseen, that if the royal army should be defeated in the north, or the rebels should force their way down to the low country, the latter would bend their force toward Edinburgh; the loyal inhabitants of that capital began, towards the end of August, to provide for their security against a surprise. A noble spirit of loyalty was displayed, and the loyal of every denomination were unanimous in their opposition to Charles's interest. And had this spirit been encourag-

ged by those at the helm, the city would not have been so tamely delivered up to a handful of naked and unarmed highlanders, as we shall afterwards see. A subscription was opened for raising a regiment of 1000 men for the public service, and the measure was authorised by his Majesty; the city-guard was augmented; a regiment of volunteers, consisting of the chief gentlemen of the city, in which were some of the clergy, and persons who had bore the office of magistracy, was formed; and the Seceders, whose loyalty is unquestionable, formed a separate corps, consisting of near 300 men. All the volunteers were furnished with arms and ammunition from the royal magazine in the castle; they began to learn military exercise, and to prepare for a time of danger. The trained bands too, consisting of a mixed multitude, of Whigs and Jacobites, kept guard in the city; the city-walls were repaired in several places, and provided with cannon; barricades were erected at the gates, where danger was apprehended; and every disposition was made for a vigorous defence. It must not, however, be forgot, that the disaffected opposed every proposal for the public service, and that the disaffection or timidity of some people at last disconcerted all the formidable preparations that had been made. In short, the city was in a short space so well fortified, and provided with such a number of armed men, that it might have held out for a few days against an unarmed rabble, who had not a single cannon, if those at the helm had done their duty. But, to their lasting dishonour, the capital of Scotland was, by some unaccountable management, or strange fatality, given up to a handful of starved savages, without stroke of sword.

By the 15th of September the rebels had got within nine miles of Edinburgh, and Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons were posted about two miles west of it. It was thought the rebels would have advanced that day to attack the dragoons; and a proposal was made by

by some of the volunteers to march out, with a detachment of the Edinburgh regiment and the city-guard, in order to support them; but this proposal was not carried into execution; for which the Provost was blamed. A party of the city-guard and Edinburgh regiment, however, went out that day and the following. The 15th, being the Lord's day, the city was in great confusion, public worship was suspended, and the volunteers were under arms all day. A strong party, consisting of 700 men, did duty during the night.

Next day, Monday the 16th, the public works were carried on with alacrity, all the volunteers were under arms, and every loyal inhabitant expressed the utmost zeal for defending the city, if the rebels should attack it. But, about mid-day, the preparations began to be suspended, and all the zeal for a vigorous defence to cool, on the part of those whose province it was to regulate and direct the public affairs. About two o'clock, too, a petition was set on foot, by certain timid or disaffected persons in the city, to which forty-eight subscriptions were clandestinely procured, and presented to the Provost about three, praying the magistrates and council to call a meeting of the principal inhabitants, in order to deliberate about defending or giving up the town; and that no resolution should be taken till that meeting were held. About this time the dragoons, who had been posted about Corstorphine and the Colt-bridge, on the approach of the rebels, marched off by the back of the city, taking the route of Musselburgh and Haddington; and their baggage and tents were carried into the castle, and part of it sent after them. About the same time too the ministers of state left the city, rightly judging that all the parade of preparations for defending the town would come to nothing when the hour of danger arrived.

The flight of the dragoons, and the retiring of the officers

officers of the crown, were, however, made a handle of for pushing the meeting desired by the aforementioned petition. The meeting was accordingly held in the New church isle, and the Provost presided in it. Though several persons of known good affection to his Majesty's person and government were present, yet the far greater part were of a quite contrary character, and care had been taken to get the whole posse of the disaffected heritors convened on this occasion. The general cry in this confused assembly was for giving up the city without any defence; and those who attempted to speak in opposition to that measure, were borne down with clamour and noise. The plain case was, the disaffected composed the far greater part of this meeting, and patriotism was sacrificed to Jacobinism. The gentlemen volontiers were in arms, and knew nothing of the meeting; and when they heard of it, they were highly displeased. Nay, so bent were the bulk of this tumultuous assembly to give up the town to the rebels, that an offer of a party of dragoons to assist in defending the city, was treated with ridicule, and the general cry was, *No dragoons*; and the Provost, who had that very day signed a petition along with the Lord Advocate, craving them, said now, that he would neither bid nor forbid them, and that Gen. Gueff, who commanded in the castle, might do in that matter as he thought proper. In short, the result of this meeting was, to capitulate on the best terms that could be got, and that the volontiers should deliver their arms into the castle.

At the same time that the disaffected citizens were carrying all before them at the meeting in the New church isle, their agents were no less active upon the streets, running up and down, to intimidate the inhabitants, and spreading their malignant counsels from house to house; so that the whole inhabitants were put into as great confusion and terror, as if an army of cut-throats had entered the city, and were massacring all

all who fell in their way. The volunteers, who had resolved to risk their lives in defence of their native city, being informed of the result of the cabal in the New church, and the general consternation occasioned by the prevalence of Jacobite counsels, saw now plainly, that it was in vain to think of defending a place, of which its governors had abandoned the care. Should they persist in their patriotic resolution, they had none to head or direct them; and should they unite in a body, and take the government of the city into their own hands, they would be treated as disturbers of the peace, and might in the issue be punished as such. If they should defend the city, the disaffected citizens might betray them, and open a way for their friends, the highland rout. They had then no other course left, but to deliver their arms into the castle, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels: and this they did with the utmost reluctance, and with heavy complaints against the governors of the city, who, seduced by Jacobitish counsels, had deserted the defence of the city, upon the appearance only of danger.

And so infatuated were the managers, that no care was taken to remove or nail up the cannon on the city-walls, or secure the arms belonging to the city, then in the hands of the city-guard, and trained bands: so that they all fell into the hands of the rebels, and laid the foundation of all the mischief that afterwards happened. Nay, a proposal of delivering the cannon and city-arms into the castle, was rejected, on pretence that if they were removed, the young pretender would wreak his resentment upon the city.

At the close of the cabal in the New church, some of the disaffected citizens who carried on a correspondence with the rebels, clandestinely handed in a letter from the young Chevalier, addressed, *For the Lord Provost, Magistrate, and Town Council of Edinburgh*, signed CHARLES, P. R. and dated, *From our camp, this 16th September 1745*, in the following words.

“ Being

“ Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of his Majesty’s ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the town-council, and take proper measures in it for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But if you suffer any of the usurper’s troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition now in it, whether belonging to the public, or to private persons, to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a hainous offence against the King and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of his Majesty’s subjects: but if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city; and in that case, if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war.”——This letter, for certain political reasons, was not read in the public meeting; but the Lord Provost and Magistrates having retired to the goldsmiths hall, it was there read. And here it was agreed, in consequence of what had passed in the New church, to send a deputation to Charles, then at Gray’s mill, within two miles of the city. Four gentlemen accordingly went, and brought back an answer in writing, as follows. “ His R. H. the Prince-Regent thinks his manifesto, and the King his father’s declaration, already published, are a sufficient capitulation for all his Majesty’s subjects to accept of with joy. His present demands are, to be received into the city as the son and representative of the King his father, and obeyed as such when he is there. His R. H. supposes, that since the receipt of his letter to the Provost, no arms or ammunition have been suffered

ed to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. Lastly, he expects a positive answer to this before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he will think himself obliged to take measures conform."

After the four deputies were sent out, certain notice was brought to the town-council, that Sir John Cope, with all the troops under his command, was arrived off Dunbar, and would speedily march towards the city. It was then urged, that the defence of the city should be resumed, as there was so near a prospect of relief. But it was alledged, that the intelligence was too late, and that they had come to a resolution to capitulate, and had sent a deputation for that purpose. It was then proposed to send after the deputies to bring them back; which was accordingly done; but the person sent did not overtake them. And about the same time, two of the officers of the volunteers came to the council-chamber, and insisted that the scheme of defending the town should be resumed, and proposed the ringing of the alarm-bell, as a signal to bring every body back to their posts. To this proposal the Lord Provost made several objections; but at last, in appearance, yielded to the motion for defending the town, provided Gen. Guest would agree to let them have arms from the castle. This the General, when applied to, cheerfully promised; and at the same time proposed, that the city-arms should be put into the hands of the well-affected. A wise proposal for it had been a foolish measure from the beginning to call out and arm the trained bands, many of whom were well known to be professed Jacobites, and therefore very improper persons to be trusted with the defence of the city against the pretender.

When Gen. Guest's answer was reported to the council, the person who brought it was told, That as the person who had been sent to bring back the deputies had not come up with them, the Provost and coun-

cil, as they had entered upon a treaty, had come to a resolution not to defend the town. Thus, though a body of regular forces had come within twenty miles of the city, yet its governors would not take one step to defend it till they should arrive. A shrewd evidence of dastardly cowardice, or something worse.

After receiving the young adventurer's answer to the first deputation, the council agreed to send out a second, in order, if possible, to gain some more time. These second deputies also brought an answer in writing, as follows. "His R. H. has already given all the assurances he can, that he intends to exact nothing of the city in general, nor of any in particular, but what his character of Regent intitles him to. This he repeats, and renews his summons to the magistrates to receive him as such."

This second deputation returned to the city early in the morning of Tuesday September 17. in a hackney-coach. The coach had entered the town at the West port, and after setting down the deputies at a tavern, where the Lord Provost and others of the council were waiting for them, drove down the street towards the Canongate. A serjeant's command of the city-guard was posted at the Netherbow port, who, upon the coming down of the coach, immediately opened the gate to let it pass. No sooner was this done, than a body of 900 highlanders, headed by Sullivan and Lochiel, rushed in at the gate, took possession of the main guard, disarming the soldiers, and placed guards at all the gates, and at the weigh-house, &c. The Lord Provost, and the rest of the council, on notice of this event, immediately retired to their several apartments, their authority being now at an end.

The pretended prince, keen to possess himself of Edinburgh, though he had got particular information of all the proceedings in the city, and knew very well that the design of opposing his entry was laid aside; yet,

yet, apprehensive of a change of measures in the morning, when the news of Gen. Cope's arrival should be spread through the city, which was known only to a few the evening of the 16th, resolved early to surprise the town. For this purpose he sent the detachment already mentioned, to seize on the Netherbow gate. It was said, that this party brought some barrels of powder along with them, in order to have blown up the gate, if entrance should be refused. But we have seen, that they got access without resistance: Perhaps some of their friends were among the guard at that gate, and not averse to admit the party. For it is hardly credible, that 900 men should come in a body to the gate, in a clear moon-light night, without being heard or discovered. This detachment was said to consist of the choice of the rebels, and to be the best armed. Yet when the volunteers and well-affected took a view of them in the morning, and observed that not one half of them had muskets, and that their best arms consisted of old rusty broad swords, and most of the men half-naked, they were filled with indignation, to see the city of Edinburgh so cowardly or basely given up to a highland rabble.

About noon, the main body of the rebels came into the King's park, by the way of Duddingston, having made a pretty large circuit, to avoid being within reach of the castle-guns. Charles, their prince, in highland dress, attended by the Duke of Perth, and David Lord Elcho, eldest son of the earl of Wemyss, made his entrance, through St Anne's yard, on horseback into the royal palace of Holyroodhouse. There was a vast croud of spectators, most of them Jacobites, or idle people, who saluted the adventurer with loud shouts and huzza's; and those who did not join in the frantic acclamations, were insulted and maltreated. Many of the highlanders, who guarded the pretended Prince, were grayheaded, slooped through age, and were in general ill armed.

The detachment that entered the city in the morning, had secured the heralds, pursuivants, &c. and, about one o'clock after noon, they were carried to the cross in their formalities, where they read, with sound of trumpet, the pretender's papers. This solemnity was accompanied with loud shouts on the part of the Jacobites, who crowded round the cross on this occasion. A few, of a contrary character, who witnessed the proclamation with grief of heart, were insulted. And it was observed, that several of the trained bands, who had been in arms the day before to oppose the rebels, now joined in the huzza's.

" Thus (to use the words of a certain writer) was the city of Edinburgh, which had, in their address to the King of the 7th of this very month, said, with great truth, " That this city had always distinguished itself by a firm and steady attachment to Revolution and Whig principles, and a hearty abhorrence of all Popish and arbitrary government; and particularly, that, during the rebellion in the year 1715, their zeal for his late Majesty was equalled by few, and surpassed by none; and at the same time assured his present Majesty, that at this time they would stand by him with their lives and fortunes, and employ every power they were possessed of, and all the means his Majesty should put in their hands, to disappoint the attempts of France and the pretender;" this city, which had given so many reasons to expect better things of it, was, after mighty preparations for a vigorous defence, thus poorly delivered up, without striking one blow, to an half-armed rabble, at the time when the King's army was within a day's march of the city; to the great discredit and reproach of the city itself, in the eyes of the world, who were ignorant of the particular circumstances and causes of so strange an appearance; to the hearty grief and sorrow of all its well-affected inhabitants, who are by far the greatest part of them; to the triumph of the pretender's son and his adherents;

to the ruin of many unfortunate persons, who, by this appearance of success, were encouraged to engage in the rebellion; to the real and high detriment, not of the city itself only, but of the public, (the rebels by this capture having been there furnished with arms, tents, and provisions of all kinds, which contributed chiefly to their obtaining the victory at Prestonpans a few days after; and that again to the continuance and further progress of the rebellion); to the immense addition to the expence of the public, the great interruption of commerce and credit, the progress of his Majesty's enemies abroad, and the interruption of the internal tranquillity of his kingdom, until that was happily restored by the conduct and success of his R. H. the Duke."

But to proceed: The rebels, immediately after taking the city, seized all the cannon, arms, and ammunition belonging to it; on the 18th they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons in the county of Edinburgh, forthwith to deliver up, at the palace of Holyroodhouse, all the arms and ammunition they had in their custody, on pain of being treated as rebels; and on the 19th they sent a written message to the city of Edinburgh, requiring, on pain of military execution, that 1000 tents, 2000 targets, 6000 pairs of shoes, and a proportionable number of water-cantines, should be furnished to their army by the 23d, and promising payment as soon as the present troubles should be over. All these were accordingly furnished; and for defraying the charge, a tax of 2 s. 6 d. was laid on each pound of real rent within the city, Canongate, and Leith. And about the same time some printers were compelled to print several papers for them; though one Drummond had shewn his inclination to favour their cause, by printing the old pretender's declaration and commission of regency, and the young one's manifesto, about a month before their arrival in Edinburgh; though, upon search, he was not detected.

Though

Though Charles, by the capture of Edinburgh, reaped vast advantages, raised his reputation, and acquired many friends; yet he missed a great booty, which he had cast a wishful eye upon. That was the treasure belonging to the two banks, which had been previously conveyed into the castle; as had also been the cash, plate, and most valuable effects of many private persons.

The loyal inhabitants of Edinburgh expressed the utmost uneasiness at their new guests, and groaned for deliverance. Trade and manufactures were interrupted, and few of the principal inhabitants (for many had fled) could appear openly. The news of Sir John Cope's arrival, therefore, raised their spirits, and gave them the pleasing hope of a speedy extinction of this unnatural rebellion. Unhappily, however, their hopes were frustrated; nay, their case was rendered more dismal than ever. Brig. Fowke, who had arrived at Edinburgh from London on the 15th, marched next day with the dragoons eastward, in order to join Gen. Cope, who arrived off Dunbar the same day. The troops landed on the 17th; and the artillery, *&c.* on the 18th. The army marched towards Edinburgh on the 19th, and was joined by the two regiments of dragoons; by which junction it was near 2200 strong. Several of the Edinburgh volunteers, and gentlemen of that city, also joined them. The rebel-army, who had lain incamped at Duddingston, a mile east of Edinburgh, marched off in the morning of the 20th, with Charles at their head, in order to meet the royal army; and at the same time, the party in Edinburgh entirely evacuated the city, and followed the main body. Towards night the two armies came in sight of each other, and both sent out reconnoitring parties. Next morning, Saturday the 21st, they came to an action, a little to the north of Tranent, to the east of Preston, and to the west of Seton, about seven miles east of Edinburgh. It is not necessary to give any la-
boured

boured description of this action, though its consequences were of the last importance. The rebels began the attack, and with such impetuosity, that in about eight minutes from the commencement of the action, the King's army was totally routed, and drove from the field of battle. A sudden and unaccountable panic seized the two regiments of dragoons, who fled with great precipitation at the first onset; and the infantry being thus basely deserted, though they fought manfully for some time, in opposition to the rude attack of the highlanders, yet were soon forced to give way to the overbearing torrent, and, in a panic, threw down their arms, and took to their heels. Several efforts were made to rally both the dragoons and the foot; but in vain: the panic extinguished all remains of honour and courage. The most part of the infantry were killed or taken prisoners; and the rebels made themselves masters of all the royal colours, artillery, tents, baggage, and military chest, in which, it was said, they found 4000 l. The rebel army consisted of 5500 effective men, as they themselves afterwards owned, though they gave out that 2000 only were in the action, which number they afterwards diminished to 1456. They said their loss consisted of four officers and 30 private men killed, and one officer and about 70 or 80 men wounded. And they computed the loss of the king's army at 500 men killed, 900 wounded, and 1400 taken prisoners: A calculation altogether incredible; for, according to the most authentic accounts, the royal army consisted but of 2200 men; and of these about 450 dragoons escaped in a body, as did also several scattered parties both of the dragoons and infantry. So that the whole number killed, wounded, and prisoners, could not exceed 1500. And of these, it may well be believed, 500 at least were killed on the field of battle, by the blood-thirsty highlanders, who massacred and cut in pieces many of the unhappy soldiers after they had fallen or surrendered. The brave Col.

Gardiner,

Gardiner, with five captains, and one ensign, were killed, and a great number of officers taken prisoners. None fell more lamented than Col. Gardiner, a worthy man and a gallant officer, who would not purchase life at the expence of his honour. When basely deserted by his own regiment, he alighted from his horse, repaired to the infantry, and fought on foot till he fell covered with wounds, almost in sight of Bankton, his own house.

Sir John Cope, the Earls of Home and Loudon, Brig. Fowke, Col. Lascelles, and other officers, with some of the volunteers, and about 450 dragoons, retired in good order from the field of battle, got to Coldstream and Cornhill in the evening, and next day arrived at Berwick. And some scattered parties escaped to different places.

Such was the fate of this unfortunate battle, that the King's army, by whom deliverance from the yoke of the oppressor was ardently expected, was, as it were in a moment, annihilated, and the whole kingdom of Scotland doomed to submit to the lawless government of a pretended prince, at the head of a band of ravenous mountaineers.

Gen. Cope's conduct was loudly censured; but when inquired into by a board of general officers, it was found unblameable; and the loss of the action imputed to the shameful behaviour of the private men. And it is no enthusiasm to say, that the God of armies, who superintends all events, did not yet think fit to crown the cause of righteousness with victory, but reserved the honour of Britain's deliverance to another instrument; while he suffered rebellion to ride triumphant for a season, that its fall, at the appointed time, might be the greater and the more terrible.

Scotland must now submit to the arbitrary sway of a foreign pretender; and though the people dared not openly to speak their minds, the body of the nation

were

were enemies to his interest, and his arbitrary proceedings tended to confirm them in their loyalty to their lawful sovereign the mildness and equity of whose government they had experienced for a great number of years.

Charles, indeed, bore his prosperity with some shew of moderation, in order to ingratiate himself with the people, and procure followers. The evening of the battle he lay at Pinkie, and next night returned to Holyroodhouse; and his army incamped again at Duddingston. He still continued, however, to keep guard in the city as formerly; by which means many shops were shut, and almost all manufactures suspended, to the great loss of tradesmen and poor people, many of whom were reduced to the greatest indigency.

All the prisoners taken at Preston were brought to Edinburgh. The officers were liberate upon their parole, not to depart from the city, nor correspond with the enemies of the Chevalier; the private men were confined in the churches and prisons; and the wounded men who had escaped the carnage in the field of battle, were sent to the infirmary. All means were used to induce the officers to engage in the pretender's service; but they declined it to a man. A few rascally serjeants, corporals, and private men, were however prevailed on to enlist; but most of them afterwards deserted. The officers were afterwards sent into Fife and Angus, and the private men to Logierate in Athol. About 70 or 80 of Loudon's highland regiment, having engaged never to serve against the house of Stuart, were allowed to depart to their respective countries.

In the evening of the 21st, the day of the aforementioned battle, a message was sent by the young pretender to the dwelling-houses of the ministers of Edinburgh, desiring them to continue public worship as usual. The bells were accordingly rung next morning, the Lord's day; but none of the ministers appeared;

so that there was sermon in none of the churches, while the nonjurant meeting-houses, those nurseries of disaffection and rebellion, were crowded. And indeed, during the time of the prevalence of the highland government at Edinburgh, none of the ministers preached in the churches, some of them having fled, and the rest skulked. It was surely a very wrong measure in the clergy, thus to desert their flocks without necessity, and leave them a prey to seducers. A contrary practice prevailed among the primitive teachers of Christianity, who, with undaunted courage, preached the gospel of their Lord and Master, in the midst of threatenings, dangers, nay, death, when arrayed in its most terrible form. *When ye are persecuted in one city, says the Saviour, flee to another.* This plainly imports, that they were not to be deterred from the ministerial office by the menaces of their adversaries, or shrink from their duty by the apprehension of danger: no; they were to confess their Master in the worst of times, and publish his doctrines amidst the hottest rage of their idolatrous foes. They were forewarned of persecution, previously apprised of the most cruel tortures; and when actually persecuted in one place, they were to fly to another; but not to fly without cause, upon the mere appearance of danger. The Edinburgh ministers ought, upon this occasion, to have mounted their pulpits with a brave resolution, and warned their people against engaging in the service of a Popish pretender, against embarking in his religion, or confederating with his adherents; to have prayed as formerly, in express terms, for their only lawful and rightful sovereign K. GEORGE, and the preservation of his throne and family; and for defeating the designs of a Popish pretender, and of all his adherents; in fine, to have warmly preached the gospel, as times of danger may, through the divine blessing, prove happy means of awakening a secure and sinful people to a due consideration of their ways. Thus our clergy should have acted, not merely by

by virtue of any connivance and toleration of the then arbitrary governors, but from a sense of duty, out of regard to the authority of the Master of Assemblies; and if, for doing their duty, they were seized and imprisoned, they suffered in a good cause, and the Lord would support them in their distress. But to relinquish the exercise of their office upon the bare appearance of danger, to fly from their houses, and so to leave their people exposed a prey to the arts of designing men, under temptation to profane the Lord's day in idleness or sinful recreations, or perhaps to resort to conjurant meeting-houses, is such a blot upon their character as will not be soon wiped off. A sad evidence of the want of faith, and of adding to that faith virtue. The ministers of the West kirk, however, were not such cowards as their brethren of the city; for they preached every Lord's day to crowded audiences, prayed for his Majesty, and warmly recommended loyalty, even in the face of some straggling highlanders: and that worthy man, Mr Macvicar, gave a distinguishing specimen of a benevolent disposition, in praying, that the Lord would not give the pretender the crown of Britain, but, of his infinite mercy, give him a heavenly crown; a form of prayer, with which the young pretender was no way displeased.

The further proceedings of the rebels while in Edinburgh, to the time of their marching to England, shall now be briefly related. On the 23d of September, the second day after the unhappy battle of Preston, Charles issued a proclamation, forbidding any outward demonstrations of public joy on account of the late victory, in regard it had been obtained by the effusion of blood, and had involved many unfortunate people in great calamity; admonishing all his friends to return thanks to God for his goodness towards them; and concluding with these words: "And we hereby again repeat what we have so often declared, that no interruption shall be given to public worship; but, on

the contrary, all protection to those concerned in it : and if, notwithstanding hereof, any shall be found neglecting their duty in that particular, let the blame lie entirely at their own door, as we are resolved to inflict no penalty that may possibly look like persecution."

Hitherto the pretended prince behaved with some moderation ; but his unexpected success soon induced him to pursue those arbitrary measures, so natural to his ancestors. The very day after the last-mentioned proclamation, he issued a new one, narrating, That whereas he was informed, that several persons in and about Edinburgh, as well clergy as laity, did associate and take up arms against him, and that many of them had fled from their houses, to avoid prosecutions ; he therefore granted a full pardon to such persons for all treasons committed by them before publication of the proclamation, provided that within twenty days they presented themselves to his secretary, and promised to live for the future as quiet and peaceable subjects. In consequence of this proclamation, five or six of the voluntiers presented themselves, others absconded, and far the greater part continued peaceably about their business, without regarding rebel-proclamations. It was not a proper season for a prince in quest of a crown, to begin his reign with blood and cruelty. The disposition to revenge must be repressed, till the season of glutting it to the full arrive.

We have already mentioned that the two banks had been removed into the castle. The rebels were not a little vexed at this step ; and therefore, on the 24th, a proclamation was issued by Charles, in which, upon a narrative, That great inconveniencies had attended the removal of the two banks into the castle, and from an opinion industriously spread, as if he intended to seize on money where-ever it was to be found ; he declared, that the money lodged in the banks should be quite secure under his protection, and free from all contribution to be exacted by him in any time coming.

so that the banks might return to their former business with safety; and that he himself should contribute so far in the re-establishment of public credit, as to receive and issue bank notes in payments. But neither of the banks were so simple as to be gulled with fair promises. Some time after, however, a demand was made of a considerable sum in payment of notes which the Chevalier was possessed of; and the directors were obliged, by threatenings of military execution, to provide the money.

As the bulk of Charles's army was composed of persons collected from the wildest and most savage parts of the highlands of Scotland; of persons who had upon all occasions been addicted to rob and plunder the low country; of people in poor circumstances, slaves to their chiefs, and bred up in Popery, or wretched ignorance of the blessings of civil liberty; so it is natural to suppose, that such a gang, when once in possession of an opulent city, and a fertile country, would be apt to plunder where-ever they could find booty. Accordingly divers robberies and burglaries were committed. Persons were robbed on the streets, and houses broken under cloud of night; so that it became unsafe to walk the streets, except in the day-time, and in the most frequented places: and these irregularities were not only committed in Edinburgh and the suburbs; but strolling parties were guilty of the like disorders in many places of the country: so that people groaned by reason of oppression. Proclamations were indeed issued by the pretender for preventing thefts and robberies: but these were not effectual to prevent the evil; and it was pretended that people who did not belong to the rebel-rout, were the most criminal actors. This might be true in a few instances; but it is certain, that many of the highlanders, and even some of their officers, from a strong itch for money, were guilty of divers robberies. Some of them, however, were very moderate in their demands. They would some-
times

times present their piece ; and, upon being asked what they wanted, answer, " A penny or twopence ;" with which they would rest satisfied ; and sometimes a pinch of snuff would please them. They tell a story of a Quaker gentleman, who being robbed of a considerable sum in money and effects, and having complained to the pretender of his loss, he added, " George takes but a part ; but thou, Charles, takest all." This speech occasioned a smile ; but the poor gentleman never recovered his loss.

Besides what money the rebels could collect by pilferings and sinings, (the famous practice of the royal brothers in the last century), their chief caused letters to be sent to the following persons, ordering them to repair to his secretary's office at Holyroodhouse, viz. to the magistrates of boroughs, in order to have the contributions paid by their respective towns ascertained ; to the collectors of the land-tax, the collectors and comptrollers of the customs and excise, and the factors on the forfeited estates, in order to produce their books, and to pay the balances due by them ; and threatening them, in case of refusal, with being treated as rebels. Great numbers found themselves obliged to comply ; while others, especially those most remote, laughed at the impotent threats. Several quantities of seized goods in the customhouse of Leith, and those of other port-towns on the frith of Forth, were sold out for the prince-pretender's use. And beside these rigorous exactions, loans were extorted from some moneyed persons, and bonds given, promising payment, on the pretender's being fully seated on the throne, on arriving at London, &c. And several Jacobites, who did not chuse to espouse his cause openly, for fear of the consequences, contributed large sums for his use.

After the rebels arrival in Edinburgh, the castle hung out a flag, fired some guns as a signal, and ordered the inhabitants not to appear on the castlehill. Charles desired nothing more earnestly than to possess himself

of that fortress ; but it was not in his power to accomplish his wishes. His ill success with the officers taken at Preston, had convinced him, that the officers of the royal army were men of honour, not to be seduced from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign ; and therefore, that he had no hopes of bribing the governors of the castle, to surrender it into his hands. He was grieved, however, to see large quantities of provisions carried in to the garrison every day, even in the face of his guards : he determined therefore to cut off those resources, and, if possible, starve the garrison. On the 29th of September, his guard at the weigh-house were ordered not to let any person pass or repass to or from the castle. In the evening Gen. Guest sent a letter to Provost Stewart, intimating, that, unless the communication between the city and castle was kept open as formerly, he would be obliged to make use of cannon for dislodging the rebel-guards. A respite was, however, obtained for that night. Next morning six deputies from the city waited on the Chevalier, and shewed him Gen. Guest's letter. He immediately gave them an answer in writing, importing, That he was equally surprised and concerned at the barbarity of the order for bringing distress upon the city, for not doing what was not in its power to do ; that should he, out of compassion to the city, remove his guards, the castle might with equal reason summon him to quit the town, and abandon the advantages which Providence had granted him ; that he should be heartily sorry for any mischief that might befall the city, and should make it his peculiar care to indemnify it in the most ample manner ; and that in the mean time he should make full reprisals upon the estates of all those who were in the castle, and even upon all who were known to be open abettors of the present government, if he were forced to it by such inhumanities. The governors of the castle had received orders from court to fire upon the rebels, if they offered to stop the communication
between

between that fort and the city. The city finding no success from applications to the pretender, they had nothing left for it but to make the best terms with Gen. Guesst they could obtain. After several meetings of the principal inhabitants, and as many deputations to the General, they at last obtained a respite for six days, in case no attack was made upon the castle, so as the city might have time to get a mitigation of the order from London : for which purpose an express was sent off.

The communication was kept open till the 1st of October ; on the afternoon of which day the highland centinels fired several muskets ; whether at the castle, or, as they themselves gave out, to frighten people that were carrying up provisions to it, is uncertain : but thereupon the castle fired a good many cannon and small shot, by which a highland centinel and a servant-maid were said to have been wounded. Next day Charles published a proclamation, importing, That being resolved that no communication should be open between the castle and town of Edinburgh during his residence in that capital, and to prevent the bad effects of reciprocal firing from thence and from his troops, whereby the houses and inhabitants of the city might innocently suffer ; he therefore made public intimation, that none should dare, without a special pass, signed by his secretary, upon pain of death, either to resort to, or come from the castle, upon any pretence whatsoever, with certification, that any person convicted of having had any such intercourse, should immediately be carried to execution. A barbarous proclamation indeed ! worthy a son of the church of Rome, one of whose characteristics is unrelenting cruelty and bloodshed. This cruel order incited the governors of the castle to fire upon the rebels where-ever they could be observed ; by which means some innocent persons were killed and wounded.

The rebels not contented with the order above mentioned,

mentioned, took it into their heads to make nearer approaches to the castle. For, about the 2d of October, they fell to digging a trench at the back of the reservoir, and planting guards on the north side of the hill upon which the castle stands. But the cannon from the castle forced them to desist from the trench, and withdraw their guards. Several of the rebels were also killed. On the 3d, they placed a guard at the West kirk, and another at Livingston's yards, in order to block up the castle more closely. But, that day, a single soldier slipt out, set fire to a house that defended the guard at the last-mentioned place, shot one of them dead, and returned safe. Soon after, a party sallied out, killed some more of the guard, took Robert Taylor, shoemaker in Edinburgh, styled a captain among the rebels, with a few men, prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

On the 4th, notice was given by Gen. Guest to the possessors of houses on the north side of the street, below the castlehill, to remove, lest they should be hurt by the cannon-balls. A few hours after the notice, a terrible cannonading began. At night a party made a sally from the castle, and set fire to a founding-house, and a dwelling-house which its occupiers had deserted, behind both which parties of the rebels used to skulk, in order to fire upon any that offered to go up to the castle. At the same time, the salliers threw up a trench cross the castlehill; and, to prevent any interruption, scoured the street with cartridge-shot from some field-pieces placed on the hill. Next day, the 5th, notwithstanding the alertness of the rebels, a considerable quantity of provisions was carried in to the garrison. About five that evening, a strong party of the rebels marched up to attack the party in the trench; but they retreated upon their approach, without losing a man. Some have affirmed, that, on this occasion, a number of the rebels were killed. All this day the firing from the castle was very smart, and several bullets came

down as far as the city-guard ; so that nobody was safe to stand on the street. A few houses were shattered. This obliged the inhabitants of houses exposed to the danger to remove ; and others, though in no danger, yet dreading harm, removed likewise : which occasioned some confusion.

Towards night, the pretended prince finding it in vain to proceed in the blockade of the castle, by which he could only lose men, and draw a general odium upon himself, issued a proclamation, which was published in the morning of the 6th, to the following effect : That it was with the greatest regret he was hourly informed of the murders committed upon the innocent inhabitants of the city, by the inhumane commanders and garrison of the castle, so contrary to all the laws of war, the truce granted to the city, and even exceeding the orders given upon this occasion ; that, as he had threatened, he might justly proceed to use the powers which God had put into his hands, to chastise those who were instrumental in the ruin of the capital, by reprisals upon the estates and fortunes of those who warred against him ; but that he thought it nowise derogatory to the glory of a prince, to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, when thereby the lives of innocent men could be saved ; that, in consequence of this sentiment, his humanity had yielded to the barbarity of his enemies ; that the blockade of the castle was taken off, and the threatened punishment suspended. By this proclamation the pretended regent would shew himself a mild and magnanimous prince : but who sees not the vanity of the reasoning, the fallacy of the argument ? He charges the governors of the castle with breaking the truce granted to the city, without reflecting, that the respite was granted upon the express condition that the castle was not attacked : and could the garrison tamely see trenches cast up, guards planted, and muskets fired, without repelling force by force ? And because innocent people threw themselves in the

way of danger, were the governors therefore barbarous? Humanity and mildness are much talked of, as if peculiar to one side; but were not the inhabitants warned to avoid the danger, before a single gun was fired? Upon the whole, Charles's conduct on all occasions gives too much ground to suspect, that his boasted humanity did not proceed so much from regard to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, as from a desire to save his own people, whom he perceived to be exposed to imminent danger in their ineffectual endeavours to block up the castle, and to give reputation to his cause by a shew of clemency. Four or five of the town-people were killed, and several wounded, during this mock-blockade: but though the rebels kept pretty much under cover, and said they did not suffer much; yet their loss was pretty considerable, as some of themselves confessed. Provisions were now carried in openly to the castle, to the grief and vexation of the highland rebels, who however could not stop them.

On the 8th, Charles published a proclamation, inviting such of his friends as were disabled from joining him, by reason of age, broken constitutions, or otherwise, but disposed to assist him, to send to his secretary money, arms, and horses; which would be considered by him as a very seasonable and acceptable mark of their loyalty. This method of raising supplies, first introduced by the unfortunate Charles I. which, with other causes, brought him to an untimely end, was successfully practised on this occasion by his pretended great-grandson. The friends to passive obedience and non-resistance contributed, with an unsparing hand, whatever might strengthen their prince's interest. Next day, October 9. another proclamation was issued, forbidding all Peers and Commoners to pay obedience to the order of his Majesty summoning them to meet in parliament on the 17th. To this proclamation no regard was paid.

On the 10th a second manifesto was issued in

Charles's name, said to have been wrote by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, Advocate, who elandestinely associated himself with the rebels. It is a smooth and artful paper; but the fallacy of it was laid open in a pamphlet, intitled, *The Occasional Writer*, said to be written by an eminent Scotch lawyer. Notice will be taken of both papers in the sequel. Several other papers were printed in Edinburgh, in order to be dispersed through England; most of which were afterwards ignominiously burnt at London, along with the proclamation of August 22. before mentioned.

The news of the adventurer's reception and success in Scotland having reached the courts of Versailles and Madrid, they resolved to assist him with necessary supplies. Of several ships sent out for that purpose from France, only four got to Scotland in October. Two of them arrived at Montrose, and two at Stonehaven. They were loaded with money, artillery, small arms, ammunition, some officers, engineers, gunners, &c. Their ladings were brought to Edinburgh by the way of Alloa, four miles below Stirling; which passage the rebels had secured, by raising batteries and planting cannon on each side the river. A party who were escorting one of these convoys, were attacked, Oct. 30. at Alloa, by a detachment from the garrison of Stirling castle, under Capt. Abercrombie; when some of the rebels were wounded and made prisoners, and some cows, horses, baggage, arms, money, and letters, were taken, and carried into Stirling. On board one of the French ships came a person styled by the rebels *M. du Boyer*, and the French ambassador. When he afterwards surrendered to the Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden, he took the title of *le Marquis de Guilles*, and designed himself *Captain in the marine regiment*. Several storeships destined for the highland army, were taken on their passage; one of which, a Spanish ship, called the *St Zio-reco*, of 12 guns, 4 swivels, and 60 men, laden with

2500 fuses and bayonets, 100 barrels of gun-powder, 150 quintals of musket-balls, some boxes of horse-shoes and flints, and seven chests of Spanish money, was carried into Bristol, by the *Trial* privateer, Oct. 7. But though Charles missed this rich prize, he received, by the four French ships, at least 14,000 stand of arms, and 80,000 l. in money: so that, without doubt, he had more arms than men to give them to.

About the 19th, between 2 and 300 of the soldiers who had been wounded at the late battle, were dismissed on promising not to carry arms against the Chevalier before January 1747. Others would not accept deliverance on these terms, and a good many stole away after they were cured.

Several parties from Perthshire, the highlands, and other northern parts, now began to join the rebels, in full hopes of accomplishing their enterprise. Some of those parties were headed by Lord Pittligo, old Glenbucket, Macinnon, Clunie, &c. persons naturally attached to the pretender, enemies by education and principle to the government, and whose conduct was, therefore, no way surprising. But there were others who engaged in this rebellious enterprise, quite contrary to the general expectation. The chief of these were William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Cromarty, and Simon Lord Lovat; noblemen who had been highly in favour with the government, who had received pensions, and whose behaviour, therefore, was a flagrant instance of ingratitude. Other instances of disloyalty may be found in the persons of Lord Lewis Gordon, second brother to the Duke of Gordon, who had served his Majesty as a lieutenant in the royal navy; of Mr Arthur Elphinston, (only brother of James Lord Balmerino, and to whose honours and estate he succeeded in January 1746), who had been a captain in Shannon's foot, threw up his commission, engaged in the rebellion in 1715, and though attainted, was pardoned

pardoned by his present Majesty ; and of Lord Nairn, who, though also engaged in that rebellion, was pardoned as to life and estate. Such instances of disloyalty, ingratitude, nay perjury, are glaring evidences of a desperate resolution, and a bad cause.

As the rebels had from the beginning projected an expedition into England, in order, if possible, to expel the present royal family ; they began early to prepare for it. All means were used to induce the clans to bring up their men ; a regiment was raised in and about Edinburgh, composed of the dregs of the people, who were drenched in wickedness and want ; a body of life-guards was formed, consisting of about 120 persons, and composed of writers, merchants, tradesmen, and Jacobite gentlemen's sons ; money was raised by all methods, to the impoverishing of the country ; a train of artillery, amounting to fifteen pieces of cannon, of three and four pounders, and one mortar, with great quantities of ammunition, and other military stores, was provided ; in short, immense quantities of provisions, to serve them on their march, were got ready.

The rebel-army, who lay incamped at Duddingston since the battle of Preston, struck their tents about the middle of October, and were quartered in Edinburgh and the suburbs, Musselburgh, Dalkeith, &c. In view of their march, they seized horses, carts, corn, hay, &c. where-ever they could be found, and compelled a considerable number of men, with horses and carts, to hold themselves in readiness to carry their baggage. They also carried off a great number of the best horses they could find, belonging to gentlemen and farmers ; so that few had any horses left for labouring their grounds. Some gentlemen and farmers had procured protections from the rebel secretary and officers ; yet few of these protections were regarded ; and if the sufferers offered to complain of the oppression, they were treated with disdain.

His Majesty's birthday had always been solemnized in Edinburgh, in a manner suited to the occasion : but, through the prevalence of the highland government, that solemnity was postponed this year, to the grief of the well-affected inhabitants. The garrison of the castle however, celebrated it in the usual manner ; and a great number of loyal subjects assembled on the north side of the castle-hill, and huzzaed at the firing of the cannon, to the mortification of the rebels.

That day there happened an unhappy tumult in Perth. Mr Oliphant of Gask had been appointed deputy-governor of that town, by the young pretender, and he had under him a guard of about dozen men, whose chief business was to take care of a quantity of arms, ammunition, &c. that were lodged in the council-house and tolbooth, in order to supply some men daily expected there. In the forenoon, about 100 tradesmens servants seized on the church and steeple, and, about mid-day, set the bells a-ringing, in order to celebrate the day. Gask sent orders to those employed in ringing the bells, to desist ; but they would not comply. In the afternoon, the governor, with his guard, and three or four gentlemen in the pretender's interest, took possession of the council-house ; and, towards night, were joined by seven north-country gentlemen and their servants, who were on their way to join the rebels at Edinburgh. Mean time bonfires were made on the streets ; some loyal people illuminated their windows ; and the mob run up and down the town, ordering all the inhabitants to follow their example, and began to break the windows in which candles were not put up, and to commit other outrages. Gask, vexed at these proceedings, about nine o' clock detached a party from the council-house, to disperse the mob, and put a stop to the rejoicings. The party fired upon and wounded three of the mob ; who, in a rage, rushed in upon the detachment, wounded and disarmed most of them. The mob then placed guards at all the gates of the town,

town, took possession of the main-guard, and rung the fire-bell, in order to raise the whole town; by which means about 200 people were assembled, but none of any note. They sent a message to Gask in writing, requiring him to withdraw instantly, and deliver up the arms and ammunition in his custody to them. This being refused, hostilities began about two o'clock in the morning. The mob fired at the council-house from several quarters; by which a captain in the French service was killed, and three or four wounded. About five o'clock the mob dismissed. Of the latter four were wounded, one of whom died a few days after. Most of them fled. Next day about 60 of Lord Nairn's men came into the town, and soon after about 130 highlanders; who were a prodigious nuisance to the inhabitants.

All the other towns in Scotland, that were not overawed by the rebels, observed the King's birthday as usual. The rejoicings at London, and all over England, were more splendid than ever they had been.

An unlucky accident happened at the west gate of Edinburgh on the 27th. A coach with six horses, and four men on horseback, of whom the Earl of Dundonald was one, having come to that gate between eight and nine at night, the coachman called to those within to open the gate to the prince's friends. This call being overheard by the centinels on duty in the castle, they instantly fired three cannons loaded with cartridge-shot, by which a Glasgow hiree was killed, a woman in the coach wounded, the earl of Dundonald's horse shot under him, and one of the coach-horses wounded.

Before the rebels marched from Edinburgh, robberies became very frequent; so that repeated complaints were made to the Chevalier by the sufferers. He thereupon issued a proclamation, dated October 28. bearing, That whereas he was informed that several thefts and robberies had been committed in and about Edinburgh, by villains assuming the character of
soldiers

soldiers in his army, as well as by others; and whereas he was heartily disposed to discourage all such practices; he therefore promised, that if any effects so stolen or robbed should be returned in three days after the date, no questions should be asked; but that all persons in whose custody any such effects should be afterwards found, would be punished with the utmost rigour: And, for the more effectual detecting of robbers, &c. promising the discoverers 5 l. upon conviction of each offender. But this proclamation had no effect; for the highlanders continued to rob and pilfer till the very day they left the city. One *Monro, alias Mac-cowny*, who, the rebels pretended, did not belong to their army, was shot for robbery, on the 16th; as was one *Smith*, who had been forced into the service, for desertion, on the 17th.

During the residence of the rebels in Edinburgh, the passages of the river Forth, at Leith and Queensferry, were blocked up by his Majesty's ships.

The rebels having made the necessary preparations for their march into England, and having collected the greatest part of their forces at Musselburgh and Dalkeith, the Chevalier set out from Holyroodhouse, October 21. at six in the evening, and lodged that night at Pinkie. Next day he arrived at Dalkeith, and the same day the highlanders quite evacuated Edinburgh. The rear of their army left Dalkeith November 3d. They marched south in three columns; one body by the way of Peebles and Moffat; the middle column, by Lauder, Selkirk, and Hawick; and the third, by Kelso. The young pretender was with this last column; he marched on foot, with his target over his shoulder. They committed several disorders by the way, and particularly they killed a considerable number of deer belonging to the Marquis of Lothian. They were in very high spirits when they left Scotland, assuring their friends that they would behave as heroes, would force their way through all opposition, and had

no doubt of reaching St James's, London, by Christmas, where they would all be merry. But the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. Their high expectations were baulked, and their towering hopes defeated. The Prince-pretender, with his highland band, who marched into England, with the highest hopes of ascending the British throne, and surmounting all difficulties, is made to fly before a small party of regular troops sent against him, headed by a second William, Britain's deliverer. But we shall leave the rebel-army awhile, in order to relate some intervening transactions, too important to be passed over in silence.

At the time the young pretender arrived in Scotland, England was almost as destitute of troops as that kingdom; the King was in Hanover; all intelligences of the intended attempt were discredited, because it appeared too vain and audacious. Charles's surprising progress, however, soon awakened the people of England to a sense of the increasing danger. His Majesty arrived at a seasonable time, to the great satisfaction of all his faithful subjects. A noble spirit of zeal, courage, and activity, began soon to appear throughout the whole nation. The King was more anxious for the preservation of his people than that of his crown; and the people were devoted to the service, and ardent for the safety of their gracious sovereign, so remarkably brave in his person, so just in his principles, so faithful an observer of public faith, so merciful to delinquents, and so strict an adherer to the laws of his country, that not an instance could be pointed out, during his whole reign, wherein he made the least attempt on the liberty, the property, or religion of a single person; in fine, who had always considered the law of the land as the sure foundation of the prerogative of the crown, and the liberty of the subject. The nation was soon roused from its inactivity, and a zeal to defend those invaluable blessings, religion and liberty, was diffused thro' all ranks of men, from the peer to the plebeian. Indolence was awakened,

awakened, cowardice animated, avarice enlarged, and despondency conquered.

Orders were issued, immediately after the arrival of his Majesty, for the return of three battalions of the foot-guards, and seven regiments of foot, from Flanders; and 6000 troops were demanded from the States-General of the United Provinces, pursuant to treaty; which were readily granted. The city of London presented a loyal address to the King, September 10. in which they assured his Majesty of their readiness to sacrifice all that was dear and valuable to them in defence of his royal person and family. The court of lieutenancy had presented a similar address on the 9th. And on the 11th, the merchants of London went in a solemn cavalcade, of 160 coaches, to Kensington, and presented a loyal and dutiful address, assuring his Majesty, that they would continue to exert their utmost endeavours for the support of the public credit of the kingdom. Equally loyal addresses came up from every county and borough in the kingdom; so that nothing but the warmest professions of zeal and fidelity attended the court.

A grand council was held at Kensington, September 13. to which several general officers were called, and their opinions of what was necessary to be done in this critical conjuncture demanded. Orders were immediately issued to keep the trained bands of London in readiness, and to array the militia of Westminster; and instructions to the like effect were sent to all the lords lieutenants of the counties throughout the kingdom. An advertisement was published on the 14th by Field-Marshal John Earl of Stair, commander in chief of the forces in South Britain, declaring, That every man who should voluntarily engage to serve in the royal army, should be discharged from the service at the end of two years; and large offers were made to such as would enlist in the foot-guards. Many of the principal nobility, and several of the eminent gentlemen, offered their

service to their sovereign, for raising regiments in their respective counties. Their offers were accepted, and commissions issued to the Dukes of Montagu and Kingston, for levying each a regiment of light horse; and to the Dukes of Bedford, Bolton, Montagu, and Auncaster, the Marquis of Granby, the Earls of Halifax, Berkeley, and Cholmondeley, the Viscounts Falmouth and Harcourt, and the Lords Edgcumbe, Gower, and Herbert, to raise each a regiment of foot, consisting of 1000 men, for suppressing the rebellion. The inferior inhabitants were every where mutually active. But nothing could surpass the zeal of the county of York, which, animated by Dr Herring, the archbishop, led the way, by a noble association, for their mutual defence. It was signed at the castle of York, September 24. when the subscription amounted to 40,000 l.; in consequence of which forty-four companies of foot were raised; and a regiment of gentlemen-voluntiers, who formed a body of light cavalry, appeared in an uniform dress, styled themselves *the royal hunters*, and chose for their commander an accomplished officer, Maj.-Gen. Oglethorpe. The nobility and gentry of Cheshire associated to raise 2500 men; in which the famous Sir Watkyn Williams Wynne, who had been long suspected of a bias to a contrary interest, distinguished himself by a large subscription. In short, associations were formed, and large contributions made, in almost every town, county, and community. Nor were the bishops unconcerned spectators of the gathering storm. By circular letters to the clergy of their respective dioceses, they reminded them of the importance of discharging their duty at this time, by representing to their people the errors and mischief of Popery, and exciting them to loyalty and zeal in defence of the present happy constitution. Many spirited and pathetic discourses were published by the Protestant loyal clergy of all denominations, by which the friends of the government were encouraged, animated, and confirmed in their loyalty and

and allegiance. The merchants of London, the most eminent and opulent in the kingdom, not only resolved to raise two regiments at their own expence; but, as there happened to be an extraordinary run upon the bank of England, promoted by Papists and Jacobites, they readily came to an agreement, Sept. 26. to support the public credit, by receiving bank-notes in payment of any sum to be paid to them, and by using their utmost endeavours to make all their payments in the same manner. This agreement was immediately signed by 1140 of the most eminent merchants, considerable traders, and proprietors of the public funds; which prevented the run on the bank, and defeated the collusive designs of the national enemies.

On the 17th of September arrived in the Thames from Holland, three battalions of Dutch troops, as did on the 20th other three battalions. The same night Count Maurice of Nassau, their commander, arrived at London. Another Dutch battalion landed at Berwick on the 23d; as did, the same day, at Gravesend, Grays, and Blackwall, from Flanders, three battalions of foot-guards, and seven regiments of foot, British troops; and more were immediately ordered over, with several squadrons. His R. H. the Duke arrived from Brussels at London, October 1.; and on the 25th arrived in the Thames, from Flanders, four troops of Ligonier's horse, Bland's dragoons, a detachment of the foot-guards which had served at Ostend, and four regiments of foot: and about the same time seven battalions landed at Newcastle and Berwick, with some Dutch companies.

About the end of September, the King ordered a strong body of troops to march to Scotland, under the command of Field-Marshal Wade. They were appointed to assemble at Doncaster, thirty miles south of York. The Marshal arrived from London at Doncaster, October 9. where he continued till the 21st, and then proceeded to Newcastle, where he arrived on the

29th. His army consisted of his own and Montagu's regiments of horse, St George's dragoons, and the Yorkshire royal hunters; and the regiments of foot of Howard, Barrel, Wolfe, Pulteney, Blakeney, Cholmondeley, Fleming, Monro, Battereau, second battalion of the royal Scots, and all the Dutch troops. He had as generals under him, Count Maurice of Nassau, Lt-Generals Lord Trawley and Wentworth, Maj.-Generals Oglethorpe, Howard, and Huske, and Brigadiers Mordaunt and Cholmondeley. His Excellency, the day after his arrival at Newcastle, published a proclamation, promising a general pardon to all such of the rebels as should return to their habitations on or before the 12th of November, and become faithful to his Majesty and his government. Copies of this proclamation were pasted up in Edinburgh on the 5th, and dispersed all over the kingdom: but this act of clemency produced no effect on the hardened rebels.

As the rebels were in motion to leave Edinburgh by the time M. Wade arrived at Newcastle, he resolved to continue there, till he should see how the young pretender would direct his march; especially as it was absolutely necessary to cover Newcastle, being a place of the greatest consequence, the loss of which would be severely felt by the city of London.

The parliament met on the 16th of October, when his Majesty acquainted them of the unnatural rebellion that had broke out in Scotland, and craved their advice and assistance for the suppression of it. Both houses presented addresses, expressing the strongest detestation of the rebellion, and the warmest attachment to his Majesty's person and government. The Commons forthwith suspended the *Habeas corpus* act, and several suspected persons were taken up. The trained-bands of London were reviewed by his Majesty; the county-regiments were completed; the volunteers began vigorously to learn the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation, as if animated by one soul, rose up to oppose

oppose the invading pretender. The government being apprehensive of a descent from France, ordered squadrons to be stationed on the eastern and western coasts, to watch the motions of the French from Brest to Dunkirk. Adm. Vernon, a brave and vigilant officer, got the command of a Squadron in the Downs, to observe the enemy's motions in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and war-ships were so disposed along the coasts both of Scotland and England, that these kingdoms were protected from any invasions, either from the coast of Britany, Normandy, or Picardy. Single ships from France might escape the vigilance of the cruisers, as several did; but no fleet could pass unobserved. Adm. Vernon's cruisers actually took several ships, loaded with officers, soldiers, and ammunition, destined for the service of the pretender, both on the coasts of Scotland and England. So that the government's apprehension of an invasion was no chimera, as some represented it to be. Certain it is, that Charles was incited to an expedition into England, by assurances from the French court, that they would send 12,000 men to make an invasion in Kent, under the pretender's second son Henry, who was by this time arrived in France, and also 6000 men to land in Scotland, under George late Earl Marischal; and by promises of a considerable insurrection in his favour, by the Papists and Jacobites in England. And it was undoubtedly in expectation of all these fine things taking effect, that he lingered so long in Edinburgh, evidently contrary to his interest: for had he made an irruption into England immediately after the battle of Preston, he might have marched to the very gates of London, almost without resistance; and his English friends would have crowded to his standard. But the promises of the court of Versailles made him spin out the time, till the government were prepared to give him a proper reception, if he should attempt to break into England. Either the promises of the French were sincere, but their effect pre-

vented by the vigilance of the British cruisers; or they were fallacious, calculated only to amuse the young pretender. The Jacobites do now universally believe the latter to be the case; and curse both the French King and the French nation, for deceiving them. However the case stood, certainly the over-ruling hand of Providence is to be regarded; which on this, as on many other occasions, befriended the British nation, by baffling the attempts of her enemies.

As M. Wade had now assembled his army at Newcastle, consisting of about 8000 British troops, besides 6000 Dutch, attended with a train of artillery, of 20 field-pieces; Charles, in order to amuse him, and disguise his real design, caused a part of his army, on leaving Dalkeith, Nov. 3. take the route to Kelso, as if he designed to bend his force by the eastern road. On his arrival at Kelso on the 4th, in order further to amuse M. Wade, he sent a message to Wooller, ordering quarters to be provided for 4000 foot and 1000 horse. Nevertheless, the adventurer, with his division, crossed the Tweed on the 6th, and took the road to Hawick. He marched thence very speedily, and crossed the river Esk, which divides Scotland from England, on the 9th, and arrived in the neighbourhood of Carlisle in the evening. Here he was joined by the other two corps of his army. That which took the route by Moffat had the artillery with it. His army made a formidable appearance by the way. Part of the country through which he passed, had perhaps never seen a soldier in his military accoutrements, which are natively calculated to strike a terror into the minds of peasants. But to see wild, unpolished savages in the highland dress, armed not only with muskets and bayonets, but broad swords, those murdering weapons, and targets, with braces of pistols stuck in their belts, the terror thence arising must be great. Perhaps some of the English militia, upon viewing the highlanders from the banks of the Esk, might be as much confounded

at the sight, as the ancient Romans were upon observing the monstrous size of the Germans, and be as much afraid to come to blows with them, especially as their prince was clad in the same attire.

Upon this enterprising youth's approach to Carlisle, all the militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland, in number between 6 and 700, afraid to look him in the face, took sanctuary in that city, determined however to defend it. On the 9th, a small party of the rebels appeared on Stanwix bank, a hill close by Carlisle. They were fired upon from the castle, and soon retreated. At three o'clock after noon, the Mayor received a message, to provide billets for 13,000 men that night; which he refused; and at night the city was surrounded by the rebels, computed to be 9000 men. Perhaps the Mayor's terror magnified the rebels number. Next day, the 10th, the rebels made divers motions round the city, during which the cannon on the walls and the castle were not silent. At three after noon, the Mayor received a message in writing, addressed, *For the Mayor of Carlisle*, and subscribed, *Charles P. R.* in the following words. "*Charles Prince of Wales, &c.* Being come to recover the King our father's just rights, for which we are arrived with all his authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our passage. We therefore, to avoid the effusion of English blood, hereby require you to open your gates, and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable manner; which if you do, we shall take care to preserve you from any insult, and set an example to all England of the exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our father's declarations and our own. But if you shall refuse us entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such means as Providence has put into our hands; and then it will not perhaps be in our power to prevent the dreadful consequences which usually attend a town's being taken by assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your answer within the space of two hours; for

we shall take any further delay as a peremptory refusal, and take our measures accordingly."

To this message the Mayor returned no other answer, but by firing the cannon upon the rebels. Next day, the 11th, their main body filed off towards Brampton, about seven miles east on the road to Newcastle; where, at a council of war, it was agreed to return and besiege Carlisle, which they expected their very appearance would have intimidated to surrender. For this end the rebels employed the 11th and 12th in refreshing their men, and in cutting down wood in Corby and Warwick parks, for scaling-ladders, fascines, and carriages; and, on the 13th, about three after noon, they returned before Carlisle; from whence the garrison began to fire upon them. The trenches were opened that evening, under the direction of Mr Grant, chief rebel-engineer; and were carried on so expeditiously, that by the 15th, in the morning, a battery was erected within forty fathoms of the wall. All this time the cannon and small arms both from the town and the castle played very briskly; but with no other loss (say the rebels) than of a French gunner and a private man killed. The Duke of Perth and the Marquis of Tullibardine, with a considerable body of troops, covered the workmen; and these noblemen were so keen for the service, that they wrought at the trenches in their shirts. On the 15th, when the battery was opened, and the scaling-ladders were bringing forward, in order to an assault, a white flag was displayed from the walls. Whereupon a deputation was sent to the young pretender at Brampton, and the town was agreed to be delivered up, on condition that the garrison should be at liberty to retire where-ever they pleased, upon their engaging not to carry arms against the rebels for a twelve-month. This capitulation was said to be contrary to the opinion and protestation of Col. Durand, commandant of the castle, who endeavoured to defend that fort, but was obliged to abandon it, through the dastardly desertion of the

the men under his command. He, however, found means to nail up ten pieces of cannon on the ramparts. It was said, that at this time the rebels exercised great severity to the country-people, put them under military execution, and seized all able-bodied men, horses, and carriages; fired at such as endeavoured to fly, and actually killed some innocent people. The surrender of Carlisle was thus accounted for: That for seven days before, neither the officers nor common men of the garrison got scarce an hour's rest, being perpetually alarmed by the rebels; and many of them were so sick through their great fatigue, that, being out of all hopes of a speedy relief, they absolutely refused to hold out any longer; and multitudes went off every hour over the walls, so that the officers of some companies were left with not above three or four men. As to Col. Durand, he had prevailed on 400 of the militia to join with the invalids in defending the castle; but they basely deserted him next morning; so that having no more than 80 men left, many of them extremely infirm, and the rebels threatening to destroy the whole town by fire and sword, if he persisted to hold out any longer, he was, however reluctantly, obliged to give up the castle, with all the effects in it.

Thus Charles made himself master of the first town he came to in England, a town pretty strong, well fortified, and defended by the whole militia of two counties. But every body must see that it was poorly defended, and basely surrendered. If Edinburgh, a city without fortifications, was given up to a handful of highland savages, without firing a gun; Carlisle, the key to England on the western side, merits as little honour; for it was much stronger, had a more numerous garrison, and pretended to be quite free from a Jacobite bias. The Mayor, before the return of the rebels from Brampton, could pique himself on his having done more than Edinburgh, nay all Scotland: Very true, indeed; for he surrendered a strong and impor-

tant fortrefs; which is what the rebels never got possession of in Edinburgh, nor in all Scotland.

Carlisle being thus cowardly given up, without firing a gun, the Duke of Perth took possession of it, in the afternoon of the 15th, in name of his pretended prince, and immediately caused the rebel-manifesto's be read; at which ceremony the mayor and aldermen were, by the articles of the capitulation, obliged to assist; a mortification justly due to their pusillanimity and cowardice. The young pretender made his public entry on the 19th, under a general salvo of all the artillery. Here he got all the arms belonging to the militia, with 1000 stand that were lodged in the castle; besides a great number of cannon, mortars, cannon-balls, granadoes, bombs, pickaxes, and other military stores. He found in the castle many of the broad swords that had been taken at Preston in 1715, and about 100 barrels of gunpowder.. All the valuable effects which the neighbouring gentlemen and principal inhabitants had lodged in the fort, as a place of security, fell into his hands; and several soldiers who had enlisted in the highland corps after the battle of Preston, had deserted that service, and fled to this city, were delivered up to him, and some of them sacrificed to his rage.

Charles had now, by this important capture, gained a place of retreat in case of a defeat, added lustre to his arms, and given new hopes to his troops. Every thing smiled upon him, opposition fell before his standard, and success crowned his enterprises. If the rest of the campaign shall be equally successful, how mighty a hero must the pretended representative of the Stuarts be? Let us see the event.

All this time M. Wade lay at Newcastle, where the inclemency of the season, and the fatigues the troops had undergone in Flanders, and their crowded situation when at sea, brought on a general indisposition and a great mortality among his men; so that they died
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by fifties in a week. Hearing, however, of the return of the rebels from Brampton, in order to attack Carlisle, the Marshal determined to march to its relief, and give battle to the rebels. He accordingly decamped from Newcastle on the 16th, and marched across the country as far as Hexham, sixteen miles west of Newcastle, where he arrived on the 17th, at midnight, after a fatiguing march, the fields being covered with snow, and the roads almost impassable. Here he received the amazing news of the surrender of Carlisle, and of the rebels preparing for a march into Lancashire; he therefore immediately set out on his return to Newcastle, where he arrived on the 22d, having lost many of his best troops by sickness and death. The Marshal had been ordered to cover Newcastle and Yorkshire; and this was the reason that he did not interrupt the rebels in their march, nor endeavour to intercept them: and he well knew that the government, who were abundantly alert, and particularly attentive to all the motions of the rebels, would assemble an army, in the event of their marching further into England, from which it would be difficult to escape; and if they should retreat, he would be at hand to intercept them, and as it were inclose them between two fires.

And indeed the Marshal was not mistaken in his views: for, as there was a possibility that the rebels might penetrate into England through Lancashire, and throw the inland parts of the kingdom into the same confusion as they had done the borders, about the 16th of November, the King ordered a body of troops, consisting of three regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and fifteen of foot, to march towards Lancashire, under the command of Lt-Gen. Sir John Ligonier; the general rendezvous to be at Litchfield. Sir John set out for that place on the 21st. Two battalions of the foot-guards marched to join this army on the 23d; and the Duke of Cumberland was appointed commander in chief. A third battalion of the guards, with Cobham's

ham's dragoons, got orders to march about the 26th; and his R. H. set out from St James's that day, to put himself at their head. Thus there were two armies on the field against the prince-pretender, one commanded by one of the oldest officers in the kingdom, the other by an active vigilant prince, who acquired honour by his defeat at Fontenoy, and was the idol of the British nation, and whose conduct on this occasion did not belie his exalted character, as will appear from the sequel.

One would have thought, that the young Italian, observing the preparations made to oppose his progress, would have immediately retreated, with his mountaineers, to their barren hills, rather than, by a rash march into an unknown country, in general disaffected to his interest, expose his whole army to almost inevitable ruin. It must be allowed, he was a youth of surprising courage and amazing intrepidity, who could, with a handful of undisciplined savages, like the Russian Cossacks and Calmucks, dare to march into an enemy's country, in the face, as it were, of two armies, and hope, by their means, to possess himself of the sovereign power. Perhaps he thought himself a second Alexander the Great, who had to combat only with armies enervated by ease and luxury: or was possessed with the enthusiastic bravery of the bastard of Normandy, who actually achieved the conquest of England in the face of a formidable opposition; and hoped for the like success that had attended those ancient heroes. Whatever his thoughts were, he determined to improve his advantages, unterrified by opposition, undismayed by the number of his increasing foes. The expectation of wearing the imperial crown of three kingdoms, famous throughout the world, and of being ranked among the renowned heroes of antiquity, induced him to undertake the rashest enterprise that perhaps had ever entered into any mortal's head, unless we except
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some desperate attempts rather renowned in history than credible.

Charles the pretended regent having got a few recruits, supplied his troops with some necessaries, and left a small garrison in Carlisle, of about 100 men, under the command of John Hamilton, formerly one of the Duke of Gordon's factors, who was constituted lieutenant-governor under the Duke of Perth, marched thence on the 21st, having sent a party of horse forward to Penrith on the 18th. He arrived at Kendal on the 22d, and at Lancaster on the 24th. From thence he proceeded to Preston, a town famous in the British annals for the defeat of a party who had taken up arms in behalf of his father in 1715, some of whom now visited it a second time in the same quality, where he quartered on the 27th. He moved thence to Manchester, a town replete with Papists and Jacobites, where he established his head-quarters on the 29th. Here he was joined by about 200 men, collected from different counties, whom he formed into a regiment, and gave the command of it to one Francis Townley, who had been formerly in the French service. He had now marched a hundred miles in eight days, in an excessive cold season, through roads covered with frost and snow. Manchester received him with all marks of affection, and celebrated his arrival with illuminations and other public rejoicings; an honour that had never been bestowed upon him in Scotland, though unjustly styled by our brethren of England a rebellious nation. During this expeditious march, the rebels took care to publish their prince's declarations, and collect the public money, in all the considerable places through which they passed; and to strike terror into some of the inhabitants, and to draw others into their service, they represented their strength to be much more formidable than it really was. By the best computation that could be made of their number at different places, the whole of their army did not exceed

7000 men; though, by their way of marching, and their messages for preparing quarters, they would fain be thought vastly more numerous.

The rebels having now advanced a good way into England, found all their hopes of an insurrection there to be vain; there was no appearance of a French invasion; their sanguine wishes were frustrated; discord prevailed in their counsels; and dangers surrounded them on every hand. What should they do? To force a march into Wales, a mountainous country, would be too dangerous a step; especially as the bridges had all been broke down on that side, and the roads rendered almost impassable: if they should retreat back into Scotland, it was in M. Wade's power to intercept them; and if they continued to advance southward to London, they had the bare hopes of escaping by the Duke's army, and approaching the metropolis, where they expected to be joined by a shoal of Papists and other disaffected persons. Their situation was, therefore, every way dangerous: but the thoughts of escaping by the Duke brought them to a resolution of advancing southward. Accordingly having rested only one day in their beloved Manchester, they set out, Nov. 30. from thence for Derby, in two divisions; which next day united at Macclesfield. They resumed their march, Dec. 2. in two columns; one of which entered Congleton, and the other passed near Gawsforth. On the 3d, the one division proceeded to Leake in Staffordshire, and the other to Ashbourn in Derbyshire; from whence, on the 4th, they continued their respective routes, and united at Derby, about 100 miles N. W. of London, and 108 S. of Carlisle. This was the *ne plus ultra* of their desperate expedition.

Mean time, M. Wade, hearing of the rebels marching southward, resolved also to direct his route the same way, and to set out Nov. 24. His Excellency was incamped at Persbridge on the 28th, designing to proceed

proceed through Yorkshire into Lancashire: but, we shall find, the mountaineers were too nimble for him. The Marshal had got to Wetherby Dec. 5.; and he reached Doncaster on the 8th, with the cavalry, and the foot were at Ferrybridge.

During all these transactions let us view the Duke of Cumberland's motions. His R. H. arrived at Litchfield Nov. 28. and found the troops cantoned from Tamworth to Stafford, for the space of nineteen miles. His army consisted of three battalions of the guards, the old regiments of foot of Howard, Sowle, Johnson, Douglas, Sempill, Bligh, and Skelton, and the new regiments of Gower, Montagu, Halifax, Granby, and Cholmondeley; Bland's dragoons, four troops of Ligonier's horse, and the new horse of Montagu and Kingston. He had as Generals to assist him, Lt-Generals Richmond and St Clair, Maj.-Generals Skelton and Bland, and Brigadiers Sempill, Bligh, and Douglas; and had 30 pieces of cannon. He immediately assembled the army at Stafford, posted a detachment of horse at Newcastle under Line, ten miles north of Stafford; and, on the 2d of December, he proceeded with the main body to Stone, in expectation of meeting the prince-pretender on his march from Congleton. But having got notice that the rebels were advancing to Derby, his R. H. was obliged to return to Stafford, resolving thence to retire towards Northampton, in order to intercept them in their route, if they should continue to penetrate. Hearing, however, that the rebel-chief continued at Derby, the Duke halted, and incamped his army on Meriden common, in the neighbourhood of Coventry: for the rebels, in turning off by Ashbourn to Derby, had gained a march between him and London. And had the adventurer proceeded with his usual expedition, he might, notwithstanding the Duke's vigilance, have forced his way to the neighbourhood of London; which he could not, however, have effected without hazarding a bat-

tle; as his Majesty, ever attentive to the preservation of his kingdoms, had resolved to assemble all the forces he could collect on Finchley common, and to take the field in person, accompanied by the Earl of Stair. To this bold step his Majesty was induced, from the apprehension that the rebels might outfly the other two armies sent against them. For this purpose the guards, the old highland regiment, and some other troops marched, Dec. 7. to Highbgate, Enfield, and Barnet; and a large train of artillery was sent from the tower. But the retreat of the rebels superseded those measures.

These commotions occasioned a general consternation. A proclamation was issued, Dec. 6. for putting the laws in execution against Jesuits and Popish priests, and promising a reward for apprehending them in London or Westminster, or within ten miles of the said city; and several were taken up; the militia of London and Middlesex were ordered to be in readiness to march; double guards were posted at the city-gates, and alarm-signals appointed; the city-voluntiers were formed into a regiment; as were several gentlemen of the law, under the command of the Lord Chief Justice Willes, by the title of *The Associated regiment of the law, &c.*; the Spitalfield weavers, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependents for the service of the government. Notwithstanding all these precautions and appearances of unanimity, some have alledged that fear and spiritless dejection overwhelmed the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the public funds. These gentlemen, it is said, reposed no confidence in military preparations; the news of an invasion from France, the terror of an insurrection of the Roman Catholics and Jacobites, with the reflections that the highlanders, of whom a terrible idea was now conceived, were within four or five days march of the capital, alarmed them exceedingly; they prognosticated

licated a revolution, and foreboded their own ruin wrapped up in it; and horror and despair were painted in their very faces: while the slaves to passive obedience exulted in insolent hope, which they openly displayed; and the sons of neutrality beheld the scene with the most calm indifference, unconcerned whether George or the pretender should carry the day. It is certain, that the city was in very great confusion, on account of the rapid progress of the rebels.

Matters did not long continue in this state of suspense. The young adventurer found, that his hopes of a general insurrection of the people of England in his favour were vain, as not a creature had joined him, except the few who had enlisted at Manchester; there were no motions among the Welsh, who, he had been made to believe, were ready to crowd to his standard; the intended descent was frustrated by the vigilance of our men of war; faction prevailed in his court, and murmuring broke out among his officers; the clans saw the enterprise to be an idle chimera, and refused to obey orders: the Chevalier himself was agitated with terror, on seeing himself, with a handful of men, hemmed in between two armies, in an inclement season, and in a country ready to expel him. He knew that to proceed, he must venture a battle, in which a defeat would issue in the certain ruin of himself and all his party. In this extremity a council of war was summoned, where contrary opinions were given. Some were for advancing forwards; others for fighting the Duke, and outbraving what resistance should be made near London; but the majority, more dispassionate, and consulting the dictates of sober reason, were for an immediate retreat back into Scotland. Accordingly, on the 6th of December, they precipitately abandoned Derby, disguising, however, their retreat by their motions; and marched with such celerity through Ashbourn, Leake, Manchester, Leigh, and Wigan, that they reached Preston on

the 12th, having travelled upwards of eighty miles in six days.

The Duke of Cumberland, having received certain intelligence, on the 7th, of the rebels retreat, put himself at the head of all the horse and dragoons, with 1000 foot volunteers, in order to stop the rebels till the rest of his army came up, or to harass them in their flight: but the highlanders marched with so much expedition, that his R. H. could not overtake even their rear, till after their departure from Preston. The rebels, however, were in a very dangerous situation; as the people of the country through which they passed, harassed their rear, and picked up a number of stragglers; the Duke was close at their heels, and M. Wade was on their flank: but they outran the Marshal; for he was not able to reach Wakefield before Dec. 10. where he learned that Charles was advancing between Manchester and Preston, so that it was impossible to come up with them: he therefore returned to his old post at Newcastle, after having detached Maj.-Gen. Oglethorpe, on the 11th, with his horse and dragoons, and the Yorkshire hunters, to join the Duke of Cumberland. This expert officer reached Preston on the 13th, having performed a laborious march of 100 miles, over ice and snow, and through a dangerous and almost impassable road, in less than three days: a pregnant instance of the spirited zeal of this gallant commander for the public service.

The rebels quitted Preston early on the 13th, just four hours before the arrival of the Georgia rangers; and continued their flight with such rapidity, that they passed through Lancaster in the night of the 14th, and arrived at Kendal in Westmoreland on the 15th, though Lord Elcho, who commanded the rebels rear-guard, had two or three skirmishes, between Preston and Lancaster, with some of the party commanded by Gen Oglethorpe. The militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland were raised, to harass them in their rear;

rear; the bridges were ordered to be broke down, the roads to be damaged, and the beacons to be lighted to alarm the country. There was a small skirmish at Kendal, between a party of the rebels commanded by the Duke of Perth, and some of the townspeople, in which one of the latter was killed and two were taken prisoners; and of the townspeople an hostler and a shoemaker were killed.

The rebels continuing to retreat with such precipitation, that many of them threw away their arms upon the road, and the Duke with Gen. Ogleshorpe pursuing with the utmost celerity; his Royal Highness came up with their rear, on the 18th at night, after a ten hours march, to the north of Lowtherhall, which the rebels immediately abandoned, and threw themselves into the village of Clifton; where they had great advantages from the situation of the place, and from some broken walls which served them instead of intrenchments. His Royal Highness immediately caused a party of the dragoons dismount, and attack the village. This they did with so much bravery, that after a warm dispute, which lasted near an hour, the rebels were driven from their defensible situation, and owed their preservation to the darkness of the night; having had a good many killed, though they endeavoured to conceal their number, by carrying most of them off. About 70 of them were taken prisoners, among whom was Capt. George Hamilton of Redhouse.

Of the dragoons twelve men were killed and twenty-four wounded, among which last was Lt-Col. Honeywood of Bland's dragoons, Capt. East, and Cornets Owen and Hamilton. The dismounted dragoons were not above 300, whereas the rebels rear-guard consisted of 1000 of their best men; so that the odds was more than three to one.

The rebels gave a very odd account of this skirmish. They said, that the King's troops formed on a moor within half cannon-shot of the village of Clifton; that,
about

about an hour after sunset, several dragoons dismounted, came to the bottom of the moor, and lined some hedges and ditches next to it ; that there was a pretty smart fire on both sides for above half an hour ; that, at last, the dragoons firing very fast, Lord George Murray sent Cluny Macpherson's battalion down upon them sword in hand, with orders to drive them from their posts, but not to advance upon the moor ; that the Macphersons, after passing two hedges, drove the dragoons from the third, and then returned to their former posts, with the loss of twelve men only, who had run up the moor, and were amissing ; that the loss of the dragoons was uncertain, but judged not to be under a hundred ; that, night being come on, both sides retired ; and that thereafter the King's troops did not come in sight of the rebels. An account altogether incredible : for the rebels could not deny that they were drove from Clifton, and that they immediately fled to Penrith ; and it is certain, that they had a considerable number killed, and seventy taken prisoners. And their computation of the loss on the King's side is equally false : for the most authentic account states it at no more than 12 killed and 24 wounded ; though the rebels shewed the greatest inclination to sacrifice the whole dragoons ; for when some of the latter fell, the rebels cried out, *No quarter ; murder them* ; and some of them received several wounds after they were down. And if it be true, that in this skirmish the rebels had the advantage, how easy would it have been for them to have stood their ground at Clifton, and to have fought the pursuers, who consisted only of some horse and dragoons, and 1000 foot ; a number far inferior to the rebels ? But this skirmish gave them such an idea of the King's troops, that, upon hearing of it, they immediately took to their heels. For,

As soon as the news of this scuffle at Clifton reached Penrith, where the main body of the rebels was, they were under such a fearful apprehension of being overtaken,

overtaken, that they resolved to leave the town that very night, though they had at first intended to stay there till the next morning. They set out thence near ten o'clock at night, directing their route towards Carlisle; where they arrived at nine next day, the 19th, excessively fatigued, and in terrible confusion, having marched above 150 miles in twelve days, and at a most uncomfortable time of the year. It was so dark, and the country so covered, that it was not possible for the Duke to pursue them that night; and the troops were so fatigued with the forced marches they had made through very bad roads, that they were obliged to halt at Penrith on the 19th. That day and the next his Royal Highness was joined by 1000 volunteers from his own army, who had marched close after the horse and dragoons, having been provided in horses by the gentlemen of Staffordshire, and other counties through which they passed. St George's dragoons got to Hesket, within eight miles of Carlisle, on the evening of the 19th, where they lay that night and all the next day. And M. Wade having arrived at Newcastle on the 20th, detached 1000 foot and 50 horse, to reinforce the corps under the Duke.

The rebels, however, did not think proper to continue at Carlisle. They staid there only one night; and having reinforced the garrison, chiefly with their English recruits, and left all their cannon there, except three pieces, they departed thence early on the 20th, and pursued their march towards Scotland.

As the Duke expected, that the rebels would have staid some time at Carlisle, in order to refresh themselves after their fatiguing march; and as he was not in a condition to pursue them further till the 21st, when he was joined by the last of the foot; so he set out from Penrith at four in the morning of that day, marching in three columns: on his march, his Royal Highness received the news of the rebels having quitted Carlisle, and left in it only 3 or 400 men, under
the

the command of John Hamilton, above mentioned. About noon he came in sight of the city, and caused it to be immediately invested. As the rebel-garrison, upon the Duke's approach, fired their cannon upon every body who appeared in their sight, and seemed determined to make a vigorous defence, his Royal Highness sent for a train of battering cannon from Whitehaven. By the 28th, ten pieces of cannon having arrived, a battery of six eighteen-pounders was erected, with which he began at noon to batter the four-gun battery of the town. On the 29th the firing was abated for want of shot, till towards evening, when a fresh supply arriving, it was renewed very briskly for two hours, which very much shook the walls. That evening a fellow got over the walls, and was brought to the Duke. He delivered two letters : one for his Royal Highness ; the other for the commander of the Dutch troops, supposed to be with his army. They were from Sir Francis Geoghegan, who styled himself *Commander of the French artillery, and of the French garrison at Carlisle* ; and the contents were, to summon the commander of the Dutch to retire with his troops from the English army, under pretence of the capitulation of Tournay.

The night of the 29th was spent in raising a new battery of three eighteen-pounders, which was completed by the morning. But as soon as the old battery began to fire that morning, the rebels hung out a white flag. The battery then ceased ; and they called over the walls, that they had two hostages ready to be delivered at the English gate. His Royal Highness then sent Col. Conway and Lord Bury with two messages to the rebels, importing, " that he would make no exchange of hostages with rebels ; and desiring to know what they meant by hanging out the white flag : " and to inform the French officer, " that there were no Dutch troops there, but enough of the King's to chastise the rebels, and those who dared to give them any assistance."

ance." Col. Conway and Lord Bury returned, with a paper signed by Governor Hamilton, "desiring to know what terms his Royal Highness would be pleased to give them, upon surrender of the city and castle; and which known, his Royal Highness should be duly acquainted with their ultimate resolution; the white flag being hung out on purpose to obtain a cessation of arms for concluding such a capitulation." The two aids-de-camp were thereupon sent back with the terms, signed by Lt-Gen. Charles Duke of Richmond, by order of the Duke, importing, "That all the terms his Royal Highness could or would grant to the rebel-garrison were, That they should not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King's pleasure: that if they consented to these terms, the governor and principal officers were to deliver themselves up immediately; and the castle, citadel, and all the gates of the town, were to be taken possession of forthwith by the King's troops: that all the small arms were to be lodged in the town-guard room; and the rest of the garrison were to retire to the cathedral, where a guard was to be placed over them: and that no damage was to be done to the artillery, arms, or ammunition." The governor and garrison accepted the terms, recommending themselves to his Royal Highness's clemency, and beseeching his Royal Highness to interpose for them with his Majesty. On which Brig. Bligh took possession of the place, with 1100 foot and 120 horse. There were taken in it Col. Townley, with 19 of his officers, and 93 of his men, all English, of the Manchester regiment; Gov. John Hamilton, with 17 officers, 1 surgeon, and 256 men, all Scotch; Sir Francis Geoghegan, Col. Strickland, Sir John Arbutnot, a serjeant, and four private men, all in the French service; amounting in whole, officers included, to 388 men, besides James Cappock, of Lancashire, made by the young pretender Bishop of Carlisle. The

artillery taken was sixteen pieces of different bores, all brass, but none exceeding four-pounders.

Thus the prince-pretender lost all footing in England. He had entered it with the highest hopes of success, saying, "I will pursue, I will overtake, I will mount the throne;" but fled with the utmost precipitation, without being attacked, and sacrificed near 400 of his people to his safety. He used always to march on foot at the head of his men, had on a light plaid, belted about with a blue sash, a grey wig, and a blue bonnet, with a white rose in it, and was usually pretty chearful. When in Lancashire, having wore a hole in one of his shoes, he ordered a blacksmith to make a thin plate of iron, and fasten it to the bottom of the sole; which when done, he paid him, and said, "My lad, thou art the first blacksmith that ever shod the son of a king."

Some writers have styled the rebels retreat one of the most surprising that ever was performed; and have averred, that the most remarkable circumstance of their expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which those ferocious people conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder; that no violence was offered, no outrage committed, and that they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine; that notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick nor stragglers; but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in face of their enemy. And the rebels, in their printed account of their expedition into England, said, "that by all accidents, such as death by sickness, and people who had gone a-plundering (which they confessed could not be entirely prevented) and were never more heard of, they did not lose forty men in their expedition, including the twelve at Clifton," mentioned above.—It will only be necessary, in opposition to these accounts, to give a few particulars, extracted from the
rebels

rebels proceedings published at the time in the London Gazette, and from other authentic documents. "Letters from Derby, dated Dec. 8. say, that the rebels behaved tolerably well in their march southwards, but plundered the country in their retreat; that many of the best houses there had suffered; and that two of the rebels were taken with their arms between Ashbourn and Derby, by a farmer and two boys, and sent to the camp at Meriden common."—"At Ashbourn, they shot two men, one of whom died on the spot; they took all the horses they could lay their hands on, and plundered and did great damage."—Between Wigan and Manchester fifteen or sixteen stragglers were picked up, and sent to different jails."—For three days in the neighbourhood of Preston, the country-people had some smart skirmishes with the rebels, and destroyed several of them."—Near Lancaster, about 20 rebel-stragglers were picked up."—"Gen. Oglethorpe near Preston took a rebel-captain, named Mackenzie, and two men prisoners."—At Kendal, Dec. 16. they behaved very rudely, and exacted a sum of money. The last of them that were in that town plundered some houses for liquors, stripped those they met of their shoes, and attempted to fire a house."—"The highlanders were guilty of great excesses at Penrith. They broke open several houses and shops, took away great quantities of goods, and threw into the streets, and spoiled or destroyed what they could not carry off."—Thus far from the London Gazette. From other papers we have the following particulars. On the 29th of November, a party of the rebel-horse were attacked at Lowther-hall by the country-people, one man was killed, several were wounded, and ten made prisoners with all their horses. Six made their escape. One of these last was Charles Boyd, second son of Lord Kilmarnock.—At Derby, they demanded what money had been subscribed and paid towards raising men in that town and county, and carried off

the postchaise, in which the Duke of Perth lolled along.—At Manchester, on their return, they demanded 5000 l. on pain of military execution, of which they actually extorted 2500 l.

By this the reader may judge of the moderation and regularity of those ferocious people, the Scotch highlanders, whose thirst after plunder is celebrated in the annals of the nation, and whose rapaciousness is universally known even at home. It is amazing, that historians, in order to promote a favourite cause, should contradict manifest facts, and sacrifice truth to falsehood. The deliberation of the rebels retreat, may be judged of by the narrative already given of it; and the total loss may be estimated by the number of prisoners taken during the march and retreat. But it is time to proceed.

The Duke of Cumberland entered Carlisle in the morning of Dec. 31. amidst the loud acclamations of the people. Four dragoons found there, who had insisted with the rebels after the battle of Preston, were hanged up. Here he was met by four gentlemen, deputed by the principal loyal inhabitants of Edinburgh, to congratulate him on his success against the rebels, and to invite him to that capital in case he should enter Scotland. The deputies were graciously received, and had the honour to dine with his Royal Highness. The Duke having cleared England of rebels, after the reduction of Carlisle, set out on his return to London, where he arrived Jan. 5. 1746; expecting, that by the measures then taken, the rebellion would soon have been quashed, and tranquillity restored. But we shall find, that as Providence had honoured him to extinguish it in England, so it reserved for him the like honour in Scotland; which signal services will hand down his illustrious name with glory to the latest ages; when the memory of the rebellious crew shall be obliterated.

Mean while the rebel-army continued their retreat northward. They passed the Esk, Dec. 20. the same day they left Carlisle. The river being then breast-deep, some of them were drowned. Sixteen carts laden with their tents, were taken by Maj.-Gen. Bland. On their arrival in Scotland, they divided. One body, computed at about 4000, quartered that night at Annan; and another body, of about 2000, at Ecclefechan. Lord Elcho, with about 4 or 500, proceeded from Annan to Dumfries; and the rest followed next day. The pretender, the French ambassador, the Duke of Perth, Lord Pittligo, Lochiel, Clanronald, Glengary, and Keppoch, went by Dumfries; Lord Tullibardine, Lord George Murray, Lords Ogilvie and Nairn, by Moffat. On the 23d, the body at Dumfries marched thence, and the pretender lodged that night at Drumlanrig. A tenant of the Duke of Queensberry's was shot for running out of their way. They levied the excise at Dumfries, and intimated, that if either excise or land-tax was paid for the future to any other than them, the people might be sure of paying them over again double. They imposed a contribution on the town, of 2000 l. in money, and 1000 pair of shoes; seized nine casks of gunpowder, all the arms public and private, horse-furniture, boots, &c. every horse that could be found in town or country, and took free quarters. Near 1100 l. of the money was paid, and two gentlemen were carried off as hostages, till the remainder should be remitted. They ordered the townspeople to send their baggage after them, threatening, that if they heard a finger was moved against any of their stragglers, the hostages should instantly be put to death. They committed great outrages, having robbed and plundered several houses; and they told the people, they had reason to think themselves gently used, that their town was not laid in ashes. This severity was used with Dumfries, because the rebels, at their entering England, having left
thirty

thirty cart-loads of their baggage at Lockerby, for want of horses; and the party left to guard it, afraid of a body of militia sent from Dumfries to attack them, leaving the baggage, it was seized Nov. 14. and carried into Dumfries. That town lost at least 4000 l. by this rebel-visit, and the adjacent country much more. This is another instance of the moderation of the ferocious highlanders, and their humane prince. If he is not really descended from James VII. he imitates him to the life: and why should not the supposed grandson follow the example of his illustrious grandfather?

The rebels did not now think it proper to return to Edinburgh, which perhaps would not now have proved so easy an acquisition as it had done on the 17th of September. They therefore marched towards Glasgow, which their vanguard entered on the 25th; and the main body, with the pretender's son, next evening. But here we leave them for a little, in order to relate what has been passing all this time in Scotland, with some remarkable occurrences in England.

About the beginning of September, a royal sign-manual came down to Scotland, for raising twenty independent companies in the north, under the direction of Lord President Forbes, an eminent lawyer, an upright judge, a gentleman of strict honour and untainted integrity, in every respect an honour to his country. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of his King and country, and laid out considerable sums in that important service; in consideration of which his only son obtained a pension of 400 l. for life. He (says a late writer) confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government, which they had determined to oppose: others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking share in the present troubles. The Earl of Loudon, who had lately been appointed Colonel of a new highland regiment, which

was beginning to be levied when the rebellion broke out, was ordered, soon after the action at Preston, to repair to Inverness, to take upon him the command of the forces there. His Lordship arrived at that place Oct. 11. where he completed his regiment; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of his Majesty; and, by his vigilance, overawed the disaffected chieftains of that country who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion. About the middle of November he had collected about 1800 men, consisting of his own regiment, the Earl of Sutherland's and Lord Rae's people, Monroes, Grants, Guns, and Macleods; and had received money and arms from London by the Saltash sloop of war.

While this Noble Lord was using his utmost endeavours to quell any rebellious motions in the neighbourhood of Inverness, Lord Lewis Gordon was equally busy in raising men for the pretender's service in the county of Mar, and other parts of Aberdeenshire. But what gave the greatest joy to the Jacobites, and made some sculking rebels to appear openly, was the arrival of Lord John Drummond, only brother to the Duke of Perth. This gentleman, with 800 Scots and Irish, in six transports from Dunkirk, landed at Montrose, Stonehaven, and Peterhead, about the 24th of November, and brought along with him a small train of artillery, consisting of several eighteen-pounders. On the 2d of December he issued a declaration in the following terms.

“ We Lord John Drummond, commander in chief of his Most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland, do hereby declare, That we are come to this kingdom with written orders to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and his adherents; and that the positive orders we have from his Most Christian Majesty are, to attack all his enemies in this kingdom; whom he has declared to be those who will not immediately join or assist, as far as will lie in
their

their power, the Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, &c. his ally; and whom he is resolved, with the concurrence of the King of Spain, to support in the taking possession of Scotland, England, and Ireland, if necessary at the expence of all the men and money he is master of; to which three kingdoms the family of Stuart have so just and indisputable a title. And his Most Christian Majesty's positive orders are, That his enemies should be used in this kingdom in proportion to the harm they do or intend to his Royal Highness's cause."—A declaration expressive of the disposition and conduct of the Most Christian King, Lewis the Wellbeloved. Here a natural-born subject of G. Britain, under pretence of a commission from the French King, takes upon him not only to prosecute by fire and sword such as will oppose the French invaders and their confederates here, but to threaten destruction to those who will not join in the unhallowed attempt. And indeed this gentleman's conduct was pretty much of a piece with his declaration. For, immediately upon his arrival, the rebels in Perthshire and Angus, grown insolent with the succours sent them, behaved in such a manner, that the whole country round became one scene of horror and oppression; robberies were perpetual, many of them in open day, in the public streets; in Strathmore they robbed many of the clergy of considerable sums; whole parishes in Angus were distressed by pressing men, or exacting a composition in money; some gentlemen were assailed in 50 l. some in 100 l. and others in 200 l. Illuminations being ordered at Dundee on account of the arrival of the French, the windows of the Presbyterian ministers were broke, because not illuminated; they threw stones, and even fired sharp shot into one of them; and would not desist till the aged pastor applied to their commanding officer to get them called off.

Nor were Perth and Angus the only counties exposed to such oppression and depredations; but parties

ties of them spread further north, and raised men and money in Bamff and Aberdeen shires, by force, and threats of the most severe military execution. The money imposed on the town and shire of Aberdeen, viz. 5 l. Sterling or an able-bodied man, with sufficient highland cloaths, plaid and arms, for every 100 l. Scots of valued rent, was computed at near 13,000 l. Sterling. And they sent detachments into various parts of Fife, who made the inhabitants groan by their oppressive exactions. The Earl of Kelly, who afterwards had the honour to stand in the front of the list of the attainted, with a party of highlanders and French, came to Dunfermline Dec. 27. to collect the cess and excise, where and at Alloa several outrages were committed. Besides raising the public monies, they assessed several gentlemen in considerable sums, among others, Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, in 300 l.; Mr Welwood of Garvock, in 250; Mess. Cuninghame of Balbougie, and Charles Cochran of Culross, in 200 each; Sir Robert Henderson of Fordel, Mess. Blackwood of Pitreavie, and Erskine of Carnock, in 150 each; Mess. Colvil of Ochiltree, and Dundas of Blair, in 100 each; and Mess. Robert Welwood, and Black, clerk of Dumfermline, in 50 each.

These are but a few instances of the effects of the highland government in Scotland; and from these an idea may be formed of the distressed state of the kingdom, while the rebel-yoke was wreathed about its neck.

Lord J. Drummond, soon after his arrival, sent a French drum, with letters to the King's generals. He came to Edinburgh Nov. 9. and after delivering letters to the governors in the castle, he proceeded southward, and arrived at Newcastle on the 19th. M. Wade, like a gallant Protestant officer, caused him to be told, that he had no answer to give him; and that he could receive no message from a person who is a subject of the King's and in rebellion against his Ma-

jesty. The King's message to the Commons of Dec. 19. to be afterwards mentioned, will explain the nature of this rebel's message.

Not long after the arrival of the French, the rebels about Montrose surprised and took the Hazard sloop of war, of 16 guns, commanded by Capt. Hill. This prize proved of vast service to them; but she was afterwards, at a very critical conjuncture, retaken, with a considerable sum of money on board. All the crew were made prisoners, and the loss was owing to their negligence. On an inquiry into the cause of her loss, the captain and lieutenant were both cashiered, the gunner and boatswain reprimanded, and the rest acquitted.

As soon as the rebels marched into England, Lord Lovat, the chief of the clan of Frasers, secretly incited his people to rise up in favour of the young pretender, sent for his eldest son from the college of St Andrew's, and compelled him to head them. On news of the surrender of Carlisle, he sent his son, with 500 men, to block up Fort Augustus. On notice of this, Lord Loudon, with 600 of the well-affected clans, marched from Inverness, Dec. 3. in a very severe frost, to the relief of that fort. He met with no opposition, the Frasers having retired on his approach; and having supplied the garrison with necessaries, he returned to Inverness on the 8th.

This detachment, after one day's rest, were ordered to march to drive the rebels out of Bamff and Aberdeenshire. On the 10th Lord Loudon, with 800 men, marched to Castle-Downie, a seat of Lord Lovat, in order to obtain security for the peaceable behaviour of the Frasers. At the same time the Laird of Macleod was detached with 500 men towards Elgin, in their way also to Bamff and Aberdeenshire; and Lord Loudon was to follow with as many men as could be spared from Inverness. On the 11th Lord Loudon prevailed with Lovat to come into Inverness a-
long

long with him, and live there under his eye until he should bring in all the arms that were in the possession of his clan. This he frankly promised to do, averring, that the Frasers had taken up arms against his consent, and highly condemning the behaviour of the Master, whom he styled a rebellious sop. He had fixed the 14th for causing the arms be given up; but he delayed to fulfil his promise from time to time, and at last found means to escape. In the mean time 200 men, under Capt. George Monro of Culcairn, were detached to follow Macleod. On the arrival of the latter at Elgin, hearing that 200 rebels had taken possession of the boats on the river Spey at Fochabers, and pretended to dispute the passage with him, he advanced on the 15th to the banks of that river; which the rebels quitted on his approach, leaving him a quiet passage. From thence he proceeded on the 16th and 17th to Cullen and Bamff, whilst Culcairn with his 200 men, on the 17th and 18th, advanced by Keith to Strathbogie. The rebels who were in possession of those places, retired towards Aberdeen. The young Laird of Grant joined Capt. Monro with 500 of his clan, and marched with him to Strathbogie. On the 19th it was resolved by Macleod and Culcairn to march the next morning, the first from Bamff to Old Meldrum, twelve miles from Aberdeen, and the last from Strathbogie to Inverury, which is at the like distance. Macleod and Culcairn's party, consisting only of 700 men, had now got to Inverury, the Grants having marched no farther than Strathbogie. The rebels at Aberdeen had got a reinforcement from Montrose, Dundee, &c. and being 1200 strong, they marched from Aberdeen so secretly, that, on the 23d, they came up with Macleod at Inverury, where he lay with about 300 of his men, (the rest being cantoned in the neighbourhood, at the distance of a mile or two), after four o'clock in the evening, without being discovered, till they were ready to begin the attack. Notwithstanding the surprise, and

the inequality of numbers, the loyal party maintained their ground for about twenty minutes, until the greatest part of their ammunition was exhausted ; and then made their retreat in so good order, that the rebels did not at all pursue them. They had seven men killed, and 15 so wounded that they could not be brought off. The rebels loss was greater, though they took care to conceal it, by burying their dead in the night. Some accounts bore, that of Macleod's men 41 were taken prisoners, among whom were Mess. Gordon younger of Ardoch, Forbes of Echt, and John Chalmers one of the regents in the university of Aberdeen. Macleod and Culcainn, after this affair, retired to the north side of the Spey, to prevent like surprises.

During these transactions the rebels at Perth daily increased, and Lord John Drummond established his head quarters there. They repaired Oliver's mount, and employed a considerable number of country-people in fortifying the whole town. Here the Frasers joined them ; as did also some of Clanronald's people, who had escorted a considerable quantity of Spanish money that had been landed in the island of Barray. About the end of December, the party at Perth were also reinforced by a body of men under the Earl of Cromarty, Lord Strathallan, and Lord Lewis Gordon, besides some of the Macintoshes and Farquharsons ; so that they were then said to be 3000 strong.

Before we proceed further in the affairs in Scotland, which is again become the scene of rebellion, it will not be improper to relate a few remarkable occurrences in England.

It has been already mentioned, that the parliament met on the 17th of October, and that, in their addresses to the King, they expressed the utmost detestation of the unnatural rebellion which had broke out in Scotland. Both houses concurred in every measure for suppressing the rebellion ; and at a conference in the Painted Chamber, Nov. 7. they came to the following resolutions,

resolutions, expressing the general sense of the nation with regard to the rebellion, and the papers published by the pretender, and his eldest son, *viz.*

“ 1. That the two printed papers respectively signed *James R.* and dated at Rome Dec. 23. 1743, [*i. e.* the pretender's declaration for Scotland, and his commission of regency to his son], and the four printed papers signed *Charles P. R.* dated respectively May 16. Aug. 22. and Oct. 9. & 10. 1745, [*i. e.* the young pretender's first manifesto; his proclamation in opposition to that published by the Lords Justices Aug. 6.; his proclamation forbidding the parliament to meet; and his second manifesto], are false, scandalous, and traiterous libels; intended to poison the minds of his Majesty's subjects; containing the most malicious, audacious, and wicked incitements to them to commit the most abominable treasons; groundless and infamous calumnies and indignities against the government, crown, and sacred person of his Most Excellent Majesty King George II. our only rightful and undoubted sovereign; and seditious and presumptuous declarations against the constitution of this united kingdom; representing the high court of parliament, now legally assembled, by his Majesty's authority, as an unlawful assembly, and all the acts of parliament passed since the late happy revolution, as null and void; and that the said printed papers are full of the utmost arrogance and insolent affronts to the honour of the British nation, in supposing, that his Majesty's subjects are capable of being imposed upon, seduced, or terrified, by false and opprobrious invectives, insidious promises, or vain and impotent menaces, or of being deluded to exchange the free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, as well civil as religious, under the well-established government of a Protestant prince, for Popery and slavery, under a Popish bigotted pretender, long since excluded by the wisest laws made to secure our excellent constitution, and abjured by the most solemn oaths.

“ 2. That

" 2. That, in abhorrence and detestation of such vile and treasonable practices, the said several printed papers be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal exchange in London, on Tuesday the 12th day of this instant November, at one of the clock in the afternoon; and that the sheriffs of London do then attend, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly."—The papers were burnt, agreeably to this resolution, amidst the repeated acclamations of a prodigious number of people.

Such was the opinion of the supreme council of the nation with respect to the pretender's declarations, and such their detestation of them, which had had the influence to raise and arm a considerable number of people in Scotland, in order to overturn the constitution, laws, and religion of their native country, under which they had enjoyed more liberty than any one nation under heaven ever had done. And not long after these famous resolutions, they passed an act for raising the militia in England; by which 36,250 men could be raised, exclusive of Wales, which was to furnish 2300.

It has also been mentioned above, that the fleet was stationed in such a manner as might best prevent an invasion from France, and that the brave Adm. Vernon commanded in the Downs. Notwithstanding the vigilance of this experienced officer, and the prudent disposition made by him of his cruisers, no less than 800 men got to Scotland in several transports, two of which were privateers. A third named *the Esperance*, was however taken Nov. 22. and brought into Deal on the 25th, by the Sheerness, of 20 guns, Capt. Bally. On board this prize was Charles Ratcliffe, Esq; brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, who was attainted in 1715, and had since resided in France, where he assumed the title of Earl of Derwentwater; as were also his son, 30 other officers, and 60 soldiers, all of different regiments in the French service. On the 28th, the

the Milford, of 40 guns, Capt. Hanway, took the Lewis XV, another of the French transports, off Mont-rose; brought the prize to Leith road, and landed the prisoners at Leith, who then were committed to the castle of Edinburgh, Dec. 6. On board this ship were found 16 officers, 5 serjeants, 6 corporals, 2 drums, 93 private men, 2 surgeons, and 4 servants, 330 stand of arms, with bayonets and cartouch-boxes, 330 broad swords, a number of bridles and saddles, harnesses and collars for horses. Besides these prizes, a Spanish ship, belonging to the Groine, bound for Scotland, was taken, and brought into Corke, by the Ambuscade privateer of London, Cooke, Dec. 12. She had on board 2500 muskets and bayonets, 110 barrels of powder, 70 cases of ball, each weighing 400 lb. weight, and a great number of flints. There were also on board 60,000 pistoles in bags; which, with the vessel's papers, were thrown into the sea, except about 1217 of the pistoles.

By these captures, and the ships that got to Scotland, and the preparations in the French ports, the government were satisfied of an intended invasion from France. The fleet was therefore stationed so as best to prevent it. On the 12th of December, two Dover privateers fell in with eight transports, from Boulogne for Dunkirk, under convoy of a war-ship of 22 guns, and seized three of them. On the 19th they fell in with about 60 sail, mostly fishing-boats and small vessels, from Dunkirk for Calais or Boulogne; of which they drove seventeen ashore near Calais, blowed up one, sunk two, and carried off three. All the vessels taken had some warlike stores on board; such as small cannon, powder, ball, horse-collars, cloaths and bedding for soldiers, and poles about seven feet long, spiked with iron at both ends. Other two vessels, from Roan for Boulogne, in ballast, were likewise sent into Dover, by one of the privateers of that port.

And

And on the 12th a proclamation was published by his Majesty, commanding all officers, both civil and military, in their respective counties, to cause the coasts to be carefully watched; and, upon the first approach of an enemy, immediately to cause all horses, oxen, and cattle, fit for draught or burthen, to be removed at least twenty miles from the place where the enemy should attempt to land. Nay, his Majesty was so impressed with the belief of a designed invasion, that he sent a message to the house of Commons, on the 19th, importing, "That his Majesty having received undoubted intelligence, that preparations were making at Dunkirk, and other ports of France, which were then in great forwardness, for invading Britain with a considerable number of forces, in support of the rebellion; and some French troops being actually landed in Scotland, under the command of a person, who had sent a message to some of the generals of his Majesty's forces, declaring, that he was come into this kingdom to make war against his Majesty, by the orders of the French King [meaning Lord John Drummond]; his Majesty thought it proper to acquaint the house of Commons with an event of such high importance to his crown, and to the peace and security of his kingdoms: informing them, that he judged it necessary to direct the 6000 Hessians in British pay to be brought into the kingdom, the more effectually to repel the invasion, and suppress the rebellion: and not doubting but his faithful Commons would concur in all such measures as should be necessary for disappointing and defeating so dangerous an attempt."——And a letter wrote by Adm. Vernon, dated, *Norwich in the Downs, Dec. 20.* addressed to Adm. Norris, or to the Mayor of Deal, left no room to doubt of the truth of the destined invasion. In that letter the Admiral says, he had received intelligence the evening before, that the enemy had brought away from Dunkirk great numbers of their small imbakations, many of them laden with
cannon,

cannon, field-carriages, powder, shot, and other military stores; that the Irish troops had marched out of Dunkirk towards Calais; that Gen. Lowendahl, and many other officers, were at Dunkirk, with a young person among them whom they called the Prince, and who was said to be the second son of the pretender; and that they were preparing for a descent from the ports of Calais and Boulogne, which he suspected would be attempted at Dungeness. By the best information, it appeared, that the Irish troops, consisting of 6000 men, were to be embarked in large ships for Scotland; but the national troops, consisting of 12,000 men, under the command of C. Lowendahl, and the pretender's second son, were to be landed in England. But this invasion was defeated by the prudent station of the fleet, and the vigilance of Adm. Vernon; so that the French were obliged to discontinue their preparations. A short while after, Com. Knowles, who had been sent to look into the French ports, reported, that there were no signs then of any preparations for an invasion: so that the British nation was no longer apprehensive of the storm that had been so long hovering on their coasts; and they attributed the defeating of this attempt to the brave Adm. Vernon: though that brave gentleman was not long after dismissed from the service, and never after again employed; he struck his flag, Jan. 2. 1746, and wrote to the Duke of Bedford, then at the head of the admiralty-board, that he was hunted out of his command by the operative hand of some malicious and industrious agent, that was too well screened, for his being able to discover him, and point out who it was. But he had the satisfaction to see, that the whole kingdom was sensible, that his activity had put an absolute check on the French, and banished every idea of an intended descent.

But we now return to affairs in Scotland, where we shall meet with very interesting scenes, until the hydra

head of Rebellion was lopped off in April 1746, and the country cleared of the pretended prince and all his open adherents.

On the departure of the rebels from Edinburgh, the timid clergy of that city began to crawl out of their lurking-holes, and assume an air of courage. Divine worship was performed in some of the churches Nov. 3. and in all on the 10th. The synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and the presbytery of Edinburgh, complimented the commanders in the castle for their vigilance in the late time of danger; and soon after the commission, with the synod of Lothian, the presbytery of Edinburgh, and the ministers of that city, sent very loyal addressees to his Majesty. The commission likewise published a seasonable warning with respect to the rebellion, in which particular notice was taken of the young pretender's second manifesto, mentioned above, and the fallacy thereof exposed. No body can doubt of the loyalty of the ecclesiastical body in Scotland, and of their zeal for his Majesty's person and government, though the courage of many failed them upon the mere appearance of danger, when it should have been roused into activity. And indeed, every sincere Protestant must be convinced, that the preservation of his religion is connected with K. George's government in the present circumstances; and that if the government were overturned, the Protestant religion must share in the fatal catastrophe. And the Jacobitish Protestants must be infatuated to the last degree, who think that religion would run no risk under a Popish prince. Let them only consider what has taken place in France, Germany, &c. and not forget the conduct of K. James II, the supposed father of the present pretender, in whose steps the Popish son and grandson would reckon it their honour to tread. But to proceed:

While the rebels ruled in Edinburgh, the officers of state had retired to Berwick; but after the highland army left that city, these gentlemen returned, and resumed their

their several offices. The Lord Justice-Clerk and the Lords of Justiciary, attended by the Earl of Home and Lord Belhaven, and a great number of gentlemen, entered the city, Nov. 13. and were, at the cross, met by the late magistrates, and other inhabitants of distinction. They were saluted by a round of the castle-guns; the music bells played the whole time of the procession, and the people joined their loud huzza's. The whole company having immediately assembled in the parliament-house, the Lord Justice-Clerk made them a very seasonable and loyal speech, expressing the greatest sympathy with the city on account of her late distress; promising immediate succours from M. Wade; recommending to the inhabitants to consider themselves as in a state of war, notwithstanding the rebels departure; and recommending to the heritors, with the assistance of the clergy, to make up lists of all the able-bodied men in their respective bounds, proper to be intrusted with arms, for the defence of the city, and the country adjoining.

Next day, Lt-Gen. Handasyd arrived in Edinburgh, with Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's [late Gardiner's] dragoons. These troops were received by the inhabitants with open arms, as a happy exchange for the highland savages who had so lately resided among them.

But as no more forces could be spared from M. Wade's army, and as those now sent would be insufficient for defending the city, in case the rebels who had gone to England should return, or those in the north should march that way, a meeting of the subscribers to the fund for levying a regiment in Edinburgh, formerly mentioned, was called Nov. 26. A new subscription was opened, for completing a regiment of 1000 men, who were to be under the direction of the commander in chief of the forces in Scotland. Multitudes immediately enlisted, and the regiment was soon completed, the sensible commonalty shewing the greatest zeal for the service.

A meeting of the Edinburgh freeholders was held Nov. 27. when the gentlemen were justly of opinion, that the capital was of such importance, that no means ought to be left untried to preserve it from again falling into the hands of the rebels; and therefore ordered the fencible men to be raised, armed, and to march for the defence of the city, if occasion should require.

The same spirit of loyalty soon spread through other parts of the kingdom, particularly in the west, a country zealously attached to his Majesty's person and government. Stirling raised 400 men;—Glasgow and Paisley 3000, besides 300 Seceders, who formed a separate corps, all hearty for the service of their King and country. And about the same time Maj.-Gen. Campbell of Mamore, presumptive heir of the noble family of Argyll, arrived at Inverary, with money, arms, and ammunition, for raising the Argyleshire militia. The rebels had not been able to raise men in Argyleshire: for, about the beginning of November, Glengyle, chief of the clan Macgregor, who had been appointed governor of Innerfnaid, Down, &c. by the young pretender, having gone thither with a party, in order to raise men, was attacked by three companies of Loudon's regiment, commanded by Lt-Col. John Campbell, and obliged to retreat, with the loss of two men killed and eighteen taken prisoners.

About the beginning of December, the rebels at Perth, with their French auxiliaries, began to talk that they would march southward, cross the Forth, and besiege both Edinburgh and Stirling castles, and for that purpose ordered horses to be provided for drawing their heavy cannon. On notice of this, Price's foot marched from Edinburgh on the 6th, and Ligonier's on the 9th, for Stirling. A body of the Glasgow and Paisley militia also marched thither about the same time, under the command of the Earls of Home and Glencairn. They were joined by the Stirling militia, and posted

so as best to secure the bridge of that town, and the fords at the heads of the Forth.

Immediately after the retreat of the rebels from Carlisle, the greatest part of M. Wade's army was ordered for Scotland, and the command given to Lt-Gen. Henry Hawley, an officer who had been present at the battle of Sheriff-moor in 1715, and who, consequently, could not be supposed to be a stranger to the method of fighting practised by the highlanders. The troops began, in the end of December, to file off successively from Newcastle, and were impatiently expected at Edinburgh; the loyal inhabitants of which, on notice of the return of the rebels into Scotland, were under no small apprehensions lest they should direct their march thither. There were then few or no regular troops in the city, and the disaffected were eager for the return of their friends. Fear of a second visit prevailed so far, that on the 22d and 23d of December, some of the public offices and valuable effects were conveyed to the castle. But their apprehensions were in some measure removed by the return of the troops from Stirling on the 24th, who had made forced marches. At the same time the Glasgow and Paisley militia moved towards Edinburgh, and came by shipping from Borrowstounness to Leith. However, as it was still doubtful what route the pretender's army would take, and as there was not yet a sufficient force at Edinburgh to repel them, should they march that way, it was feared, that the regular troops and militia would be obliged to march for Berwick: and that there was some intention of such a march, appeared from providing horses and carts, Dec. 23. and securing them in the castle, in order, as was supposed, to transport their baggage: but they were all discharged next day, when the troops arrived from Stirling. At the same time intelligence was received of the rebels having marched for Glasgow, and of the first division of Gen. Hawley's army having set out from Newcastle; which
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in a good measure eased the inhabitants of their fears. But as another visit of the rebels was still dreaded at Edinburgh, and as express after express was sent them from their friends in that city to hasten their march thither, the principal inhabitants, therefore, took advice of the gentlemen of the army; and at a council of war held Dec. 28. the following resolutions were agreed to, viz. 1. That orders be given to lay in immediately a sufficient quantity of provisions. 2. That a corps of able-bodied men from the country be forthwith brought into the city, and added to the regular forces and militia. 3. That the cannon on travelling carriages, harnesses for horses, cartridges for the cannon, primers, &c. be provided. 4. That proper works be thrown up before the different ports, and the foot of the several closes; and that all the ports that shall be judged useles, be immediately built up. 5. That proper communications be made, for the ready junction of troops around the walls. 6. That artillery-tumbrels be forthwith loaded with ball and cartridges, to be sent where there may be occasion. 7. That a quantity of wheel-barrows, pick-axes, shovels, and other necessary artillery-stores, be provided, together with horses to draw the train. Next day a paper was read in all the churches, importing, That it had been resolved in a council of war, in case the rebels should approach, to defend the city against them; and therefore desiring such of the inhabitants as chose to stay in town, to lay in provisions for five or six days.

By this time the rebels about Glasgow began to be in motion; and advice was brought to Edinburgh, Dec. 30. that they were packing up their baggage, which seemed to indicate a march. The country-militia were therefore immediately called in to town; for, in pursuance of the Lord Justice-Clerk's recommendation, above mentioned, lists had been made out of the able-bodied men proper to be intrusted with arms for the

the defence of the city. A party came into town on the evening of the 30th, and a considerable number in a day or two after. Several ministers marched with their parishioners, some of them in arms. The Seceders of Edinburgh and Dalkeith kept in a body by themselves, and had proper colours, with this inscription, *For religion, the covenants, king, and kingdoms.* All the volunteers received arms and ammunition out of the magazine in the castle. The works about the city were likewise begun, and preparations made for a vigorous defence. And it is thought these measures intimidated the rebels to march towards Edinburgh, though very desirous of again possessing themselves of that city, and strongly importuned by their friends to attempt it.

In a few days, however, the first division of the troops from Newcastle arrived; which rendered the continuing of the public works unnecessary. A battalion of the Royal Scots, and Battereau's foot, having been provided in horses by the gentlemen and farmers of the Lothians, to expedite their march, reached Edinburgh Jan. 2.; Fleming's and Blakeney's foot, on the 3d; Maj.-Gen. Huske, on the 4th; Gen. Hawley, commander in chief, on the 6th; Wolfe's and Cholmondeley's foot, on the 7th; Howard's (the Old Buffs) and Monro's, on the 8th; and Barrel's and Pulteney's, on the 10th. The troops were entertained at Dunbar, Aberlady, &c. by the counties of the Lothians. Each soldier got a pound of beef, a pound of bread, a glass of Scotch spirits, and a bottle of ale. They were likewise entertained at Edinburgh by the city; where they were received with fine illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. The streets were lined with the militia on their entering the city, the windows were illuminated, and the music-bells played. Some of the troops were billeted in the city, suburbs, and Leith; but the greatest part were quartered in public buildings and empty houses, the inhabitants furnishing them blankets. Commodious rooms were taken
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for the officers, and paid for by the principal inhabitants, as an evidence of their hearty zeal for the public service in this critical conjuncture.

The young pretender, with his army, as has been already related, entered Glasgow on the 26th of December. By a medium of several computations, their number did not exceed 3600 foot and 500 horse, including 50 or 60 employed in carrying their sick. Their horses were poor and jaded; and 6 or 700 of their foot had no arms, or ability to use them. In short, they were in a very miserable pickle, almost naked, and without shoes and stockings. They also lost several men by desertion and death, and could only insist about 50 or 60, who took on with them merely for want of bread. The deserters were generally such as had collected plunder in England, and now thought it prudent to retire with it to their respective places of ahode.

The inhabitants of Glasgow had at all times distinguished themselves in zeal for the Protestant cause, and the true interest of their country. In 1688, they had shewed an early zeal for the support of our great deliverer K. William, after having suffered the most grievous persecutions under the royal brothers. In 1715, they had levied and maintained, at their own expence, a regiment for helping to suppress the rebellion begun that year. And at this time, animated by the same noble spirit, and not deterred by the heavy fine formerly imposed upon them, they raised and sub-filled two battalions, of 600 men each. One of the battalions had marched to Stirling, for the defence of that pass, under the command of the Earl of Home; and the other, on the approach of the rebels, in their retreat from England, had been disbanded, and their arms delivered into Dumbarton castle. Such distinguished loyalty could not fail to expose them anew to the resentment of the rebels, who had already exacted from them a sum of 5500 l. soon after their getting possession of Edinburgh. Immediately after their arrival

rival here, the rebels demanded from the city, 12,000 shirts, 6000 bonnets, 6000 pairs of shoes, 6000 pairs of stockings, and 6000 waistcoats, amounting to near 10,000 l. Sterling in value. They likewise required lists of the promoters of the fund for raising the two regiments, the sums subscribed by each, and the names of the officers who commanded them. But this demand was absolutely refused by the Provost, who having been an active promoter of the new levies on behalf of the government, was assessed separately in 500 l. The rebels lived, during their residence here, which was ten days, at free quarters, and expressed their resentment against the zealous friends of the government, by several outrages, such as plundering houses, destroying goods and furniture, and other acts of oppression. So that the loyalty of this city cost them at least 18,000 l. of which 10,000 l. was afterwards, in 1749, reimbursed to them by parliament. Not content with these rigorous exactions, they caused two terms of the excise to be paid them, raised 500 l. at Paisley, in resentment of the loyalty of that borough, levied the public money at Renfrew and other places, and made demands all the country round. And the prince-pretender, to shew the lenity of his government, issued an order, dated at Glasgow, Dec. 30. addressed to the commissioners of supply of Linlithgowshire, requiring twenty-five horses, or 10 l. for each, to be delivered to him on or before the 16th of January 1746, on pain of military execution. Some of these rigorous demands were never complied with, and the rebels influence did not always reach so far as to enforce the execution of them.

While the highland army lay at Glasgow, Gen. Campbell was busy raising men in Argyleshire for the service of the government; so that by the end of December there were 600 at Inverary, and 450 at Campbelton, a body sufficient to prevent any detachments from the rebels penetrating into that county. On the

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other hand, about the time of the rebels entering Glasgow, 800 rebels from Perth were in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and were quartered at Down, Dumblain, and bridge of Allan; 7 or 800 were at Dundee and Montrose; 400 French at Perth; and 300 of Invercauld's men had been compelled by fire and sword to join Lord Lewis Gordon at Aberdeen, who now was on his march to Perth. The number of rebels, exclusive of those at Glasgow, was, at the end of the year 1745, computed at 4000; and they were all on their march towards Stirling, to join their pretended prince there.

After the departure of the regular troops and west-country militia from Stirling to Edinburgh, Glengyle, with the help of floats, (the boats having been all destroyed), passed the Forth at the Frew, and placed a guard on the south side of the river. The Duke of Perth joined them, with a small detachment from Glasgow, on the 28th of December. The rebels now resolved to attack Stirling; and, on the 30th, several pieces of cannon were moved towards that town; amongst which were two pieces of eight-pounders, two of twelve, and two of sixteen, all brass, besides iron cannon, with a large quantity of powder and ball.

On the 3d of January the rebels, who had had no respect paid to them or their chief by the inhabitants of Glasgow, marched thence for Stirling, one column by Kilsyth, and another by Cumbernauld. As the whole of the shirts, &c. imposed on Glasgow were not made when they marched, two merchants were carried off as hostages, for security of their being delivered. Next day they sent for printing materials and workmen, which were provided for them; and soon after they erected a printing-house at Bannockburn, in order to print and disperse their treasonable writings. The young pretender lay at Mr Campbell's of Shawfield near Kilsyth, in the night of the 3d. Mr Campbell's steward was ordered to provide every thing, and promised pay-
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ment; but was told next morning, that the bill should be allowed to his master at accounting for the rents of Kilfyth, being a forfeited estate. Next day, the army advanced towards Stirling, and were cantoned at Denby, Bannockburn, and St Ninian's. A strong party of their men, under the Earl of Kilmarnock, were detached towards Falkirk, for a rearguard. The young Chevalier took up his quarters at Bannockburn, the house of Sir Hugh Paterson of Touch. Lord George Murray and John Drummond went to Alloa on the 4th, to concert how to bring over the cannon brought from Perth, by floats; went next to survey the passage at Cambus, and then proceeded to Dumblain, leaving a guard of 100 men at Alloa.

When the rebels from Perth marched towards Stirling, Gen. Blakeney used the precaution to cut one of the arches of the bridge; and dreading that the rebels would attack the castle, he ordered large quantities of provisions to be brought in for the use of the garrison, being determined to make a resolute defence. He likewise encouraged the inhabitants of the town to make a vigorous defence, if attacked; promising them all the assistance he could possibly afford. There were above 600 men in arms in the town, who were furnished with arms and ammunition from the castle, all hearty volunteers, determined to risk their lives in defence of the place. As the town was open on the north side, and without walls, having only some low fences encompassing gardens and parks, care had been taken, by the direction of Gen. Blakeney, to have a stone wall and gate built in the two large passages on that side; and some of the entries to the gardens stopped up.

The rebel-army from Glasgow advanced towards Stirling Jan. 3. approached nearer on the forenoon of the 4th, and quite surrounded it in the afternoon. Next day they fell to cutting down trees, making fascines, &c. in order to raise a battery; and about eight at night they sent a drum to the east port with a

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message;

message ; who being fired at by the centinels, instantly fled, leaving his drum, which was towed in over the walls. On the 6th the rebels opened a trench, and raised a battery within musket-shot of the town. At one o'clock after noon, they sent a message to the magistrates and council, requiring them to surrender the town, and give up all arms and ammunition in it, with high threatenings in case of refusal or delay. A meeting of the council and principal inhabitants being immediately called, they sent a verbal message, to Mr Murray the rebel-secretary, importing, "That as it was a matter of the utmost consequence, they would chuse to deliberate upon it till next day at ten o'clock." The delay being allowed, the rebels demand was taken into consideration. The subject of deliberation was, Whether it would be the wisest course to continue the defence of the town, or give it up on terms ?" The majority were of opinion, that to continue the defence would be a vain and fruitless attempt. However, after much altercation, they sent two deputies with an answer, importing, That as the message received, was a summons of surrendry at discretion, the town-council could not agree to any such surrendry. This answer was highly resented by the highland chiefs. It was then agreed to send four deputies to Mr Murray, with an offer of surrendering the town, upon the following terms : That no demand should be made on the town's revenue ; that the inhabitants should be absolutely safe in their persons and effects, particularly such of them as had been in arms ; and that all arms, &c. in the town, should be delivered into the castle. These terms being carried to the highland army, they were accepted of, but with great difficulty as to the article relating to the arms. At eight that night, being Jan. 7. before the return of the deputies, the rebels made twenty-seven discharges from their battery, on the town, which did no other damage, than beating down a few chimney-tops. Next morning, at nine o'clock, all

all the arms were conveyed into the castle, the gates were thrown open at eleven, and the rebels entered about three after noon; but were not two hours in possession, when they broke the capitulation, by forcing up and pillaging the shops of those who had been most noted for their opposition to the pretender: A proceeding no way surprising; as they had to do with a Popish pretender, one of the tenets of whose religion is to keep no faith with heretics, unless the benefit of the Catholic church can be thereby promoted.

It must be allowed, that this capitulation was honourable for the town of Stirling, and that their conduct merited greater praise than that of Edinburgh or Carlisle. But several of the volunteers and militia were displeased with these measures; as was also the brave Gen. Blakeney. For on hearing of what had passed about surrendering the town on terms, he came down from the castle, and went round all the guards, exhorting them to be true to their religion, king, and country, and to defend their posts to the last extremity; and if they were overpowered by the rebels, to make a handsome retreat, and he would keep an open door for them. Next morning he was informed of the terms being agreed to by the rebels; when he desired the arms and ammunition to be delivered up to him. On this the captains of the volunteers offered, with his assistance, still to defend the town; but he told them, that as the managers did not think the town worth their notice, to defend it, neither would he; he would take care of the castle. Among the volunteers were two companies of Seceders, who were all along bent for a resolute defence; as was Mr Ebenezer Erskine, their minister. But it is generally agreed, that the town-council acted very wisely in the measures they took; and those who opposed them, were soon after sensible of their mistake, and acquiesced in what had been done. The officers of the volunteers, however, afraid of the worst notwithstanding the capitulation,

tion, retired some into the castle, and others fled to Edinburgh, as did many of the private men.

At this time the rebels had no heavy cannon but two twelve-pounders, which, with great labour, they had brought round by the Frew. But immediately after entering Stirling, they sent off three four-pounders to the hill of Airth, to cover the passage for the rest of their heavy cannon from Alloa, and to prevent any attack from the King's ships. For some days before this the Pearl and Vulture sloops had sailed from Leith road, to prevent or at least retard the transporting of their cannon from Alloa. On the 8th, Gen. Hawley sent up some armed boats, and a small vessel with cannon, manned with 300 men, under the command of Lt-Col. Leighton, to destroy all the works which the rebels had made to cover the passage. The Vulture, Capt. Faulkner, sent a cutter and two boats before him; who arriving in Kincardine road, Jan. 7. saw a brig come out of Airth, which the rebels had seized in order to transport their cannon from Alloa. Next morning, Capt. Faulkner, on his arrival in that road, sent the boats manned and armed, to destroy other two vessels in Airth harbour, to prevent their being seized by the rebels; which they performed without losing a man, though fired at from the rebels in the town. That night the tide falling low, he could not return to the road; which the rebels perceiving, they erected a battery of three guns, and in the morning began to play upon the Vulture. She returned the compliment, dismounted two of the rebels cannon, killed their chief engineer, with some others, and drove them all from the battery, and likewise out of the town. The rebels then drew off their cannon to Elphinston; and having got one more from Falkirk, with a reinforcement of 3 or 400 men, they erected a four-gun battery on the point of Elphinston, in order to guard the pass.

Col. Leighton, with the 300 men, came to the assistance of the sloops on the 9th. It was agreed to attack the

the brig at Alloa, which had on-board two large cannon, with ammunition. There were five more in the town, three of which were mounted on the key. Accordingly, 50 soldiers in a large boat, with the ship's boats manned and armed, were ordered up the river, to lie all night a mile above the town, to prevent the brig's going up that night; and Capt. Faulkner and Col. Leighton resolved to go up next morning, to attack the town, and take the brig. But unluckily the boats having grounded a little above the town, the design was discovered. The rebels immediately beat to arms, and firing upon the boats, obliged them to retreat, with the loss of one man, and another's leg shot off. By this means the brig got up the next tide, and landed her cannon.

The design of seizing the brig having miscarried, the two sloops resolved to attack the rebels battery at Elphinston. Accordingly having got within musket-shot, they dismounted three of the cannon: but one of the sloops having had her cable cut asunder by one of their cannon-shot, she was, by the strength of the ebb tide, forced from her station; and the two pilots in the other having each lost a leg, they were obliged to quit the battery, and give up the enterprise; though not without retarding the rebels measures for attacking the castle of Stirling. In this whole affair, two sailors were killed, and ten or twelve wounded. The two pilots died of their wounds.

The young pretender having been joined by his forces that were cantoned in the neighbourhood of Stirling, before that town was given up to him, immediately after that event ordered the troops at Perth, &c. to march to his assistance. In the morning of Jan. 11. the Macdonalds, under Barisdale, and Kinlochmoidart's brother, set out for Stirling; as did the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat, in the afternoon. The Macintoshes and Farquharsons followed on the 12th; and the rest were to file off successively as they arrived at Perth.

Perth. By this time two small sloops had come to Perth from Dundee, with powder, ball, pickaxes, shovels, biscuit, wine, and spirits, 15 swivel-guns, and 500 firelocks, that had been brought from France.

By the 12th, the rebels, having got all their cannon over the Forth, had broken ground between the church of Stirling and a large house called Mar's work, for mounting a battery against the castle. By the 14th, they got two pieces of cannon of sixteen-pounders, two of eight, and three of three; and had also a great number of fascines; but were not able to plant their cannon, Gen. Blakeney having fired upon them several times, and demolished their works; so that the siege went on very slowly, the highlanders being little used to enterprises of that kind.

There was now a considerable body of forces assembled at Edinburgh, consisting of 12 battalions of foot and two regiments of dragoons, regular troops; the Edinburgh and Glasgow regiments, and the Paisley militia, irregulars: for Gen. Hawley had dismissed the country-militia, with orders to be ready at a call. The General therefore resolved to march to the relief of Stirling castle; because if the rebels should succeed in the siege, it would give their arms an additional reputation; would furnish them with an opportunity of securing the country behind them, for the rest of the winter; induce them to fortify Perth; and render them capable of maintaining themselves along the coasts, on both sides of the country, which would facilitate their receiving supplies from abroad.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 13th, Gen. Hawley detached Maj.-Gen. Huske, with five battalions of foot, the Glasgow regiment, and Hamilton and Ligonier's dragoons, towards Linlithgow. On this occasion the loyal inhabitants of Edinburgh furnished near 3000 pair of blankets for the use of the royal forces; and offered a further supply, if it should be necessary. The same morning, about 1100
rebels,

rebels, (for their friends in Edinburgh took care to inform them of every thing that passed in that city), under the command of Lord George Murray and Lord Elcho, marched from Falkirk towards Linlithgow, to carry off what provisions they could meet with. But, soon after their arrival at Linlithgow, Gen. Huske with the troops appeared near the town. Upon his approach, the rebels instantly retired towards Falkirk, without being able to pick up any great quantity of provisions, and with such precipitation that he could not come up with them. He therefore took post at Linlithgow, to wait the arrival of the rest of the army. Next morning, the 14th, three regiments more marched from Edinburgh, for Borrowstounness, two miles north of Linlithgow, to be at hand to support Gen. Huske, in case the whole body of the rebels should march to attack him. The remainder of the troops marched on the 15th. The artillery, consisting of ten field-pieces, all brass, followed the same day; as did Gen. Hawley himself on the 16th, with Cobham's dragoons, who had come from England to Dalkeith only the day before. Along with the army marched William Thornton, Esq; a Yorkshire gentleman, with a company, called the Yorkshire blues, raised, maintained, and commanded by himself; as did likewise several other volunteers, among whom were some ecclesiastics. The Earl of Hopeton, a worthy patriot, gave twelve guineas to each regiment of foot, and the same sum to the dragoons, to buy beef.

Every body now expected, that the rebellion would be quashed at once, if the rebels should stand a battle, and the country be effectually cleared of the highland banditti. But how vain are the expectations of men! the day of deliverance was not yet arrived, nor could any body divine who would be the happy instrument.—Maj.-Gen. Huske, with eight battalions, marched from Linlithgow towards Falkirk, on the morning of the 16th; and was there joined by 1000 highlanders from

Argyleshire, under Lt-Col. John Campbell. Next day, the 17th, the whole royal army, consisting of about 8600 foot and 900 horse, assembled at Falkirk, six long miles east from Stirling. Gen. Hawley ordered the army to incamp about a mile south-west from Falkirk, not intending to attack the rebels that day, who were posted in and about the Tor-wood, both in regard to the foulness of the weather, and because he was desirous of obtaining such intelligence of the rebels motions as might enable him to make an advantageous disposition for employing his cavalry and artillery; but resolving to march for that purpose early next morning. Having, however, sent out that day several persons to reconnoitre, from them he learned that the rebels had been in motion early in the morning, as they had also been the day before; and at one o'clock after noon he received certain intelligence, that they were in full march to attack him. They consisted of the battalions of Keppoch, Clanronald, Glengary, Lochiel, Appin, Cluny, Fraser, Athol, Ogilvie, Nairn, Farquharson, Lord Lewis Gordon, and the French under Lord John Drummond, with 500 horse; in all 8200 men; the Duke of Perth being left at Stirling with a party to push on the siege of the castle. About one o'clock they were seen at three miles distance, marching in two columns towards the south, to some rising grounds upon a moor near Falkirk; a policy which contributed to their advantage, as it gave them the weather-gage of the royal army, when the day was stormy and rainy. Gen. Hawley, on notice of this, got his troops under arms; formed them in the front of the camp; and bent his march towards the same ground to which it was apprehended the rebels were going, being a large mile on the left of the camp. But as soon as the troops were got thither, they perceived the rebels moving up, with their right extending to the south. The rebel-army drew up in two lines, without any body of reserve; the right wing was commanded by Lord George Mur-

ray, the left by Lord John Drummond; and the young pretender was in the centre, with all the cavalry, and the Appin-men. On the other hand, the King's forces were drawn up in two lines, having the three regiments of dragoons on the left; with the Argyleshire highlanders and the Glasgow regiment in the reserve. Gen. Hawley commanded the left wing, and Gen. Huske the right. Both armies were now eager to possess the eminency of the hill; both were very near; and, about three o'clock, were both ascending the hill, in a violent storm of wind and rain, which blew full in the faces of the royal forces. Gen. Hawley could not get his cannon up the acclivity of the hill; and he perceived that a morass on his left hand had given the rebels an opportunity of outflanking him. When the first line was within 100 yards of the rebels, orders were given for the lines to advance, and a body of dragoons, led on by Col. Ligonier, to attack them sword in hand, while the foot were ascending the hill to sustain them. The rebels had extended their right wing along the back of the hill, out of sight, in order to attack the dragoons, upon their reaching the summit of it. At the same time the royal infantry, out of breath with the quickness of the march and the badness of the weather, were endeavouring to climb up the ascent. The dragoons, as soon as they got to the top of the hill, made the attack, with the appearance of the greatest resolution, and somewhat discomposed the first line of the rebels; but upon the rebels advancing, and giving them a fire, they gave ground, and drove back upon the foot; though their officers, particularly Col. Ligonier and Lt-Col. Whitney, did all that was possible to rally them. By this accident the panic was spread to the foot of both lines, who, after an irregular fire, occasioned partly by the rain wetting their powder, so that scarce one musket in five went off, and partly by the unhappy panic, followed the example of the dra-

goons, every where retiring, except on the right; where Brig. Cholmondeley rallied the regiments of Barrel and Ligonier, who resolutely advanced, and fairly drove the rebels before them. At the same time Lt-Gen. Hawley endeavoured, though in vain, to rally the dragoons: but Maj.-Gen. Huske, with wonderful prudence and presence of mind, drew together a body of the foot, consisting chiefly of the Old Buffs and Price's, and formed them at some distance, in the rear of the regiments headed by Brig. Cholmondeley; which intimidated the rebels from advancing on the right, and gave Brig. Mordaunt time to rally and form the scattered battalions into their several corps. In this situation the rebels did not offer to advance against the royal forces. It was particularly unlucky for the latter, that they could not get up their artillery, by reason of the steepness of the hill, and the bad condition of the horses: and it was equally their loss, that their powder was become so damp through the heavy rain, that it would not take fire. And therefore night coming on, they found it impossible to remain with safety on the field of battle; and were therefore obliged to retire to their camp; where they found, that Capt. Koningham, commander of the train, had cowardly abandoned it, and that the drivers, following his example, had run off with the horses; so that they could not find horses for bringing off more than three pieces of the ten. And when they came to strike their tents, many of the drivers had also run off with the horses; so that, to prevent their falling into the hands of the rebels, they were forced to set fire to those which could not be carried off. The Glasgow regiment, who had been posted at some farm-houses to guard the baggage, resolutely withstood the panic, and maintained their ground, notwithstanding they saw the dragoons and part of the foot give way, until they were ordered to retreat. The rebels, beholding the good countenance of the royal troops, notwithstanding the

the

the confusion they had been put into, did not offer to pursue them. From Falkirk the army marched that night to Linlithgow, six miles eastward, where it was determined they should remain; but finding they had no powder that would take fire, occasioned by the excessive rain for twenty-four hours before, they therefore resolved to march back to Edinburgh next morning, the 18th, where the whole army arrived about four o'clock after noon.

In this unhappy affair the whole loss of the King's army in killed, wounded, and prisoners, did not exceed 300 men; though many were positive it was not near so considerable. Among the killed were Col. Sir Robert Monro of Foulis, Dr Duncan Monro, his brother, who had accompanied the Colonel out of pure fraternal affection, Lt-Col. Whitney of Ligonier's dragoons, Lt-Col. Powel of Cholmondeley's foot, and Lt-Col. Biggar of Monro's, with several inferior officers. Capt. Thornton, commander of the Yorkshire volunteers, who was taken prisoner, with his lieutenant and 17 of his men, afterwards made his escape, and came to Edinburgh on the 23d; as did three days before 170 men, who were supposed to be lost; and 25 men escaped from the church of Falkirk, and came to Edinburgh the same day that Mr Thornton arrived there. Most of the prisoners, it was said, belonged to the Glasgow regiment, or were country-people who came to see the battle out of curiosity. On the other hand, by all accounts, the loss of the rebels was considerable, both in killed and wounded: but in the account of this action printed by them at Bannockburn, they gave out that they had only about 40 men killed, including two or three captains and some subalterns, and near double that number wounded; among which last were Lord John Drummond, young Lochiel, and his brother. And in that account they pretended they made above 700 prisoners, and reckoned above 600 were killed on the field of battle. And in an account sent to their friends
abroad,

abroad, they computed the loss of the royal army much after the same manner, but owned that of the prisoners only 250 were regular troops. And in that account last mentioned they further say, that they took 7 pieces of cannon, 3 mortars, 1 pair of kettledrums, 2 pair of colours, 3 standards, about 600 muskets, a large quantity of granadoes, 4000 weight of powder, 28 waggons loaded with military stores, tents for 5000 men, and all the baggage that escaped the flames. Maj. Macdonald of Tayendrish was taken prisoner, brought to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle. He was afterwards hanged at Carlisle.

Both sides claimed the victory. It is certain, that the pretensions of both were ill founded. The rebels had no great reason to brag of their advantage, notwithstanding they had all advantages of wind and weather on their side; for they were kept at bay in the close of the engagement by a handful of troops; and they did not once offer to pursue, but allowed the King's troops to retire very peaceably to Linlithgow. All the advantage they reaped by it was, a few field-pieces, with some military stores, that were damaged by the excessive rains; maintaining themselves a while at Stirling, and pushing on the siege of the castle there to their own loss. On the other hand, the royal army did not lose much, if we except some brave officers, who, however, died in the bed of honour, in defence of a glorious cause: and it is not to be doubted, but that, if they had not had the weather to struggle with, they were in a fair way of totally routing the rebels, and extinguishing the rebellion at once. But though the King's army miscarried at this time, we shall find in the sequel, that they did the business effectually in the very next engagement, though after a long and tedious march in pursuit of the rebels.

The young pretender marched back to Stirling on the afternoon of the 18th. That day he twice summoned the castle to surrender: but Gen. Blakeney's
answer

answer was, That he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and that the rebels should find he would die so. The siege was therefore continued, but proceeded very slowly. Gen. Blakeney fired so often upon the men at work on the batteries, and with so much execution, that the rebels could not get any of their own people to go near them; for which reason their French auxiliaries were ordered upon that service. And notwithstanding the activity of the latter, they got not their batteries erected till the 27th, having only till then fired on the castle with small arms from the houses, but without doing any harm. That day, however, they had two batteries erected; one at Gowan-hill, within forty yards of the castle, and the other at Lady's hill, each consisting of three pieces of cannon. They began to fire from the former in the morning of the 29th, by which the upper part of the walls was slightly damaged; and in order to intimidate the inhabitants, a drum was sent round the town, with notice, that every person that was taken near the castle should be shot; and that if any of the townspeople entertained any of the wives or children of the soldiers who were in the castle, they should be punished with military execution. All this time the cannon from the castle played furiously on the rebel-batteries, and cut off a good number of the besiegers.

During all these transactions the rebels were in great distress for want of provisions; Gen. Hawley having sent out parties to the westward, to seize all the meal they could find, and the King's sloops being dispatched up the Forth to burn the boats which the rebels employed in bringing over meal from Alloa. The scarcity was so great, that the soldiers that had been taken prisoners at Falkirk, were almost starved; and their small allowance was forced from them by those who were their guards. To prevent the escape of the prisoners, most of them, except some officers, were sent to Down castle on the 25th, where they lived

lived in extreme distress, and the greatest body of the rebels were cantoned in and about Falkirk.

As some of the King's troops had misbehaved at the late battle, a court-martial was ordered for their trial, of which Brig. Mordaunt was appointed president. The proceedings began Jan. 20. and the court sat several days. Some private men of the foot were condemned to be shot for cowardice, but were afterwards reprieved. Others who had misbehaved, were severely whipped. Four Irishmen, three of whom had deserted to the French in Flanders, and were taken on board the *Lewis XV.* mentioned above, and a fourth who had enlisted with the rebels after the action at Preston, were hanged in the Grass-market, Edinburgh, on the 24th.

Mean time preparations were making in that city for marching the army a second time against the rebels. Sempill's, Campbell's (the Scotch fusileers), and Bligh's foot, were on their march for Edinburgh, before the late action; and Mark Kerr's, St George's, and Bland's dragoons, with Kingston's light horse, were now ordered thither likewise. Sempill's regiment arrived the evening of the battle, and the fusileers a day or two after. The military chest, from England, was brought in on the 21st, and lodged in the castle. Upwards of forty gunners and matrosses, with sixteen pieces of brass cannon, and stores, from Newcastle, arrived on the 26th.

About the time of the late battle, all the officers who had been taken at Preston, and had been in custody in several places of Angus and Fife, were delivered by armed parties of his Majesty's loyal subjects from Dundee and other places, and safely carried to Edinburgh, where they arrived on the 19th. They put on their swords and cockades about the beginning of February, by an order from the King. Some have censured them for breaking their parole, without reflecting, that, as they were forcibly carried off from
under

under the rebel-clutches, their parole was now at an end ; just as much as an officer who makes his escape from a place where he was confined, is at liberty to rejoin his regiment, and fight with them against their enemy. But it is not at all surprising to find an historian censuring their conduct, when his design is evidently to expose the government under which he lives, and vindicate the rebellion against it. And soon after this affair, the Glasgow regiment was honourably dismissed, and thanked, by his Majesty's special order, for the good service they had done to their King and country. Both officers and men retired to their respective abodes, not without offering their service again, if it should be necessary.

Towards the end of the month, the Hazard sloop, which had been taken by the rebels, as we have related above, sailed from Montrose for France, with the news of their late advantage, which was magnified extremely, in hopes of obtaining large succours. But though Cardinal Tencin interested himself greatly in favour of the young pretender, he could not prevail on the French monarch to order the promised succours for Scotland, without the assistance of the Spanish squadron at Ferrol, which the Catholic King was not disposed to grant ; so that Charles, though encouraged by France and Spain to undertake so dangerous an enterprise, was abandoned to his own fortune ; which might convince him, that he now was, what he ever would be, only the occasional tool of their politics, not the real object of their care. About the same time a Spanish privateer arrived at Peterhead, with nine tuns of gunpowder, three chests of money, and several chests of small arms ; all which were landed, and the money and powder conducted by a party of the rebels to Montrose. The privateer was soon after taken and burnt, by one of his Majesty's ships. The bulk of this ship's loading was afterwards taken

and destroyed at Corgarf castle, by a detachment from the royal army.

It should not be forgotten, that Gen. Hawley, who, it is alledged, had boasted, that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel-army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred abundance of censure for the disposition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; but he found means to vindicate himself to the satisfaction of his sovereign. Nevertheless, as there was a murmuring both among the officers and soldiers at this gentleman's conduct, and as the army expressed a strong desire to be headed by a general in whom they could place an entire confidence; the King, on notice thereof, directed the Duke of Cumberland to repair to Scotland, to take upon him the command of the army there. His R. Highness was greatly beloved by the army, who promised to encounter any dangers under his conduct; and it was suggested, that the presence of a prince of the blood in Scotland might produce very good effects in the minds of the people there; that it would tend to reanimate the dejected spirits of the soldiers, extinguish animosities among them, encourage the well-affected, and strike terror into the minds of the vain and insolent rebels. His Royal highness cheerfully accepted the proposal: the service of his country, the protection of the Protestant succession, the happiness of his illustrious family, and his own glory, all summoned him to complete what he had already so gloriously begun; all contributed to rouse his martial ardour; and therefore he eagerly flew to appear again at the head of those brave troops, whose courage he had seen so nobly displayed in the battle of Fontenoy.

The Duke accordingly set out from London between twelve and one in the morning of the 25th, and travelled with such surprising expedition, that he arrived at the palace of Holyroodhouse about three in the morning of the 30th. His R. Highness was attended

tended by the Duke of Athol, the Earl of Albemarle, Lord Cathcart, Lord Viscount Bury, Colonels Conway and Yorke, his aids-de-camp. The news of his R. Highness's journey was received at Edinburgh with the greatest joy; and there were the most splendid illuminations and bonfires, with ringing of bells, &c. ever known in that city and the suburbs, the evening of the 29th, in expectation of his arrival. Great multitudes marched several miles east to meet the magnanimous Prince, and welcome him as their destined deliverer. Every thing being ready when the Duke arrived, his R. Highness immediately gave the necessary orders for the march of the army. He received the compliments of the clergy, the university of Edinburgh, the principal inhabitants of the city, &c. on the 30th. That day he viewed the artillery in the Abbey-close, where he was surrounded by a prodigious multitude of people, who made the air to ring with their repeated huzza's. The troops were now in the highest spirits, and cried to be led to action, to atone for and repair their late miscarriage. Accordingly, early next morning the 31st, the army, consisting of fourteen battalions, (*viz.* the twelve that had been at the late battle, and Sempill's, and the Scotch fusileers), the Argyleshire highlanders, Cobham's dragoons, and four troops of Lord Mark Kerr's, marched from Edinburgh to the westward. Never did an army march with greater appearances of joy and resolution than this now did: joy was painted in every face, and courage displayed in every look: A happy omen of their future success. Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons were ordered to patrol along the roads leading westward from Edinburgh, in order to prevent any intelligence being sent to the rebels, which their friends at Edinburgh took every opportunity of doing. The Edinburgh regiment and city-guard were the only troops left in town, and therefore some of the country-militia were now called in. Between nine and ten his R. Highness passed

through the city in the Earl of Hopeton's coach ; but when he had got to the west side of it, he mounted his horse, and soon came up with the army.

Though the Duke's army consisted of fourteen battalions, yet they were all of them greatly diminished, and some of them not above half complete : yet what they wanted in numbers, they made up in spirits and courage ; they were become bold as lions, and longed to face the rebels. His R. Highness had as general officers under him, Lt-Generals William Anne Earl of Albemarle, and Henry Hawley ; Maj.-Generals Humphry Bland, John Huske, and Hugh Lord Sempill ; and Brig. John Mordaunt.

His R. Highness arrived at Linlithgow in the evening of the 31st, and quartered there that night with eight battalions, while Brig. Mordaunt, with six others, lay at Borrowstounness. The dragoons were posted in the adjacent villages, and Col. Campbell, with the Argyle-shiremen, took post in the front, towards the Avon. A considerable body of the rebels was then at Falkirk, and some of them appeared on the hills between that place and Linlithgow. As the rebels gave out, that they intended to stand another action with the King's forces, so his R. Highness expected, that, flushed with their late success, they would have given him an opportunity of finishing the affair at once ; which (as his R. Highness observed in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle), he was morally sure, would have been in his favour, as the troops in general shewed all the spirit that he could wish, and would have retrieved what slips were past. Next morning, Feb. 1. having reviewed the whole army at Linlithgow, his R. Highness immediately began his march towards Falkirk, expecting to meet the rebels to the westward of that town. The rebels advanced parties immediately retired on the approach of those of the royal army ; and their foremost scouts brought in some stragglers ; from whom his R. Highness, to his great astonishment, learned that the
rebels

rebels had raised the siege of Stirling castle, had nailed up their cannon, and were repassing the Forth in the utmost confusion, being afraid to look him in the face. This information was soon confirmed by a violent explosion, like the blowing up of a magazine, which was distinctly heard by the royal army. On their arrival at Falkirk, the Duke immediately detached Brig. Mordaunt, with the Argyleshiremen, and all the dragoons, in pursuit of the flying rebels. The Brigadier got to Stirling that night; where he found the rebels had abandoned their camp, with all their artillery, and had blown up their great magazine in the church of St Ninian's, where they had a store of about 6000 lb. of powder, which was done with so little care or discretion, that four or five of the rebels and ten of the townspeople were killed, and several wounded. They also left behind them all the wounded men they had taken prisoners at Falkirk, and about twenty of their own sick people.

Next day, Feb. 2. the Duke entered Stirling with his whole army; where he was joyfully received by the loyal inhabitants, welcomed by a triple discharge of the cannon of the castle, and received the compliments of Gen. Blakeney, and his officers, whose services were highly commended by his R. Highness, for their gallant defence of such an important fortress. The castle would have held out; but the provisions and firing were almost consumed.

The news of the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland struck a mighty damp upon the rebels; and they were so surprised, or rather infatuated, on hearing of it, that they published a proclamation at Stirling, offering a reward to any that would discover the author of that damnable lie, that the person commonly called the Duke of Cumberland was arrived in Scotland. The intelligence however proving too true, when they heard that his R. Highness was got to Linlithgow, they held a council, and drew out their men, declaring that they would

would meet him: but as soon as the baggage and the cannon they lately took were moved off, they told the country-people that they were going to meet a reinforcement; but that, as they could not carry away all their plunder, they would give it to them; and that it was in St Ninian's church; where they had made a magazine of powder and ball. When the country-people came to take the plunder away, the rebels attempted to set fire to the magazine; but the first train happily missing, several escaped: but the second suddenly taking fire, four of the rebels and ten of the townspeople were blown up and buried in the ruins.— This shocking instance of barbarity, scarce to be paralleled in history, will remain a lasting blot upon the character of the pretender, and his adherents*.

By this flight of the rebels, several of their prisoners, who were confined in Down castle, made their escape; as did likewise Maj. Lockhart, and young Mr Gordon of Ardoch. The rest of the prisoners were carried off, except the Glasgow hostages, who were permitted to return home. Sir Patrick Murray of Ochertyre, and Mr Griffiths, who had been taken prisoners at the battle of Preston, were soon after released. So that few, if any of the officers taken in that action, were now in the rebels hands.

Charles, by this precipitate flight, lost all footing in the southern part of Scotland, and was forced to bid it adieu. never more to return, to his great grief, and that of his friends. After fording the Forth at Frew, his army proceeded to Crieff, and then separating, marched in three different corps; the clans, with their pre-

* See the Rev. Mr Mackie's account of this horrid tragedy, in Scots Mag. 1746, p. 221.; from which it appears, that the rebels really laid a plot to destroy the innocent country-people; and that if they had intended no more than to destroy their magazine, to prevent its falling into the hands of the King's forces, that might have been done another way, without either destroying the church. or hurting any mortal,

pretended prince, by Taybridge; a body of Lowlanders, by Dunkeld; and the third corps by Perth, which last town they entered Feb. 2. Nineteen carts came in there the same day; and the seven pieces of cannon taken at Falkirk, with four covered waggons, were likewise brought in on the 3d. The persons of the greatest distinction that came to Perth were, the French ambassador, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lords Pittligo, Eleho, Ogilvy, Lewis Gordon, George Murray, and John Drummond, Sec. Murray, Sir John Macleod and his brother, Brig. Stapleton, Majors Nairn and Kennedy, and Mr Mitchell. Here they made no stay; but even on the 3d, they sent the seven pieces of brass cannon, four covered waggons, and fourteen carts with ammunition, to Dunkeld. The same day, the main body of horse and foot, consisting of the life-guards, Pittligo's, Ogilvie's, and Sir James Kinloch's men, crossed the Tay, and took their route for Montrose by the way of Cupar of Angus. On the 4th, the French piquets, and 140 men commanded by Faskally and Blairfetty, passed the river likewise; as did Lord G. Murray, Strathallan, Gask, and the rest of the gentlemen above-mentioned; except Sec. Murray, the French ambassador, Lord Kilmarnock, and Macleod of Raza, who went for Dunkeld. Though the rebels had made some considerable fortifications at Perth, yet they did not chuse to make a stand there, or run the risk of defending the place against the royal forces; they therefore abandoned it wholly Feb. 4. leaving thirteen pieces of iron cannon, about eight and twelve pounders, nailed up; and throwing into the river a great quantity of cannon-balls, ammunition, and fourteen swivel-guns that formerly belonged to the Hazard sloop. The sailors of this sloop, prisoners here, were set at liberty.

The rebels at Perth gave out, that their first column was to march from Dunkeld, through Athol and Bardenoch, towards Inverness; the second, by Cupar, towards

towards Brechin; and the third, by Dundee and Montrose, to Aberdeen, where the second and third columns were to unite, and then to join the first near Inverness, with design to possess themselves of that important post. And they were so politic in their measures, that this separation was at first looked upon by the generals of the royal army as an absolute dispersion: but their real designs were so much to the contrary, that the rebel-chiefs, soon after their flight from Stirling, gave their pretended prince a new demonstration of their invariable attachment to him, in signing an association, by which they solemnly engaged never to abandon his interest; and at the same time Charles gave them the strongest assurances, that, whatever might be the fate of his enterprise, he was resolved to die sword in hand, rather than desist from his pretensions. The rebels were sensible how much their retreat had the appearance of a flight; were conscious what an alarm it would occasion among their friends, both at home and abroad; and therefore urged a variety of motives to justify their conduct; alledging, that their men were so loaded with booty, that they were under a necessity of permitting them to carry it home; that they found great difficulty in subsisting their troops at Stirling; that, by moving northward, they facilitated the junction of any succours from France, as well as their expected reinforcements from the western coast of Scotland, and other parts; that though they had taken upwards of 1000 tents at the battle of Falkirk, yet they could not prevail on the highlanders to make use of them, who chose rather to lie in the open fields, in their usual manner, notwithstanding the severity of the weather, which must have been extremely prejudicial to their healths; that, after so fatiguing a campaign, some recess was requisite; and that, when they had refreshed and recruited their forces, and the rigour of the season was abated, they would not fail to make another irruption into the lowlands. But whatever they might pretend

pretend, it may be more naturally conceived to be a design of protracting the war; that, by carrying it into the highlands, they might make it extremely onerous and uneasy to the royal forces; that there the rebels might obtain frequent opportunities of harassing and surprising their pursuers, and have a fair chance of rendering them weary of following them through their natal countries, where it would, they thought, be impossible for the King's troops to have magazines and other requisites for so considerable an army. In the next place, they were persuaded, that by removing the war into the highlands, and disseminating a report that the Duke of Cumberland would inflict terrible severities where-ever he came, they would keep their men together, draw out others, and render them a terror to their adversaries. By this means, too, they would afford a fair opportunity to the French of attempting an invasion in the south; which they flattered themselves would relieve them from all difficulties. And to all this might be added, that they had formed a project of making themselves masters of the chain of fortifications from Fort William to Inverness; by which they would not only secure the country behind them, but, if the wished-for invasion from France should not take place, would be in the way of receiving the expected succours from thence; of which indeed they had hitherto had large promises, though but ineffectual performances.

The Duke of Cumberland having arrived at Stirling with his whole army Feb. 2. gave immediate orders for repairing the arch of the bridge which had been broke down by Gen. Blakeney's order, as has been related above. This having been done by six o'clock in the morning of the 4th, with timber which had been mostly provided by the rebels for the same purpose, that day the army passed over. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire highlanders and the dragoons, went on to Crieff, and the foot were cantoned

in and about Dumblain. The Duke proceeded to Crieff on the 5th, and the advanced guard to Perth, where his R. Highness arrived on the 6th, with the main body of the army. Here magazines of bread and forage were ordered to be laid in, for the subsistence of the troops, because it was necessary to remain there for a few days, in order to rest the foot after the great fatigue they had undergone. But to prevent any surprises from the rebels, and scour the adjacent country, two detachments, of 500 foot each, were immediately sent from Perth; one to Dunkeld, under the command of Lt-Col. Sir Andrew Agnew, to which 120 Argyleshire men were added; the other, under Lt-Col. Leighton, to Castle Menzies, a mile north of Tay bridge.

In the march from Stirling to Perth, parties of the royal army stripped and plundered the goods and effects of certain rebels, such as those of the Viscount of Strathallan, the Duke of Perth, &c. and carried off great numbers of cattle. These things they did, in revenge for the great fatigues they had undergone, and were likely to suffer, in pursuit of the rebels. And several persons were taken up at Perth on suspicion; such as the Duchess-dowager of Perth, the Viscountess of Strathallan, and others. They were all brought afterwards to Edinburgh, and committed prisoners to the castle.

Mean time the rebels marched northward. The young pretender was at Blair of Athol on the 6th, with a body of the clans. They marched thence on the 7th and 8th, with their baggage, and the prisoners taken at Falkirk. These prisoners were in a miserable condition, some of them wanting shoes and stockings. The rebels proceeded on to Ruthven in Badenoch, and having blown up the barracks there, marched on towards Inverness. Glenbucket, with about 300 men, and some cannon, had come to Ruthven on the 10th, and summoned the garrison in the barracks to surrender.

Lieut.

Lieut. Molloy commanded in the barracks, and had under him about twelve men. He had been formerly attacked by 200 highlanders in the beginning of September 1745, had made a bold defence, repulsed the rebels, killed three, and wounded six. Being then only a serjeant, he was, for that brave action, made a lieutenant. And he now made so gallant a defence, that he did not surrender till he obtained honourable terms.

While the young pretender with the clans is advancing towards Inverness by the highland road, those that took the coast-road, with the centre-column, made the best of their way towards Aberdeen. At Montrose, they nailed up all the cannon they had there except six, intending to carry them by sea to Aberdeen. Two of them were actually conveyed thence. But the other four were spiked up by a party landed from Adm. Byng's ship the Gloucester, Feb. 11. The two columns united at Aberdeen, committed several outrages there, and particularly obliged that town to pay them 500 l. Here they received some supplies, such as money, arms, cannon, and ammunition, saddles, and horse-furniture, by a ship from France, and a reinforcement of two troops of dismounted horse, of Fitz James's regiment. Five ships had sailed about the middle of February from Dunkirk, in order to reinforce them. But two of them, *viz.* the Bourbon and Charité, were taken off Ostend, Feb. 21. by Com. Knowles. On board these were the Count de Fitz James, Major-General, commandant; Maj.-Gen. Ruth; Brigs de Tyrconnel, Nugent, and Cooke; Col. Nugent; Lt-Col. Cople; Maj. Betagh; Capt. Baron de Butler, and three other captains; six lieutenants, five cornets, thirteen quartermasters, an almoner, a commissary of artillery, a commissary of provisions, a treasurer of the extraordinaries of war, a major surgeon, six gunners, one corporal, one miner, a labourer; and nine companies of Fitz James's regi-

ment, making together about 360 men. There was likewise on board all their saddles, arms, and horse-furniture, some ammunition, and the military chest, containing about 5000 l. Of this whole embarkation only about 140 men reached Scotland, and joined the rebels.

The young pretender, being joined by several parties of his people that took their route through Aberdeen, arrived in the neighbourhood of Inverness Feb. 16. This party was said to be 4000 strong. Lord Loudon, however, with 1500 men, marched from Inverness that day to beat up their quarters, and had got half-way undiscovered; when a detachment which he had sent to prevent intelligence, going a nearer way, contrary to orders, fired about thirty shot at four men, which alarmed the country, and threw the body along with his Lordship into confusion; during which a great many of his people dispersed; so that it was necessary to march back to Inverness. Here the Earl finding himself unable to defend the place with the numbers that remained with him, threw two independent companies into Fort George; with a sufficient quantity of provisions; and having put on ship-board what arms and ammunition there was no present use for, on the 18th at noon, he marched out of Inverness, and crossed the ferry at Kessack without the loss of a man, though the rebels were in possession of one end of the town before he left the other. From thence he passed over into Cromarty; and soon after crossed at Tayne, in order to put himself behind the river in a defensible post. Mean time, the rebels having got possession of Inverness, immediately invested Fort George, which was commanded by Maj. Grant, with two companies of Grants and Macleods, and 80 regular troops. Maj. Grant had been ordered to defend the castle to the last extremity; but he basely or cowardly surrendered it to the rebels on the 20th. Here they got 16 pieces of cannon, with ammunition,

100 barrels of beef, and other provisions. The rebels soon after blew up the fort. The Major was afterwards tried by a court-martial, when he was adjudged to be dismissed the royal service, and rendered incapable of ever holding any military office under the government: The just reward of his cowardice and pusillanimity.

The young pretender now fixed his head quarters at Inverness, from whence he sent detachments through the neighbouring countries, who exercised great severities against all whom they thought to be disaffected to their cause, and particularly rifled the Lord President's house at Culloden. At the same time they published an order, declaring it death to any who should convey letters to, or correspond with the friends of the government.

The Duke of Athol, who had come along with the Duke of Cumberland from London, crossed the Forth at Leith, Feb. 4. and was at Perth when his R. Highness arrived there. He resolved to go to his own country, in order to reclaim, if possible, his rebel-vassals. For this purpose, his Grace published a declaration, requiring all his vassals to come to Dunkeld and Kirkmichael, and join the troops sent or to be sent thither to disarm and apprehend the rebels, on pain of their being proceeded against with the utmost severity in case of refusal. Several obeyed; but the majority were with the rebels, under the command of his Grace's brothers, the Marquis and Lord George; to whom they were particularly attached.

The King having directed the Hessian troops in British pay to be transported from Flanders into Scotland, they accordingly arrived in Leith road on the 8th in four days from Williamstadt. They were commanded by Pr. Frederick of Hesse, son-in-law to the King; who was accompanied by John Earl of Crawford and the Prince of Hesseburg. The Prince and the Earl of Crawford came ashore the night they arrived. He
lodged

lodged in the royal palace of Holyroodhouse ; was saluted, on his arrival, by the ships, and by the castle of Edinburgh ; persons of distinction paid him their compliments ; and he was entertained, during his stay, with balls, concerts of music, assemblies, &c. An express was sent to the Duke of Cumberland with an account of the arrival of the Hessians ; and his R. Highness directed them to be landed at Leith. They were cantoned in and about Edinburgh and the suburbs. Both men and horses looked extremely well. The troops observed strict discipline, and were very kindly received by the inhabitants. As only a few women had come along with them, and these none of the most handsome ; it is not therefore to be wondered at that they should be particularly fond of our Scotch women, who far eclipsed the Hessian ladies in beauty and shape. And it is inconceivable to think that our fair countrywomen should be as fond of these foreigners, who wore mustachoes, had something grim and stern in their looks, and were of a strange language. Yet love and gallantry took place on both sides ; the Hessian Prince set the example ; and many of the men, both officers and soldiers, entered into matrimonial engagements with the Scottish beauties. Every regiment had a chaplain, who preached to them both on Lord's days and work-days. They were accommodated with some of the churches in the city, and with the Seceding meeting-house in Bristo. Their worship was decently performed, and regularly attended. Multitudes crowded to their assemblies, and their music was universally admired.

The Duke of Cumberland made a trip from Perth to Edinburgh on the 15th ; and having concerted with the Prince of Hesse the most proper measures for employing those forces to the best advantage, his R. Highness returned next day to the army. Bligh's foot had come to Edinburgh Feb. 1. having been furnished with horses by the country-people, to expedite their march ;

and

and about the middle of the month St George's dragoons, with Kingston's light horse, and parties of Mark Kerr's dragoons, and of Johnson's foot, came to Edinburgh, and proceeded to join the Duke. On the 9th, Maj.-Gen. Campbel had come to Perth, with four companies of western highlanders; but his Excellency was soon after sent back to Argyleshire; and his son, the lieutenant-colonel, with 600 men, was kept, to accompany the army, and go upon parties.

As soon as the aforementioned detachments from the royal army under Lt-Colonels Leighton and Agnew took post at Castle-Menzies and Dunkeld, the rebels retired from Blair of Athol. Upon which Sir Andrew Agnew marched to Blair castle, being accompanied by the Duke of Athol. By the 14th the Duke of Cumberland sent three battalions of foot to Cupar of Angus, and a regiment of dragoons to Dundee. On the 20th his R. Highness put the troops in motion from Perth in four divisions; each of which was to have two days halt at Montrose in their way to Aberdeen. The Scots fusileers were left at Perth under the command of Maj. Colvill; Sir Andrew Agnew, with 500 men, was to remain at Blair; and Capt. Webster, with 200 men, at Castle Menzies. The Duke, at the time of his march from Perth, intended to have reimbarked the Hessians for Flanders; but soon after, apprehending the possibility of the rebels attempting to slip again into the low country, and of their being reinforced from France, he countermanded the reimbarkation of the Hessians, ordered four battalions of them to march to Perth, and two to Stirling, St George's dragoons to be posted at the bridge of Earn, and the remains of Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons to be posted at Bannockburn, near Stirling; the whole under the command of Pr. Frederick of Hesse, and the Earl of Crawford, as general of horse. By this disposition, there would be a sufficient corps to deal with
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the rebels, should they attempt to go south, or attack the posts at Blair, Castle Menzies, &c. Bligh's battalion was ordered to go to Aberdeen by sea, and arrived there on the 25th of March.

While the Duke was at Montrose, Capt. Koningam, who had the command of the train at Falkirk, and cowardly abandoned it, was brought to the head of the artillery on the 24th, had his sword broke over his head, his sash thrown on the ground, and was himself dismissed the service *. From Montrose the army marched to Aberdeen, where the first division arrived on the 25th, and the rest of the army a day or two after. Here the Duke was received with the greatest joy, as their deliverer from the highland banditti and ravagers; and was waited upon by the noblemen and gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who all welcomed him as their saviour, with offers of their service. The day after his arrival, the Earl of Ancrum was detached with 100 dragoons, and Maj. Morris with 300 foot, to Corgarf castle at the head of the river Don, forty miles from Aberdeen, to seize a quantity of Spanish arms and powder which had been lately landed, and lodged there. The detachment took them without resistance, the rebels having quitted the castle upon their approach: but as the horses of the country had been driven away, they were obliged to destroy most of the arms, and thirty barrels of powder. Towards the end of the month, the Laird of Grant's people were in arms for the government, headed by the young Laird Mr Ludovick, and were marching to Aberdeen to join the army; and by that time the French ship that had landed French soldiers, &c. at Aberdeen, was destroyed by Capt. Dyves of his Majesty's ship the *Winchelsea*.

* Immediately on the army's arrival at Edinburgh after the action at Falkirk, he had cut an artery, in order to destroy himself, and avoid the disgrace he so justly merited; but the wound did not prove mortal. His trial was therefore postponed till now.

chelsea. At this time the main body of the rebels, with their pretended prince, were at Inverness; a party under Lords Lewis Gordon and John Drummond were at Gordon castle, on the south side of the Spey; and a strong body, computed at 2 or 3000 men, at Elgin, and Fochabers, on both sides of that river, with two pieces of cannon, which they had coasted along from Montrose, as is observed above. They gave out that they would dispute the passage of the Spey with the King's forces, should they march that way. But when it came to the trial, they fled with precipitation, as the sequel will show.

About the beginning of March the Hessians, with their artillery, moved from Edinburgh for Perth, taking their route by Stirling. The Prince and the Earl of Crawford went from Edinburgh on the 5th. By the 10th their head quarters were at Perth. Thence the Prince took a tour northward by Dunkeld, Taymouth, &c. to reconnoitre, and returned to Perth on the 15th. The Scots fusileers, who had been left here, marched after the army to Aberdeen. While the Hessians were at Perth, Lord G. Murray marched from Ruthven in Badenoch with 700 men, consisting of Macphersons, Macintoshes, and Atholmen, in order to surprise Sir Andrew Agnew at Blair castle. This party, by marching all night, concealed their design so well, that they were within two miles of Blair before Sir Andrew had the least notice of their being nearer than Badenoch. Dividing into three separate bodies, at two in the morning of March 17. they surprised as many small parties of the Argyleshire highlanders; one at the foot of Rannoch, under the command of Colin Campbell of Glenure; others at Blairfetty, three miles north, and at Kynichan, three miles west of Blair. About half a dozen were killed, and most of the rest taken prisoners. After this success, Lord George Murray marched immediately for Blair castle, the garrison of which, on notice of their approach, took in their

sick and horses into the castle, with what forage and fewel they could get. Sir Andrew Agnew drew up his men before the castle, and offered the rebels battle, which they declined. He then retired into the castle, and made the proper dispositions for standing a siege. On the 18th the rebels began to play upon the castle with two pieces of cannon, a three-pounder and a four-pounder. But observing that no impression was made upon the wall, they pointed their cannon at the roof, and fired red-hot bullets, which did a good deal of damage to it, and to the wainscoting. Mean time intelligence of the siege being received at Perth, the Earl of Crawford, with Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons, and a detachment of the Hessians, marched thence in order to raise the siege. The Earl having reached Pitlochrie on the 1st of April, the rebels formed there to give him battle. Lord Crawford formed on the other side; and making a motion to advance against the rebels, the latter retired; with design, as they gave out, to decoy the troops into the pass of Killicranky. But missing their aim, and fearing lest the Earl should steal a march upon them through the hills above Moulin, and hearing that a detachment was marching from Taybridge by Kynichan; therefore, for fear of being inclosed, they decamped in the night of April 1. and marched off with great precipitation for Badenoch, after having almost ruined the poor country. The rebels had fired 207 cannon-balls, of which 185 were red-hot, against the castle; the garrison of which were so reduced, that they had nothing to live upon but horse-flesh for some days before the rebels fled. The Earl of Crawford arrived at Blair on the 3d, and was followed by the Duke of Athol. The Prince of Hesse arrived two or three days after. And soon after all the troops returned to Perth.

During these transactions, other parties of the rebels were not idle. A party was detached from Inverness towards Fort Augustus, who invested it on the 23d of February.

February. The garrison, consisting of three companies of Guise's foot, amounting to about 140 men, commanded by Maj. Wentworth, defended themselves two days; but their powder-magazine taking fire, it is said they were thereupon obliged to surrender. The Major was afterwards tried by a court-martial, was adjudged to be dismissed the service, and rendered incapable of holding any military office under his Majesty. The rebels burnt Fort Augustus a little before the battle of Colloden.

After their success at Fort Augustus, the rebels determined to get possession of Fort William, a place of much greater importance. For this purpose several small parties took post on each side the narrows of Carron: but were dislodged thence by a party from Fort William, and some of the crews of the *Baltimore* and *Serpent* sloops, sent out for that purpose in several boats. They killed two of the rebels, and wounded several: and to prevent their nestling there again, they burnt down the ferryhouses on both sides of the water, and a little town with about twelve houses in it, a quarter of a mile distant from the ferryhouse on the north side, and destroyed or brought off all their boats. These proceedings produced a letter from Lochiel and Keppoch, of date March 20. in which they exclaimed against the Campbells, for burning houses and corn, killing horses, houghing cattle, stripping women and children, and exposing them to the severity of the weather in the open fields; threatened to make reprisals, if they could procure leave from their prince, by entering Argyllshire, and acting there at discretion, and by putting a Campbell to death for every house that should afterwards be burnt by that clan; extolled the lenity and moderation of the rebels, notwithstanding many malicious aspersions industriously spread to the contrary; and insinuated, that those who gave orders for the burning, could not answer for it to the British parliament.

Soon after this, a party of the rebels, said to amount to 1500 men, consisting of Camerons, the Macdonalds of Keppoch and Glenco, and the Stewarts of Appin, and the greatest part of their French auxiliaries, commanded by Lochiel, marched to invest Fort William. They began to blockade it on the 24th of February, under the direction of Brig. Stapleton, an experienced engineer. The garrison consisted of about 600 men, and afterwards received some small reinforcements. The siege continued till the 3d of April. The rebels raised several batteries, and fired very briskly from the 20th of March till the 31st, when a sally was made by 150 men, who rushed in upon one of the rebel-batteries, and made themselves masters of three brass four-pounders, two mortars, and their furnace, the very same which the rebels had taken at the battle of Preston; they spiked up two large mortars, which they could not bring away, with one brass six-pounder, which they brought under the walls of the fort. They had only two men killed and three wounded; and brought in two prisoners, one of them a French gunner. On the 2d the rebels began to nail up their largest cannon, and to carry off their small ones. Next day they raised the siege, finding it impossible to carry the fort. The garrison, to the number of 500, immediately sallied out, but found the works deserted. They then took the rest of the cannon and mortars, and carried them into the fort: so that four brass four-pounders, four iron six-pounders, nine mortars, and their furnace, fell into the hands of the besieged; and during the siege they buried only six men, and had about twenty-four wounded. Capt. Scott acquired very great honour by his noble defence of this fort, which was a place of the utmost importance. The rebels lost a considerable number of men during the siege, and were at last obliged to relinquish it, to their loss and dishonour; thus failing in their project of making themselves masters of the principal fort on that side, which they
had

had vainly flattered themselves with almost certain assurance of carrying.

But they were more successful in another quarter. Lord Loudon, after his retreat from Inverness, being ordered to join the Duke, was effectually prevented from doing so, and had been forced to retire into Sutherland. He took post at Dornoch, where he was reinforced by some of the Earl of Sutherland's people, consisting of 310 men, besides serjeants, corporals, and drums. The rebels, however, determined to dislodge him, because his activity greatly incommoded their enterprises. With this view, having collected a number of fishing-boats at Findhorn, and two other small places in the Murray frith, they put four men on board each, and, by the favour of a thick fog, which lasted eight days, coasted round Tarbotness to Tayne in Rosshire, where a body of their men lay. There they embarked, to the number of about 1500, under the command of the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Cromerty, and Clanronald; and on the 20th of March, at eight in the morning, they crossed the ferry, and landed on the Sutherland side, about two miles west of Dornoch, where 200 men of Loudon's regiment were cantoned. On notice of the rebels landing, 140 of the loyal people retired eastward. The other 60 were surprised, and made prisoners; among whom were the Major, Mackenzie, who had been formerly in the Russian service, Captains Sutherland of Forse, and Macintosh of that Ilk, and Adj. Robert Grant. Lord Loudon had left Dornoch that morning about five o'clock, and gone westward to reconnoitre the different passes where the rest of his men were stationed; dreading nothing from that quarter, as he had carried all the boats over to the opposite shore, and thought it impracticable to bring any from the Murray frith, three war ships being stationed there. On this event, his Lordship not judging it safe to remain longer in Sutherland, passed over, with the Lord President, the
Laird

Laird of Macleod, &c. and 800 men, into the isle of Sky ; where he arrived March 26. leaving a small part of his regiment, with the militia of the country, in Sutherland. Lord Loudon was immediately joined by Sir Alexander Macdonald of Slate.

But though the rebels were successful in this expedition, they soon after suffered a mortifying loss. The Hazard sloop, styled by the rebels the *Prince Charles* snow, had sailed from Montrose the 27th of January for France. She got into Dunkirk, and afterwards put to sea to return to Scotland. She was met off Ostend by two English privateers, who drove her ashore ; but being afterwards repaired, she sailed ; and, being an excellent sailor, escaped the vigilance of six or seven English ships that were cruising off that part to watch her. On the 24th of March she was descried by four English ships at anchor off Troup head ; on sight of which she bore away. Upon which the Sheerness, Capt. Obrian, cut her cable, gave her chase quite through Pentland frith about 50 leagues, kept a running fight for five hours, and at last ran her aground in Tongue-bay. Here the Hazard's crew landed late in the evening of the 25th, and came to a gentleman's house opposite to Tongue. Lord Rae's militia, and about 100 men of Loudon's regiment, with Captains Alexander Mackay, Sir Henry Monro, young Macleod, and Lord Charles Gordon, two subalterns, and the surgeon, were at this time not far from Tongue. Lord Rea, on notice of the landing of the men, having got notice of their number, immediately concerted with the officers the means of attacking them. Accordingly, about 50 of Loudon's men, and the like number of Rea's, marched by break of day, and in two hours came up with the French ; who had forced a guide to lead them off in the night. The French drew up, and being attacked, made several fires ; but the highlanders, after discharging their muskets, attacked them sword in hand. On which the French, having five or
six

six men killed, and as many more wounded, and seeing Capt. George Mackay coming up with a reinforcement, immediately surrendered. They were carried prisoners to Tongue, and put on board the *Sheerness*. There was about 13,000 l. Sterling on board the *Hazard*, all English gold, except about 1000 French guineas, in five chests. The money was landed, and seized by the party. There were also found on board fourteen chests of pistols and sabres, with thirteen barrels of gunpowder, designed for the use of the rebels. The *Sheerness* had fired, in the engagement, 8 or 900 shot, besides double shot and cartridge; the *Hazard* had her maintopmast, bowsprit, and foreyard shot away, most of her low rigging cut to pieces, and upwards of 80 shot-holes in her larboard-side. She had 38 sailors and 15 soldiers killed, and 10 wounded, four of which died afterwards. The *Sheerness* had not a man killed, and only one wounded. All the persons who had belonged to the *Hazard*, and were put on board the *Sheerness*, amounted in all, land and marine officers and soldiers and seamen, to 156. The officers and soldiers were mostly Irish, and a few Scots, commanded by Col. Brown, who had made his escape from Carlisle after the surrender of the town was agreed on, and had been afterwards engaged in the battle of Falkirk. Several of the officers were experienced engineers, either in the French or Spanish service. Among the private men were found two deserters, one from the Welch fusileers, and one from Bligh's. The *Sheerness*, after performing this essential service, sailed to Stromness in Orkney, where one Capt. Sinclair, in a New-England ship of 14 guns, some twivels, 150 small arms, and above 10 barrels of gunpowder, had betrayed his ship to the rebels, and had laid an imbargo on twelve merchant-ships in Stromness harbour; and designed, with the assistance of the rebel-party then at Kirkwall, under the command of Lord Macleod, son of the Earl of Cromarty, to secure them
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for the use of the pretender. Capt. Obrian relieved the merchant-ships, and seized Sinclair's, but he himself made his escape. A good many small arms, broad swords, ammunition, and several treasonable letters, were found on board. The Hazard sloop and Sinclair's ship were sent to Leith road, and the prisoners to Berwick. Lord Rea's loyal behaviour drew upon him the fury of the rebels; and being threatened with fire and sword by the Earl of Cromarty, his Lordship, with his family, went soon after to Edinburgh, as did Loudon's men to Aberdeen, both by sea. But let us now return to the Duke of Cumberland.

His R. Highness was visited at Aberdeen by the Duke of Gordon, the Earls of Aberdeen and Findlater, the Laird of Grant, and several of the northern nobility and gentry, who made loyal offers of their service. The Duke applied himself diligently to refreshing and disciplining his troops, providing magazines for their subsistence, and preparing to march after the rebels, as soon as the season would permit. Towards the end of March, his R. Highness having received intelligence, that the Earl of Airly, father to Lord Ogilvy, was raising his men, to join the rebels, sent orders to him to desist from such treasonable practices. This not being complied with, the Duke ordered a detachment of 100 recovered men who were coming up to the army, to take possession of Airly's house, and to make him prisoner, until his people should bring in their arms. A good number complied, and Lord Airly went thereafter to Edinburgh. About the same time Maj. La-fausille, with 300 men, was ordered to go to Glencsk, one of the most rebellious parts, to attack all whom he found there in arms against the government, and to burn the habitations of such as had left them, and were with the rebels. This detachment arrived very seasonably; for the people at Brechin would otherwise have been swallowed up: for one Ferrier, an old smuggler, had, with a small party of rebels, taken up his
quarters

quarters at Glenesk; had sent down parties almost to the very gates of Brechin, and carried off men, horses, arms, &c. and had raised about 200 men in Glenesk and Glenprosen. The Major made a trip to Edzell, burnt the Jacobite meeting-house of Lethnet, and laid two or three of the richest Jacobites in that country under a small contribution; he next paid Lord Airly a visit, traversed Glenprosen and Clova, and burnt or destroyed all the meeting-houses where-ever he came. It cost some pains to save Glenesk, being a nest of Jacobites. These measures, to which severe threats were added, had the good effect of inducing most of the people to submit, and deliver up their arms; and the end plainly justified the means.

While the army lay at Aberdeen, some of the soldiers, in resentment of the hardships put upon them by the rebels, shewed a strong inclination to plunder the rebel-houses. Some detached parties having pillaged the house of James Gordon of Cowbardie, who was in the rebellion; his lady complained to the Duke; who ordered a strict inquiry to be made into the affair, and 100 guineas to be given the lady for her losses; declaring, that he had never given orders for taking any effects belonging to the rebels, except their cattle and forage, for that the rest was to be left to the law. It seems that one Lieut. Fawlie of Fleming's foot had been broke at Montrose, Feb. 24. for disobedience of orders, forfeiture of his word of honour, and prevarication before a court-martial held on him for having plundered the house of Mr Oliphant of Gask, a rebel. And on the 23d of March, Ens. Daniel Hart, of the late Sir Robert Monro's foot, was, by a sentence of a court-martial, cashiered, and rendered incapable of ever serving in any capacity under his Majesty, for extorting six guineas from the wife of Francis Ross merchant in Aberdeen, upon his promising to protect her house and shop. And two soldiers of Fleming's foot were hanged at Aberdeen, for plundering some houses

in that neighbourhood. These instances are sufficient to wipe off from the Duke those vile reproaches which the Jacobites, and their emissaries, did, and to this day do still maliciously throw upon his R. Highness; who, nevertheless, will be ever revered by every good Protestant for quelling a rebellious insurrection, which, if it had succeeded, would have been fatal to the whole Protestant interest in Europe.

Maj.-Gen. Bland marched from Aberdeen on the 12th of March to Inverury and Old Meldrum, one march towards the Spey, with the Royal Scots, Barrel's, Price's, and Cholmondeley's foot, Cobham's dragoons, and Kingston's horse, having the Campbells before him, with the Laird of Grant and 100 of his men. The Duke having received intelligence on the 16th, that Roy Stewart was at Strathbogie, with about 1000 foot and 60 hussars, sent orders to Gen. Bland, to attempt to surprise them, at least to attack them; and detached Brig. Mordaunt, with the Scots fusileers, Brag's, Monro's, and Battereau's regiments, and four pieces of cannon, next morning, by day-break, to Old Meldrum, in order to sustain Gen. Bland. Accordingly Gen. Bland marched on the 17th towards Strathbogie, and was almost within sight of the place when the rebels had the first notice of his approach. They immediately abandoned the town, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards Keith. They were pursued upwards of two miles. Roy Stewart was wounded in the arm by a shot from one of Kingston's horse.

These advantages however were counterbalanced by some little checks that parties of the royal army received. A captain of highlanders, whom Gen. Bland had detached with 70 highlanders and 30 of Kingston's horse to Keith, was surprised in the night of the 20th, and lost his whole party, except a cornet, five men, and two horses, of Kingston's, and one highlander, who made their escape. The rebels had marched from Fochabers in the night, surrounded Keith, and entered it

at both ends. The Campbells lay in the church, and defended the church-yard for above half an hour, and made the rebels pay dear for this advantage. Capt. Campbell, a serjeant, and five private men of the King's troops, were killed.

By the 26th, the King's army was divided in three cantonments; the whole first line, consisting of six battalions, Kingston's horse, and Cobham's dragoons, under the command of Lord Albemarle and Maj.-Gen. Bland, at Strathbogie, within twelve miles of the Spey; the reserve, consisting of three battalions, with four pieces of cannon, under Brig. Mordaunt, at Old Meldrum, half-way between Strathbogie and Aberdeen; and the whole second line, consisting of the six remaining battalions, (Bligh's being then arrived from Leith), and Mark Kerr's dragoons, at Aberdeen. About this time, the advanced parties of the rebels and of the corps at Strathbogie were within a mile of each other every night; their scouts and reconnoitring parties exchanged some shots; and, for fear of a surprise, the royal troops were kept under arms several nights successively, taking what sleep they could get in the day-time.

Towards the end of March the Duke was preparing to march from Aberdeen, having been long detained there by the inclemency of the season, and waiting for some detachments, and provisions and firing coming by sea. He fitted up Gordon's hospital for a fort, in which he purposed to leave a small garrison, under the command of Capt. Crosby of the Scots fusileers, for securing the town from any insults from Glenbucket's people or any others.

The Duke, having now got every thing in readiness for his marching, and being informed that the Spey was fordable, marched from Aberdeen, with the last division of the army, on the 8th of April, and incamped on the 11th at Cullen, where the troops received a considerable sum as a present from the Earl of Findlater and

Lord Braco. Here Lord Albemarle joined his R. Highness, and the whole army was assembled. Next day they marched to the Spey, and passed it with no other loss than of one dragoon and four women, who were drowned. Maj.-Gen. Huske had been detached in the morning, with the fifteen companies of grenadiers, the highlanders, and all the cavalry, with two pieces of cannon; and the Duke went with them himself. On their first appearance the rebels, computed to be between 2 and 3000, under the command of Lord John Drummond, retired from the side of the Spey towards Elgin, upon which Kingston's horse immediately forded over, sustained by the grenadiers and highlanders. But the rebels were got out of their reach before they could pass. The infantry waded over as fast as they arrived; and though the water came up to their middles, they went on with great chearfulness. The royal army incamped on the 12th on the west side of the Spey, marched through Elgin on the 13th, incamped about three miles to the west of it, in the parish of Alves, and on the 14th reached Nairn; where they halted the 15th, being the Duke's birthday, who then entered into the 26th year of his age, and employed themselves in putting their arms, &c. in good order, in the view of having a brush with the rebels.

The rebels were guilty of very great neglect in not disputing the passage of the Spey with the royal army; and why they did not do it, is not easy to be conceived. It appears, from this instance, that they were under a total insatuation. For though all the forces they had posted on the river could not have stopped the Duke's passage, yet they might have killed him a good many men, and exceedingly weakened his force. But certainly there was a special interposition of providence in this affair; and the antient adage, *Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat*, may not unfitly be applied on this occasion. However, as the Duke of Cumberland's march had surpris'd the rebels, and much imbarraßed their

their counsels, upon hearing of his arrival at Nairn; they were much perplexed about what course they should steer, after having missed the golden opportunity of attacking him in fording the Spey. All their army was not then joined. Keppoch, the Master of Lovat, Cluny Macpherson, and many of the recruits of Glengary's and other regiments, were not come up. There was a party at Cromarty; and a strong detachment, consisting of 1600 men, in Sutherland, and Lord Rea's country, under the command of Lord Cromarty, Glengyle, Glencarnock, and Barisdale. But all the parties were expected in a few days. Their number, however, in the neighbourhood of Inverness, amounted to 6000 at least, all brave and resolute men. It was at first proposed to retreat to the mountains till their whole body should assemble, and make a summer-campaign of it. This was the opinion of all the highland clans, who were not for precipitating any thing. But this opinion was taxed as timid, and rejected as such: though, perhaps, it was the best measure they could have taken. It would certainly have protracted the war, and led the royal army a dance after them into their fastnesses, where the rebels would have vast advantages over them, and might expect succours from France, sufficient to enable them to make an offensive war. Others were for retreating only for a few days, till their scattered parties should assemble, and then give the Duke of Cumberland battle in an advantageous situation. But this opinion could not be carried into execution, as they laboured under a total want of provisions, and had no money to purchase them: so that they were reduced to the sad dilemma, either to fight, starve, or disperse. The last expedient proposed for extricating themselves from their difficulties, was, to surprise the royal army in their camp at Nairn in the night of the 15th. All the clans, with their pretended prince, were keen for this night-attack, and seemed to be positive of success. It was at last agreed to; and accordingly, about eight
at

at night, the rebel-army, consisting of about 5000 men, marched from Culloden moor, where they had drawn up in order of battle in the forenoon, in expectation of the Duke's advancing from Nairn. Lord G. Murray was in the van, Lord J. Drummond in the centre, and the Duke of Perth, with the prince-pretender and Fitz-james's horse, in the rear. The van marched very quick, but the rear very slow. The former had got to Culraick, within four miles of Nairn, by one o'clock in the morning; but the latter was a good way behind. Here a halt was made to give time to the rear to come up. When they had both come to that place, it was near two o'clock, and they could plainly see the fires in the Duke of Cumberland's camp. Fearing they were discovered, that the King's army was alarmed, and that the sun would be up before they could reach Nairn, and form themselves, it was agreed to lay aside the attempt, and return immediately to Culloden. Accordingly, they set out on their return, and came to Culloden a little before eight o'clock in the morning of Wednesday the 16th, not a little fatigued and hungry, having travelled that night at least fifteen miles, and having but little provision to refresh them. Their loss of the Hazard sloop was now sensibly felt.

What chiefly induced the rebels to this attempt, was, the apprehension that the King's troops would all be drunk and asleep; that they would all be in such confusion, that they could not withstand the rude shock of the highlanders, and would therefore become an easy prey. But they were mistaken: the Duke was very well apprised of the design, and was prepared to give them a proper reception. For as soon as the rebels reached Culraick, the drums beat, and the army was ordered to march to attack them on the road. These preparations intimidated Charles to advance; and therefore he thought proper to return the way he came. It was no doubt wisely resolved by the rebels to attack the royal army by night; and, had they got
up

up undiscovered before it was light, they might have made some impression, and cut off part of them. But it is thought they could not have totally routed the King's army; for they lay all night on their arms, and their cannon were planted. Providence here again baffled the crafty designs of the enemy; and this attempt only tended to weaken them, and render them less fit for action next day.

The hour was now approaching which was to determine all the towering expectations of the rebels, and repress their insolence: now the fatal time drew nigh, when their pretended prince, who had for several months traversed the country, and caused his terror every where, must yield to the gallant troops of him whom he had been taught to consider as the usurper of his and his father's rights; have his army routed, broke, and scattered, and he himself be a fugitive, without men, money, or attendants, to the grief and vexation of every Jacobite in the kingdom. The highland savages principally depended on their personal strength and wild bravery, and their dexterity in managing the broad sword: but the royal forces, headed by a Prince of the blood, were now ready to encounter them, notwithstanding all their boasted skill and courage. What will not intrepid courage, under proper management, and a good cause, under the benediction of the God of armies, achieve?

The royal army decamped from Nairn, April 16. at five o'clock in the morning, marching in three columns, of five battalions each. The artillery and baggage followed the first column upon the right, and the cavalry made a fourth column on the left. After they had marched about eight miles, their advanced guard, composed of about 40 of Kingston's horse, and the highlanders, led by the Quartermaster-General Bland, perceived the rebels at some distance making a motion towards them on the left; upon which the royal army immediately formed: but finding the rebels did not advance,

advance, they proceeded half a mile forwards with fixed bayonets ; and, after passing a morass, came in full view of the rebels, who were drawn up in line of battle, behind some huts and old walls, in a line with Cul-loden house.

The royal army immediately began to form. The front-line consisted of six battalions, those of St Clair (Royal Scots), Cholmondeley, Price, Scots fusileers, Monro, and Barrel, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle ; who had two pieces of cannon placed in all the intermediate spaces between each of the battalions ; and the flanks were secured by the two regiments of dragoons, Cobham's, under the Earl of Ancrum, eldest son of the Marquis of Lothian, on the right ; and Mark Keir's, under Generals Hawley and Bland, on the left. The second line was composed of five battalions, those of Fleming, Wolfe, Ligonier, Sem-pill, and Bligh, under Maj.-Gen. Huske ; so disposed as to front the openings of the first line. The reserve consisted of the remaining four battalions, those of Howard, Pulteney, Battereau, and Blake-ney, led by Brig. Mordaunt ; having Kingston's horse, equally disposed, on either flank. The Argyleshire highlanders were posted to guard the baggage. This was one of the most prudent dispositions that could be devised ; because, if one column failed, a second supported ; and if that failed, a third was ready : nor could the rebels break one regiment, without meeting with another. On the other hand, the front of the rebel-army was formed by the clans, in thirteen divisions, under their respective chiefs ; the disposition being made by Mr Sullivan. Upon the right of all were about 40 of the principal gentlemen, who dismounted, because of the difference between their horses and the dragoons ; the Athol men were next on the right, then the Camerons, the Stewarts of Appin, Macphersons, Frasers, the Macintoshes, the Farquharsons, the Mac-innons, the Macleods of Raza, the Macleans, Mac-

donalds

donalds of Clanronald, of Keppoch, and of Glengary, having four pieces of cannon placed before the Farquharsons and Macinnons in the centre, and four at each wing. The centre was commanded by Lord J. Drummond, the right wing by Lord G. Murray, and the left by the Duke of Perth. On the right of the second line were posted two battalions of the regiment under Lord Lewis Gordon; next to them were two battalions, commanded by Lord Ogilvie; which were adjoined to the regiment of Lord J. Drummond, headed by his cousin Lord Lewis Drummond, son of the Earl of Melfort; and the remainder on the left, commanded by Lord Kilmarnock and Col. Crichton, alias Vise. Frendraught. The three last divisions properly formed the second column, because the first division was posted in Culloden park, to prevent the King's army from breaking down the wall, and flanking the rebels. Behind the second line were posted all the rebel-horse, including the body-guards, Pittligo's horse, and a squadron under Vise. Strathallan. The whole force of the rebels consisted of about 8000 men, and that of the Duke of much the same number; though Lord G. Murray, in his account of the battle, is positive that the former did not exceed 5000 fighting men. This was the actual situation of both armies on the day of battle.

Immediately before the battle, the Duke made the following speech to the army. "*Gentlemen and fellow-soldiers*, I have but little time to address myself to you; but I think proper to acquaint you, that you are instantly to engage in defence of your King and country, your religion, your liberties and properties; and through the justice of our cause, I make no doubt of leading you on to certain victory. Stand but firm, and your enemies will soon fly before you. But if there be any amongst you, who, through timidity, are diffident of their courage and behaviour, which I have not the least reason to suspect; or any others, who, through

conscience or inclination, cannot be zealous or alert in performing their duty; it is my desire that all such would immediately retire: and I further declare, they shall have my free pardon for so doing; for I would much rather be at the head of one thousand brave and resolute men, than ten thousand, amongst whom there are some, who, by cowardice or misbehaviour, may dispirit or disorder the troops, and so bring dishonour or disgrace on an army under my command."—This noble speech was answered with a general huzza, every man, from the meanest soldier to the general officers, expressing the greatest resolution to encounter any danger under his R. Highness's conduct.

When the royal army had advanced within 500 yards of the rebels, the Duke found the morass on his right was ended, which left the right flank quite uncovered to them. Lt-Gen. Hawley and Maj.-Gen. Bland had before taken Cobham's dragoons from the right to Kerr's on the left, on a presumption that the right wing was entirely secure, and with an intention to fall upon the right flank of the rebels. This occasioned his R. Highness immediately to order Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a squadron of Cobham's which had been patrolling, to cover his flank; and Pulteney's regiment was ordered from the reserve to the right of the Royal Scots. It was now almost one o'clock; and about half an hour after that was spent in trying which of the two armies should gain the flank of the other. The Duke having then sent Lord Bury forward, within 100 yards of the rebels, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared like a battery, the rebels thereupon immediately began firing their cannon; which were extremely ill served and ill pointed. The firing was instantly returned by the royal army; and the grape-shot made such terrible havock amongst the rebels, that open lanes appeared through most of their ranks. This put the rebels in the utmost confusion; they trembled at every discharge of the artillery; had no heart to that way

way of fighting; and therefore made a push on the right of the King's army, where the Duke had placed himself to receive them. The left wing of the rebels came running down in their wild and desperate manner, three several times, within 100 yards of the Duke's right wing, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords: but the Royals and Pulteney's hardly took their muskets from their shoulders; so that, after these faint attempts to draw the royal army forward, the rebels made off, and bent their whole force on the left of the royal army, where their right somewhat outflanked Barrel's regiment, and where they discharged all their fury. This was perceived by Maj.-Gen. Haske, who immediately ordered the regiments of Bligh and Sempill to advance from the second line, and fire upon those who had outflanked Barrel's, which soon repulsed them; while the regiments of Barrel and Monro were briskly engaged with their bayonets in the front, where they did incredible slaughter. The rebels so obstinately rushed on their deaths, that there was scarce an officer or soldier in Barrel's regiment, or in that part of Monro's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each with their bayonets and spontoons, which were most of them bent with the violence of the thrusts. In the mean time the royal cannon kept a continual fire with cartridge-shot, and strewed the ground with carcases. But though the rebels were intimidated at this scene of destruction, their commanders forced them down; and they run with such impetuosity, that the regiments of Barrel and Monro were obliged to make an opening to let them pass; and then closing their ranks, some battalions of the rebels were miserably put to death, between the front and second lines of the royal army. To complete the total destruction of the rebels, Lt-Gen. Hawley with the dragoons, and a party of the Argyleshiremen, advanced about on the left, and broke down the park-wall which flanked the rebels left wing, where they defeated a re-

bel-detachment under Lord Lewis Gordon. The dragoons then came down on the rear of the centre-column of the rebels second line, where they made a prodigious slaughter: and, about the same time, Kingston's horse wheeled off from the right, pierced through the left wing of the rebels front-line, and penetrated to the centre-column of their second line, where they attacked that column in front, while the dragoons were attacking the rear. This occasioned a dreadful carnage. The royal cavalry soon dispersed the rebel-reserve; the clans were entirely surrounded; the royal infantry was close on their front, while the cavalry advanced on their rear; and, thus hemmed in, they perished in heaps, unassisted by the French, who scarce fired a shot. It was now two o'clock. The rebels had maintained the engagement for 35 minutes; had fought desperately; but were now obliged to fly in a general confusion, striving every one who should be foremost in the flight. Precipitate was the flight, close the pursuit, and terrible the slaughter: for Lord Ancrem was ordered to pursue with the cavalry as far as he could; who did it so effectually, that not only the field of battle, but the road to Inverness, for four miles, was covered with mangled or dead bodies; and the slaughter was so undistinguished, that many of the poor inhabitants of Inverness, who had come out of curiosity to see the battle, being clad in the highland dress, and therefore impossible to be distinguished, were indiscriminately put to the sword among the fugitive rebels.

This is the substance of the accounts published on the King's side. To which it will not be improper to subjoin that given by Lord G. Murray, which fully confirms it.

"Both armies being fully formed (says he), the cannonading began on both sides.—The highlanders were much galled by the enemy's cannon, and were growing so impatient, that they were like to break through their ranks. Upon which it was judged proper to attack,
and

and orders were given accordingly. The left wing did not go in sword in hand, imagining they should be flanked by a regiment of foot, and some horse, which the enemy brought up about that time from their second line or corps de reserve. When the right wing were within pistol-shot of the enemy, they received a most terrible fire, not only in front, but also in flank, from a side-battery; notwithstanding which, they went in sword in hand, after giving their fire close to the enemy; and though they were received by them with their spontoons and bayonets, the two regiments of foot that were on the enemy's left, would have been entirely cut to pieces, had they not been immediately supported by two other regiments from their second line. As it was, these two regiments (Barrel's and Monro's) had above 200 men killed and wounded. Two regiments of dragoons coming up on the same side, entirely broke that wing of the highlanders; and though three battalions of the right of the second line were brought up, and gave their fire very well; yet the ground and every thing else was so favourable to the enemy, that nothing could be done, but a total rout ensued."

Such was the fate of this memorable battle, which extinguished a wicked and unnatural rebellion, headed by the son of a Popish pretender, and delivered the kingdom from many grievous calamities it had for some months laboured under, and freed the loyal inhabitants from their fears of an inundation of Popery and arbitrary power, worse and more pernicious than Egyptian bondage. The rebels had upwards of 2000 men killed on the field of battle and in the pursuit, and 326 men were taken prisoners; besides 222 French, who had exerted themselves in covering the retreat, and surrendered themselves prisoners, at Inverness, to Gen. Bland*. Of the

* That a greater number of the rebels was not taken, was owing to the swiftness of their flight, who in this case thought a pair

the rebel-officers were killed Lord Strathallan, Robert Mercer of Aldie, Lachlan MacIachlan of that ilk, Alexander Macgillivray of Dunmaglass, Colonels Fraser, Mackenzie, and Macintosh, Maj. Macbain, and many others. The Earl of Kilmarnock, Col. Farquharson, Sir John Wedderburn, Col. Ker, Maj. Stewart, Maj. MacIachlan, and many other officers, were taken. There were also taken some rebel-ladies, such as Lady Ogilvie, Lady Kinloch, Lady Gordon, the Laird of Macintosh's wife, Shirloch's Lady, and one Mrs Williams. Some of these had followed their husbands, out of conjugal affection ; but others, as Lady Macintosh, whose husband was zealous for the government, forgetting the modesty and softness of their sex, had taken up arms, and headed troops for the young pretender, who was the idol of the Jacobite ladies. Lord Fortrose's wife was also one of those Amazon heroines ; and Sec. Murray's wife followed the rebel-army in a military habit ; as did some others. But Lady Kilmarnock, who had been nursed up in all the bigotry and madness of Jacobitism, was so far from encouraging her Lord to join in the frantic attempt, that she earnestly dissuaded him from it ; though her family's interest must have been promoted by the success of the rebellion. Among the French who surrendered at Inverness, were Brig. Stapleton, Lord Lewis Drummond, Col. Macdonell, the Marquis de Guilles (commonly styled the French ambassador), and forty-seven other officers. There were taken 22 pieces of cannon, 2320 firelocks, 190 broad swords, 1500 musket-cartridges, 1019 shot for ordnance, 500 lb. musket shot, 37 barrels of powder, 22 ammunition-carts, besides tents, cantines, pouches and cartouch-boxes, pistols,

pair of heels worth two pair of hands ; to the weariness of the royal forces, and their unacquaintance with the different roads of escape ; but not to a general carnage, or refusal of quarter to such as asked it, as the Jacobites falsely gave out. This indeed would have been the case had the rebels proved victorious, as can easily be made appear.

pistols, and saddles. Sixteen colours and standards were also taken, all which were afterwards burnt, at Edinburgh, by the hands of the common hangman. The royal army had 50 men killed, 259 woundd, and 1 missing; io all 310. Among the former was Capt. Lord Robert Kerr, son to the Marquis of Lothian, and among the latter, Lt-Col. Rich, both of Barrel's regiment; but no other person of distinction was either among the dead or wounded. Lord Robert Kerr, not observing when his regiment gave way, had remained a few yards forwards alone. He had struck his pike into the body of a highland officer; but before he could disengage himself, was surrounded, and cut to pieces.

The rebels had flattered themselves with the certain hope of defeating the King's army, and had resolved to cut off every man of them that should fall into their hands. As an evidence of this, there was found in one of the pockets of the rebel-prisoners, an order, dated April 15. and signed, *By his Royal Highness's command, George Murray Lt-Gen.* directing "every person to attach himself to some corps of the army, and remain with that corps night and day, until the battle and pursuit should be finally over; and to give no quarter to the Elector [of Hanover's] troops on any account whatever." This barbarous order was universally disowned by the rebel-prisoners, who alledged they knew nothing about it. Among others, Lord Kilmarnock protested he never knew nor heard of any such thing, till he was some days a prisoner at Inverness; and that he could not give credit to the report of it, till he was assured the Duke had got the original order, signed, *George Murray*. No notice was taken of it in any of the accounts published by the government: which made many disbelieve it. But though it might be true, that Lord Kilmarnock and other rebel-chiefs never saw it, yet I am assured such an order was found, signed as above; which had the effect to exasperate the King's troops, and induced them to deal pretty roughly with several rebels

rebels who afterwards fell into their hands : for they justly conceived it to be one of the most cruel orders that had ever been issued in any civilized country, and a sad presage of what the loyal subjects of G. Britain would have been exposed to, had the rebellion succeeded.

The day before this famous battle, the Earl of Sutherland's people performed a very interesting piece of service to their king and country, which ought not to be forgot. I have already taken notice of the Earl of Cromarty's having penetrated into Sutherland at the head of a very strong party. There his Lordship ravaged and harassed that poor country ; while the Sutherlands and Mackays endeavoured to oppose his proceedings. Three companies of the Sutherland militia had kept in a body, notwithstanding Cromarty's efforts to disperse or seize them. Their captains, Mr Sutherland younger of Sibberscross, and Mess. Gray and Macalister, the Earl's factors, had determined to dislodge the rebels from Dunrobin, the Earl's seat, and to attack them at any rate. For this purpose they marched to the back of a hill north-west of Dunrobin, and finding that the rebels, amounting to 500 men, were on their march from Dunrobin, they sent Ens. Mackay with 26 men to harass their rear, in their way to the ferry of Golspie. Mean time Cromarty having left Dunrobin, was following after his men ; but was fired at so briskly by a party posted in Golspie churchyard, that he was obliged to retreat back to Dunrobin. On notice of his Lordship's distress, his men marched back to his relief ; so that the 26 men of the Sutherland militia, unable to cope with such a body, were obliged to retire. By this time the three companies above mentioned began to march down the hill ; and the rebels thinking they were far more numerous than they really were, fell to retreat in a panic towards the ferry. The militia immediately pursued, came in upon their left flank, and soon routed them. A considerable
number

number was killed and drowned, and 178 private men were taken prisoners. Cromarty held out Dunrobin house till the evening; when despairing of relief, and fearing to have the house burnt about his ears, he and all his officers surrendered themselves prisoners of war. They were next day and the following put on board the Hawk and Hound sloops of war then lying off Cromarty; from whence they were conveyed to Inverness, where they arrived on the 18th. On this occasion were taken the Earl of Cromarty, Lord Macleod his eldest son, Lt-Col. Kendall, in the Spanish service, and nine other officers, together with about 1200 l. Ster. In this whole affair the militia had not a man killed, and not above six wounded.—I wish I could have informed the world, that the loyal Earl of Sutherland had met with a suitable reward for this signal service done his country: but though his Lordship's family declared early in favour of the revolution, and did great service to the government against the rebellion in 1715; and though he himself acted with distinguishing zeal against the present rebellion, and his people, by the aforementioned memorable exploit, contributed not a little to the glorious victory at Culloden; yet he was the very next year deprived of his seat in the house of Lords, and turned out of a very lucrative post in the government, that of President of the court of Police in Scotland, worth 2000 l. a-year, in order to give place to a nobleman, who, though of known zeal and attachment to the government, had in this time of danger done nothing.

The news of the defeat of the rebels having reached Edinburgh late on Saturday night April 19. it was notified to the inhabitants, next morning at two o'clock, by a round of the great guns from the castle, which was answered by his Majesty's ships of war in Leith road. And the joyful news reached London on the 23d. Lord Bury was dispatched from Inverness the night of the battle, at seven o'clock, with an account of it to the King. He came by sea to Northberwick,

where he landed on the 21st, and then set out post for London, where he arrived in the morning of the 24th. That day there were very extraordinary public rejoicings, both at London and Edinburgh, on account of this important victory; which soon became general all over the kingdom, to the confusion of the slaves to passive obedience and non-resistance. This year the Duke's birthday was solemnized after a most distinguished manner throughout the whole kingdom; an anniversary which had not before been publicly observed.

His R. Highness arrived at Inverness in the evening of the battle, where he was received with the greatest joy as their deliverer from the heavy yoke of the rebels. Here he fixed his head quarters for some time, and sent out parties every where in pursuit of the fugitive rebels; who met with great success. Many were apprehended and imprisoned; and others, who were so obstinate as not to yield, were killed without ceremony, their habitations destroyed, and their estates and goods plundered. But most of the principal officers who had escaped the sword, found means to get to France. The Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, John Hay of Restalrig, Mr Buchanan, &c. made their escape May 4. on board two French men of war from Arisaig. The Duke of Perth was in a bad state of health when he embarked, and died on the 11th, before he reached France. Lord John his brother, who assumed the pretended title, died at the siege of Bergen-op-zoom in 1747. Others escaped to Norway, and from thence to France, such as Lord Ogilvie, the titular Viscount of Dundee, Fletcher of Benshie, Hunter of Barnside, &c.

The prince pretender had escaped from the battle, with a few chosen friends, such as Sheridan, Sir David Murray, Mr Alexander Macleod, Mr John Hay, Mess. O Sullivan and O Neille, &c. and got to Gortuleg the evening of the battle. Here he had an interview with Lord Lovat, who was there sculking. His Lordship,

who

who had often said he was the life and spirit of the pretender's interest in the highlands, warmly exhorted the young Chevalier not to despond, but think of retrieving his affairs, promising him all the assistance in his power. But Sullivan dissuaded the adventurer to listen to any such idle advices, well knowing that his affairs were then quite desperate. He did not lodge at Gortuleg all night, but set out in his flight. He then wandered about as an exile, exposed to all the inconveniencies of cold, hunger, thirst, and weariness; was obliged often to change his dress, and assume various habits; was frequently in danger of being apprehended, and sometimes very narrowly escaped. Sometimes he had attendants, and sometimes none. Some females were particularly kind to him, and greatly helped him to facilitate his escape. At length, after a peregrination of full five months, he, with Lochiel, Dr Archibald Cameron, Lochiel's brother, John Roy Stewart, &c. got on board the *Bellona*, a privateer of Nantes, of 36 carriage-guns, 12 swivels, and 340 men, at Moidart. Setting sail from thence September 20. he landed on the 29th at Roscou, about three miles west of Morlaix, having narrowly escaped a British Squadron then on the coast of Britany. "He was, when he embarked, (says a late historian), clad in a short coat of black frieze, threadbare, over which was a common highland plaid, girt round him by a belt, from whence depended a pistol and a dagger. He had not been shifted for many weeks: his shoes and stockings hung in tatters on his feet and legs. His eyes were hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution greatly impaired by famine and fatigue." But whatever hardships he had undergone, he might have had terrible qualms of conscience, for having been the wicked cause of so much bloodshed, rapine, and desolation. Many innocent people were, by means of his cursed ambition, involved in the most horrid calamities, many useful lives were sacrificed in his quarrel, trade and

manufactures suffered a total stagnation, and his insatuated followers were ruined, and banished their country. So that it may well be said, that as his supposed predecessors had been a plague to the British nation, so was this adventurous youth, and especially to the Papists and Jacobites, those inveterate enemies to the religion and liberties of their native country *.

The rebellion being happily extinguished, the loyal inhabitants of Scotland were freed from those calamities and terrors which had hung over them for near nine months, and they very deservedly bestowed the highest encomiums on the Duke of Cumberland, whose courage and conduct, under the influence of Providence, had effected their deliverance. Every city and borough strove who should most celebrate the magnanimous hero. Congratulatory addresses were presented to his Majesty, by both houses of parliament, and from all parts of G. Britain and Ireland, on this happy occasion. The Lords and Commons ordered their public thanks to be transmitted, by their respective speakers, to the Duke, for the great and eminent services performed by him; and, with the approbation of his Majesty, they settled an additional revenue of 25,000 l. a-year on his R. Highness, and the heirs-male of his body, chargeable on the aggregate fund, as an augmentation of his former revenue of 15,000 l. payable out of the civil list.

I had almost forgot to mention, that a subscription was opened at Guildhall, London, Nov. 27. 1745, by the Lord Mayor and others, for relief of the soldiers employed during the winter-season towards suppressing the

* I intended to have given a more particular account of the proceedings of the troops in their pursuit of the remains of the rebels, and of the young pretender's sculking and escape, with every thing else necessary for illustrating the history of that time: but these articles, with other particulars of importance, must be postponed.

the rebellion. The committee of managers, out of this fund, provided 12,000 pairs of breeches, 12,000 shirts, 10,000 woollen caps, 10,000 pairs of woollen stockings, 10,000 blankets, 12,000 pairs of knit woollen gloves, and 9000 pairs woollen spatterdashies, for the use of the army. By the 5th of February 1746, the subscription amounted to 18,435 l. of which 5000 l. was given to the soldiers employed in the battle of Culloden, 1000 l. to the non-commission officers, and 1 l. each to 150 soldiers who had been wounded at the battle of Preston. The remainder was given to certain hospitals in London.——The Edinburgh regiment, after having been stationed on the south of the Forth for seizing straggling rebels after the battle of Culloden, was disbanded on the 30th of May 1746; as were soon after most of the regiments raised in England by noblemen and gentlemen.

The Duke, with the main body of his army, marched from Inverness, May 23. and next day arrived at Fort Augustus. Here he continued some time; from whence he sent out several detachments to scour the country. In a short time the whole highlands were subdued and the inhabitants disarmed: A work that had in vain been attempted by the Romans and Saxons; but these fierce and untractable people, who had often bid defiance to their native kings, were now at last reduced, so as hardly ever to be in a capacity to raise a new rebellion. The Hessian troops embarked at Burntisland, and sailed from Leith road June 10. and arrived at Williamstadt on the 18th. They were under the command of the Earl of Crawford; as Pr. Frederick had gone to London. The Duke, leaving the command of the army to Lt-Gen. William Earl of Albemarle, set out from Fort Augustus July 10. and arrived at London on the 25th. The most sincere testimonies of esteem and gratitude were every where shewn his R. Highness; though, at his own desire, public rejoicings were often forbid.

A solemn thanksgiving for the victory at Culloden was observed throughout Scotland on the 26th of June; and in England on the 9th of October. In England, the day was solemnized, not only by people's attending divine worship, but also by ringing of bells, music, bonfires, illuminations, firing of guns, entertainments, &c.; and, in several places, the devil, the Pope, and the pretender, were burnt in effigie.—They must be grossly ignorant, or immersed in superstition, who can imagine the Deity can be pleased with such fooleries, as parts of divine worship.

It was now necessary, that those who had violated their fidelity and allegiance to their injured sovereign, and involved their country in such calamity and confusion, should atone for their crimes by satisfying the demands of public justice. An act of attainder was passed June 4. against the principal persons concerned in the rebellion; whereby the several persons therein named were to stand attainted of high treason, unless they surrendered themselves on or before the 12th of July following; and courts were opened in several parts of England for the trial of the rebels that were in custody. Of the rebels tried at St Margaret's hill, Southwark, seventeen were executed at Kennington common, viz. on the 30th of July, Francis Townly, George Fletcher, Thomas Chadwick, James Dawson, Thomas Deacon, John Berwick, Andrew Blood, Thomas Syddal, and David Morgan, English;—on the 22d of August, James Nicolson, Donald Macdonald, and Walter Ogilvie, Scots; who were all taken at Carlisle;—and on the 28th of November, Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton, governor of Carlisle, Alexander Leith, Alexander Wood, and James Bradshaw.—Of the rebels tried at Carlisle, thirty-three were executed, viz. at Harrowby gallows near that city, October 18. Mr Thomas Coppock, the pretended bishop of that city, Edward Roper. Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, Maj. Donald Macdo-

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nald of Tyendrigh, John Henderson, John Macnaughton, James Brand, and Hugh Cameron;—and Nov. 15. Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace, Charles Gordon of Dalperfy, Patrick Murray goldsmith in Stirling, Patrick Keir and Alexander Stevenson wrights in Edinburgh, Robert Reid, John Wallace, and James Mitchell, all Scots; Molineux Eaton and Thomas Hayes, English; and Barnaby Matthews, Irish:—At Brampton, Oct. 21. James Innes, Patrick Lindsay, Ronald Macdonald, Thomas Park, Peter Taylor, and Michael Delard:—And at Penrith, Oct. 28. Mr Robert Lyon (formerly a nonjurant Episcopal minister at Perth), David Home, Andrew Swan, James Harvey, John Robottom, Philip Hunt, and Valentine Holt.—Of those tried at York, twenty-two were executed near that city, *viz.* Nov. 1. Capt. George Hamilton of Redhouse, Daniel Fraser, Edward Clavering, Charles Gordon, Benjamin Mason, James Maine, William Connolly, William Dempsey, Angus Macdonald, and James Sparkes;—on the 8th, David Rowe, William Hunter, John Endsworth, John Maclean, John Macgregor, Simon Mackenzie, Alexander Parker, Thomas Macgenois, Archibald Kennedy, James Thomson, and Michael Brady;—and on the 15th, James Reid.

William Marquis of Tullibardine, William Earl of Kilmarnock, George Earl of Cromarty, Arthur Lord Balmerino, and Simon Lord Lovat, were all carried to London, and confined in the Tower. Charles Ratcliffe, taking upon him the title of Earl of Derwentwater, had been taken on board a French transport, as mentioned above, and was confined there long before the suppression of the rebellion. The Marquis of Tullibardine died in the Tower on the 9th of July, in the 58th year of his age, advising his countrymen never more to enter into rebellious measures. But the grand jury for the county of Surrey found bills of indictment against the Earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, for high treason, in levy
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ing war against his Majesty. Their trials were appointed to be in Westminster-hall on the 28th of July. Philip Lord Hardwicke, then Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, was appointed Lord High Steward for that purpose. On the day appointed they were severally brought to the bar, and allowed counsel. The two Earls pleaded Guilty, and in very pathetic speeches recommended themselves to his Majesty's mercy. But Lord Balmerino pleaded Not guilty, denying that he had been at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment. Witnesses were then examined; by whom it was proved, that his Lordship entered Carlisle, tho' not on the day specified in the indictment, at the head of a regiment of horse, with his sword drawn. He also made an exception; but it was over-ruled. He was unanimously found guilty; as the judges being asked with regard to the overt act, had declared, that it was not material, as other facts were proved beyond contradiction. The three peers were again brought to the bar on the 30th; when the two Earls recommended themselves to the royal clemency; but Balmerino moved an exception in arrest of judgment; pleading, that an indictment could not be found in the county of Surrey, for a crime laid to be committed at Carlisle, in December preceding; in regard the act of parliament ordaining the rebels to be tried in such counties as the King should appoint, which was not passed till March, could not have a retrospect. But being satisfied, by counsel, of the futility of this plea, he submitted to the court. The Lord High Steward then pronounced sentence of death on the criminals.

Lord Cromarty had been collector of the bishops rents in Scotland, which he had been allowed to apply to his own use, without being called to account; and therefore his crime must appear a shocking instance of ingratitude. Great application was, however, made in his behalf. The case of his numerous family, and that of his wife, descended of a loyal family, were strong

Wrong motives in his favour. His life was therefore spared, and he lives to this day a standing monument of undeserved clemency. Lord Kilmarnock was a nobleman of fine parts, of a graceful appearance, and a most engaging address; had been educated in revolution-principles, and, in the commencement of the rebellion, had spirited up his vassals to oppose it: but having for some years enjoyed a pension from the crown, which had been withdrawn a little before Charles's arrival in Scotland, he was exasperated at the supposed affront, and partly in resentment for that, and partly with a view of obtaining the opulent estate of Linlithgow and Callender, the original property of his wife, as heir to her attainted father, the Earl of Linlithgow and Callender, he joined in the wicked attempt. Arthur Lord Balmerino had been a hardened rebel: and though he had been pardoned for his accession to the rebellion in 1715, by his present Majesty; yet gratitude to his gracious benefactor could not restrain him from joining with the enemies of his crown and kingdoms. He had succeeded to the title only in January preceding, upon the death of his elder brother without issue, and had never possessed the estate.

Lord Kilmarnock presented very moving petitions to the King, the Prince, and the Duke; but in vain. It was his Lordship's misfortune, that he had incurred the displeasure of a certain great personage, for alleged cruelty to the prisoners taken before the battle of Culloden, for advising or approving of the barbarous order for giving no quarter to his Majesty's troops at that battle, and dissimulation as to the method of his having been taken. And it is said, that that great personage was implacable in his resentment; and therefore would listen to no overture of clemency. Pity, however, it was, that this Noble Lord did not partake of the royal mercy, when he was a sincere penitent, and would have dedicated the remainder of his life to

the service of his Majesty and the royal family. Lord Balmerino never petitioned for life; but resolved to die, as he had lived, an obdured Jacobite, elated with the presumptuous hope of eternal felicity as the reward of his crimes.

The two Lords were accordingly executed on Tower-hill Aug. 18. Kilmarnock was in the 42d year of his age. He behaved with such decency and composure as excited a general pity among the numerous croud of spectators. His whole deportment shewed him deeply sensible of the nature of his crime; he declared himself a Protestant, and thoroughly satisfied with the legality of K. George's title to the throne; and, almost with his dying breath, heartily prayed for the preservation of his Majesty and the whole royal family.—Lord Balmerino was in his 58th year, and discovered such resolution and intrepidity, as plainly shewed he acted on principle. He declared that his resolute behaviour was the effect of confidence in God, and a good conscience; and that he should dissemble if he shewed any signs of fear. “Balmerino (says a late historian) had been bred to arms, and acted upon principle: he was unpolished in his manners, brave, rough, and resolute, eyed the implements of death with the most careless familiarity, and seemed to triumph in his sufferings.” Balmerino's behaviour was called, by his Jacobite friends, heroism, and an evidence of the goodness of his principles, and of the cause he had been engaged in. But upon this it may be observed, That we can, in no case, from the mere boldness and intrepidity of the sufferer, infer the goodness of his principles. For we may even suppose a man, who has acted a part in all the barbarous and diabolical cruelties of the inquisition, to be supported in the hour of death, quite above fear, and even to a degree of exultation, by reflection on his ardent zeal, for the suppression of what he supposes to be heresy, and for the honour of God, though exerted in such instances

instances as the God of mercy must necessarily abhor. The presumptions of enthusiasm are always more forward and assuming, than the confidence inspired by rational religion. Nothing can be more repugnant to common reason, nor a grosser reflection on the wisdom and justice of the Supreme Being, than to suppose, that he intended the greatest part of his reasonable creatures for slaves, and has established the lineal hereditary indefeasible right of tyrants, to harass and oppress mankind. Even transubstantiation itself cannot be esteemed a doctrine more absurd or impious. And to found a title to the favour of God upon zeal or attachment to such an absurd and hellish doctrine, is a high affront to the God of heaven, and contrary to the whole doctrine of revealed religion. This indurated rebel must, however, pass for a hero, and be enrolled in the register of Jacobitish saints.

Very different indeed was the case of the unfortunate Lord Kilmarnock. His temper was susceptible of more tenderness; his crime was the effect of a sudden gust of temporary views, of which he was ashamed long before he was in danger; he trembled amidst the inconsiderable advantages gained by the rebels, and was all along under this dreadful and affecting conviction, that his own safety, and that of his country, were incompatible. These wounds in his conscience, and a very rational, perhaps salutary diffidence in his repentance, made death not only serious, but dreadful to him. The roughness of Balmerino's nature prevented his feeling, and his military course of life had reconciled him to the sight of death. There remained, therefore, nothing here that could fright him. As to hereafter, the errors of his education set him at ease. To him neither the thing nor the consequences were terrible: momentary pain seemed a small price to pay for eternal rest. Thus he made a leap into the dark, in full assurance that his absurd principles, and the wicked cause for which he suffered,

but which to him seemed agreeable to the will of God—would certainly intitle him to eternal happiness. But every reasonable man must condemn the impenitent obstinacy of the one, and commend the penitent behaviour of the other.

Charles Ratcliffe, Esq; brother to the Earl of Derwentwater, who was executed for being concerned in the former rebellion, was the next sacrifice to national justice. This gentleman had also been engaged in that rebellion, and was convicted, and received sentence of death; but made his escape out of Newgate, and got over to France, where he married the Countess-dowager of Newburgh, by whom he had several children. He had assumed the title of Earl of Derwentwater, and had been taken in the *Esperance*, in his passage to Scotland in November 1745. He was arraigned at the bar of the court of King's bench, Nov. 24. 1746, on his former sentence: and the identity of his person being proved to the satisfaction of the court, they made a rule for his execution, in pursuance of his former sentence. He was accordingly executed on Tower-hill, Dec. 8. He was in the 53d year of his age, declared himself a Roman-Catholic, and behaved with great composure and serenity of mind.

The next considerable personage who fell a victim to his offended King and country, was the famous Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. He had been a rebel against K. William and Q. Anne; but on the accession of K. George I. to the British crown, he renounced his connections with the pretender, and having in view to possess himself of the estate of Lovat, he espoused K. George's cause, and did very essential service to the government. For which he obtained a pardon, got the estate, received a pension, and was made captain of one of the highland independent companies. But having been deprived of his company, and his pension being withdrawn, he proved a secret, and therefore more dangerous enemy to the government. He had acquired

quired a vast estate, and obtained a considerable interest in the highlands, where his power was feared, but his person disregarded. "He was (says a late historian) bold, enterprising, vain, arbitrary, rapacious, cruel, and deceitful: but his character was chiefly marked by a species of low cunning and dissimulation; which, however, overshot his purpose, and contributed to his own ruin." The house of Commons exhibited an impeachment against him, and appointed several managers to carry on the prosecution. He was brought to trial, in Westminster-hall, March 9. 1747, Lord Chancellor Hardwicke again acting as Lord High Steward. In the course of the trial he was proved to have maintained a long and treasonable correspondence with the pretender; to have obtained a commission, from the pretender, of general of the highlands, and a ducal patent, by the title of Duke of Fraser; to have countenanced and advised the principal persons in the rebellion, and compelled his son to join in it, with his clan. The trial lasted six days, and on the 7th day, March 19. he received sentence of death. He was executed on Tower hill, April 9. He was in the 80th year of his age, professed himself to be a Roman-Catholic, and died with all the appearance of fortitude and unconcern. Mr Murray, the young pretender's secretary, was one of the principal evidences against him. "Notwithstanding (says the aforementioned historian) his age, infirmities, and the recollection of his conscience, which was supposed to be not altogether void of offence, he died like an old Roman, saying, *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. He surveyed the croud with attention, examined the ax, jelled with the executioner, and laid his head upon the block with the utmost indifference. From this last scene of his life one would have concluded, that he had approved himself a patriot from his youth, and never deviated from the paths of virtue."

It is somewhat remarkable, that one Mr Painter, of St John's college, Oxford, petitioned to suffer in Lovat's room. But the enthusiast's petition was rejected; and the old rebel satisfied the justice of his country, by having his head struck off for a multitude of crimes. He died with intrepid unconcern; but fell unlamented, with the character of an arch-rebel, a tyrannical master, husband, and father, and a bad man.

The last that suffered was Dr Archibald Cameron, brother to Lochiel. He had accompanied the young pretender to Scotland in 1745, and escaped with him to France in September 1746. Returning to Scotland in the beginning of 1753, he was apprehended March 20. by a party from the garrison of Innersnaid, was sent to London, and imprisoned in the tower. He was carried to the court of King's-bench May 17. and arraigned upon the act of attainder, in which he is named. He admitted himself to be the identical person, and was sentenced to die. He was accordingly executed at Tyburn, on the 17th of June. He professed himself a member of the Episcopal church of Scotland, and behaved with great decency and composure of spirit; but justified what he had done.

These are all the persons that suffered for this rebellion. And the lenity of the government appeared in a distinguished manner on this occasion, in making so few sacrifices. There were 219 persons tried, of whom only 77 were executed, the rest were reprieved; some of whom obtained a pardon. Of the other rebels, several died in prison, and many were banished to the plantations. It is remarkable, that all who were executed, except Lord Kilmarnock, justified what they had done, said they died in a good cause, and declared that they would do the same again, if they had lived. Strange obstinacy! daring impudence! inveterate impiety!

On the 17th of June 1747 was passed an act for his Majesty's most gracious, general, and free pardon.

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Eighty-four persons were excepted out of it. Bills of indictment for high treason were found against forty-two of them in the high court of justiciary at Edinburgh in October 1748; but there have been no further proceedings in the affair since that time.

Archibald Macdonell, son of Col Macdonell of Barisdale, who had been attainted by the act of the 20th of the King, was apprehended July 18. 1753. by a detachment from the garrison of Bernera, and committed prisoner to Edinburgh castle. He was arraigned before the justiciary at Edinburgh, upon the act of attainder, March 11. 1754. He admitted himself to be the identical person, and received sentence of death, March 30.; but got several successive reprieves, and was at last reprieved *sine die*.

Archibald Stewart, Esq; who had been Lord Provost of Edinburgh at the commencement of the rebellion, and had represented that city in parliament, was taken into custody, at London, Nov. 30. and imprisoned in the tower Dec. 13. 1745. He was admitted to bail Jan. 23. 1747. He was served with criminal letters, raised against him by William Grant of Prestongrange, Esq; his Majesty's Advocate, charging him with neglect of duty and misbehaviour in his office, as chief magistrate of Edinburgh, when the rebels got possession of it. He denied the charge. The libel was found relevant Aug. 6. The trial began Oct. 27. and ended on the 31st. The jury returned their verdict Nov. 2. finding, *nem. con.* the pannel Not guilty. Upon which he was dismissed from the bar.—If this gentleman really favoured the rebels, of which there were not wanting suspicions, it seems he managed affairs with so much art and address, that his disloyalty could not be made appear. If he was innocent of the charge exhibited against him, and did, or intended to act the part of a loyal and upright magistrate on that important occasion, his upright intentions would be a source of comfort to him amidst the trouble and expence he was afterwards

afterwards involved in; and his past experience will surely make him shy of ever hereafter taking upon him any public office. It appears, however, from his trial, that whatever his political principles and views were, he certainly doubted and debated the legality of every measure that was proposed for the preservation of the city, was extremely averse to any proposals for defence, seemed to listen with greater attention to the counsels of Jacobite heritors than those of Whigs of the greatest character and substance, and might have at least preserved the city-arsenal and cannon planted upon the walls from falling into the hands of the rebels. And it is no injurious reflection to say, that if he had been less timid, and acted with greater vigour and zeal, Edinburgh had not fallen a prey to a rebellious mob at the time that it did. Instances are not wanting of greater exploits performed by the zeal and resolution of a single man, vested with an office of less dignity and importance than that of Lord Provost of the city of Edinburgh. A man who had under his direction many hundred men, determined to stand by him to the last extremity, might at least have made a trial of defending his city, against a handful of highland savages, who had neither artillery nor ammunition, especially as he had so near a prospect of relief. But many strange events happen in the world, and this may be reckoned one of them. Many oversights take place in managing affairs, and public honour is often sacrificed to pusillanimity, if not to lurking disloyalty.

Thus I have given a succinct account of the rise, progress, and extinction of the rebellion in Scotland in the years 1745 and 1746, with the trials and executions of the rebels, and other material circumstances relative to that important event. A few observations shall conclude the whole.

This rebellion was the second grand attempt made by the pretender to possess himself of the crown of
G. Britain

G. Britain and Ireland. In the first attempt he appeared in person, and after for a short time displaying the mock ensigns of pretended royalty, he, like a cowardly poltroon, in imitation of the example set him by his supposed father, fled on the march of the royal army under the command of the late Duke of Argyll to attack him, and made his escape by sea. In this last attempt he delegated his pretensions to his eldest son, a youth of a brave and enterprising spirit; who indeed has displayed greater abilities and courage than any of the race of Stuart had done for ages before.

But this adventurous youth met with no better success than his father, though supported both by France and Spain, who only made a tool of him to serve their own designs. It will hardly, however, be found recorded in history, that at any former period the Scotch highlanders ever carried their victorious arms from their native barren mountains to within a hundred miles of London, or that they were ever totally subdued in their own bleak hills. We have seen those two events take place; the former as an evidence of the extraordinary courage of our Scotch highlanders; and the latter as a proof of the wise conduct of a prince of the illustrious house of Hanover. The pretender's insuccess at this time, when he bid so fair for mounting the throne, may convince him of the vanity of making any future attempts; especially as his highland friends, upon whom alone he can rely, are broken and ruined to all intents. The general aversion of this Protestant nation for him and his family for more than half a century, may teach him that it will be in vain for him ever to acquire their affection and esteem. A Protestant people and a Popish king are things quite incompatible. Religion, liberty, and property, secured by the wisest laws, and guarded by a just and merciful prince upon the throne, are the inestimable privilege of G. Britain, and worth the contending for. The people are not to be gulled by false promises of future security for their most valuable concerns,

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cerns, when they are as strongly secured already as human laws and oaths can reach. A King from France and Rome will never be acceptable to a nation, who glories in being an enemy to the power and policy of the former, and to the religion of the latter : and yet, without the assistance of Popish powers, those inveterate enemies to the Protestant name and cause, the pretender can never hope to succeed in his ambitious purposes.

But if the conduct of the abdicated family may be in some measure excusable, as they have been taught to believe they have an indefeasible and hereditary right to the crown, and that no transgressions on their part can deprive them of that right ; what excuse shall be offered in behalf of those pretended Protestants, who partook of all the felicity of the mildest and best modelled constitution in the world, and yet assembled under a Popish standard, supported by France and Spain, in order to overturn it ? No defence can be pleaded for such men, who would subject a constitution which is justly the pride and confidence of its friends, the envy of its neighbours, the terror of its enemies, and the admiration of the world, to the arbitrary lust and pleasure of a dependent and pensionary of France, Spain, and Rome ; and who would exchange the just, the mild, and brave princes of the illustrious house of Brunswick, a house raised, by the hand of Providence, to be head of the Protestant interest abroad, and chosen, by the united suffrage of the whole British nation, to be the protector of their religion and liberties, for an abjured race of Papists and tyrants.

Waving the suspicions of a spurious birth, the pretender and all his race are excluded from the throne by the grand council of the nation, to which deed, homologated by frequently repeated oaths, every individual is supposed to have given his consent. He therefore could not be restored without the most horrid perjury, and that of the blackest dye : though indeed
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there are not wanting wicked monsters amongst us, who swallow oaths abjuring the pretender, and yet make no secret of their attachment to him.

It is in vain to alledge, that the pretender or his sons have been educated in the Protestant religion. Time has detected the imposture. Disinterested travellers who have seen the old Chevalier, represent him as a very monster of lewdness, and yet a bigot to Popery. And it is very well known, that when he was in Scotland in 1715, he would not let an Episcopal clergyman act as his chaplain at his table. His second son, the pretended Duke of York, was promoted to the purple by the late Pope, and consecrated Bishop of Corinth by the present Pope. And though his eldest son has been represented to be indifferent as to all religion, yet there is nothing more usual, than to see a man of no religion a zealous Papist. Witness many Popes, and great multitudes of the French nobility and gentry.

Again, should the Protestant succession be once broke in upon, France, in failure of one pretender, has in her quiver a succession of them. Have not the house of Savoy, and several princes of the Bourbon line, all Papists, pretensions to the British throne? and their claims would be endless, and if one carried the throne, the restless ambition of the other competitors would allow him little rest. So that G. Britain, now the most respectable and powerful Protestant nation in Europe, would become the prey of Popish rivals, and some one or other of them would succeed: extirpating her religion, laws, and liberties, to the utter overthrow of the Protestant name and cause. Therefore,

Let it be remembered by every Briton, that it is impossible for a nation to be happy, where a people of the reformed religion are governed by a Popish sovereign. Such a sovereign, if he is sincere in the principles of his church, must treat his heretical subjects as
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that church directs him; and he ceases to be religious the moment he ceases to be a persecutor. The pretender, after so many repulses, may now at last be convinced of the impossibility of ever accomplishing his wishes; and the British Papists and Jacobites may rest satisfied, that all their attempts to dethrone the family of Hanover, and undermine our happy constitution, are vain and ineffectual; especially since the government has, since the suppression of the late rebellion, applied itself with unwearied attention to the civilizing the unpolished highlanders, abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, those slavish tenures, improving their lands, introducing among them the knowledge of property, and the advantages of commerce, and employing their warlike disposition in fighting against the natural enemies of their country.

And let every sincere Protestant, every honest Briton, proclaim war against the vices and abominations of France and Spain, and the idolatry and superstition of the church of Rome; turn from that enormous impiety and irreligion which so egregiously abound among ourselves; and heartily embark in the cause of the pure and undefiled religion of the holy scriptures: so shall we, as a nation, be secured against falling a prey to a Popish pretender, or having our land over-run with Popery and arbitrary power, from which the Almighty rescued us at the late glorious revolution, again in the year 1714, by the peaceable accession of the illustrious family of Hanover, and a third time in 1715, by defeating a wicked rebellion raised and fomented by the partisans of the pretender, and which we have the greatest reason to think and pray he will ever continue to do.

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