

A PLAIN  
NARRATIVE  
OR  
JOURNAL  
OF THE LATE  
REBELLION,

Begun in 1745:  
Describing its Progress in *Scotland*  
and *England*, till the full and glorious  
Defeat *at CULLODEN*.

Dedicated to the  
LORD-MAYOR, ALDERMEN, AND CITIZENS  
of *LONDON*.

By *MICHAEL HUGHES*,  
A VOLUNTIER from the said City;  
Educated in the *Bluecoat* Hospital.

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*DEDICATION.*

plain Narrative to your Lordship; which though not workt up with so much Matter as it might afford, yet I averr it contains nothing but Truth: For being recommended by a certain Noble Person, I entered a Voluntier in Brigadier General *Bligh's* Regiment of Foot, where I had an Opportunity as well as Inclination, to see, hear and collect the following Account.

MY LORD, AS I had my Education, about twenty Years ago, in *Christ's Hospital*, I gladly take this Occasion to testify my sincere Gratitude to the City of *London* in general, and to your Lordship in particular as the first Magistrate, and valuable Ornament thereof at this time.

*My LORD, I am*

*With great Submission.*

*Your most humble,*

*and obedient Servant,*

MICHAEL HUGHES.

A PLAIN  
**NARRATIVE**  
 OF THE LATE  
**REBELLION, &c.**

**I**T has been, for many Ages, the ambitious View of our inveterate Enemies, *France* and *Spain*, to study and contrive all Methods, and imploy any Engine or Instrument wherewith to form their wicked and bloody Devices; wherefore his *Britannic* Majesty being ingaged in a just and necessary War, and many of our Forces being abroad, it was then judged a convenient Opportunity of displaying and putting in Practice their malicious Resolution to destroy both Us, and our happy Establishment in Church and State.

Accordingly, an Address of Loyalty was drawn up and signed by Captain *Cameron* of *Lochyell*<sup>1</sup>, who had two Sons Officers in *France*, and by Sir *Alexander Macdonald* of the Isles in the *North Highlands* of *Scotland*, wherein they communicated to the Court of *France* the State and Disposition of the united Kingdom in general, and protested all loyal Allegiance to the Family of *Stuart*, and for their Reiteration to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. Whereupon *Italian* Policy began to work and contrive to carry on this rebellious Undertaking, and coming at length to a Resolution, it was thought proper that a sort of *Absalom* should be sent as a Sacrifice to the *Highland* Ladies, either to accomplish their Desire in the Conquest of *Britain*, or be made a Martyr to his Undertaking. Accordingly, this young Generalissimo of the *Highlands* accepting his full Commission as Prince of *Wales* and Regent of *Great-Britain*, under his Father, sets out on his Journey to *Scotland*; but first received the Pope's Benediction, encouraging him in the glorious Cause he was going to undertake, and the certain Reward there was for all Martyrs who should become a Prey among the *English* Hereticks.

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<sup>1</sup> A Lake so called, near *Fort William* in *Lockabber*.

He took Shipping at *Willemstadt* in *Holland* with about ten Gentlemen, and landed first in the Island of *Mull*<sup>2</sup>; *July 1745*; then proceeding higher landed at *Moydart* in *Lochaber*, near old *Cameron's* Seat, which was the first House that entertained him in *Scotland* where, by *Lady Cameron's* own Expression, he solemnly swore, he would never leave the Country till he had got Possession of the Crown of *Great-Britain*; and said, that a large Body of Forces should have come over with him, but Reasons, to the Advantage of the Court of *France*, prevented that any Imbarkation of Forces should be made till they found some Success in his Proceedings, and then large Supplies of Ammunition, Men, and Money, were to be sent. He kept visiting about that Part of the Country near a Month, from one great Clan to another, till he had their Promise of standing by his pretended Cause, at the Hazard of their Lives and Fortunes.

*Sir Alexander Macdonald*, in the Address signed at *Mr. Cameron's* House, did really promise to raise four thousand Men for his Service, when he came to *Scotland*; but a more ingenious Thought came in his Head, not to throw away a Substance for a Shadow: Wherefore, when my *Lady Cameron* saw the Falsity of *Macdonald*, she used many Arguments to persuade her Brother-in-law not to concern himself, seeing that the greatest Man in the *Highlands* would not join according to the forementioned Agreement, in the Address made at her House: But so zealous was *Mr. Cameron* for this great Undertaking, that he said, since he had put his Hand to the Plough, he would, by no Means, withdraw it, let the Consequence be what it would.

*The young Pretender's Proclamation for raising an Army.*

UPON the 24th of *July*, 1745, a Council of the Chief of the disaffected Clans assembled and met at *Cameron's* House, where they unanimously came to a Resolution, that an immediate Method should be put in execution for raising an Army. Whereupon a Proclamation was issued out in the

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<sup>2</sup> *Mull* is on the Weft of *Scotland* and belongs to the Shire of *Argyll*.

following manner, wrote by Mr. *Kelly*, an infamous *Irish* Papist, who in the last intended Rebellion was concerned with Bishop *Atterbury*, in Counsellor *Layer's* Plot, and was confined in the *Tower* of *London* for some Years, but made Intercession afterwards to be a Prisoner at large; soon after which he made his Escape to *France*.

*By order of his Royal Highness Charles, Prince of Wales, and Regent of Great-Britain and Ireland, &c.*

**W**E do hereby issue out his royal Declaration, to all his faithful and loyal Subjects in the North of *Scotland*, and other his Dominions, to be ready at any Time, when the Chief of their Clans should direct them, with sufficient Arms and Ammunition that would be provided for them, to go against all Rebels to his Father's Crown and Dignity, and by Force of Arms to proceed in Battle, against all those who keep the royal House of *Stuart* from possessing their lawful Crown and Government. And for a proper Encouragement to all his faithful and loyal Subjects in the North, who shall be aiding and assisting in so just and necessary a Cause, we do hereby promise his Bounty of one Shilling to drink his royal Health, and five Pounds to be paid them out of his Father's Treasury, when we shall prosperously come to *Whitehall*.

*Given at Lochabber, this 26th of July, 1745.*

*Signed by Order,*

George Kelly.

This Proclamation being handed about, soon convinced them that a Prince and King of their own was to come: and immediately all their broad Swords, short Dirks, Pistols, old rusty Guns, and other Instruments of War that could be mustered, were delivered out to them; but among all these Treason-mongers, old *Gordon*, the Laird of *Glenbucket*, is a notable Instance of Loyalty. This *Highland* Chief, being in the Rebellion 1715, and now ninety Years of age, had kept his Bed for seven Years, but hearing his ged old Wife talk about a muckle Prince coming to *Scotland*, readily concludes that some Revolution was contriving, and in great Hurry calls her to bring him his Hose and

Brecks, for ged quoth he, I must away to my Kony Prince once again, and welcome him to the North.

Now here reigned a true Spirit of Rebellion in this greyheaded Sinner, that the Thoughts of .War and Plunder should put new Vigor into his old Soul, and bring him out again to lend a helping hand in the Destruction of his own Country.

*The forming of the Rebels into an Army,  
and marching to Edinburgh.*

The first Rout they took was towards *Fort William*, where they laid Siege to that Garrison for five Weeks; and though it was supplied with Provisions for a three Years Siege, it was maintained bravely by three Companies that lay there belonging to General *Guise*. Captain *Scott* did propose a Surrender to be made, but another Gentleman in Commission would not agree to it. From thence they came to *Fort Augustus*, twentyfive Miles Northeast of *William Fort*, where a Party of General *Guise's* Regiment suffered such extreme Hardships, that the Garrison could no longer hold out. The Rebels blowed up both the old and new Barracks, and demolished all the Fortifications. Then they exercised their shocking, hellish Cruelty upon four Soldiers belonging to *Guise*, who being strict to their Oath of Allegiance, and refusing to take Arms with the Rebels against their own Sovereign King *George*, the *Scots* forcibly put them down alive in a deep Well, that was in the old Barrack-guard, where they continued till his Royal Highness the Duke came there to incamp after the Fight at *Culloden*: Upon which abominable Story the Duke was greatly provoked, and ordered that seven Rebels should go down into the Well, take their dead Bodies out and bury them; which the Captain of the Provo saw done.

From *Fort Augustus* this dreadful Rabble went General *Wade's* Road through the *Highlands* in great Pomp, with Sword and Target, and large Bags of Oatmeal; their dirty Wives, and scabby-headed Bairnes, marching in the Rear. So turning Southeast into *Perthshire*, they proceeded as far as *Dunkeld*, on the River Tay, before they opened their Commission for Plundering; which Town is partly in their own Neighbourhood, fifteen Mile from *Perth*. Here they

thought it high Time to throw away their Oatmeal Popes, and began to grow fancy in their Diet.

While they were marching the *Highlands* Road by way of *Perth*, Sir *John Cope*, who then was chief Commander in *Scotland*, thought that the best Conduct and quickest Expedition, would be to assemble at *Inverness*, from thence march to *Aberdeen*, and imbarck the Forces for *Edinburgh*, in order to secure the *Lowlands* from being distressed and plundered. But these vagrant Rebels, now to the amount of 4,000, were too swift for the General, and on the 17th of *September* entered the City of *Edinburgh* by *St. Anne's-Hill*, and round by the Abby, where the Castle could not do any Execution.

Their Prince took his Lodgings at the Abby-palace; and several Ladies at *Edinburgh* brought their Plate, with their fine China and Linen for the use of his Apartments; the Majority of the fair Sex, striving who should make the handsomest Present, or recommend themselves most to his Favour. He used to go out on Horseback, to take the Air in Highland Dress, as far as his Liberty extended; for he and his Guards durst not presume to come near the Castle Cannon, though they were Masters of the City. After seven or eight Days Time, there was a Message sent in to the Lords of Session, demanding 6,000 Pair of Shoes, 4,000 Targets, and a great Quantity of Linen, but, upon Failure, to expect Military Execution; which Demand they were obliged immediately to grant. His vagabond Crew, though at other Times lazy enough, were here very active in their old Practice of Theiving and Pilfering about the Town. They seized upon some fine Stands of Arms; which might have been prevented if the Provost *Archibald Stewart* had done his Duty in the City, as well as General *Preston* did in the Castle.

There was soon an Order out for their pretended Prince's Proclamation, and accordingly numbers of his People met in the High-town, so that both Rebels and Inhabitants were in a Crowd, which being observed by General *Preston*, the Deputy Governor in the Castle, he had not Patience, but ordered a Cannon to be placed to Advantage; not to damage any of the Houses, but to play even down the Castle-hill upon them. It is to be noted, that this Order of Governor *Preston*, was: General *Guest*,

who was then <sup>3</sup> Lieutenant-Governor, and commanded *Preston*; for General *Guest* said, it would be damaging the good Subjects of the City, and his own Friends would be liable to it; but bold *Preston*, regardless of any former Command, let fly among them, and put an End to their pleasant Diversion; drove down the Side of a House which hindred a View from the Castle to the High-town; so the Rebels came no more to the High-town to proclaim their Monarch. However, Mr. *Taylor*, a Master Shoemaker of *Edinburgh*, who had a Captain's Commission among them, undertook to be Master of the Castle with the Loss of thirty Men. This mad Fool presumed, and had the Impudence to draw up his small Number before the Castle, and was as as good his Promise, for he had the Castle, though he could not dispose of it, but was brought into it under a very strong Guard.

The Rebels placed Centries about the City, where they imagined the Town to have any Communication with the Castle. They continued six Weeks in *Edinburgh*, extorting Money from the Merchants and Traders of the City, and particularly from Mr. *Aske*, an eminent Brewer, that was a Quaker, whom they robbed of all the Money he had then in the House. Upon which great Injustice, the fair-dealing Quaker makes his Application to their Prince, assuring him, that the Methods he pursued, would never prosper to answer his Expectation; for, saith he, our *George* takes only a part of our Money; but Thou even verily takest All; and thou may'st as well take my Lite, as take away the Prop that supports it: Upon which Complaint, the *Highland* Prince answered, that he, Mr. *Aske*, was many Years in Debt to the Revenue of his Father's Excise, and it was but the proper Dues of his Government.

It was now high Time that some of his Majesty's Soldiers should have a little Diversion with them; for it was not Justice that those Villains should have all the Game to themselves: And General *Cope* was preparing to incamp at *Preston-Pans*, seven Miles

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<sup>3</sup> Lord *Mark Ker* being appointed Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle about a Year before, on the Death of Lieutenant General, *Sir James Campbell*, killed in *Flanders*.

East of *Edinburgh*, just before the Rebels entered the City.

*The Battel of Gladsmore Heath near Preston; between Grangepark and Seton-house.*

The Rebels having timely Notice, that General *Cope's* Army, which was about 2,000 regular Foot, 900 *Highlanders* and two Regiments of Dragoons, in all 3,500 Men, lay incamped at *Preston*, thought to take the Opportunity of attacking them before they received any Re-inforcement; and accordingly marched out of *Edinburgh* oxx *Friday* Evening, and on *Saturday* the Twenty first of *September*, ingaged by Break of Day. Before this Affair happened, Colonel *Gardner* proposed to General *Cope*, that if a feint Retreat should be made Southward, there would be a probable Opportunity of being joined by other Forces sent from *England*; and that the Rebels would certainly attack the King's Troops, for Colonel *Gardner* knew they had too many Well-wishers at *Edinburgh*; and it was his Opinion not to fight with them so nigh their own Friends.

But the General thinking to stop their farther Progress, would not approve of the Colonel's Conduct; but said he would give them Battel upon that Place, which happened to be close by Colonel *Gardner's* House and Estate. Whereupon Mr. *Gardner* who commanded one of the Regiments of Dragoons, immediately ordered that all the Inhabitants should retire from their Houses till the Battel was over, which accordingly was done: But the Colonel suspecting ill Conduct, told General *Cope* that the Day was made for him to run, and that he, *Gardner*, should die in the Field; which fatal Misfortune proved true to the inexpressible Grief of his virtuous Lady and Family. This Gentleman behaved well, and bravely distinguished himself in the Rebellion 1715, at the Battel of *Sheriff-moor*, near *Dumblane*, where he was dangerously wounded.

The Rebels began their Fire upon the Dragoons, which put them first into Disorder, they not returning the Fire once, or obeying the Word of Command. It was the Horse turning back that first caused the Foot to be in Confusion, and bad Commanders make bad Soldiers. The Firing did not last above five Minutes

before they came to the Sword in Hand, and then it caused a general Confusion among Officers and Soldiers; for the King's Men were somewhat surprized at the Manner of the *Highlander's* Behaviour in the Attack. However, after seizing the Train, and the sudden Flight of our Dragoons, the Enemy soon broke the Ranks, killed and wounded many of the King's Men, and made many Prisoners. General *Cope* escaped to the Sea-side, and made off to *Berwick* with about four hundred and fifty Dragoons. The rest of the Officers and Men dispersed different Ways about the Country. With us Colonel *Lee's* Regiment of Foot and some others, did pretty much Execution among the Rebels before they broke in.

After the Battel was over, the Conquerors began to look after *Johny Cope's* Equipage, Tent-furniture, and what other Spoil they could pick up; when they soon found all the General's Baggage and great Riches, at least to them. They got by this Defeat Arms, and Amunition, and other warlike Stores. *Cope's* Men were not in a Country which is frequently the Seat of War, tho' they might be well exercised and trained Soldiers: So is a Mathematician in the Art of Navigation, but when he comes to Sea he is at a little Loss for want of Trial and Experience. A few *Flanders* Regiments of ours, with a good Commander, would have disputed the Cause much better with them. However, the Rebels, flushed with this easy Victory, thought no Troops could beat them, or stop their Progress after this Defeat; and being mounted upon a good Number of the Dragoon Horses, they came riding into *Edinburgh* with the Stands of *Cope's* Colours flying, and all his Baggage, They left the wounded in the Field for two Days, to languish in the Cold with their Pain and Misery; after which they brought them in Carts to *Edinburgh*, and put them into the royal Infirmary, and the Prisoners were confined in the Town Jail.

By this Defeat, near *Preston-Pans*, the Rebel Army, now about 8,000 strong, was very well supply'd with Arms and Ammunition; whereupon all Things were to be in Readiness to march directly towards *London*. So by Tune of Bagpipes, on the 24th of *October*, they set out from *Edinburgh* to

*Carlile*, and took that City and Castle without the least Opposition; Marshal *Wade's* Army lying then fifty Miles East towards *Newcastle*, the Soldiers getting Sickness through the Severity of the Season incamped in very cold Weather, marching and counter-marching to no Manner of Purpose.

Mr. *Gilpin*, Recorder of *Carlile*, assured the Duke when he came up there, that several of the Gentlemen of the Place met, and consulted about keeping the Town and Garrison; after which they came to a Resolution to write to Marshal *Wade*, who then lay at *Hexham*, about forty Mile distant, to come, if possible, to the Town's Assistance. Accordingly a Letter was wrote and signed by the Recorder and Others, acquainting the General, that there was but a few Militia left in the Town, and seventy old Invalids, that could not in any probability make a good Defence, and without his sending a proper Force, they must be obliged to surrender to the Rebels. Mr. *Gilpin* receives an Answer from the Marshal, that in his Situation, he neither would nor could come to their Relief. Whereupon Mr. *Gilpin* then directed that the Company of Invalids should be privately sent from the Castle ten Mile out of the Rebels Way: And he himself went to a House he had about fifteen Mile from the Town, and there continued till the *Duke* came and retook the Place.

The Rebels meeting with no Opposition, entered the City and Castle; for the Generality of the Town was disaffected, and particularly Mr. *Backhouse* the Mayor, who, with the Townclerk, went with the usual Formality, and proclaimed the Pretender at the Towncross. The Rebels got all the Warlike Stores that were in the Town and Castle; and during the Time they staid, they were all very busy in managing Things to form a grand Army: But, by this Time, many of the Food-guards and some old Regiments, with the Duke of *Cumberland* at their Head, were coming northward to give them a Reception.

General *Wade's* Conduct in not intercepting the Rebels when they marched again from *Carlile* to penetrate farther South, and he not persuing them, is greatly found Fault with among the common People; but *Newcastle* being a Place of vast Trade, and of so great Importance to the City of *London*, he judged

that his Conduit and Service was intirely to protect the Town of *Newcastle* and Parts adjacent: For had the Rebels entered that populous great Place of Merchandize, they would have made terrible Destruction, and greedily injured the City of *London*, with which *Newcastle* is so nearly connected.

The Rebels, in their March from *Carlisle* came to *Penrith*, twenty Mile South, and forced the Town to pay their Excise Bill from the last Acquittances, they giving Receipts for the same. They exalted a Contribution from the Town to raise 300*l.* immediately, which was granted against the Will of the Inhabitants, *Penrith* being a very loyal Town. From thence they marched to *Kendal*, *Lancaster*, and *Preston*, serving those Towns also in the same Manner; plundering and raising large Sums of Money, upon Pain of military Execution. From *Preston* they marched on to *Manchester*, where they were received with Acclamations of Joy, ringing of Bells, Candles in their Windows, and all other Testimonies of welcome that they could shew. There likewise the Pretender was proclaimed as usual, and the young Pretender by the Title of Prince of *Wales* and Regent of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, at the Market Cross. They raised a considerable Sum of Money upon that Town; and after beating up for Voluntiers, inlisted a Number of infamous Villians that were prone to Idleness. They had also the Pleasure of being joined by several Gentlemen of good Estates in the Neighborhood, who soon formed themselves into a Battalion, called the *Manchester* Regiment.

From *Manchester* they had a Design to go to *Westchesler*, and so to *Wales*; but by the industrious Care and Conduct of my Lord *Cholmondley*, they were disappointed; for he procured Brigadier General *Bligh's* Regiment, which lay at *Coventry*, to march immediately to *Chester*, Horses being pressed for that Service, and came to the City's Assistance in three Days Time. My Lord then sent out a Party of them to break down the Bridge of *Warrington*, to prevent them coming any further that Road, so that the Rebel Army was obliged to go another Way.

By this Time the Duke's Men were assembled in the inland Counties, and were grown pretty eager in the Game of Man-hunting, while the Rebels from

*Manchester* took their Rout to *Derby*, and raised a large Sum of Money in that Town, *December* 4, on Pain of military Execution. The Duke's Army was so close in Pursuit that the Rebels could not remain above a Night in a Place. Then they were at *Leke* in *Staffordshire*, and the King's Forces but at *Stone*, seven Miles distant; but so fearful were these paltry *Highland* Heroes of Duke *William's* Name, that they scoured all the Way like *Sampson's* Foxes, from Town to Town, to get into *Carlile* but on *December* 18, at *Clifton* Moor near *Penrith*, the Dragoons came up and had a Skirmish with them, but it was Night-fall. The Post was a pretty secure one, for the Rogues lay among the Hedges and Bushes firing upon our Men, who were too much exposed to their Fire, being upon their Horses, but the Dragoons soon dismounted and put them to Flight, not without the Loss of twelve Men, besides twenty four wounded. The Rebels carry'd off all their wounded, and some of their killed; leaving only six dead Men behind, when some frolicksom Soldiers dug a deep Hole in the Ground, and put one of them into it with his Feet downwards, and so-filled the Earth about his Body<sup>7</sup> that nothing but his Head and Shoulders were above the Earth, and in that Position left him.

The Rebels got a Day's March<sup>4</sup> before the Duke's Forces, for they did not halt in their Retreat from *Derby* to *Carlile*, except a little at *Preston* on the 12th of *December*. They got into *Carlile* on the 19th; and by a Council held among the Heads of them, it was resolved that a Sufficient Party should be sent into the Castle to keep the Duke's Forces from persuing their fugitive Army any farther; this being the most likely Method to inable their main Body to reach the Town of *Stirling*, and be joined by *John*

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<sup>4</sup> The Cause of this was an Express from Court, which his Royal Highness received at *Wigan*, that, by Advice from the Fleet in the *Downs*, the *French* were landing. Whereupon the Duke with much Regret was obliged to halt, thinking to return to *London*: However this Information being false, if not traiterous, it was soon contradicted by another Express: But the Rebels gained what they wanted, sixteen Hours March, or else the Royal Army had certainly laid hold of their main Body.

*Drummond's* Regiment that was landed at *Montross*. Mr. *Townley* of *Manchester* was appointed Governor in the Town, and Mr, *Hamilton*, a *Scotsman*, was Governor of the Castle. Things being thus determined, Governor *Hamilton* gave out Orders for all neighboring Farmers to bring in their Cattel, that they might be Slaughtered for the Use of the Castle: And in Fact, he did store the Castle with all Plenty of Provision, Liquors, and Feather Beds; besides Furniture, and all other Conveniences that he thought necessary or useful. The common *Manchester* Men were quartered in the City, for the Town Guard, and the Gentlemen were appointed Officers over them.

### *The Siege of CARLILE.*

His Royal Highness the Duke, thinking that it would not be convenient or practicable for the great battering Pieces to come along in the Pursuit of the Rebels, ordered they should stay at *Lichfield*; so that we could have no Sport till the battering Cannon came up: But however, all the Army was, by Command of the Duke, posted to their several Stations, and Orders were given for Trenches to be made, which was immediately performed. After which the Army lay intrenched nine days about the Town, waiting for the Artillery to arrive. The Rebels, mindful of their Business, kept firing betimes from the Castle, but did no Execution, except only one Gunner that was killed in the Siege. On the 9th day after intrenching our battering Pieces were brought up, and on the 28th of *December*, soon placed in order to make a Breach in the Castle. They began with sending an eighteen pound Messenger for the first Salute, which went about half way through: After that several were dispatcht on the same Errand, which effectually went thro'; and had many more been fired, *Carlile Castle* would soon have been demolisht; but his Royal Highness did not think it prudent to destroy a good Castle for so worthless an Enemy; and therefore said he would entertain them with another sort of Game, which was to divert them a little while with a few Cohorns, which put them into such a sudden Hurry and Fright, that a white Rag was immediately hung up, and a Messenger came to his Royal Highness in order to capitulate: But the Duke sent them Word, That to any Articles of

Capitulation they were not intitled, as being Rebels and Traytors to His Majesty's Crown and Dignity; but so far he would indulge them, that if an absolute Surrender was made, He promised they should not be put to the Sword; but refered to the established Laws of the Realm to be proceeded against by legal Tryal, leaving all other Consequences to the King's great Clemency and Wisdom. Whereupon the Gates of the Town and Castle were set open, on the 30th of *December* and great Numbers of the viler Sort ran out of the Castle into the Church, but the Gentlemen Rebels continued in the Castel.

His Maiesly's Body Guards were the first who entred the Castle; and it was the Duke's positive Order, that the Soldiers should seize and take for their own Use, nothing but Arms and Ammunition; no Money or Cloaths, on pain of severe Punishment; However, that generous Restraint of his was not strictly obeyed; for some of the Men did venture to transgress when they saw a fair Opportunity. All the Effects brought by the Rebels into the Castle were taken care of to be sold, and the Value was distributed to the Soldiers. The Case now being very much altered, the Gentlemen Prisoners were confined in separate Rooms some of the Rabble were sent into the Church, and others into the Town Jail, while the necessary Guards were mounted about the Town and Castle. Likewise the Serjeants of all Regiments received Orders to make Inspection among all the Prisoners, and examine if there were any Deserters who had listed in the Service of the Pretender, and to report them to the Duke, in order to be tried. Accordingly they found Twelve, who had so deserted and taken up Arms against His Majesty, their lawful Sovereign: Whereupon the Duke appointed a general Court Martial to procede against those Twelve Deserters, who left so honorable a Service, and listed with that vagabond Gang of base Rebels and Thieves: Accordingly the whole Dozen being found Guilty, received Sentence of Death, and were excuted at *Harbury* Gallows. Five were hanged up at one Time in Presence of their Comrades, and being stript of their Cloathing on which they had brought Disgrace, were so left hanging on the Gallows. Within a Week's Time the other Seven were servcd in the same Manner; the first Five being

cut down before their Eyes, and left lying under the Gallows. After the space of Fourteen Days, a Petition was sent to Lieutenant General *Howard*, for the Interment of those Five and the Seven that continued hanging, all which was granted accordingly.

His Royal Highness the Duke and Body Guards prepare now for *London*: and in three Weeks Time Orders were given for removing the Prisoners to the several Jails in *England*. The *Manchester* Gentry were mounted on Horseback, with their Legs tied under the Horses Belly: The common Rebels were tied by Couples, Ten in a String, and put into Waggons, with a Guard of Lord *Mark Ker's* Dragoons to attend them along the Road. *Bligh's* Regiment was left in *Carlisle*.

The main Body of the Rebels took their Rout towards *Glasgow*, but by the Way, on the 22d of *December*, imposed a Contribution of 2,000*l.* beside a 1000 pair of Shoes, and free Quarters on the Town of *Dumfries*. On the 25th, they entered the fine City of *Glasgow*, where they displayed their devouring Revenge. They levied 10,000*l.* in what Goods they wanted, beside some Money, and 500*l.* from Mr. *Buchanan* the Provost. The *Glasgow* Militia suffered much, for Numbers of them were killed and put to the Flight. At *Stirling* Major General *Blackney* was waiting their Approach to give them a warm Reception from the Castle. The Rebel Army reinforced, left *Glasgow* on the 3d of *January*; and entering the Town of *Stirling* on the 8th, soon laid Siege to the Castle: But the brave expert Commander was not to be frightened at the Sight of such a naked-arse Multitude; he so well maintained the Castle, that their eager Expectation was quite disappointed. The Governor did not let the Cannon lie idle; for many of the Rebels lost their Lives through their Folly and Ignorance.

By this Time his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Hawley*, and Major General *Huske* were upon the March from *Edinburgh* to meet them: Whereupon the Rebels took the Advantage, and thought it best to give the King's Forces Battel at *Falkirk* as soon as possible, and so advanced under the Covert of a great Hill, that the King's Men could not discern their Approach; neither did they imagine their own Situation, till the

Enemy was near upon them. As *Cope* was surprised just before Daybreak, so was *Hawley* surprised just before Dinner. However, upon this Alarm, being the 17th of *January*, our Troops were all got under Arms and formed by two in the Afternoon. The King's Forces did not march from their Tents a quarter of an Hour before the Engagement began. The Cannon did not come up, for those Men who took Care of the Train-horses run away with them: And after this Affair, Captain *Coningham*, belonging to the Train of Artillery, had his Sword broke over his Head, and cashiered for Misconduct and Cowardice. Before, and during the Battel, a heavy Rain fell and continued, that the King's Men could not prime, nor their Pieces discharge: And in the Time of Action, while one of the Rebels was persuing a Soldier belonging to the old Buffs<sup>5</sup> down the Hill, the Soldier turn'd and attempted to fire, but it was so wet, that his Piece would not discharge: He then fronted the Rebel, and was instantly going to attack him with his Sword, but the Rogue seeing his Courage, turned tail and run from him: The Soldier was going to persue him, but Brigadier *Cholmondley* observing the Adventure, rides after the Rebel and fires a Pistol at him, which happened to miss; he then discharged a second, which finished his Course. Upon this, he bids the Soldier go and search the Man's Pockets, where accordingly the happy Soldier found a Purse of sixteen Guineas. Captain *Thornton* and Major *Lockhart* were taken Prisoners by the Rebels: The first is a *Yorkshire Gentleman*, who raised the Company called *Yorkshire Blues*. They were both stript, but made their Escape afterwards.

The Miscarriage in this Battel must, in Truth, be laid to the Badness of the Weather, and Night coming on so soon; for had the Royal Army but advanced out of their Tents a small Time sooner, and made proper Dispositions for an Engagement, what could have hindred such a regular Body of Forces with so many good Officers from getting a a sure Victory! but to speak the Reality, both Parties were in Hurry and Confusion; for *Barryl's* Regiment, and that which was Young *Ligonier's*, fairly repulsed the

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<sup>5</sup> Number III. on the Establishment, Lieutenant General *Thomas Howard*.

Rebels main Body, and put them to Flight: So that each Party concluded to run for it, and assoon as some on both Sides begun to start, the Royal Foot won the Race by Odds, performing it so exceding well, that they were in *Edinburgh* far beyond Expectation. Half the Infantry was not ingaged, but several Regiments stood firm, doing their Duty so well, that, if Night had not come on so fast, the few that were drove down in the Hollow, would have actually kept the Field.

After the Race was over, brave General *Huske* would not trust any Corporal to place the Centries, but took upon himself the Charge of their Posts. We lost, killed and wounded, two or three hundred Men, and the Rebels above double that Number.

### *The Duke of Cumberland's Second Expedition.*

The Court at *London* finding it impossible to rectify these Disorders, except a *General* of greater Influence and Authority was to head the Royal Army, thought the most prudent Way, in order to quell this vile Rebellion, would be to follow the Traytors, and persue this prowling Monster into the Land where he was first ingendred. And who so proper for this Undertaking, as the *Captain General*, His Royal Highness the Duke? In whom centre so many distinguishing Virtues; Noble Generosity and Honour; Firm Courage; Great Goodnature and Affability; Sagacity, Experience, Activity, and Temperance.

The Duke set out accordingly from St. *James's* and entred *Edinburgh* on the 30th of *January*. He found the King's Troops in perfect Order, and ready for Action. His Presence gave new Spirit and great Satisfaction, especially to the private Soldiers, whose Right and Interest His Royal Highness always has at Heart. The Rebels at *Stirling*, with their Prince *Charly*, were so terrified at the Duke's sudden Approach, that they published a Reward to Any who should diicover the Author of such a damnable Story.

His Royal Highness, after thanking the Governor for the prudent Defense of *Edinburgh Castle*, staid not to receive the mixt Compliments of a suspected People; but resolving to relieve *Stirling Castle*, He

marched the very next Morning from *Edinburgh* with the Army in two Columns, without beat of Drum; consisting of *Cobham's* and *Mark Ker's* Dragoons, Fourteen Battalions, and the *Argyll Highlanders*, in all 6,000 Men.

They quartered that Night at *Lithgow*, while Part of the Rebels were at *Falkirk*, who early the next Day retired to the *Torwood*, where it was pretended they would make a Stand. The Duke did really hope that they would now give him an Opportunity of finishing the Dispute at once; but on *Saturday Feb. 1.* as our Army moved on to *Stirling*, the advanced Parties of the Rebels retired in a Hurry, and to our great Astonishment, they soon blew up their Powder Magazine at *Stirling*, and all fled over the *Forth* in the utmost Disorder and Confusion.

General *Blackney* was highly commended by the Duke for his bravely defending a Castle of such Importance. The Rebels made a vigorous Attack that Morning; and though the Castle might hold out long enough, the Provision and Fuel were near gon.

The Arch of *Stirling* Bridge, having been broke down to obstruct the Rebels, was now ordered to be repaired; and His Royal Highness, being determined to follow his Game, passed the Bridge on the 4th of *February*. The Dragoons and *Argylemen* lay at *Crief*; the Foot were cantoned about *Dumblane*, all intending to reach *Perth* on the 6th. The Rebels in their Flight separated themselves; part of which, including their Horse, got into *Perth* on *Sunday* the 2d. The main Body went off to *Invernesshire*. Those at *Perth*, finding the Duke would soon be at their Heels, in a Hurry nailed up fifteen pieces of Cannon, destroyed all their Ammunition, and run from the Place farther North, as if the Devil drove them; for they were so hunted, that the Duke or the Devil to them meant the same Thing. The King's Men entred *Perth* on the 6th, where they halted, in order to rest the Troops and lay in Magazines of Bread and Forage; but two Detachments, of five hundred each, were sent to secure *Dunkeld* and *Castle Menie*. While the Army remained here, an abandoned Miscreant was hired to shoot the Duke, but the Villain's Intention being happily found out, he was immediately hanged, though not without confessing it. A Party also went and plundered the pretended

Duchess of *Perth's* House, a most Vile Nursery for Popish Priests and Jacobites; and by Order of his Royal Highness the said Duchess was sent Prisoner to *Edinburgh Castle*. Soon after this, Mistress *Jane Cameron* was brought Captive, who had the Honour of being the young Pretender's Playfellow. She likewise was ordered to the Castle. Her Person was tall and genteel, with black Hair, a white Complexion, and thirty Years of Age. About this Time several Gentlemen were taken up and committed for treasonable Practices. On the 8th of *February*, the 6,000 *Hessians* arrived in *Leith Road*, commanded by His Highness the Prince of *Hesse*, Brother-in-law to the Duke, which in a Day or two were all safe landed, and His Royal Highness went to *Edinburgh* to pay him a Visit, but would not permit any Signals of Honour to be shewn to himself. He staid but one Night, and then went to the Army, having left Orders for the *Hessians* to march immediately towards *Perth*, to maintain the Pass of *Kellycranky*, which separates the *Highlands* from the *Lowlands*, where Viscount *Dundee* was killed in 1689; and so to intercept the Passage of the Rebels, and prevent their returning Southward into *England*, if the Duke's Army should follow them from *Aberdeen*. Wherefore by this Scheme the Rebels had no other Dependance but to venture a Battle, or disperse to their Mountains,

On the 20th of *February*, His Royal Highness put the Troops in motion by four Divisions; each of them being to halt two Days at *Montross* in their Way to *Aberdeen*, where they arrived on the first of *March*. The first Day after the Duke came here, he sent Lord *Ancrum* with one hundred Dragoons, and three hundred Foot under Major *Morris*, to *Corgarf Castle*, forty Mile Northwest at the Head of the River *Don*, to seize some *Spanish Arms* and Powder; which Place the Rebels all deserted at our Mens Approach. The Earls of *Finlater* and *Aberdeen* came and exprest their Zeal, and offered their utmost Assistance. Major General *Bland*, and Brigadier *Mordaunt* were detached to *Strathbogy*, about thirty Mile Northwest, which Town the Enemy also abandoned in great Hurry. *Blair*, belonging to the Duke of *Athol*, towards the North of *Perthshire*, was secured by five hundred Men under Lieutenant

Colonel *Agnew*; but there were several Skirmishes before it was done. For the Rebels laid Siege to *Blair*, and indeavoured to force the Castle: However, at the Approach of some Dragoons under the Earl of *Crawford*, followed by the Prince of *Hesse* with the Hussars and a thousand Foot, they all fled from the Place, and retired to *Ruthven*. Sir *Andrew Agnew* was much commended for his good Defense, the Garrison having been reduced to great Extremities. All the Infantry of the Royal Army, while at *Aberdeen*, lay at the old and new Town; but when they stay'd one Night at *Forfar*, three *Irish French* Officers were carefully concealed in the Town, and after the Duke was gon, they were even permitted to beat up for Voluntiers. Our Regiment, being that of Brigadier *Bligh*, received Orders to leave *Edinburgh*, take Shipping at *Leith*, and to sail for *Aberdeen*; but was Wind bound in very bad Weather, and could not make to *Aberdeen* before three Weeks, being the 25th of *March*, 1746.

On the 8th of *April*, the whole Army under the Command of His Royal Highness, marched out of *Aberdeen*: But on the Day before we moved, two Soldiers were hanged for breaking into and robbing a Gentleman's House; there was a third concerned, but he obtained the Duke's Pardon at the Gallows. A Spy was likewise hanged at the Bridge of the *Don*, and there ordered to hang for several Days. From *Aberdeen* we marched through *Old Meldrum* to *Bamf*, the County Town of *Bamfshire*, thirty five *British* Mile: It stands near the Mouth of the River *Dovern*; on the Northcoast of *Scotland*. At a little Town halfway the People welcomed the Duke by making a great Bonfire, and ringing of a Bell, the only one they had. His Royal Highness ordered all the Army to be drawn up in a great Field on this Side *Bamf*, and ordered a Gill of Brandy to every Man, to revive him after his long Day's March; so that it was Seven o'Clock when we entered the Town, having been obliged to wade the River, which was very deep. Here the Duke was joined by those other Regiments that were sent about *Strathbogy*, which then in all consisted of *Kingston's* Horse, two Regiments of Dragoons, and Fifteen Regiments of Foot, though not complete; and the next Morning the whole Army was in Readiness to march, but an

Express coming from the Earl of *Finlater* to His Royal Highness prevented our Moving. The Import of it was, that a party of Rebels, by Order of the Pretender, surrounded his House, which they plundered, and took a large Quantity of Oatmeal and other Moveables, with a considerable Sum of Money, threatning to burn down the whole Seat, except my Lord immediately paid what Levy they demanded.

After a Day's Halt the whole Army began their March from *Bamf*, dividing into four Columns in Line of Battle, and so marched about nine Mile to *Cullen*, a Parliament Burrow on the Seacoast, by the Earl of *Finlater*'s Estate, and here we camped near a pleasant River. The Duke lay at the Earl's House, during which, a Party of 2,000 Rebels being about the River *Spay*, ten Mile farther on, He caused a strict Order throughout the Camp, making it Death for any Soldier to be found out of the Limits of the Camp that Night. The Earl of *Finlater* gave two hundred Guineas among the Army; and the next Day my Lord and his Lady set out along with the Duke, hoping to meet with some Revenge on these detestable Enemies to a free and happy People.

Now the fierce River *Spay* was to be crossed by the Army; and it was generally believed that the Rebels would certainly endeavour to intercept our passing; which if they had, we should without Dispute have suffered some Loss, though our Artillery in the End, must effectually have made our Passage good: But they considered better of it, and so fled before us to *Elgin*, the Countytown of *Efginshire*, eight Mile beyond the *Spay*, intending to join their main Body and stand a Battel. In our crossing the River, a Dragoon and his Wife and one foot Soldier were drowned. The Duke, being on the other Side the River, his bold and chearful Presence mollified our Hardships, and the whole Army in general took the Water very courageously. The poor Women, who among the Soldiers are called the heavy Train, were also obliged to wade with their Cloath s packt upon their Heads, the Rebels having destroyed all the Ferryboats.

After the whole Army had crossed, being the 12th of *April*, we pitched our Tents; and about Five o'Clock the next Morning proceded on our March to

*Elgin* and so to *Forress*, the Rebels still retiring; for there was a large Party sent from *Inverness* to distress all His Majesly's Friends, to plunder the Country, and to bring in Provision to the main Body at *Inverness*. From the *Spey* to *Forress* is 15 Mile; near which Place we had another River to cross, like the *Spey* for Deepness, though not so rapid.

From hence we marched to *Nairn* on the 14th, where we incamped and halted upon the 15th of *April*, it being the Birthday of his Royal Highness *William*, Duke of *Cumberland*, our glorious Leader. Whereupon every Man had a sufficient Quantity of Biscuit, Cheese and Brandy allowed him at the sole Expense of the Duke. *Nairn* is a Parliament Burrow at the Mouth of *Nairn* River which runs into *Murray Frith*: It stands between *Forress* and *Inverness*, nine Mile from the former, seven from the latter, and four hundred from *London*. The Shipping that came from *Aberdeen*, which was loaded with Provision for the Use of the Army, kept along the Coast with us, and was in perfect Sight of the Battel. That Day we halted at *Nairn*, a Lad of seventeen Years of Age was hanged in the Camp for being a Rebel Spy; but a *Scots Kirk* Minister, by good Fortune, hearing the Affair, acquainted His Royal Highness, that he had not lately been with the Rebels, and was naturally but a poor simple Youth whom they deluded away: Whereupon the Duke, according to his usual Goodness, sent immediately to have his Life spared. The young Fellow hung about ten Minutes when the Reprieve came, but the Excutioner in cutting him down, carelesly let him fall to the Ground, the Gallows being very high; but as he was young and strong, he was let Blood and came to Life, though much disordered in his Senses when the Army went away.

While the Duke was at *Nairn*, about forty *Scots* Clergymen came to address His Royal Highness, and protest their sincere Loyalty and inviolable Attachment to His Majesty King *George's* Crown and Dignity, as well as the Success and Preservation of His Royal Highness. News came like-wise to the Duke, that the Rebel Army was about nine Mile from our Camp, and that they designed to stand and give us Battel.

*The Battel of CULLODEN.*

On the 16<sup>th</sup> Day of *April* 1746, about Five in the Morning we struck our Tents, and the Commanders of every Regiment received their full Instructions in writing in what manner to act, and how the Men were to be formed: And before the Army proceeded on their March, general Orders of the Day were read to every Company in the Line; That if any Person, taking Care of the Trainhorses, or any other Horses loaded with Tents or General's Baggage, should abscond or run from them, He or They should be punished with immediate Death: And if any Officer or Soldier did not behave according to his Duty, in his Rank and Station during the Time of Ingagement, should be liable to the same Punishment at the Discretion of a general Court Martial, according to the Nature of their Default and Misbehaviour. It was quite neceslary and prudent to have a regular and strict Order preserved, that a finishing Period might be put to the scandalous Progress of these rebellious Vermin.

Accordingly we moved on, being allowed no Liquor, and no Provision but a piece of Amunition Bread. We marched about four Mile and then met five Deserters belonging to *John Drummond*, who being examined by the Duke, gave account that the Rebels were waiting for us two Liegues off; and that their Intention was to surprize us at Night in our Camp at *Nairn*, when a Party of them came so near our advanced Guards that they could hear us cry, All is well: That they lost two Pieces of their Cannon in the *Morass*; and then by the Advice of *John Drummond*, it was judged not safe to procede.

We marched on a Mile or two more before we could discern these terrible boasting *Highlanders*, and upon<sup>6</sup> the first Sight of them we formed in Line of Action according to the Instructions received in the Morning, which was done with great Beauty of Discipline and Order. We moved a little farther, and then could plainly see them upon a Hill; wherefore we broke into Platoons and marched half a Mile with fixt Bayonets, when we were ordered to form in Line

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<sup>6</sup> Some of the *Argyllshire Campbell's* and 40 of *Kingston's* Horse went in the Van, and first discovered the Rebels.

of Action, and secure our Firelocks from the Rain. We then marched up to our Knees in Water over a Bog, that brought us to the perfect Sight of them.

We kept advancing with Drums beating and Colours flying, till we came within Gunshot: Upon which their Cannon began to play briskly on our Left Wing, but did not the Execution as was first expected, considering their Choice of Ground, and the advantageous Form they had placed themselves in.

We then halted a little; for the boggy Ground hindered the immediate bringing up of our Cannon. We had six Regiments or Battalions in the front Line, five in the second Line, and four in the Rear. The Cavalry was posted on the right and left Wing of the Foot, with a Party of the wellaffected *Campbells*; and our Artillery placed in a very skilful Manner, charged with Grapeshot, in order to make more Dispatch, and completer Execution.

*The Speech of His Royal Highness  
just before the Battel.*

*My Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers;*

“**T**HOUGH I have but a short Time to address myself in this Manner, yet I think proper to acquaint ye, that you are instantly to ingage in Defense of your King and Country; your Liberties, Properties, and Religion: And by the Juitice of our Cause, I make no Doubt of leading you on to a sure Victory. Stand but firm, and your Enemies will soon fly before ye. But if any among you through Fear are diffident of their Courage and Behaviour, which I have not the least Reason to suspect, or if any others through Confidence or Inclination cannot be zealous or alert in performing their Duty, it is my Desire, that all such would immediately leave us; and I declare they shall have my free Pardon: For I would much rather be at the Head of One thousand brave resolute Men, than Ten thousand, among which there are some who by Cowardice or Misbehaviour may dispirit and disorder the Troops, and so bring Dishonour to an Army under my Command.

This was followed by a full Acclamation of all the Soldiers, testifying their intire Satisfaction and Loyalty: And the Duke was pleased to say, That he

perceived a true Spirit in the Men, and a Cheerfulness on the Face of the whole Army.

Major General *Huske*, who commanded the second Line, gave us this Charge, That if we had Time to Load, so to do; and if not, to make no Delay, but to drive our Bayonets into their Bodies and make sure Work. The Rebels had planted a Battery at the Side of a Stone Wall, but they soon deserted it; for our Cannon begun to play so very briskly upon them, and their Lines were formed so thick and deep, that the Grapeshot made open Lanes quite through them, the Men dropping down by Wholesale.

The Rebel Commanders observing the great Execution performed with our Cannon, thought to revenge it by making a desperate Attack at once; and immediately like Wildcats their Men came down in Swarms upon our Left Wing, thinking to break and then to Flank us. Their Fury happened first upon *Barryl's* Regiment, where they begun to cut and hack in their own natural Way without Ceremony; For the King's Men did not fire till near close upon them; it being by positive Order to reserve their Fire; and when just near us and a sure Mark, the King's Men discharged a complete running Fire, that dropt them down as fast as they came on.

During this, their Commanders kept continually riding through their Lines, forcing the *Highlanders* down upon us; and when *Barryl's* and *Wolfe's* were disordered by this Multitude, an Opening being made for a Party of them who forced through our front Line, they were now between two Lines, and our Front completing again, they were severely handled both Ways; for those who escaped the Fire of *Bligh's* and *Sempill's* Regiments, met a worse Definition from the Bayonets of our first Line, there being scarce one Soldier in *Barryl's* Regiment who did not each kill several Men; and they of *Monro's* which engaged did the same, beside what the Officers killed with their Spontoons!

The *French* Brigades were drawn from the Right of the Rebel Army, and advancing down upon the Right of ours, but the *Duke* judging some Treachery was intended by that odd Motion, immediately ordered *Pulteney's* Regiment from the Reserve, to take Place of the *Royal* and attack the *Monsieurs*, who in their advancing down presented and

shouldered twice, but did not Fire: They suddenly faced to the Right about without once firing, and marched again to the Rear.

Lieutenant General *Hawley* commanded the Horse, but did not engage only in the Pursuit. He had with him a Party of the *Argyll Highlanders*, who assisted in breaking down the Parkwall by *Culloden House* on our Left, where there lay a considerable Body of Rebels; so that our Horse coming on their Backs, made a terrible Havock. The Cavalry in general, which charged from the Right and Left, made their Way and met in the Centre, except some who pursued in the Slaughter.

Major General *Bland* and Colonel Lord *Ancrum* also pursued the Runaways, and did great Execution: So that the Rebel Commanders seeing a miserable Destruction and no Remedy, made off in time, as many as could. Their *Highland Prince* was in the Rear pretty safe, three Mile from the Battel. *James Drummond* the pretended Duke of *Perth*, and his Brother *John*, were in the Heat of the Action, but away they fled over the Hills, and all the Clans dispersed different ways: The former died of his Wounds. As for *Donald Cameron* the Laird of *Lochyell*, tis generally supposed he was killed, being too favorable a Death for him, who had the most active and revengeful Spirit among all the Rebel Clans. Many of their Chiefs and Commanders were either slain or taken Prisoners; and those Men who fell in the Engagement were their greatest Dependance, being generally of a larger Size, very stout and well made.

In the Time of Action a monstrous hardened Wretch, pretending to be a Deserter, came running among our Lines and begged for Quarters, which being a common Thing was granted; But soon after, observing my Lord *Bury* ride by, he took up a Firelock that lay on the Ground and discharged at him, though without Effect This raising a strange Bustle and Consternation, one of our Soldiers, *Newman* by Name, went up instantly and shot him dead. Lord *Bury* being an Aid de Camp to his Royal Highness, the Villain certainly took him for the Duke, his Regimentals and Fashion of his Wig being the very same.

During the Engagement, the Duke was often riding through the Lines, and sometimes among the Dragoons on the Right, observing with his Spyglass the Motion of the Rebels. One while he imagined they were going to rally; but it was only consulting where to retreat.

The Battel begun at Twelve a Clock, and the Runaway at One. The Duke of *Kingston's* Light Horse persued vigorously, and killed great Numbers of them without Distinction; for being new raised Men, they were more willing to exert themselves. The Road leading to *Innerness* was covered with dead Bodies: And many of the Inhabitants not doubting of Success, who came out of Curiosity to see the Action, or perhaps to get Plunder, never went home again to tell the Story; for they being mixt with their own People, we could not know one from the other.

This Rebel Host had been deeply in Debt to the Publick for all their Rapin, Murder and Cruelty; and since the Time was now come to pay off the Score, our People were all glad to clear the Reckoning, and heartily determined to give them a Receipt in full.

*The Young Pretender's Speech before  
the Battel at Culloden.*

[Copied from the Serjeant's Pocketbook, who was executed, *Page 30.*]

*Gentlemen,*

**A**S I have a sincere Regard for your Persons and Welfare, I think proper to acquaint you, that an Army under the Command of him who is called the Duke of *Cumberland*, all Rebels to our House, is now within nine Mile advancing to give us Battel. I have fully experienced, your Conduct, Loyalty and Valour, both at *Prestonpans* and at *Falkirk*; but then we are to consider, that the aforesaid Duke was not there: And I must without Flattery assure ye, that it is my Opinion the Affair will be desperate and bloody, especially as I am persuaded that you all abhor to be taken Prisoners by them. Our Friends are sending a large Supply from *France* of Money and Men, which now wait only a fair Opportunity to land; therefore if you had rather stay for that Reinforcement, I am far from urging

what may seem hasty or imprudent: Put as your own Judgement is to prevail, I intirely depend on your great Affection, Abilities and Courage.

Whereupon they all threw up their Bonnets in the Air with great Clamour, saying God bless the King and Prince *Charles*; and immediately were ordered a double Portion of Oatmeal and Whisky<sup>7</sup> for Incouragement.

After the Battel was over, and our Enemies destroyed or put to Flight, the Royal Army entered *Innerness*, the chief Rendevous of the Rebels, and seized all their Stores. There we found five Pieces of Brass Cannon that came from *France*; and strict Search was made in every House for all Sorts of Arms or any warlike Stores. The King's Forces camped on a great Moor just by the Town; and his Royal Highness the Duke, having immediately set at liberty all the Soldiers taken Prisoners by the Rebels, he ordered every Man a Guinea. These poor Creatures had indured great Hardship with pinching Cold, Hunger, and sometimes Nakedness. But those infamous Wretches who deserted from us and listed with the Rebels, were confined in the Town Jail, in Order for Trial. *William* Earl of *Kilmarnock*, and *Arthur* Lord *Balmerino*, were taken in the Field, and brought to *Innerness*. *George* Earl of *Cromerty*, with a hundred and lixty two Men was taken in *Sutherland*, being ingaged with a Party of Lord *Lowdon's* Men: They were all brought Prisoners to *Inverness* two Days after the Fight at *Culloden*. The Rebels were all very alert for some Days before the Battel, and drinking Whisky as if they were sure of Conquest; for indeed they greatly outnumber'd us in Men: And particular Preparations were making at *Innerness* to welcome their Friends after they had destroyed the King's Forces.

The Duke was pleased to take his Lodgings where young *Charly* had just before kept his Court; and gave Orders for the necessary Guards to be mounted about the Town. Then he ordered a Court Martial to be held for those base ungrateful Fellows who deserted at various Times, joined our Enemies, and

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<sup>7</sup> Whisky is a hot Malt Spirit. What they call *Arran* Whisky is real forein Brandy run into the *Isle of Man*.

took Arms against so excellent a Master as his Majesty King *George*: Whereupon thirty six were condemned to be hanged in the Camp at *Innerness*. Three of them were commissioned Officers among the Rebels, and had been Serjeants in the King's Regiments of Foot. One that belonged to *Sowle's*<sup>8</sup> Regiment went to the Place of Execution in Goldlace Cloaths; and the Duke's Order was, that he should hang in, his fine Regimentals, with a Guard of *Kingston's* Horse to mount fortyeight hours by the Gallows, and then he was cut down and buried under it. There was also a Highlander, belonging to Lord *Lowdon's* Regiment, shot under the Gallows for shooting one of his Officers; and another received a thousand Lashes, for being by when the Murder was acted and not endeavoring to prevent it.

The Serjeant's Name was *Dunbar*, a Man of good Education, born at *Edinburgh*; who deserted there to be an Adjutant and Lieutenant with the Rebels. The Cloaths he wore belonged to Major *Lockart*, stript from him after the Battel at *Falkirk*. He was early one of *Whitfield's* Disciples; and when he walked to the Gallows, being a Mile from *Innerness*, he was attended by near a Dozen *Methodists* of his own former Regiment, with Books in their Hands all the Way singing Hymns. He refused to have a Kirk Minister with him, but seemingly behaved with Decency and Courage; and though he talked much of Jesus Christ, yet he died without acknowledging his Treason and the Justice of his Punishment.

The Rebel Lords were confined separately with a Captain's Guard over them. The Earl of *Kilmarnock* gave the following Account, That on the Day before the Ingagement, the Rebels were drinking together very chearfully, but the next Morning they almost mutined about their Rank and Seniority of Posts; for this Clan claimed one Place, and the other opposed it; so that it was difficult to settle them all with good Temper, He said likewise, that their Prince asked one of the *French* Officers what he thought of the Day? Who answered him, he was sure the Day was lost; and the other inquiring his Reason, the *Frenchman* reply'd, that he had observed the Duke's Men come on, but never in his Life saw an Army move in a

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<sup>8</sup> Now *Graham*, Numb. II.

more cool and regular Manner; for they would often break and form again with great Dexterity of Discipline and fine Order. Some of our General Officers asked my Lord, why they did not oppose our crossing the *Spey*? He answered, that the *Highlanders* did not like to stand our canonading; and that the Foot in general were against it, as not having Cavalry sufficient or good enough to support them.

On the 17th of *April*, the Forces that came from *France* to assist the Rebels in this infernal Enterprize, sent their humble Address of Surrender to the Duke, desiring to be made Prisoners of War on Behalf of the *French* King; which being granted they all came through the Camp, and so to *Inverness*; the Officers were left upon their Parole, and the private Men confined in the Townhall.<sup>9</sup>

On the first Day therefore after the Victory, the Duke sent out a Party of Five-hundred Men, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel *Cokayne*, to go in Quest of them that should be found lurking after the Battel; and to bring in my Lady *Macintosh* Prisoner from her House, about twelve Mile from the Camp, who had raised Four or Fivehundred Men for the Pretender's Service, where they found several wounded, and others endeavoring to hide themselves, all which were shot direftly: He then drove off all the Cattel, to the Amount of Four-hundred Head. As to my Lady, she was mounted upon a gallant Steed, and a Man in Livery after, with a Cart that held her Baggage and Apparel, and so brought to the Camp; but she alighted just at the Entrance, and Colonel *Cokayne* handed her through the Camp to avoid Suipicion of being a Prisoner, and brought her before

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<sup>9</sup> About this Time there had been a very favorable Proclamation by the Duke, promising both Pardon and Protection to All those Rebels who would bring in their Arms and submit. Some imbraced the Opportunity and went home in Peace: But many were treacherous, often promising without performing; such were the *Camerons*, *Frazers*, *Macdonalds*, *Grants*, and others, which obliged His Royal Highness to precede with Rigor, by sending Fire and Sword into their Habitations and bringing away their Cattel.

the Duke who committed her. She was really a fine personable Woman, but her Husband, who had a Commission in Lord *Lowdon's* Regiment, would not live with her because she was an obstinate Jacobite.

Soon after this, the Duke sent out a Party of Fourhundred Men to the Estate of *Simon Frazer* Laird of *Lovat*, with Orders to bring off all that was moveable; and to burn down his Dwelling House, Out Houses, and all other Appertenances, which was very chearfully undertaken and performed. One thousand Bottles of Wine, Threehundred Bows of Oatmeal, with a large Quantity of Malt, and a Library of Books to the Value of Fourhundred Pounds, was all brought to *Inverness*. His fine Salmon Weirs were destroyed; and Salmon in abundance was brought into the Camp and divided among the Soldiers.

A Command being sent for the Space of fourteen Days to supply the Camp with Salmon, *Inverness* became a wonderful Exchange for an odd Variety of Merchandize.

The Traffick upon the *Rialto Bridge* at *Venice*, is nothing in Comparison to the Business that was done by our military Merchants at *Inverness*; here being great Sortments of all Manner of Plaids, broad Swords, Dirks and Pistols; Plaid Waistcoats, Officers Laced Waistcoats, Hats, Bonnets, Blankets, and Oatmeal Bags; for in the Field, near *Culloden* House, there was a Magazine or Granery of Oatmeal, that lay shattered about any how: And while our Highland Fair lasted, if a Soldier was seen in the Streets of *Inverness*, the ged Wives and Lasses would certainly run after him to buy a Plaid. As we sold them very good Penyworths we had Customers in Plenty, so that our Chapwomen would hardly give us Time to sleep in our Tents. After we had been in Camp three Days, my Lord *Bury* was sent up to His Majesty, with the News of our intirely defeating the Rebel Army.

### *The KING's Letter of Thanks Forces*

**H**IS Majesty, being highly satisfied with the Behaviour of his Soldiers, was pleased to write

a Letter with his own Hand to his Son the Duke, requesting that his Return of Thanks should be made to all the General and subaltern Officers in each respective Core, for their good Conduct and Courage; and to all his brave Soldiers, for their extraordinary Firmness and intrepid Behaviour in Time of Action: And that the Army in general might always depend on his Gracious Protection and Favour, and expect a particular Regard for their Interest and Welfare.

The three captive Peers were put aboard at *Inverness* to be sent up to the Tower of *London* in Order for Trial. The *French* Brigades and the common Rebels were also put aboard and sent to *England*. On the 26th of *April* the Laird of *Grant* passed through the Camp with five hundred Men, and were view'd by the Duke. The Rebel's Enginier that blowed up the Barracks at *Inverness*, was himself blown with his Dog into the River, a quarter of a Mile distant.

At the Expiration of six Weeks, the Camp broke up at *Inverness*. *Fleming's* Regiment was sent to *Aberdeen*; The Royal, *Pultney's*, and *Sempil's* were sent to *Perth* to relieve the *Hessians*. The rest of the Army went to *Fort Augustus* with the Duke, and camped in a Valley<sup>10</sup>. The Mountains hereabout are as high and frightful as the Alps in *Spain*; so we had nothing pleasant to behold but the Sky. Tis rainy, cold and sharp Weather for nine Months in the Year, and the other Quarter can never be called good. However, the Earl of *Lowdon* with his *Campbell's* Men made a pretty Place for the Duke to reside in, with handsome green Walks. They built a fine Hut with Doors and Glass Windows, covered at Top with green Sods and Boughs; so that his Royal Highness resembled a Shepherd's Life more than that of a Courtier; for all the fine Building of the old and new Barracks was destroyed by the Rebels.

After one Day's incamping, the Duke sent out a Party to bring in some Rebel's Cattel: The Command was given to a *Scotsman*, Major *Lockart*, a bold Soldier, who always went first himself upon any Expedition. His Party did great Execution among the

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<sup>10</sup> This Fort from *Inverness* Southwest is the whole Length of *Lakeness*, 30 *British* Mile.

rebellious Mountaineers: They drove off all the Cattel they could find, notwithstanding some had obtained Protections from the Earl of *Lowdon*; but that Lord's Protection was now superseded in the Opinion of the warlike Major: For when any Protection was shewn him, his Answer was, That because of their many, wicked, inhuman Acts, both of a publick and private Nature, if they were to shew him a Warrant from Heaven, it should not hinder him from following his Orders. So that his Command brought us Cattel, that when sold, came to Eight Shillings and Sixpence a Man.

His Royal Highness sent out another Party of two hundred Men to burn down *Glengary's* Castle, and plunder his House. The Value arising from that Command was to a Captain 1*l.* 5*s.* to a suabaltern Officer 5*l.* 18*s.* to a Serjeant 1*l.* 10*s.* to a Corporal 1*l.* and to each private Man 15*s.* which was very fairly and justly paid.

On the 10th of *June* the *Macdonalds* Clan of *Glengarry*, about ten Mile West of our Camp, being seventytwo Men, came and laid down their Arms before the Duke, and received his Royal Pardon.

The last Command, consisting of 800 Men, was given to Lord *George Sacvllle*, and Lieut. Colonel *Cornwallis*; with full Commission to plunder, burn and destroy thro' all the West Part of *Innernesshire* called *Lochabber*, from the *Glens* above *Knoidart*, down to *Arasack*, *Moidart*, and *Swenard* opposite to *Mull*; and positive Orders to bring no more Prisoners to the Camp. This Body divided themselves different Ways, with a full Resolution to finish their Work; and for better managing the Pursuit, they had Orders to take nothing but their Firelocks and Ammunition.

Our Party was 320 Men under Colonel *Comwallis*, a brave Officer of great Humanity and Honour. When we first set out, twas intended to march all Night, but a great Rain caused them to halt. There stood a few old Huts, where the Men lay down being greatly fatigued: But the Lieutenant Colonel and Officers put on their Clokes, and refreshed themselves upon their Horses, there being no other Conveniency. After two Hours Rest they proceeded on their March, and about Five a Clock in the Morning drew up in Line of Battel, occasioned by a Party of Lord *Lowdon's Campbell's* Men, who had

been a Rebel hunting, and were bringing some Prisoners to our Camp. We kept our Ground about a Quarter of an Hour, and the Clans kept still advancing; for they knew what to make of Us, but all the Difference between their Dress and the Rebels, is a red Cross of Cloth sewed into their Bonnets, which at a small distance is not seen. However, one of the *Scots* Officers came riding to us, and acquainted the Colonel how it was.

Hereupon we formed into our Platoons, and marched directly to *Loch Yell*, a fine Lake eight Mile long, the stately seat of old Esquire *Cameron*, a principal Ringleader in this Rebellion. The Order was to set fire to his Mansion House, but the best of his Moveables were carried off before the Soldiers came; however his fine Chairs, Tables, and all his Cabinet Goods were set a fire and burnt with his House. His fine Fruitgarden above a Mile long, was pulled to pieces and laid waste. A beautiful Summerhouse that stood in the Pleasure Garden was also set on Fire, and every thing valuable burnt or destroyed.

From hence the Party marched along the Sea Coast through *Moidart*, burning of Houses, driving away the Cattel, and shooting those Vagrants who were found about the Mountains. Lord *George Sackville* was another Way with 480 Men. We camped in a Valley 12 Mile from the Ile of *Mull*, and detached Parties about their Sheils and Glens, who did great Execution among those who were still in Arms, obstinately refusing to submit and accept of Pardon.

There came two Rebels towards the Camp, pretending to surrender themselves, but as they came with Firelocks loaded and shouldred, tis plain they were upon Mischief, and belonged to some Party. So they were sent to the Quarter Guard of the Camp, and in half an Hour's Time brought out to be Shot; but they absolutely refused to kneel, or to have Caps over their Faces, so that the Picquetguard was obliged to perform the Sentence as they stood.

At a Fortnight's End, Lord *George's* Party returned to *Fort Augustus* with near a thousand head of Cattel; and for fifty Mile round there was no Man or Beast to be seen. On the 12th of *June*, *Simon Frazer*, the Laird of *Lovat* was taken upon the Water

between *Skie* and the Coast of *Knoidart* by a Party of Marines with 52 of his Guards; his Doxey, and an old Woman, his Nurse. He was brought to *Fort Augustus* in a Horselitter; has been a great Courtier and a great Knave: but how abominable soever his Character is represented in *England*, tis not half so bad as his North *British* Countrymen make it.

Immediately after this Affair, I with some other Voluntiers had our Discharge. All who continued on in the Service had two Guineas a Man by the Duke's Order, with the Dividend of the 5,000*l.* from *London*, called the *Veteran Scheme*, which might arise to Sixteen Shillings more. I made the best of my Way to *London*, designing to resume my former Employment, being that of a Weaver; and at *Edinburgh* saw *John Murray* the Pretender's Secretary in safe Custody, with a proper Guard travelling the same Road before me.

The Rebellion being extinguisht by the Spirit, Vigilance and Conduct of our Renowned, Illustrious Young Hero, this Wonderful Event must give Joy to All who love the Protestant Religion and Settlement, *British* Laws and *British* Liberty; and record His Royal Highness, *William* Duke of *Cumberland*, as another *Gustavus Vasa*, the Deliverer of his Country; or rather a second *William*, *Great Britain's* Glory and Defender.

*The Cavalry, and the fifteen Battalions that  
formed the Royal Army.*

*Dragoons.*

10. Cobham
11. Mark Ker
15. The Duke's; which at that Time was  
Kingston's Light Horse.

1. Royal: St. Clair
3. T. Howard
4. Barryll
8. Wolf
13. Pulteney
14. Price
20. Bligh, now Sacville
21. Scots Fuziliers: Campbell
25. Sempill
27. Blackney
34. Cholmley
36. Fleming
37. Monro, now Dejean
49. Ligonier, now Conway
52. Battereau.

*Copy of the Rebels Order before the Battel;  
found in one of the Prisoner's Pockets,*

*Roy Jaques.*

**I**T is His Royal Highness's positive Order, that  
Every Person attach himself to some Core of the  
Army, and remain with the Core Night and Day,  
until the Battel and Pursuit be over, and to give no  
Quarter to the Elector's Troops, on any Account  
whatever. This regards the Foot as well as Horse.  
The Order of Battel is to be given to every general  
Officer and every Commander of a Regiment or  
Squadron.

It is required and expected of each Individual in  
the Army, as well Officer as Soldier, that he keep the  
Poll he shall be allotted; and if any Man turn his  
Back to run away, the next behind such Man is to  
shoot him.

No body, on Pain of Death, is to strip the slain, or  
plunder till the Battel is over. The Highlanders to be  
in Kilts, and nobody to throw away their Guns.

( 38 )

Signed,  
*George Murray*, Lieut. Genl.