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Look strictly, & you'll quickly guess my Name:
Through Deserts, Snows & Rain I made my Way,
My Life was daily risqu'd to gain the Day!

Evil be to them that evil think.

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Young JUBA:
OR, THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE

Young CHEVALIER,

FROM

His BIRTH to His ESCAPE from
Scotland, after the Battle of *Culloden*.

C O N T A I N I N G

A particular Account of his Education; the most remarkable Transactions of his Juvenile Years; his Military Exploits before his last grand Expedition; by whom, and by what Means encouraged and assisted in his Invasion of *Scotland*; the Progress of his Army from thence into *England*: His Exploits there; together, with an Account of all the Battles, Sieges, &c. which he fought or undertook, till his defeat at *Culloden*; with a particular Relation of the infinite Hardships he underwent, and the narrow Escapes he made from his pursuing Enemies, till carried from thence in a *French Frigate*.

Translated from the Original Italian, published at Rome by M. Michell, formerly Secretary to the Old Chevalier, and a Companion to the young One in all his Adventures.

Adorned with the Original COPPER PLATES.

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THE
TRANSLATOR'S
P R E F A C E
TO THE
PUBLICK.

AFTER such a Number of Books, Pamphlets, &c. as have been wrote in relation to the Young *Chevalier*, his exploits and Enterprizes, it may perhaps be deem'd a superfluous Undertaking, to give any further Account of him or his Affairs. But upon the closest Perusal of these several Compositions, I have not been able, from the Whole or any one of them, to form a consistent Character of the Person of whom they treat, nor to judge of the Springs and Principles of his Actions. Some describe him as having no Religion at all; others as a most zealous Defender of the Faith. One tells you he is a rank Coward, and in Time of Danger is sure to take care of himself; while another extols him for his Magnanimity and intrepid Behaviour, equal to a *Cæsar* and an *Alexander*. When a comparison has been made betwixt him and the Duke of *Cumberland*, the Friends of the Former have given Him the Preference for Sense, Courage, Military Skill, and every princely Quality; while the Admirers of the Latter affirm, that the Duke excels his Competitor in Glory, as much as the Light of the Meridian Sun does the feint Glimmering of a Glow-worm. But from whence proceeds this prodigious Difference in the Opinions of Man? The Cause is manifest; even Prejudice, which, by the Force of Education or Custom, has blinded our Judgement, and bypassed our Minds to entertain the noblest and most exalted Conceptions of the one, and the most contemptible Ideas of the other.

Now, to clear up and rescue the Character of this remarkable Youth, as well from the too fulsome Flatteries of his Friends, as the mean and contemptuous Notions of his Enemies, is an Attempt, which, I apprehend is not unworthy the Regard of the Publick. He once astonish'd us with the rapid Progress of his Arms, and terrified us, tho' at so great a Distance as almost the Length of two Kingdoms, with the fierce and horrible Aspects of his sturdy Highlanders. We were infinitely alarm'd at his continual and uninterrupted Successes. How did our Hearts beat with Concern for our King and Country, when we heard that the Young *Adventurer* had brought his troops on this side of the *Tweed*? That the City of *London* was in the most

dreadful Panick on the News of his Advances Southwards, is but too recent in every one's Memory to be denied. The numerous Associations at that Time, and the vast Sums that were raised by voluntary Subscriptions for the Use and Encouragement of the Soldiery, shew'd the Dread his Approaches occasion'd among us. Nor will it soon be forgot, what Joy and Pleasure was visible in most Countenances upon the News that the Rebellion was effectually crush'd by the Victory gain'd by the King's Troops at the Battle of Culloden.

Is the Enquiry then of no Importance, by what Means, from what Motives, and with what Talents this daring Youth was enabled to give so terrible an Alarm to these Kingdoms? We have heard or read, from what a small Beginning this general Consternation took its Rise; like an Inundation, which begins by making a little Breach in a Dam, but being gradually widen'd by the Pressure of the Water, and the Fury of the Winds, at length becomes large enough to let in a Flood that over-flows and drowns a whole Country.

When we reflect with what few Attendants (no more than Seven) our bold Adventurer was accompanied when he first landed in *Scotland*, we are apt to condemn him of Rashness; yet when we consider the uninterrupted Series of his Success for several Months together, we wonder from what secret Cause so strange an Event shou'd proceed; which, indeed, can be no otherwise accounted for, but by rightly understanding the Principles on which this famous Expedition was founded, and knowing the true Characters of the Chiefs who had the Conduct of it. But in vain do we seek for Satisfaction in these Particulars, in the contradictory Accounts that have been here publish'd both of the one and of the other. This can only be had from a Person who was privy to the most secret Councils of the young Gentleman, as well after his arrival in *Scotland*, as he was intimately acquainted with the various Consultations of his Ministers before his Departure from *Rome*.

Mr. *Michell*, from whose Memoirs wrote in the *Italian* Language, the ensuing History is translated; was a Person who was grown old in the Service of the *Chevalier*, had done him many signal Services, and was confided in as a most faithful Minister on all Occasions. Mr. *Michell* was the only Man thought worthy of being entrusted with the Management of the old *Chevalier's* Courtship of the Princess *Sobieski*; and consequently must be perfectly inform'd of the Genius and Capacity of his Son, the Manner of his Education, the Principles he imbib'd in his

Youth, and must necessarily know the Schemes and Projects which, from Time to Time, were form'd and carried on at that Court for the Advancement of the *Stuart* Interest; and therefore no Man was better qualified to relate the Transactions of this enterprizing Youth, nor has given greater Proofs of his Impartiality, or Capacity for such a Work than he.

From what has been above-said, it's very possible that some will conclude, that the Translator himself is a Friend to the same Cause, and publishes this History with some bad View, of prepossessing People with Notions in Favour of that abdicated Family. But groundless is the Suggestion, as the Attempt would be vain and wicked, was I capable of such a Design. *Britons* in general, are so strongly attach'd to his present Majesty King *George*, and the Laws have so firmly guarded his Throne, and so effectually excluded the *Chevalier* and his Family from it, that it's morally impossible that any Attempt from that Quarter can prevail. My only View in this Undertaking is to elucidate the Truth, correct the Errors of others, and present the Publick with the true and natural Portrait of a Person whose Enterprizes and Exploits brought an universal Terror upon these Nations, and held all *Europe* a considerable Time in Suspense.



FROM THE
AUTHOR'S
PREFACE.

WHEN a Man, either by the Force of his own Genius, or by some singular Turn of Fortune in his Favour, rises to any Eminence, so as to stand remarkably distinguish'd from the rest of his Contemporaries, our Curiosity excites us to enquire by what Means he has attain'd to that Height of Fame in which his own great Exploits, or the general Opinion, has plac'd him. He no sooner becomes a principal Actor on the great Stage of the World, than every one thinks he has a Right to canvass his Conduct, to comment on his Behaviour, and to judge whether he acts up to the Dignity of the Character he has assumed. But in criticizing the Actions of the Great, we are too apt to be govern'd by Prejudice, and a Partiality to the Opinion of the Party on whose Side we have listed ourselves; so that if the Hero does not behave conformable to our own Notions and Idea of Things, or deviates from that System of Policy which we have been taught, instead of gaining our Applause, it's more than probable, he will be greeted with our Curses and Execrations. Again; when a Man rises to Greatness on the Foot of his own superior Abilities, Envy will detract from his Merit, by assigning wrong and sinister Motives as the Principles of his Advancement. On the other Hand; if the Person who has render'd himself conspicuous to the World, and whose heroic Exploits have drawn the Eyes of Mankind upon him, happens to be of the Party which we have espoused, we are too apt to heighten his Merits beyond due Proportion, and to load him with Praises which he is conscious are not his Due; and his Friends, by assigning him Qualities not compatible with the Condition of a Man, give his Enemies Occasion to deny him those Commendations which his eminent Virtues may justly entitle him to: So that the most exalted Merit is seldom rated to its true Value till the Possessor of it has been many Years in his Grave; when Mankind, having no Reason to be prejudiced either for or against him, will weigh his Actions in the Balance of Truth and Impartiality.

Now, to apply this Reasoning to the Case of Young Juba, whose History I have undertaken to give in the following Sheets. It must be allow'd on all Hands, even by his Enemies, that he has a Martial Spirit, an elevated Genius, and has dar'd Things not unworthy the greatest Hero. True Ambition is only to be found in great and

generous Souls; actuated by this, their Attempts are always vast and surprising, and often above the Reach of human Capacity to accomplish; and therefore it's no Wonder if they sometimes fail of Success. The best Schemes have been frequently disconcerted by unforeseen Accidents; and that Juba did not succeed in his late Enterprise, must be attributed to other Causes than Want of Ability in the Undertaker; what those Causes were, will appear pretty plainly in the following Memoirs.

Juba has acted a Part, which any P——, possess'd with the Notions of Royalty, as he has been, would have acted. He was bred up in the Persuasion that he had all hereditary and indefeasible Right to a Crown, and consequently that he who now possesses it has no Right: Can it then be Matter of Surprize, that he would make use of those Means which Providence put in his Power, of recovering so valuable a Jewel out of the Hands of his Enemies? What has he done, what enormous Crimes has he been guilty of, that he shou'd be loaded with that Heap of Scandal, which those in a different Interest have thrown upon him? Is it reasonable to charge him with those Ravages and Devastations, which were but the natural and necessary Consequences of an Attempt, which he made to assert his Claim to that which he firmly believed was his undoubted Right? Cruelty is not in his Nature; but yet, as a General, the Execution of his Orders might be attended with many Excesses and Outrages, the Effects of the Soldiers Rage and Licentiousness, which it was impossible for him to foresee or prevent. War is undoubtedly a very heavy Judgment upon that Nation where it falls, and the Calamities it brings with it are inexpressible; but yet, I believe, Nobody will say, but that sometimes there may be just Grounds for one Prince to arm himself against another, and even to invade his Dominions in a hostile Manner; and if, in the Prosecution of such a war, the worst Disorders shou'd be committed, and many innocent People ruin'd, to whom is such a Misfortune to be imputed? Not to the Aggressor, because he only seeks to procure that Justice by Force of Arms, which he was not able to obtain by fair and amicable Methods.

But I shall not now enter into the Dispute concerning that Family's Right to the Crown has of G—— B——; a Matter which has been the Subject of Debate for more than half a Century past; many learned Men have exerted their Abilities on both sides of the Question; much Blood has been bled in Support of their respective Opinions, and yet the Controversy seems as far from a Decision as it was threescore Years ago.

The Talk which I have imposed upon myself in this Undertaking, is this: That having observ'd many various and different Accounts publish'd, concerning Young Juba, and his late Expedition to Scotland; the Authors of which have had no further Regard to Truth than it suited to serve the Party in whose Interests they were engag'd; and that, consequently, many Things which have been related of him are either untrue, or exaggerated beyond due Bounds; that as his Friends have reasonably magnified his Virtues, so his Enemies have maliciously lessen'd or suppress'd those Excellencies which every impartial Man must allow him to be possess'd of; I, therefore, who have known him from his Infancy, am intimately acquainted with his Temper and Talents, his Virtues and Foibles, his Education and Principles, and have accompanied him through every Stage of his Life, and in every Scene of Action hitherto, must certainly be more capable of writing a true History of the enterprising Juba, than any other Person who has not had the same Opportunities with myself. At the Request, therefore, of some Gentlemen, for whose Opinion I have the greatest Deference, I was prevail'd upon to set myself to collect the Materials for writing a genuine and impartial History of this young General, whose Exploits and Adventures, for the Space of thirteen or fourteen Months, drew the Attention of all Europe upon him. In order to which I selected such Passages only as were material and interesting, and which I knew to be undoubted Facts. Being persuaded that Truth will always carry its own Recommendation, I have had no Recourse to fictitious Embellishments; nor has my Affection to his Person or Cause induc'd me to deviate from the Strictest Veracity; and therefore I am bold to affirm, that, whatever Defects may be found in the following Work, with Respect to the Language, Stile or Diction, I have taken all imaginable Care to do Justice to my Subject, to elucidate the Truth, and to relate nothing but what I was well assured is Matter of Fact.



Young Juba:
 OR THE,
HISTORY
 OF THE
Young CHEVALIER, &c.

THE World is so well acquainted with the Family and Misfortunes of the Person who is now call'd the *Chevalier de St. George*, that nothing can be said of either but what is already recorded in the History and Annals of *Europe*. Let it suffice to say, that after several fruitless Attempts upon the *British* Dominions, he at last took up his *Asylum at Rome*, and had a handsome Palace assign'd for the Residence of him and his Friends. Here, supported by the Benevolence of his Adherents in *England* and *Scotland*, and by Stipends allow'd him by the Courts of *Madrid* and *Versailles*, he has been enabled to maintain the Port and Dignity of a Prince, as he was allow'd to be by the principal Roman Catholic Powers in *Europe*. But tho' he assum'd the Royal Title, and was address'd in that Stile by his Courtiers and Dependents, yet by the fatal Miscarriage which he met with in the Year 1715, he was fully convinc'd of the Improbability of his ever succeeding in any Attempt of settling himself on the *British* Throne. That Nation, he found, was too jealous of their Religion and Liberties, ever to trust them in the Hands of a Popish Prince; that hereditary and indefeasible Right was a Notion generally exploded there; and that the States of that Kingdom had, by the strongest Laws they cou'd frame, for ever excluded him from the succession to that Crown. He likewise consider'd, that any fresh Attempt might involve his few remaining Followers in utter and irretrievable Ruin, without any Prospect of Success. Upon these Considerations he thought it better to give Way to the Times, and sit down quietly in the Enjoyment of that Peace which he was persuaded his Enemies wou'd not envy him. Here he had Leisure to reflect on the Vicissitudes of Fortune, the Uncertainty of Greatness, and the Transitoriness of all human Glory. Now he had Time to apply himself to the Acquisition of that Crown which is far brighter and more inestimable than any earthly Diadem, and reserv'd only for the Good and Virtuous. The Misfortunes of his Ancestors, as well as his own Troubles and Disappointments, had convinc'd him of the Vanity and Emptiness of sublunary Grandeur. Affliction taught him Humility, and the sad Experience of the Great, and the final Dependence on all human Succours, unless favour'd by the Hand of Providence, pointed out to him a much easier way to Happiness, namely, by retiring from the Business and Hurry of the World, and DEVOTING HIMSELF TO THE Exercises of Religion, in the Practice of which

the Mind is employ'd in a Manner agreeable to its own Dignity, and finds Pleasures more delightful and engaging than the Enjoyment of a Crown cou'd ever afford.

His Friends, however, were not entirely satisfied with his Resolution of quitting all secular Concerns; they did not know but the next Step he might take wou'd be to get a Cardinal's Hat; in which Case all their Hopes wou'd be entirely frustrated, and their Expectations of, one Day, seeing the themselves Ministers and First-rate Officers of a King of *G*— *B*— absolutely destroy'd. To prevent which they try all Methods to divert him from his Purpose; one of their Schemes, which was, to persuade him to marry, took Effect. It was, however, with some Difficulty that he was prevail'd on to close with their Proposal; but upon their urging Reason of State and the publick Good, he at length yielded to their Importunities. The next Thing: to be consulted was to find out a Lady that wou'd be a suitable Match for him. Several Princesses were propos'd by his Council; but when their Royal Parents were solicited for their Consent, they refus'd it on Account of the bad Situation of the Chevalier's Affairs. His Ministers, however, did not rest here, but on further Enquiry, being inform'd, that there was a young Princess of unexceptional Character in the Royal Family of Sobieski at the Court of Poland, a Person is dispatched thither, with proper Credentials and Authority, to treat of and conclude a Marriage with this Lady.

The Princess Clementina, for that was her Name, was the Daughter of *James Sobieski*, Prince of Poland, whose Father, *John Sobieski*, King of *Poland*, render'd himself famous to Posterity, by that eminent Service which he did to all *Christendom*, in obliging a numerous Army of the *Turks* to abandon the Siege, and retire from the Walls of *Vienna* in the Year 1683, after it had been vigorously assaulted for several Months together, and the Place reduc'd to the last Extremity. He died *June 17*, 1696, aged 63. The *Polish* Throne being elective, *Augustus* was chosen King, in Exclusion of Prince *James* the Son of the said *John*. As Kings are ever jealous of Rivals and Competitors, King *Augustus* in 1704 confin'd Prince *James* in Prison, to prevent his making any Attempts for the Recovery of the Crown. However in Time he was releas'd, on his Promise to foment no Disturbances to the Prejudice of the King. Accordingly he liv'd privately ever afterwards upon the small Patrimony left him by his Father, and died in the Year 1737, aged 70. The Princess was a very beautiful and amiable Lady, in the Bloom of Youth, being about Eighteen Years of Age, and possess'd of all those Graces and Virtues which adorn the female Sex. Her Father took all imaginable Care of her Education, so that she wanted no Excellence that might qualify her to be the Consort of the greatest Prince in *Europe*. I say not this out of Partiality to a Lady for whose Memory I profess the highest Veneration, since every one who had the Happiness to approach her Presence, have always declar'd the same.

The Gentleman who was entrusted to negotiate the Espousal of these eminent Persons, having receiv'd his Commission, went directly to the Court of Prince *James Sobieski*, to whom he deliver'd his Credentials, and immediately enter'd into Conference with him about the Business he was come upon. The Prince

receiv'd him but coldly, and gave him but small Encouragement to expect Success. The probable Reason why the Prince acted with so much Caution was, the Fear of giving Umbrage to King *Augustus*, who might be alarm'd at such a Procedure of the Prince, and make a Handle of it to his Disadvantage. The Gentleman, however, had frequent Opportunities of seeing and conversing with the young Princess, to whom he gave, besides other valuable Presents, his Master's Picture enrich'd with Diamonds, which (together with the high Encomiums with which he set off the Character of her R—— Suitor) made such an Impression on her Mind, that she cou'd not long withstand the Tenders of his Love, but suffer'd the same gentle Passion to take Possession of her own Heart. Nothing now was wanting to crown this Treaty with Success but the Father's Consent, which, under various Pretences, he still deferr'd to give. The Negotiator growing impatient of these Delays, and at length perceiving, that no Arguments he cou'd urge, cou'd prevail on the Prince to grant his Request, he began to despair of Success. But upon maturely considering the Prince's Behaviour, he fancied, that there were some political Reasons that made him dally with him in this manner; and that his Highness wou'd not be much displeas'd if he shou'd carry off his Daughter unknown to him; or in Care of the worst, that Matters might be amicably accommodated afterwards. He communicates his Thoughts to the Princess, whom he found willing and ready to run all Hazards, and to demonstrate the Truth of her Love, by risking her Father's Displeasure, or any Dangers that might attend so desperate an Attempt. Accordingly the Scheme is laid, and by the Advantage of a dark Night, with only one female Attendant, she bid, Adieu to her Father's House, and was conducted by her Guide and Protector, the Gentleman who had the Management of this whole Affair, till her Arrival at *Rome*; where the *Chevalier* receiv'd her with all imaginable Tenderness and Respect; and in a few Days afterwards their Nuptials were solemnized with great Splendour and Magnificence.

This remarkable Event happen'd in the Beginning of the Year 1720, and on the 20th of *December* following, the Princess was deliver'd of a Son, who was baptized by the Name of *Charles*; so that though the Enemies of this Family will not allow the Father to be the genuine Offspring of King *James II* yet they must agree, that his Son, as being born of a Princess of the Royal Family of *Sobieski*, is at least a Prince on his Mother's Side. I don't mention this, as if from thence I wou'd insinuate an Argument to strengthen his Claim to the *British* Dominions; I am perfectly convinc'd, that the Obstacles that do, and ever will subsist, in Bar of his Pretensions to that Crown, are insurmountable, at least so long as he shall continue a Professor of the *Romish* Religion, which the *British* Legislature, as well as the prevailing Humour of the People, will never admit in that Kingdom. The only Reason of my taking Notice of it is, to intimate, that Young *Juba* (for that is the Name I shall call him by for the future) has a just Title to that Regard which has been paid him by many of the Princes and States of *Europe*.

The Princess having gone her full Time, and perceiving she had the Symptoms of Travail upon her, Notice of it was immediately given in the Court, and a great Number of Gentlemen and Ladies soon resorted to her Chamber, as in

such Cases as usual, to be Witnesses to the Birth of the Child. In a short Time the Princess was deliver'd of a Son and the Midwife had no sooner got him in her Arms, than she lifted him up, naked as he was, to shew him the Company, crying out in a Rapture of Joy, *See! here is no Imposture: Behold, a real Prince is born!*

The News of this extraordinary Birth was no sooner made known, but Bonfires and Illuminations were to be seen in every Street of *Rome*, and most the Cardinals had their Palaces illuminated on so Joyful an Occasion. Expresses were dispatch'd, of the happy Event, to foreign Courts, but especially the Friends of the Family in *England* and *Scotland*, who rejoic'd exceedingly at the News, that another Branch was added to the old Stock.

I shall pass over the first five or six Years of the Infant *Juba*, with only this Remark, that as he increased in Stature, he discover'd an unusual Vivacity of Spirit, with an Alertness that surpriz'd every Body about him. His Capacity was soon discover'd, by the Facility with which he became Master of every Thing that was taught him. When he was about Seven Years of Age he was put under the Tutelage of Mr. *Sherridan*, an *Irish* Gentleman, every way capable of so great a Trust, and a Roman Catholick, in Preference to Mr. *Leslie*, a Non-juror, and a Member of the Church of *England*, who was propos'd by his Father for that Purpose, but was overrul'd by the Princess his Mother, and her Party, who were *Romanists*; which was the Occasion of the unhappy Difference betwixt the Chevalier and the Princess which continued to the Day of her Death.

It wou'd be needless to observe, that the Young *Juba* was brought up in the Roman-Catholick Religion, were it that it has been denied by some and doubted by others. Those who are of this Opinion are generally Protestants, and Friends to his Cause and give this as a Reason of their Attachment to his Interest, affirming, that they are guilty of such a preposterous Conduct as their Opponents charge them with, of endeavouring to subvert the Religion which they themselves profess and to establish another directly opposite to it. But Young *Juba* was never asham'd, whenever called upon, to confess himself a *Roman-Catholick*, and will never deny his Religion, tho' it were to gain a Kingdom. What he might do, by way of Condescension and Indulgence, to a People of another persuasion, who shou'd hazard their Lives and Fortunes in advancing him to a Throne, I am not able to say; Gratitude wou'd, doubtless, induce him to do much, but how much, the Event of Things can only Discover.

Juba, the further he advanc'd in Years, the more he manifested a Genius turn'd for Exploits: At nine and ten Years of Age he began to shew a Dislike to boyish Diversions, and an inclination to more manly Exercises. Sometimes have we have seen him ride a hunting, with as much Spirit and Activity as the best Sportsman in the Company. At other Times, when the Pope's Guards have been muster'd or exercis'd, we were sure to find him among the Officers, observing how they disciplin'd their Soldiers, and busily enquiring into the Nature, Rules and Orders of the military Profession. But, not content with mere Speculation, he resolves to be instructed in the practice Part likewise. To this End an Officer is employ'd to teach him the Art Military; and being pretty well Master over it, he

collects a Company of Youths of his own Age, makes himself Captain; teaches them their Exercises and when they have been pretty well vers'd in the Discipline, he marches them into some Square, or into the Fields, where, before a Crowd of Spectators, he is proud to show their Performance, and his own Dexterity as an Officer. When he was about fourteen Years of Age, he paid a Visit to Don *Carlos*, who, by the Assistance of a *British* Squadron commanded by Sir *Charles Wager*, was, then lately advanc'd to the Crown of the *Two Sicilies*. Don *Carlos*, who was himself but a Youth; was mightily pleas'd with the Company of Young *Juba*, took him in his Coach whenever he went abroad, and made him share with him in every Party of Pleasure and Diversion. One Day, it being very fine weather, the King order'd his Galley to be made ready, designing to divert himself and his Visitor *Juba* a-while upon the Water; Accordingly they went on Board, and were row'd out a pretty Way upon the main Sea. While they were standing together upon the Deck, amusing themselves with the pleasant Prospects that were presented them on every Side, either by a sudden Gust of Wind, or other Accident, *Juba's* Hat went overboard. Don *Carlos* directs the Rowers to tack about in order to recover it. "It's no matter," said *Juba*; the People of *England* are able to buy me another, and shall too before it's long."

Thus we see the Seeds of Ambition were very early planted in the Soul of Young *Juba*, who daily gave Indications of a Spirit conscious of its superior Elevation. One Instance of which take as follows,. Passing; one Day along *Rome* in his Coach, he came up with the *Pope*, who was riding in his Coach the same Way. *Juba* supposing that the *Pope* was turning into the same Street where he was going, call'd to his Coachman to drive before him; which the *Pope's* Coachman perceiving, push'd forward likewise; upon which there was a great Bustle between them, who shou'd get first into that Street. *His Holiness* seeing a Disturbance, enquir'd the Meaning of it, and being told, he call'd to his Coachman, and said, "Stop, Fellow, and let the Prince of *Wales* go by."

A War breaking out between *France* and the Empire, the Duke of *Berwick*, natural Son of King *James II*, was appointed General of the *French* Forces. Young *Juba*, fired with the Ambition of winning Laurels in the Field of *Mars*, gladly laid hold of this Opportunity, of serving as a Voluntier in the Army under that renowned Commander. And, indeed, his Behaviour was extremely to the Satisfaction of the Duke; for he never flinch'd from any Danger, and always chose the Part where most Honour was to be won. Many signal Proofs he gave of his Courage and Intrepidity, as well as of his Judgment and good Conduct. If he was, at any Time, at a Loss to account for such and such Schemes as he saw were pursu'd, he never fail'd to enquire of the Duke, upon what Grounds those Measures were taken; and the Marshal took a good deal of Pleasure in instructing him in every Thing that was necessary for the Information of the aspiring *Juba*. In short, his Behaviour, on all Occasions, was so well approv'd by the Marshal, that in his Letters to the *French* Ministers, he gave him the highest Encomiums, for his Courage and martial Genius; and the King was so well pleas'd with this Character of him, that he order'd the Duke to make him an Officer, and give him a Command in the Army.

Nothing cou'd be more grateful to the Young *Juba* than this Commission, which he executed with universal Applause, and by his Prudence and Courage gain'd the Esteem of all the Officers. In this Post he continued till the Death of the Marshal Duke, who was kill'd by a Cannon Ball, at the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, as he was taking Observations of a Battery of the Enemy, that was then playing upon the Camp.

A Peace being soon afterwards concluded between *France* and the Empire, he return'd to *Rome*. But his active Spirit, not brooking to live in Ease and Indolence, impatiently expected some other Occasion of exerting his Talents in a military Capacity. However, no such Opportunity offer'd till the breaking out of the War upon the Election of a new Emperor in the room of *Charles VI*. By the Influence and Assistance of *France* the Duke of *Bavaria* was chosen to that high Dignity; and the House of *Austria* was in no small Danger of being extinguish'd, which, had it happen'd, wou'd have utterly destroy'd the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and put *France* in a Situation of giving Law to all *Europe*. To prevent which, the Maritime Powers, and other Allies of the Queen of *Hungary*, hasten'd to her Relief; and the *French*, in a little time, were oblig'd to quit *Germany* with great Precipitation. The new Emperor, after a very short Reign, died, and by his Death made Way for a new Election. Now it was the Friends of the Queen of *Hungary* exerted themselves, in good Earnest, to place the Imperial Diadem on the Head of the Duke of *Lorraine*; her Majesty's Consort. The King of *Great Britain*, in particular, headed an Army ill Person, and on the 16th of *June*, 1743, fought a Battle with the Duke *de Noailles* on the Banks of the *Mayne*, near the Village of *Dettingen*. Young *Juba*, was in the Duke's Army, and this Day signaliz'd his Valour at the extreme Hazard of his Person, being one of the foremost in charging the Enemy, and the last in retreating.

The Campaign being over, he returned to *Rome*. It was during the Recess this Winter, that the Project was form'd, of an Attempt to recover the *British* Dominions to the House of *Stuart*. The Scheme was laid at *Versailles*; and vast Preparations were made at that Court, to favour the intended Invasion. A large Fleet of Men of War was station'd in the Harbour of *Brest*; a vast Number of Transports were brought together in the Ports of *Calais* and *Dunkirk*; and a numerous Army was quarter'd in the Towns and Villages on the Sea-Coasts, ready to embark, on the first Orders, for *England*.

In the mean time, the *French* Resident at *Rome* had Orders sent him, to hasten away Young *Juba* into *France*. Upon which, several Councils were held in the Presence of the *Chevalier*; and after mature Deliberation, it was agreed, that *Juba's* Departure (to prevent any Suspicion of his Journey, or the Design of it) shou'd be manag'd with all the Secrecy imaginable. Couriers were continually coming and going, and the Court seem'd in great Agitation on some Affair of Importance. After a while it was observ'd, that Young *Juba* did not attend at the Audiences given by his Father, as usual. Some Persons who were curious enough to inquire the Reasons of his sudden Disappearance, were sometimes told, he was ill of a Cold, and at other times, that he was gone into the Country to take the Air.

At length, after various surmises, the Publick was truly inform'd of the Matter. The Lord *Dunbar*, who was High-Steward of the *Chevalier's* Household, having, the 19th of *January* obtain'd an Audience of the *Pope*, acquainted *His Holiness*, that the *Chevalier's* eldest Son, had set out, *incog.* for *France*, where he was safely arrived, in order to make his Campaign in the *Infant Don Philip's* Army. The *Pope* told his Lordship, *That this News gave him a great deal of Pleasure.* The 20th, and following Days, there was a great Concourse of Cardinals, *Roman* Princes and Lords, at the *Chevalier's* Palace, to congratulate him on the Occasion.

Juba, being arriv'd at *Genoa*, procur'd from Admiral *Mathews*, a Passport under the Name of a Cardinal's Secretary, and embarking on board an *English* Ship, he landed at *Antibes*, a Sea-Port Town in *Provence*; but instead of repairing to the Army of *Don Philip*, which had been given out, only as, a Blind, to conceal his real Design, he took the direct Road for *Paris*: Where, being arriv'd, he was greatly caress'd by the *French* Ministry, who acquainted him with the vast Preparations that were making in *France*, to assist him in the Recovery of the *British* Dominion.

At *Paris* he continued about a Fortnight *incognito*; and in this Interval it was, that those Declarations, or Manifestos, were drawn up, and printed, that were afterwards dispers'd over *Scotland*. They bear Date, *December 23rd*, at *Rome*, which was some Weeks before *Juba* left that *City*. The first, sign'd *James R.* is directed principally to the People of *Scotland*, who therein are told of the Miseries they suffer under a foreign Usurpation; their grievous and unprecedented Taxes; of Forts and Citadels built and garrison'd where no foreign Invasion could be apprehended: A full and free Pardon is promis'd for all Treasons; Protestants to be maintain'd in the free Exercise of their Religion; a free Parliament to be call'd; the Malt Tax to be abolish'd; Acts to be pass'd for the Security of Liberty and Property; with many other Particulars, too long to be recited here.

By the second Declaration, sign'd and dated as the foregoing, the *Chevalier* appointed his eldest Son *Charles*; to be sole Regent of the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The third Declaration was sign'd *Charles P.R.* and dated *May 16th*, 1745 at *Paris*; wherein the Regent promises a full and general Pardon, for all Treasons, Rebellions, &c. and Rewards to those who shou'd signalize their Zeal in the Cause; engages to maintain the Church of *England* as by Law establish'd, as likewise the Protestant Churches of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; as also all Churches, Universities, Colleges, and Schools, in the full Enjoyment and Possession of all their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, &c.

This last Declaration, however, was not drawn up till the Time of its Date, and after the first projected Invasion had miscarried, and another was concerted.

Hitherto I have made but little Mention of *Juba's* Scots Friends, who had any Concern in the intended Expedition; I shall therefore, before I proceed in my Narrative, say something on that Head.

In the Year 1741, *John Murray*, of *Broughton*, Esq; having finish'd his studies in *Scotland*, set out on his Travels, in order to make the Tour of *Europe*. At *Paris* he staid till he had made himself Master of the French Tongue. From France he proceeded to *Italy*, being desirous of seeing *Rome*, that antient and renowned Capital of the World, and the Antiquities and Curiosities with which it abounds. Here he soon perfected himself in the *Italian* Language, in which he was much assisted by conversing with some *English* Gentlemen, Retainers to the *Chevalier*, who spoke it fluently. At the Request of the these Gentlemen, he went with them to *Santi Apostoli*, a Palace so call'd, in which the *Chevalier* and his Family reside; and the Court being then at *Albano*, he had an Opportunity of surveying every Room and Apartment in the Palace. He was then permitted to see the Chapel; and as he was admiring the curious Decorations of the Place, one of his new Friends told him the following; Story, "You see, said he, that the Ceiling is ornamented with a great Variety of Flowers in Fret-work. As the *Chevalier's* two Sons were, one Day, at their Devotions, a *Thistle* fell down into the Lap of the Elder; at which being a little surpriz'd, he look'd up, and saw a *Rose* dropping from the same Place, and falling directly upon him. But, added the Gentleman, those are not the only Prognosticks of Young *Juba's* future Glory; for at his Birth there appear'd a Star of an extraordinary Magnitude, which the Astronomers affirm, was never seen in the Heavens before." This Story being solemnly averr'd for Truth, and the *Rose* and *Thistle*, that had dropt from the Ceiling, being, at the same time, shewn to him, made such a strong Impression on Mr. *Murray's* Mind, that he cou'd not forbear owning, that there was something supernatural in these Events, which must, doubtless, prognosticate the extraordinary Fortune of the Person so signally pointed out by them.

After this, Mr. *Murray* went frequently to the Palace, where he was always entertained in the most obliging Manner, and heard the highest Encomiums given of the *Chevalier*, and his two Sons, their many excellent Virtues, and princely Qualities; so that being, by such Means, greatly prepossessed in their Favour, he impatiently waited their Return from *Albano*. He was soon gratified to his Wish, and being introduced to Young *Juba*, and his Brother, after several private Conferences, he was so captivated with the Affability, good Sense, and the frank and courteous Behaviour of Young *Juba*, that he ever afterwards devoted himself to his Service, and resolv'd to partake in all his Fortunes.

Mr. *Murray's* Accomplishments, his Learning, his Knowledge of Languages, and other good Qualities, endear'd him very much to the *Chevalier's* two Sons. In the Year 1742, several Consultations were held, upon some Advices that were receiv'd from *Scotland*; in which it was resolv'd, that, at a convenient Time, an Attempt shou'd be made, to revive the Family's Claim to that Kingdom; that Young *Juba* shou'd have the Conduct of such an Expedition, and that Mr. *Murray* shou'd be his Secretary. Pursuant whereto, this Gentleman was dispatch'd to *Paris*, and join'd in Commission with Mr. *Kelly*, (noted for having made his Escape out of the Tower of *London*) who was employ'd to negotiate this Affair at the *French* Court. Having concerted Measures with Mr. *Kelly*, he went to *Scotland*, to inform himself how the Chiefs of the Clans stood affected to the

Person and Interest of his young Master *Juba*; what was their Strength, and the Number of Forces they cou'd bring into the Field, when Occasion shou'd require them. He found many of them heartily dispos'd, and ready, whenever requir'd, to give demonstrable Proofs of their Zeal and Affection to the Person and Cause of the young Regent on his first Appearance among them. As to those who were less zealously affected, yet secretly wish'd Success to the Enterprize, he endeavour'd, by the most persuasive Arguments, to exert themselves strenuously on so interesting an Occasion; and herein he was assisted by *Lochiel, Glengary, Glenbucket, Keppoch, Maclaughlan, Stuart of Appin, Kinlochmoidart, the Mackenzies*, and some others, who unanimously sign'd a Writing, whereby they engag'd to do all in their Power to render successful the Invasion whenever it shou'd be made.

After Mr. *Murray* had been near twelve Months in *Scotland*, during which Time he had indefatigably employ'd himself in promoting his Matter's Interest, he received Orders from *Rome* to repair to *London*, where he wou'd meet with Lord *Elcho*, who had Letters for several Gentlemen in *England*. Mr. *Murray* accordingly set out for *London*, where he met with Lord *Elcho*, and consulted with him upon the Subject of the Dispatches which he brought, and had frequent Conferences with him, and several others in the same Interest.

Mr. *Murray*, after he had spent some Months in *England*, and done all he could to serve the Cause he had undertaken, returned to *Scotland*, as did Lord *Elcho* to *France*. By this lime, that is, about the Beginning of the Year 1745, the projected Invasion was almost ripe for Execution, when Mr. *Murray* had Orders to quit the Kingdom, and return to his Master; but before he did so, to acquaint the Clans, that every Thing was now in Readiness, and that in a very short Time Young *Juba* wou'd certainly be among them. All which he punctually perform'd, and then left *Scotland*, and embark'd for *France*, where he met with *Juba*, to whom he gave a satisfactory Account of his Negotiation's with the *Highland* Chiefs, In *August* following, *Juba* landed in the North-west Part of *Scotland* hut more of that by and by.

It is now Time to leave this Digression, and return to Young *Juba*, whom we left at *Paris*, consulting with the *French* Ministry upon the Measures necessary to be taken in Furtherance of the grand Design. It has been intimated, that great Embarkations were making on a prodigious Number of Transport Vessels in the Ports of *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, which, under the Protection of the *Brest* Squadron, were to be landed on the *English* Coast. Every Thing was in Readiness, and Count *Saxe*, (now a Marshal) and other General Officers, who were to head the Troops on their landing, were actually at *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, and nothing hinder'd their proceeding to Sea, but the Absence of Young *Juba*, who at length arriv'd among them.

In the mean Time, the *British* Court having received Intelligence, of the vast Preparations that were making on the Coast of *France* to invade *England*, was terribly alarm'd. A Proclamation was issued, for putting the Laws in Force against Papists and Nonjurors; the King acquainted the Parliament, of the Intelligence he

had received of the *Pretender's* Intention, to invade *England*, and both Houses promise to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes; and pass'd an Act, making it High Treason for the *Pretender*, or any of his Sons, to land in *Britain*. Many Addresses, in the same Strain, were sent from the greatest trading Towns and Boroughs in the Kingdom. Mr. *Thompson*, the *English* Resident at *Paris*, was order'd to remunerate concerning the *Pretender's* eldest Son being in *France* and that he might be oblig'd to quit the *French* King's Dominions, pursuant to Treaties.

To which Remonstrance M. *Amelot* returned an Answer to the Effect following; That Engagements enter'd into by Treaties, are not binding any farther than those Treaties are religiously observ'd on all Sides: That when the King of *England* shall have caus'd Satisfaction to be given, upon the repeated Complaints that have been made to him, of the Infraction of those very Treaties, of which he now demands the Performance, which Violations were commuted by "his Orders, his Most Christian Majesty will then explain himself upon the Demand now made by Mr. *Thompson* in the Name of his *Britannick* Majesty." Mr. *Trevor*, Minister from the *British* Court at the *Hague*, was order'd to demand of the States General the 6000 Troops which by Treaty they were oblig'd to furnish that Kingdom in Case of Emergency, and they were accordingly sent over, and actually landed in the Month of *March*. Sir *John Norris* was order'd with a Fleet into the Channel, to watch the Motions of the *Brest* Squadron, and the Embarkations making at *Dunkirk* and *Calais*. Count *Saxe* perceiving what a powerful Opposition he was like to meet with, began to think that the Execution of his Design was impracticable; and accordingly writes to Court, to inform the King of the manifest Difficulties and Hazards that wou'd attend the Prosecution of the intended Invasion; that, in his Opinion, there was no Probability of its succeeding; and therefore, if his Advice might be taken, it wou'd be better to defer it to a more favourable Opportunity. The Reasons he alledg'd were of such Weight, that they prevail'd with the *French* Ministry to drop the Design, to recall their Forces from the Sea-Coasts, and to employ them in *Flanders* where the Army was to act in the ensuing Campaign. Count *Saxe*, and the rest of the General Officers, with Young *Juba*, hereupon set out for *Paris*; and much about the same Time, viz. *March* the 15th, 1744, was publish'd the *French* King's Declaration of War against *England*.

Young *Juba* accompanied Count *Saxe* into *Flanders*, being ambitious of learning the Art of War under so accomplish'd a General. He was present at the Sieges of *Menin*, *Ypres*, *Fort-Knock*, and *Furnes*, each of which was taken in three Days.

But as there was no Battle, nor any considerable Action betwixt the two Armies during the whole Summer, *Juba* had no Opportunity of signalizing his Valour in the open Field.

The Campaign being at an End, *Juba* went to the *French* Court, where he spent his Time in Consultations with his Friends, upon the State of his Affairs with respect to *Scotland*. Expresses were continually coming and going, and Preparations were again making for another Invasion, but with more Caution and Secrecy than the first was manag'd.

In the Spring the Armies were early in the Field, and Young *Juba* again took to the Service under Count *Saxe*. The *French* Forces being first in the Field, sat down before the important Fortress of *Tournay*. The Army of the Allies, under the Command of the Duke of *Cumberland*, hasten'd to its Relief, which brought on the Battle of *Fontenoy*, which was fought with prodigious Fury, and a vast Effusion of Blood on both Sides, in which the *French* obtain'd a dear-bought Victory. Young *Juba* had a considerable Share in this Battle, and in turning the Fortune of the Day. For to him was given the Command of those Troops that supported the mask'd Battery at *Antoine*, which, by his judicious Direction, did such terrible Execution among the *English* Infantry, as to put them to a Stand, and at last oblig'd them to retire, even when Victory was just on the Point of declaring for them; for which particular Service the King thank'd him in Person, and made him a handsome Present.

Immediately after the Battle, *Juba* applied himself to the Execution of the Scheme which had been projected for the Invasion of *Scotland*. For this Purpose he repairs to *Paris*, and advises with the *French* Ministry in what Manner to proceed. A Plan is agreed upon., and he sets out, in Company with a few of his Friends, for *Port-Lazare* in *Brittanny*, where, on his Arrival, a Ship was ready to receive him, on which he went on board, *July 14, 1745*. This Vessel was a Frigate of 18 Guns; and being got under Sail, made for *Belleisle*, where she met the *Elizabeth*, a Man of War of 60 Guns, which formerly belong'd to the English, but taken from them in *Queen Anne's* Time. She had a great Quantity of Money on board, with Arms for several thousand Men, design'd for the Use of *Juba* upon his landing in *Scotland*. In their Passage, 39 Leagues West from the Meridian of the *Lizard*, they were attacked by the *Lion* Man of War, of 56 Guns, Capt. *Brett*, Commander. The Engagement lasted five Hours, within Pistol-shot of each other. The *Lion* receiv'd so much Damage in her Masts and Rigging, that she lay like a Wreck in the Sea; and *Elizabeth* was so shatter'd, that being no longer able to maintain the Engagement, she took the Advantage of the Night, and made off for *Brest* Harbour, where she arriv'd in a miserable Condition.

The Frigate bore away, soon after the Fight began, for the North-west of *Scotland*, and after having hover'd some Days about the Isles, at length put into a Creek or small Harbour in the Country of *Lochabar*. Here, in the Beginning of *August* Young *Juba*, and seven Persons that bore him Company in the Voyage, disembark'd.

The seven Persons who landed with Young *Juba*, were these following, *viz*, 1. The Marquis of *Tullibardin*, eldest Brother to the Duke of *Athol*, who was attainted in 1715. 2. Old *Lochiel*, who fought in the same Cause in 1715. 3. General *Mac Donald*, a Lieutenant Colonel in the *Irish* Brigades.. Sir *Thomas Sherridan*, an *Irish* Gentleman, of middle Age, and great Capacity. 5. Col. *O Sullivan*, an *Irishman*, formerly a Priest, and Tutor to Marshal *Maillebois's* Son. The Marshal observing, that his Genius was turn'd more for the Military than Ecclesiastick Service, encouraged and promoted him, and took him with him, as his Secretary, in his Expedition against *Corsica*. After which he serv'd two Campaigns, one in *Italy*, and one on the *Rhine*, and was reckon'd the best irregular Warrior in *Europe*. After which, for the Love he had for the Person and

Cause of *Juba*, he resolv'd to bear him Company in his Expedition to *Scotland*, and *Juba*, knowing him to be an expert Officer, made him Director of his Artillery, and Aid de Camp. 6. Mr. *Kelly*, who was many Years a Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, on Account of the Affair of the Bishop of *Rochester*. 7. Mr. *Michell*, an old Servant to *Juba's* Father, and who, for the Affection he had to the Son, kept him Company in this Expedition.

He brought with him 700 Stands of Arms, a considerable Quantity of Ammunition, and 25,000*l.* which his Father had borrow'd upon his Jewels, knowing that his Son wou'd have Occasion for Money on his first landing, to distribute among the Clans, to make them more hearty in his Interest.

The Regency of *England* (for the King was then at *Hanover*) being inform'd, that Young *Juba* was about to land in *Scotland*, issued a Proclamation, promising a Reward of 30,000*l.* to any Persons who shou'd seize and secure the eldest Son of the *Pretender*, in case he shou'd land, or attempt to land, in any of his Majesty's Dominions. *Juba*, hearing what a Price was set upon his Head, issues out his Proclamation, with a like Reward to any Persons who shou'd seize and secure King *George*, whom he calls an Usurper.

As soon as he was landed, he went to the House of *Donald Mac Donald*, of *Kenloch Moidart*; from whence he sent out Letters to the adjacent Clans, to acquaint them of his Arrival, Upon which *Cameron of Lochiel* went to him, but refused to raise his Clan, till *Juba* cou'd produce, in Writing, the *French King's* Resolution to assist him with a proper Number of Forces. Being satisfied in this Point, he summon'd his Clan, and set up his Standard, with this Motto, *Tandem Triumphant*, in *English*, *Triumphing at last*.

The News of *Juba's* Arrival being soon divulged among the Isles, the Chiefs who had been pre-acquainted with, and concurr'd in this Invasion, soon repair'd to his Standard. Such a Number being got together; as to make the Appearance of an Army, he march'd with them to within a Mile of *Fort-William*, and there encamp'd. Here join'd him the several Clans of the *Stuarts of Appin*, the *Mac Donalds* of *Glengary*, *Keppoch* and *Glenco*. As an Encouragement to the Highlanders, to exert themselves to the utmost, he promis'd them every Thing they cou'd ask or desire of him, gave every private Man Eight-pence a Day, and made the Chiefs Colonels, viz. *Lochiel*, *Keppoch*, *Clanronald*, and others, and regimented his Forces in the Manner of regular Troops; and when a Party of the *Macdonalds*, in a Skirmish with some new-rai'd Men of *St. Clair's* Regiment, had taken 70 of them, he divided the Booty, amounting to 80*l.* among them.

The most considerable of the Chiefs, who were the earliest in joining Young *Juba* at his first Appearance among them, were these that follow.

James Drummond, better known by the Title of the Duke of *Perth*, which was conferr'd on his Grandfather by King *James II*, a little before the Revolution, tho' his Patent never pass'd the Seals He was a young Man of an antient Family, which came from *Hungary* so long since as the Days of *Malcolm Conmore*. *Annabella*, a Daughter of *Drummond* of *Stobhall*, was married to King *Robert III*, and bore him King *James I*. The Grandfather of the present Duke went to *France* with King *James*, and his Father was in the Rebellion in 1715; notwithstanding which he was permitted to possess his Estate; but by the Persuasions of his

Mother, who was a Daughter of the Duke of *Gordon*, he espoused the Cause of Young *Juba*. He was an affable, good-natur'd Man, affected Popularity, and lov'd a Country Life; but was never married.

Donald Cameron of *Lochiel*, a Gentleman of a good Character, and remarkable for his Humanity and Probity. His Clan, which had been long notorious for their Thefts, and plundering their Neighbours, he endeavour'd to civilize and reform, by instructing them in the Principles of Justice and Religion.

Donald Mac Donald, a younger Branch of *Clanronald*, is a profess'd Papist. The Island of *South Uist*, which is 24 Miles in Length, brings him an Income of about 700*l.* a Year. He is a Gentleman esteem'd for his Civility and good Nature, and his Clan are generally *Roman-Catholicks*. They have but little Commerce or Correspondence with their Fellow-Subjects on the main Land, unless it be once a Year, when they send over, their Cattle for a Market; which may be given as a Reason for their Ignorance of the polite Arts and Sciences; their chief Exercise is the Sword; and their Learning consists in recounting their Skirmishes and Exploits, at Sea, with the *Mac Leans*, and their several Insurrections in Favour of the *Stuart* Interest. They speak the *Irish* Tongue, and despise the *Scots* Laws; in Imitation of their Ancestor *John of the Isles*, who assum'd the Title of King, and of his Father *Alexander*, who forfeited his Estate, for Rebellion, in 1476.

The *Mac Donalds* of *Glengary*, who were headed by the second Son of their Chief. They are generally very poor, and much addicted to Theft and Robberies; what Religion they have is the *Romish*.

Lauchlan Machlauchlan, of *Castle-Lauchlan*, was possess'd of a small Estate in *Argyleshire*, was a Gentleman of a good Character; but his Ancestors having forfeited their Estates by their Attachment to the House of *Stuart*, and having had several Disputes and Litigations with the *Argyle* Family, he was not able to support the Dignity of the Chief of a Clan, as his Forefathers had done; and therefore joined in this Undertaking, as much, perhaps, out of Discontent, as Affection to the Cause. This Clan is the Body of Highlanders that had join'd the young Adventurer, and so to crush the Invasion in its Infancy. But Sir *John* was at too great a Distance, neither had he Forces enough, had he been near, to do such Execution: For by this Time *Juba* had got together an Army equal, if not superior to any that *Cope* cou'd bring to oppose him.

Juba having increas'd his Forces to the Number of about 2000, march'd forward in order to enter upon Action, and advanced to *Coryerriog*, a Hill about six Miles from *Fort-Augustus*; and being inform'd that *Cope* was coming to attack him, waited for him, with a Resolution to hazard a Battle, if his Enemy was in the same Humour. Sir *John*, however, either distrusting his own Strength, or for some other Reason best known to himself, march'd forward to *Aberdeen*, where he embark'd his Army on board some Ships which transported it to *Dunbar*, the nearest and best Place for landing on the South Side of the *Firth*, and there disembark'd.

Juba, in the mean Time, sends an Express to *Rome*, with an Account, that he was at the Head of a numerous Party, which was every Day increasing; that he laboured, with all his Might, to engage the Nation in his Interest, and to support his Undertaking; that he had settled the Pay of his Highland Soldiers to their

Satisfaction; that he omitted nothing that might secure the Affection or those who repaired to his Standard; that the Expence of carrying his Designs into Execution had been so great that it had almost exhausted his Treasure, and therefore pray'd his Father and his Council, to consider of Ways and Means to send him such a Supply, as might enable him to act with Vigour, and he doubted not but his Labours wou'd be crown'd with Success.

The old *Chevalier* was over-joy'd at the News, that his Son's Expedition had so happy a Beginning; and therefore, that the Issue might prove as successful, he resolves to contribute all in his Power to make it so. To this End, he borrows 100,000 Crowns of a Banker, and for Security of Repayment, lodges all his Plate and Jewels in his Hands, and Bills of Exchange were immediately drawn for the Money. Many, likewise, of the *Roman* Princes, Cardinals, and Prelates, advanced large Sums for the same laudable Purpose, every one being willing to lend a helping Hand to the good old Cause.

Juba, whom we left at *Coryerriog*, perceiving that the Enemy had left him, put his Army in Motion, and the 30th of *August* came to *Blair*, the Residence of the Duke of *Athol*; upon which that Nobleman, and several Gentlemen of the Shire of *Fyfe*, retir'd to *Edinburgh*. *Sept.* 3d, *Juba* sent Lord *Nairn* with a Detachment to *Perth*, where, the next Day, at the *Cross*, his Father was proclaim'd King, and himself Regent of *Scotland*, &c. Here he was joined by the *Robertsons*, *Mac Gregors*, *Mercer* of *Aldie*, *Oliphant* of *Gask*, and others. On the 7th another Detachment was sent to *Dundee*, where *Juba* was again proclaim'd; and the Town was search'd for Horses, Arms and Ammunition, and the publick Money levied. Next Day, being *Sunday*, the Ministers were suffer'd to exercise their Functions, and to pray for King *George*, without the least Interruption, though several of the Highlanders were present, for such were *Juba's* Orders. He likewise sent out some Parties on the Coast of *Fyfe*, to gather up what Horses, Arms, and Ammunition could be found.

While *Juba* remain'd at *Perth*, he exercis'd his Troops every Day, and took abundance of Pains to instruct them in their Duty, but found them so stupidly ignorant and indocible, for want of knowing the *English* Tongue, that he cou'd not forbear calling them his *Stags*. He lodg'd at the Lord Viscount *Stormonts*, where he once gave a Ball, at which he took only one Turn, and then retir'd. His Men, however, cou'd not be restrain'd from committing many Disorders; such as rifling the Shops of the Inhabitants of their most valuable Goods, which *Juba* oblig'd them to return again for about one Third of the Value in Money; and the Corn and Cattle were likewise plundered by the strolling Parties. These Excesses *Juba* was forc'd to wink at, to keep his Highlanders in Temper, who, had they been debarr'd a Liberty which they had been always accusom'd to, wou'd probably have took Huff, and deserted his Standard.

As soon as this Detachment arriv'd at *Perth*, the Provost was sent for, and treated with Candour and Civility, in Hopes that he might be induc'd to comply with such Orders as *Juba's* Party had to recommend to his Performance. The Provost desir'd Time to consult his Friends; but apprehending, in Case of his Refusal, he shou'd be compell'd to attend the reading of the Declarations and Manifestoes which were to be publish'd next Day at the *Cross*, contrary to the

Allegiance he had sworn to the establish'd Government, went away in the Night; upon which the Magistracy was chang'd, and another Provost appointed, who readily did what was requir'd.

While *Juba* was at *Perth*, he studied, by all Means, to render himself as popular and agreeable as he cou'd. He was easy of Access, and treated every Man with the utmost Civility and Condescension. A Linnen-Draper of *London* being on his Travels about his Business in those Parts, he was introduced to *Juba*, who convers'd with him with great Familiarity, and told him he expected to be at *St. James's* in about two Months, and gave him a Pass to proceed on his Journey without Molestation. The Pass ran in this Stile: *Charles Prince of Wales, and Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and of the Dominions thereto belonging, &c.*

Here it may not be amiss to introduce the Character, not only of Young *Juba*, but likewise of his Brother, as given by Mr. *Murray*, in a Letter to a certain Lady, who requested the Favour, in the Year 1742.

“*Charles Edward*, the eldest Son of the *Chevalier de St. George*, is tall, above the common Stature, his Limbs are cast in the most exact Mold, his Complexion has in it some what of uncommon Delicacy; all his Features are perfectly regular and well turn'd, and his Eyes the finest I ever saw; but that which shines most in him, and renders him, without Exception, the most surprizingly handsome Person of the Age, is the Dignity that accompanies every Gesture; there is indeed such an unspeakable Majesty diffus'd through his whole Mien and Air, as it is impossible to have any Idea of without seeing, and strikes those that have, with such an Awe, as will not suffer them to look upon him for any Time, unless he emboldens them to it by his excessive Affability.

“Thus much, Madam, as to the Person of this P——: His Mind, by all I can judge of it, is no less worthy of Admiration:—He seems to me, and, I find, to all who know him, to have all the good Nature of the *Stuart* Family blended with the Spirit of the *Sobiesky's*:—He is, at least as far I am capable of seeing into Men, equally qualified to preside in Peace and War:—for his Learning, it is extensive beyond what cou'd be expected from double the Number of his Years.—He speaks most of the *European* Languages with the same Ease and Fluency as if each of them were the only one he knew;—is a perfect Master of all the different Kinds of *Latin*; understands *Greek* very well, and is not altogether ignorant of *Hebrew*,—*History* and *Philosophy* are his darling Entertainments, in both which he is well vers'd; the *one*, he says, will instruct him how to govern *others*, and the *other* show to govern *himself*, whether in *prosperous* or *adverse* Fortune.—Then for his Courage, that was sufficiently prov'd at *Gaita*, (a Town in the Kingdom of *Naples*, taken from the *Austrians* in 1734, by *Don Carlos*, now King of the *Two Sicilies*) when, though scarce arriv'd at the Age of Fifteen, he perform'd such Things, as, in attempting, made his Friends and Enemies alike tremble, though for different Motives.—What he is ordain'd for, we must leave to the Almighty, who alone disposes all; but he seems to be born and endow'd for something extraordinary.

“*Henry Benedict*, the second Son, has also a very fine Person, though of a Stature somewhat lower than his Brother, and his Complexion not altogether so

delicate; he is, however, extremely well made, has a certain agreeable Robustness in his Mien, and a more than common Sparkle in his Eyes.—Many of those Perfections I have, though faintly, describ'd, as appertaining to the *one* are equally the Due of the *other*; 'tis hard, indeed, to say which of them has most apply'd himself to all the Branches of those Kinds of Learning which enable a Man to be useful to his Fellow Creature.—The Difference I make between their Tempers is this, that the one has the agreeable Mixture of the *Stuart* and *Sobiesky*, as I have already said, and the other seems more entirely actuated by the Spirit of the latter.—All the Fire of his great Ancestors, on that Side, seems collected in him; and I dare believe, that shou'd his Arm ever be employ'd in so warrantable a Cause as that which warm'd the Breast of his glorious Progenitor (king *John* of *Poland*) when an hundred and fifty thousand *Turks* owed their Defeat (at the Siege of *Vienna*) to the Bravery of a Handful of *Christians*, led on by him to Victory, this warlike young P—— would have the same Success.—His martial Spirit discover'd itself when being no more than Nine Years old, at the Time his Brother accompanied the young King of *Naples*, to enforce Possession of his Dominions, he was so much discontented at being refused the Partnership of that Glory, and that Danger, that he would not put on his Sword, till his Father threaten'd to take away his G—— too, saying, *It did not become him to wear the one without the other.*"¹

Sept. 11. *Juba* with his Army of Highlanders, being about 2000 strong, decamped from *Perth*; but many of the principal Inhabitants of the Town being disaffected to his Cause, he oblig'd them to a Contribution of 500*l.* to be instantly paid down, and to give Hostages for the Payment of 500*l.* more. The Hostages were Mr. *Peter Crie*, Brother to the Provost) and Mr. *David Sandyman*. And, as a farther Security, they seiz'd the Town's Charter.

The 12th, *Juba* march'd with his Army to *Dumblain*, where they encamp'd that Night at about a Mile's Distance from the Town. The next Day they cross'd the *Forth*, at a Ford under *Balquhan*; and *Juba*, to encourage his Highlander to follow him chearfully, was the first that put his Foot in the Water, and waded over at the Head of them.

General *Blakeney*, at the Head of Col. *Gardner's* Dragoons, was posted on the other Side, and fir'd several Shot at the Party that was nearest the Bridge of *Stirling*; but observing, that the main Body of the Highlanders had pass'd at different Fords above him, fearing he shou'd be surrounded, for his Forces were much inferior in Number to those of *Juba* march'd his Dragoons down to *Falkirk*;

¹ As to these Pictures of the two Brothers, it is out of all Question, (says a Remarker on this Letter) that they are drawn in such glaring Colours, and plac'd in such a dazzling Light, either to feed the Vanity, or keep up the Spirits of the Party: For, granting they are possess'd of all the Gifts and Graces so liberally bestow'd on them, what arc their Gifts and Graces to us? unless it is expected, that while we admire the Idol, we should also acknowledge the Divinity?

But we have already Princes of our own; and if I do not take upon me to emblazon their Characters in Opposition to these, it because I wou'd not be suspected of Flattery on one Hand, or Detraction on the other.

and Stirling being, by this Means, left without a Garrison, the next Day the Highlanders entered the Town without Opposition.

Juba having thus possess'd himself of *Stirling*, sent away two of his Officers to *Glasgow*, with the following Letter.

“I need not inform you of my View in coming; that is already sufficiently known. All those who love their Country, and true Interest of Britain, ought to wish for my Success, and do what they can to promote it. It would be a needless Repetition to tell you that all the Privilege of your Town are included in my Declaration; and what I have promis'd, I never will depart from. “I hope this is your Way of thinking; and therefore expect your Compliance with my Demand, a Sum of Money not exceeding 15,000*l.* Sterling, (beside what is due to the Government) and whatever Arms can be found in your City, is all at present I require. The Terms propos'd are very reasonable, and what I promise to make good. I chuse to make these Demands; but if not complied with, shall take other Measures, and you shall be answerable for the Consequence.”

Lecky, Sept. 13,
1745.

Sign'd, Prince C. R.

Juba staid not long at *Stirling*, but came with *his* Army, the 14th, to *Falkirk*, and there encamp'd that Night, and sent out a Detachment of 500 Men, to attack *Gardner's* Dragoons that were encamp'd at *Linlithgow*; however, those Dragoons were marched off to *Kirkliston Water*, where they were encamp'd the 15th. The 16th, *Juba* march'd forward to *Costorphine*, but met with no Opposition, the Enemy being gone to *Musselburgh*.

Juba approaching every Day nearer to *Edinburgh*, put that Metropolis into the utmost Fright and Consternation. The Lord Provost and Magistrates immediately convened; the Cannon of the City Arsenal were brought out; the Gentlemen Voluntiers, who had entered into an Association to defend the City, mounted Guard in the Exchequer, as did the new-rais'd Regiment in the Judiciary Hall; the Fortifications were repaired; the Cannon prov'd, and order'd to be planted on the Bastions, and where else they might be of Service. All the Night of the 15th the Magistrates were assembled in Council, deliberating on the Measures proper to be taken at that critical Juncture.

Juba and his Council having determined, ever since they left *Perth*, to possess themselves of *Edinburgh* as soon as possible, made the best of their Way to that City; which was the Reason that they made no longer Stay at *Stirling*, and that they did not visit *Glasgow*, to punish that Town for refusing to send the Contributions demanded, “*Juba* had a great many Friends in *Edinburgh*, who gave him regular Intelligence, from Time to Time, of the Disposition of the Inhabitants; and from them he learnt, that the Magistrates had resolv'd to fortify the City, and plant it with Cannon, so as to render it defensible against any Attacks. *Juba* consider'd, that he had no Artillery for battering the Walls, nor was in any Condition to form a regular Siege; and therefore that he must try all Methods to get it, by Surprize, or Treaty, or Capitulation, or by any other Means he shou'd find practicable. For these Reasons he hasten'd towards the City with all the Dispatch he could.

The 16th, *Juba* and his Army encamp'd at *Gray's-Mill*, about two Miles from the City, where some of the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* waited on him, to treat with him about a Capitulation. *Juba* was glad to find the Citizens in such a Temper, and began to conceive Hopes, that he shou'd gain his Point without much Difficulty. However, without discovering his Mind, he only answer'd, *That he did not treat with Subjects*; and some of the Chiefs that were about him, added, *That the King's Declaration, and Prince's Manifesto, contained such Terms as every Subject ought to accept with Joy*. The Deputies were farther told, that no other Conditions would be granted, and that they must return a positive Answer in four Hours. *Juba* ask'd them what was become of the Voluntiers Arms? and being answer'd, that they were deliver'd into the Castle, he seem'd much displeas'd, and said, *If any of the Town's Arms be missing, he knew what to do*.

The Deputies being dismiss'd, and no Answer return'd in the Time limited, only a farther Delay requested and refused, *Juba* gave Orders to *Lochiel*, to march secretly with his *Camerons*, consisting of about 900 Men, to the *Nether-Bow*. They had not been there long before the Coach, which carried back the Deputies, came down the Street to the same Gate, and press'd to get out; and though the Porter and Centinel had a strict Charge not to open the Gate, yet they did open it to let out the Coach; and at the same Instant the *Camerons* rushing in, possess'd themselves first of that, and then on the Main-Guard, making the Soldiers on Duty Prisoners, and then placed Centries at all the Gates and Weigh-house. The Magistrates, who were then sitting in Council, were so surpriz'd at the News, that the Assembly broke up in Confusion. Before Five in the Morning the Parliament-Close was fill'd with Highlanders. They were, indeed, but badly arm'd or cloath'd; however, all their Wants were seen supplied, after they became Masters of the City.

The next Day, *Juba*, with the Remainder of his Army, taking a half Compass about the Town, to avoid the Fire from the Castle Guns, took the Road by *St. Anthony's Well*, the Duke of *Perth* riding on his Right., and Lord *Elcho*, who joined him the Day before, on his Left, and in this Manner made his Entry to the Abbey. When he came to the Head of the Hill, upon the Road leading to the Well, he lighted from his Horse, walk'd a little Way, and then stopp'd. This gave some, that were well affected to his Cause, an Opportunity to approach his Person, and falling down on their Knees, kiss'd his Hand; and he receiv'd them in a very courteous, affable Manner. Hereupon a general and loud Huzza was rais'd, intermix'd with many affectionate Expressions of Love and Esteem, Then he walk'd down to *St. Andrew's Yards*, mounted his Horse, and proceeded to the Abbey, amidst the Acclamations of a Multitude of Spectators; and he seem'd not a little pleas'd at the Reception he met with.

Here it may not be amiss to give a Description of his Person, as he then appear'd to the Spectators. He seem'd to be a tall and slender young Man, about five Feet ten Inches high, of a ruddy Complexion, high nosed, with large rolling brown Eyes, a long Visage, red Hair, and a Mien majestick, yet affable and benevolent. He was dress'd, at this Time, in a Highland Habit, had a whitish Perriwig, a blue Sash trimm'd with Gold, which was brought over his Shoulder, a

green Velvet Bonnet, and a Gold Lace round it; he wore a broad Silver-hilted Sword, and had all imaginable Homage paid him by both Officers and Soldiers.

Being come to *Holyrood-house*, he took up his Lodgings in Duke *Hamilton's* Apartments. In the mean while the Heralds being secured, six of them, in their proper Habits, were brought to the *Cross* with one blowing a Trumpet before them. It was then betwixt Twelve and One o'Clock at Noon, when one *Andrew Beatt*, whose Father bore Arms for the *Chevalier* in 1715, having the Manifestoes, that have been before mention'd, in his Hand, read them aloud, which one of the Heralds repeated after him. A numerous Croud of Spectators were got together on so extraordinary an Occasion; and the Reading being finish'd, it was follow'd with loud Huzzas and Acclamations.

In the Afternoon *Juba* summon'd the Chiefs of the Clans to a Council at *Holyrood-house*, wherein it was debated in what Manner to furnish their Forces with better Arms and Accoutrements than what they had. In Conclusion a Message was written, superscribed *Charles P. R.* and subscribed *C. P. R.* requiring, on Pain of military Execution, that 1000 Tents, 2000 Targets, 6000 Pairs of Shoes, and a proportionable Number of Tin Water-Cantines, should be in Readiness against the 23d, This Message was sent to the several Communities of the City; upon which the Deacons, with their several Incorporations, met, and having calculated what each of them cou'd furnish, set their People to work, to answer this extraordinary Demand. Accordingly these several Articles were prepar'd by the 24th; and *Juba's* Council, in order to pay for them, laid a Tax of 2s. 6d. upon every 20 Shillings of real Rent throughout the City.

On the 18th, a Proclamation was read over the *Cross*, to require all the Inhabitants of that City and Suburbs, and of the County of *Mid-Lothian*, to deliver up all the Arms and Ammunition in their Custody, under the Penalty of being deem'd Rebels, and treated as such. The same Day a Drum beat up for Soldiers through the City, offering five Guineas Advance to any one who shou'd enlist in *Juba's* Service. A Captain's Commission was promised to any Gentleman who should raise 0 Men, and a Lieutenancy to such as cou'd bring 20 Men into the Field.

He then publish'd several Declarations, to recall all Gentlemen and Tradesmen, who had left the Town, to their several Houses and Occupations therein; to order all Farmers and Husbandmen to repair to the Markets as usual; to command all Countrymen, within the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, to be ready, at twelve Hours warning, with Carriages, in Proportion to their Ploughs, for the Conveyance of Baggage, &c.

The next Act, of his short Government, was, to order all the Receivers of the publick Offices, Stewards of Counties, Boroughs, &c. to make up their Accounts immediately, and to pay him the Balance that remain'd in their Hands.

He sent likewise a second Letter to the Town of *Glasgow*, demanding the Sum of 15,000*l.* which Letter was accompanied with Threats of military Execution, if the Demand was not comply'd with. The Town, under this Necessity, prevail'd upon the Party that had been sent to require the above Contribution, to lessen it to 5500*l.* which Sum they were oblig'd to pay immediately.

One *William Macvicar*, a Writer in *Edinburgh*, was committed to close Custody. The Crime with which he was charg'd, was, That he having been banish'd the Kingdom by Sentence of the Lords of Session, for iniquitous Practices, did come into *Juba's* Camp, with a white Cockade in his Hat, the better to act the Part of a Spy without Suspicion.

By this Time General *Cope* was arriv'd with his Forces at *Dunbar*, and having disembark'd them, was join'd by two Regiments of Dragoons under Brigadier General *Fowkes*, who was sent from *England* to take upon him the Command of the Horse, and by several of the Voluntiers who had, before *Juba's* Arrival, associated in the Defence of the City. The same Night they landed, a Council of War was held, in which it was debated, whether they shou'd march forwards, and hazard a Battle, or retire, and wait till they cou'd be join'd by some *Veteran* Regiments? The Gentlemen, who were griev'd to see their City in the Hands of wild Highlanders, and their Persons and Properties expos'd to their daily Ravages and Insults, and therefore willing to get rid of them as soon as possible, were for coming to Action immediately, before the Enemy was strengthen'd by the Junction of more Forces. Others as strenuously maintained, that they ought to wait till farther Assistance arriv'd. The first Opinion, however, prevailed; and on *Thursday* the 19th the Drums beat to Arms, and the Troops march'd to *Haddington*, where they encamp'd that Night. Next Day they proceeded Westward, till they came into a Corn-Field to the West of *Seatoun*, opposite *Cockeny*. The Situation of the Place afforded them all the Advantages they cou'd desire, having a Ditch in Front, the Sea, *Cockeny*, &c. in Flank, a Park-Dyke to their Right; and, in short, the Grounds all about them were inclos'd, except toward the East, from whence they came. Besides which, they were supplied with all Manner of Necessaries from the Country, and Workmen enough for any Service.

Juba in the mean Time, being reinforc'd the 19th, by the Junction of the *Grants* of *Glenmoriston*, decamp'd the 20th early in the Morning, being determin'd to fight *Cope* who, he was inform'd, was arriv'd with his Troops at *Dunbar*. *Juba* being at the Head of his Army, presenting his Sword, said, *My Friends, I have flung away the Scabbard*. The Troops answer'd him with a loud Huzza; and march'd on leisurely to *Inveresk*, proceeding to *Carberry-Hill*, along the Brow of which they extended themselves till they came in Sight of the Enemy; whom they no sooner saw but they rais'd a loud Huzza, which was immediately answer'd as loudly by the Royalists. It was then about Two o'Clock; and the two Armies continu'd viewing each other three Hours. *Juba*, in the mean Time, had order'd a Party to possess themselves of the Church-yard of *Tranent*, which lay between the Front of the two Armies, from whence they might take their Opportunity to annoy the Enemy; but being discover'd, were soon dislodg'd by the Discharge of some Cannon at them.

Juba then put his Army in Motion to begin the Attack, They advanced by the Way of the upper Dyke Westward, and then to turn East, in order to take the Enemy in Flank: Which *Cope* perceiving, fronted his Army to the West to receive them; which they observing retir'd to their former Ground. The Night coming on, nothing more was done on either Side, except a few Shot which the Royalists threw from some Field-Pieces at an advanced Party of the Highlanders, which did

little or no Execution. The two Armies being so near each other, to prevent a Surprize, they both lay on their Arms that Night, till about Three o'Clock in the Morning. The most profound Silence was observ'd in the Camp, till the Moment of marching; when, every Officer having receiving his Instructions in what Manner to act; the Army set forward; one Body, passing through some Inclosures, got below *Seaton-House* where they formed; while another Body stole away as silently and secretly as possible, to prevent the Royalists from getting to *Edinburgh*.

Just as they were on the Point of marching, *Juba*, being at the Head of the Army, address'd them in these Words: *Follow me, Gentlemen; by the Assistance of God I will, this Day, make you a free and happy People*. However, when they were on the March, *Lochiel*, who had a very great Respect and Esteem for Young *Juba*, earnestly entreated him to forbear exposing his Person, and advis'd him to take his Stand upon a rising Ground, under the Guard of a Party, from whence he might send his Orders to any Part of the Army during the Engagement, as he shou'd see Occasion; for if any Misfortune shou'd befall him, they were all ruin'd to a Man; and that too much depended on his Safety to hazard his Person without more apparent Necessity than there then was. *Juba*, tho' with great Reluctance, took his Advice, and retir'd with a Party to a high Field to the South-West of *Seatoun*.

Their Right Wing was made up of the Regiments of *Keppoch*, *Glengary*, *Clanronald*, and *Glenco*, commanded by the Duke of *Perth*, Lieutenant General; the Left was compos'd of the *Camerons*, *Stuarts of Appin*, a Body of the *Mac Gregors*, with *Glencairney*, under Lord *George Murray*, the rest being with Major *James Drummond*, as a Party of Reserve. These made up the first Line the second Line consisted of the *Athol Men*, *Robertsons*, *Mach-Lauchlans*, &c. commanded by Lord *Nairn*. They had not above 100 Horse, which not being train'd to the Service, were order'd to the Body of Reserve.

It was now about Five o'Clock in the Morning, and very dark, so that their Motions were scarce seen by the Enemy; and to render them still less visible, the first Line crawl'd upon their Hands and Knees, like Sportsmen in Search of their Game. The Gentries, however, on the other Side, perceiving something moving towards them, it being about the Dawn of Day, yet not Light enough to distinguish what they saw; neither cou'd they tell whether it was a Hedge, or a Body of Men. So that, meeting with no Opposition, they came forward apace in the Form of a Wedge; and making up to the Artillery, which being but slenderly guarded, they seized upon it so suddenly, that those that had the Care of it had only Time to fire a few Shot at them; which gave the Royalists the first Notice that their Enemy was so near them.

The Highlanders, being thus possess'd of the Artillery, turn'd themselves towards the Army, covering their Heads and Breasts with their Targets, (first pulling off their Bonnets, casting their Eyes towards Heaven, and making a short Prayer) they ran furiously up to the first Line, and with a frightful and hideous Shout, begun the Attack. Some Platoons of the *English* Troops fir'd, tho' very irregularly. Upon which the Highlanders gave a full Fire, threw down their Firelocks, and rush'd furiously on the Men with Sword and Pistol, and made a

dreadful Havock. The horrible Shout which they rais'd at the Beginning of the Attack, so affrighted the Horses on the Wings, viz. *Gardner's* on the Right, and *Hamilton's* on the Left, that they fled off all at once, and put the Foot in Disorder.

'Tis true, Brigadier *Fowke*, the Earls of *Loudon* and *Hume*, tried all Means possible to remedy the Disorder, but in vain. The Dragoons were struck with such a Panick, that all that Colonel *Gardner* cou'd do to rally them, was to no Purpose; they left him to receive those Wounds which, gave him an honourable Death, universally lamented; for the many excellent Virtues and Endowments of which he was possess'd. His Lieutenant Colonel *Whitney* came up that Instant with his Squadron, but upon receiving the Highlanders Fire, his Arm was shatter'd, and himself made a Prisoner; for his Squadron likewise turn'd Tail, and run away.

The Infantry, being thus abandon'd by the Horse, made no long Resistance; and on their giving Way were most miserably hack'd and cut to Pieces by the Highlanders, who gave no Quarter, though the poor Men begg'd on their Knees for it; no Pity nor Compassion was shewn, but those that threw down their Arms and surrender'd, and those that fled, shar'd the same Fate; but the greatest Carnage was at the *Park-Dyke*, which the poor Men in endeavouring; to get over, were slain and cut to Pieces without Mercy; and for one that was kill'd by a Bullet, twenty fell by the Sword. *Juba* did all in his Power to restrain the Fury of his Soldiers; and at length, by the Endeavours of *Perth* and *Lochiel*; the Slaughter was stopt.

The Dragoons, after they fled from the Field of Battle, stopt at the West End of the Town of *Preston*, where they were join'd by General *Cope*, and the Earls of *London* and *Hume*, who us'd all the Arguments in their Power, to prevail with them to return to the Charge, which might be done with good Effect, as the Highlanders were in Pursuit, and consequently in Disorder; but all their Persuasions were to no Purpose. Upon which the General put himself at their Head, and retreated by the Road that leads Southwards from *Edinburgh* to *Gingle-Kirk*; by which Means he kept together a Body of about 50, which the next Day he carried into *Berwick*.

In this Battle the *English* Officers in *Cope's* Army behav'd very gallantly, and did all in their Power to oblige their Men to perform their Duty; but the terrible Figure of the Highlanders, and the irresistible Fury with which they charg'd them, baffled their most vigorous Efforts, and struck such a Dread into the Soldiers, that they soon gave Way to the impetuous Onset of their Enemies; for the Attack was made, the Battle fought, and the Victory obtain'd in less than ten Minutes. *Juba's* Army, it's true, out-numbered *Cope's*, which, by all the Accounts I ever read, did not amount to quite 2000, whereas that of the Highlanders was not less than 5000. In the Action were kill'd, of the Highlanders, two Captains, one Lieutenant, and about 0 private Men, and 80 wounded, among whom was *Rob Roy*, *Mac Gregor's* Son, who went under the Name of Capt. *James Drummond*. Of the Royalists were slain, Col. *Gardner*, Major *Bowles*, Cornets *Nash* and *Jacobs* Ensign *Bell*, Captains *Stuart*, *Collier*, *Blake*, *Rudd*, *Holloway*, *Pointz*, *Holmes*, *Stuart* of *Loudon's* Regiment, *Bremer* and *Rogers*; Sir *Thomas Hay*, Bart, a Lieutenant, lost his left Hand, and was taken Prisoner, Lieut. Col. *Hallett*, wounded, and Col. *Whitefoot* taken Prisoners, Lieut. Col. *Hallett* made Prisoner, 300 Soldiers were

kill'd, 50 wounded, 500 taken Prisoners, and 50 made their Escape. All the Cannon, (*viz.* Six Field-pieces) two Cohorns, all the Tents, Baggage, Equipage, &c. fell into the Hands of the Highlanders; as likewise did the Military Chest, containing only 000*l.* for the rest *Cope* had lodg'd, partly, in the *Fox* Man of War, at *Haddington*, and other Places of Security

As soon as the Action was over, *Juba* sent to *Edinburgh*, for Surgeons to come and dress the wounded Men. He was dress'd like an ordinary Captain, in a coarse Plaid and blue Bonnet, and his Boots and Knees very dirty, having, in the Dark, fallen into a Ditch. He seem'd greatly pleas'd at the Success of the Battle, and jocosely said, *My Highlanders have lost their Plaids*. Being shewn seven Standards that were taken, he said, in *French*, *We have missed some of them*; and then refresh'd himself, upon the Field, with a Piece of cold Beef, and a Glass of Wine.

On surveying the Field of Battle, after the Fight was over, what a melancholy Prospect did it afford! sever'd Limbs, Legs, Arms, Hands, Noses, lay promiscuously every where, mix'd with broken Guns, Halberts, Pikes, Swords, &c. Men dead, and almost hack'd to Pieces, others just alive, and groaning out their Last Breath in Curses on their General. The Highlanders were stripping the Dead and Wounded of their Cloaths and Linen, Shoes, Buckles, &c. and dressing themselves therewith, many of whom had never wore a Shirt in their Lives before. Had *Juba*, as he was inclin'd, and as some of his most knowing Friends advis'd, march'd directly into *England*, before the Royalists had recover'd from their Fright, he wou'd have thrown that Kingdom into the utmost Consternation, and perhaps bid fair for a general Conquest. Instead of which, by the Advice of the Highland Chiefs, he march'd his Army back to *Edinburgh* in order to take the Castle, which they never accomplish'd; and at the same Time gave his Enemies Leisure to recruit their Forces, by sending for Troops from *Flanders*, and to make the best Provisions for the Safety of the Kingdom; by which Means the Enterprize was render'd extremely hazardous, and indeed wholly impracticable, as dear-bought Experience soon afterwards taught them.

All the Officers, that were taken Prisoners, were carried into *Edinburgh*, and lodg'd in *Queensberry-House* a few Days, and afterwards set at Liberty upon their Parole not to depart the City. The Soldiers, that were taken Prisoners, were confin'd in the Church and Tolbooth of *Cannon-Gate*. About twenty of the Soldiers took on in *Juba*'s Service, and having receiv'd their Bounty Money, a Week's Pay, and taken the Oaths in great Form, they were allow'd to go where they pleas'd; and the Use they made of this Liberty was, to go up to the Castle, from whence they did not think fit to return; upon which an Order was immediately issued, for conveying the rest of the Prisoners to *Athol*, and the Officers to *Perth*.

About this Time the Lord *George Drummond* arriv'd, with Men, Arms, and Money, tho' far short of the full Complement as had been promis'd, and was expected; however, the Forces he brought, with a Detachment under the Command of Lord *Lewis Gordon*, were sent to *Hamilton* and *Glasgow*, while the main Body of the Army remain'd at *Edinburgh*.

In the mean Time, the Castle having not surrender'd, *Juba* gave Orders to besiege it in Form, and to erect Batteries against it: But the Besiegers; soon found, that the Strength and Situation of this Place gave them no Hopes of ever taking it by Storm; and therefore that the only Way to become Matters of it was, to cut off all Communication betwixt it and the Town, which wou'd either oblige the Garrison to capitulate, or perish through Want of Provisions. A Blockade therefore was form'd, and the Pipes that convey'd Water into the Castle were cut. Col. *Guest*, the Governor, finding that, by this Means, his Garrison wou'd soon be reduc'd to great Distress, yet resolving not to surrender upon any Terms whatever, sent a Message to the Lord Provost, to intimate, that if the Correspondence between the City and Garrison was not restor'd, he should be oblig'd, in his Turn, to fire upon the Highland Guard at the Reservoir, and all their advanced Posts, and consequently upon the City. Upon which the Provost summon'd together the principal Inhabitants, to consult what was to be done in this Emergency. After much Deliberation, it was agreed to desire of the Governor a Respite of twenty-four Hours longer, that they might have Time to treat with *Juba* about it.

Sept. 30, in the Morning, a Deputation of six Gentlemen from the City waited on *Juba* at *Holyrood-House*, and communicated to him the Governor's Letter, and besought him to commiserate their Condition, and not expose that antient City to the Destruction that threatened it. *Juba* was very much affected with their Remonstrances, bid them be easy, and assur'd them, that the Governor's Demands shou'd be comply'd with, and a Communication immediately be open'd: *But*, added he, *I shall make full Reprisals on the Estates of those in the Castle.*

But this Indulgence was not at all agreeable to the Highland Chiefs, who wou'd fain have persuaded him to recal his Order for opening a Communication; representing, that the beating down a few old Buildings ought not to be put in Balance with the Advantages that wou'd result from the Reduction of so important a Fortress as the Castle of *Edinburgh* that the Loss which might be sustain'd by particular Persons, ought not to interfere with what was manifestly for the Good of the Whole; and that such a Condescension wou'd be deem'd, by his Enemies, no better than a Weakness. He replied with some Warmth:— *They, or you, may term it as you please; but in this I am determined to be obey'd.— Besides, what might be a Virtue in another Person, wou'd be a Vice in me.— Remember I come to save, not to destroy;— and how much soever I may lose, the Child is mine, and I wou'd sooner chuse to lose my Right in it, than suffer it to be mangled before my Face;* alluding to the Story of *Solomon* and the two Harlots.

The Castle being thus unexpectedly reliev'd, 'twas Matter of Surprize to some People, that the Highland Army still continued before it, as there did not appear the least Probability of taking it. But the true Reason was this: The *French* had engag'd to make a Descent on *England*; of which *Juba* daily expected to hear Tidings, and waited at *Edinburgh* for such Intelligence; for if that had happened, it wou'd have drawn all the *English* Forces Southwards, and left him at Liberty to march into *England* without Interruption. The long Delay of that Fleet caus'd him infinite Vexation, and forc'd from him many severe Reflexions on the *French* Ministry.

Growing at length quite impatient in this uncertain Situation, he dispatches away Mr. *Kelly* to *France*, who was well acquainted with that Ministry, to inform himself of the Reasons of these Procrastinations, and to hasten the Equipment promis'd. His Negotiations, however, were not very successful nor the Accounts thereof, transmitted to his Master at *Edinburgh*, very satisfactory or agreeable. The *French* Ministers, not to shew themselves wholly regardless of *Juba's* Honour or Interest, invested one Mons. *Boyere* with the Character of Ambassador, and in that Quality sent him to reside in *Juba's* Court, then in *Scotland*, They likewise loaded several Ships with Arms, Ammunition, Money, and some Officers, which dropt in, one after another, to several Ports on the *Scottish* Coasts.

Juba perceiving, that no great Assistance was to be expected from *France*, and finding himself at the Head of 7000 effective Men, brave resolute Fellows, hearty in his Cause, and flush'd with Success, he resolves to try his Fortune with them, and make one bold Push for a Crown. Accordingly, in a Council of all his Officers and Highland Chiefs, he proposes to march into *England*, without waiting any longer for the long-expected Signal of a Landing of the *French* on the South Coasts of *England*, This Proposal however, met with strong Opposition; for many of the Leaders urg'd, that they were not bound to serve *Juba* any where out of *Scotland*; and on the other Side it was alledg'd, that *Edinburgh*, and Part of *Scotland*, was already impoverish'd by them; that there were many large, opulent, and almost fenceless Towns in the North of *England*, the Plunder and Spoil of which would recompense all the Toil and Fatigue they should have in going thither: But there was another Inducement, which, they said, ought to prevail above all others, namely, that abundance of their Friends there had promis'd to join them whenever they came, which they could not expect, if they did not move forward to favour such a Junction. After long and warm Debates, the Question was put, whether to pass into *England*, or not, and it was carried in the Affirmative only by one Vote.

This Resolution being taken, Measures were concerted in what Manner to proceed. The Army had lain in *Edinburgh* about three Weeks; during which Time, many, hut fruitless Attempts, were made, to take or surprize the Castle; the Particulars of which having been related by others, I shall pass over, and proceed to other Things more material.

But before I entirely quit *Edinburgh*, I must take Notice of some Declarations and Manifestoes, which were issu'd for the Purposes therein mentioned. The first is dated *Sept.* 1745, and proclaims Pardon to such of the Clergy and Laity as had associated themselves at *Edinburgh*, and took up Arms, many of whom afterwards fled from their Houses for Fear of being prosecuted; and concludes in this Manner: 'We do therefore, in his Majesty's Name, hereby grant a full Pardon to the Persons associated as aforesaid, for all Treasons, Rebellions, and Offences whatsoever, committed by them at any Time before the Publication of these Presents, whether against our Royal Grandfather of blessed Memory, his present Majesty, or Ourselves, dispensing with the Generality hereof, and admitting the same to be as effectual, to all Intents and Purposes, as if all their Names had been herein set down. *Provided always*, That the Persons aforesaid present themselves, within twenty-four Days after the Publication hereof, to our trusty and well-

beloved Counsellor *John Murray of Broughton*, Esq; our Secretary, or any one of our Council appointed for that Purpose, at our Palace of *Holyrood-House*, or where else We shall be for the Time, with a Declaration that they shall live for the future, as quiet and peaceable Subjects to Us and our Government, otherways these Presents to be of no Effect to them.’

But this Declaration had not the desir’d Effect; for only two or three of the Voluntiers, who had listed in Support of the City, complied with the Demands of it.

Oct. 9, the following Declaration was published,

Charles P. R.

Whereas we are certainly informed, That the Elector of *Hanover* has taken upon him to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the 17th of this instant *October*: We hereby warn and command all his Majesty’s Liege Subjects, whether Peers or Commoners, to pay no Obedience to any such Summons, and not to presume to meet or act as a Parliament at the Time and Place appointed, or any other; the so doing by any Authority but that of the King our Royal Father, since the setting up of his Standard, his Majesty’s gracious Pardon offered for all that is past, being an overt Act of Treason and Rebellion: But if, notwithstanding this our Declaration, any Number of Persons shall presume to meet in either House, and act there as Members of a lawful Parliament, they cannot but be sensible, that no Right or Privilege of Parliament can avail, to justify what they say or do in such an unlawful Assembly. And as for those of his Majesty’s Subjects of this his antient Kingdom of *Scotland*, whether Peers or Commoners, who shall, contrary to these our express Commands, presume to sit and act as aforesaid, as soon as the same shall be verified to us, the Transgressors shall be proceeded against as Traitors and Rebels to their King and Country, and their Estates shall be confiscated for his Majesty’s Use, according to the Laws of the Land; the pretended Union of the Kingdoms being now at an End. *Lastly*, We hereby strictly enjoin and command all his Majesty’s faithful Subjects, of what Rank and Degree soever, to pay no Obedience or Regard to any Act, Vote, Order, or Resolution, that may be publish’d in the Name of both Houses, or of either of them respectively, as they shall answer the contrary at their Peril.’²

² Here we may ask, (says the Author of the *Edinburgh* History of the Rebellion) What was the *Pretender*’s Design in emitting such a Declaration? Was it lest the States of the Nation should maturely deliberate what to do? Was it that a military Force, and not a Civil Power should govern? Or was it to shew that he was descended of the Royal Family of *Stuarts*, who were against calling of Parliaments, which when called, were frequently dissolved? Did he not think there was a *British Cato* or *Cassius* in Parliament, to point out the Diseases of the Nation, if there were any? Or was it to have an Opportunity of making both Houses of Parliament Victims for obeying his Orders had he prevailed? Or was it that he might cull out some few, whom he would forgive for disregarding his Menaces, and so obtain the Epithet of *merciful*, the *distinguishing Characteristick* of his *Family*, particularly his *Royal Grandfather*, who, according to *Ayloff* when before him, had it in his Power, but not in his Temper, to forgive? Would it not have been prudent in him to have smother’d his Resentment against King *GEORGE*, and to have proffer’d the Parliament his Protection, rather than to have laid an Embargo upon them under so severe a Penalty?

The next Declaration I shall take Notice of, is dated *Octob.* 10th, 1745, wherein (in the Name of *Juba*) is set forth, that his whole Intention is, to reinstate all his Subjects in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and that his present Attempt is not undertaken in order to enslave a free People, but to redress and remove the Encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a Religion which they dislike, but to secure them all the Enjoyment of those which are respectively at present establish'd among them, either in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, and any farther Security to be given to the establish'd Church or Clergy, that shall be deemed proper and necessary by Parliament,

That as to the National Debt, which, he says, no Body will disown, was contracted under an unlawful Government, yet as the greatest Part of it is due to those Subjects he promises to protect, cherish and defend, he will take the Advice of Parliament concerning it; and the same Rule he will observe in relation to the Funds. But with Respect to the pretended Union of the two Nations, that cannot possibly be ratified; because the principal Point in View, when that Act was made, was the Exclusion of the Royal Family from their undoubted Right to the Crown.

The Declaration concludes with an expostulatory Address to the People, which being pretty remarkable, I shall insert it *verbatim*.

'Let me now expostulate this weighty Matter with you, my Father's Subjects, and let me not omit this first publick Opportunity, of awakening your Understanding, and of dispelling that Cloud, which the assiduous Pens of ill-designing Men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the Truth. Do not the Pulpits and Congregations of the Clergy, as well as your weekly Papers, ring with the dreadful Threats of Popery, Slavery, Tyranny, and arbitrary Power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you, by the formidable Powers of *France* and *Spain*? Is not my Royal Father represented as a Blood-thirsty Tyrant³, breathing out nothing but Destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious Religion? Or, have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked Truth.'

'I, with my own Money, hired a small Vessel, ill provided with Money, Arms or Friends. I arrived in *Scotland*, attended by seven Persons; I publish the King my Father's Declaration, and proclaim his Title, with Pardon in one Hand, and in the other Liberty of Conscience, and the most solemn Promises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall propose for the Happiness of a People. I have, I confess, the greatest Regard to adore the Goodness of Almighty God, who has, in so remarkable a Manner, protected me and my small Army through the many Dangers to which we were at first exposed, and who has led me in the Way of Victory, and to the Capital of this antient Kingdom, amidst the Acclamations of the King my Father's Subjects: Why then is so much Pains taken, to spirit up the Minds of the People against this my Undertaking?'

³ Who calls his Father a Blood-thirsty Tyrant, &c. None. The learned Bishops of *Oxford* and *York* have publish'd very elaborate Sermons upon this Subject, but never descend to the least personal Reflection; they only set forth the Mischiefs of Popery and Slavery in the most pathetic Terms.

‘The Reason is obvious; it is, left the real Sense of the Nation’s present Sufferings should blot out the Remembrance of past Misfortunes, and of the Outcries formerly raised against the Royal Family. Whatever Miscarriages might have given Occasion to them, they have been more than atoned for since; and the Nation has now Opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.’

‘That our Family has suffered Exile during these 57 Years, every Body knows. Has the Nation, during that Period of Time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you Reason to love and cherish your Governors, as the Fathers of the People of *Gt Britain and Ireland*? Has a Family, upon whom a Faction unlawfully bestowed the Diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due Sense of such a Trust and Favour? Have you found more Humanity and Condescension in those who were not born to a Crown, than in my Royal Forefathers? Have their Ears been open to the Cries of the People? Have they, or do they only consider the Interest of these Nations? Have you reaped any other Benefit from them, than an immense Load of Debt? If I am answered in the Affirmative, why has their Government been so often raised at in all your publick Assemblies, Why has the Nation been so long crying out, in vain, for Redress against the Abuses of Parliament, upon Account of their long Duration, the Multitude of Place-men, which occasions their Venality, the Introduction of penal Laws, and, in general, against the miserable Situation of the Kingdom at Home and Abroad? All these, and many more Inconveniencies must now be removed, unless the People of *Great Britain* be already so far corrupted, that they will not accept Freedom when offered to them, seeing the King, on his Restoration, will refuse nothing that a free Parliament can ask, for the Security of the Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the People.’

‘The Fears of the Nation, from the Powers of *France and Spain*, appear still more vain and groundless. My Expedition was undertaken unsupported by either: But, indeed, when I see a foreign Force brought by my Enemies against me, and when I hear of *Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss*, the Elector of *Hanover’s* Allies, being called over to protect his Government against the King’s Subjects, is it not high Time for the King my Father to accept also of the Assistance of those who are able, and who have engaged to support him?⁴ But will the World, or any Man of Sense in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary Prince, rather than an independent Monarch? Who has the better Chance to be independent on foreign Powers? He who, with the Aid of his own Subjects⁵, can

⁴ The Contradictions contain’d in this Declaration, the insidious destructive Promises it is made up of, the Tyranny which it breaths, or Ignorance of the State of the Nation it discovers, are sufficiently answer’d and exposed by the Occasional Writer soon after it was publish’d; and therefore I shall only introduce a few cursory Remarks (extracted from the Edinburgh History of the Rebellion) on some Passages of this Manifesto, and refer the Reader, for fuller Satisfaction, to the said Author.

⁵ Who are his Subjects? The *Mac Donalds of Keppoch and Glenco*, the *Mac Gregors, Camerons, &c.* People inured to Plunder and Murder. Whom had he of the *English* Nation, or whom of the best Part of the *Scots*? Indeed some Desperadoes joined his Standard when set up, and some Noblemen, dazzled with the glittering Appearance,

wrest the Government out of the Hands of an Intruder; or he who cannot, without Assistance from Abroad,⁶ support his Government, though established by all the Civil Power, and secured by a strong Military Force, against the undisciplined Part of those he has ruled over so many Years? Let him, if he pleases, try the Experiment; let him send off his foreign Hirelings⁷, and put the whole upon the Issue of a Battle;⁸ I will trust only to the King my Father's Subjects, who were, or

embarked in the Scheme. But what Proportion did those few bear to the numerous Inhabitants of *Britain* and *Ireland*?

⁶ King GEORGE being then at War with *France* and *Spain*, could not send such a Number directly as could defeat his Project; nor are the *Scots* Militia any way to be compared to what formerly they were, when they frequently defeated the *Highlanders*; for now the Country is civilized; instead of being Soldiers, the People are Merchants and Traders, and, by the very Customs paid from their Labours this Way, they can employ a sufficient Army to protect them against Comotions from within, and Irruptions from without.

⁷ As to His Majesty's Hirelings; the *Danes* are actually the Allies of *Great Britain*, the Advantages of which Alliance more than compensate the Payment of the Troops that Crown lets out to us.

⁸ The *Dutch* have an excellent Fishery, and, by their Industry, derive Treasures from those very Coasts upon which some *British* Rebels live. The close Connexion betwixt *Britain* and the States, is an excellent Mean of enriching both. As to the *Hessians* and *Swiss*, whether is it better to give Bread to a few of these, who live at a Distance from the Sea, in Consideration of the great Advantages *Britain* reaps from importing the *East-India* Goods to the Empire, or suffer those of *Britain*, who, by their Situation, may enrich themselves by the Ocean, to be reduced to the miserable State of flying to a Drum for a crimp Subsistence?

Who but the Forces of *Britain* were with the King's Son when he defeated him? Whereas in the Rebel Army there were *French* and *Irish* in *French* Pay, notwithstanding, he denies they were his Allies, and, in the next Sentence, declares they are engaged, and are willing to assist him.

But the best Answer to this, and the other Declarations, or Manifestoes, was given by the two Houses of Parliament in the following Resolution.

Resolved,

By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, That the two Papers respectively signed James R, and dated at *Rome* the 23d Day of *December* 1743, and the four printed Papers, signed *Charles P. R.* dated respectively the 16th Day of *May* 1745, *August* the 22d 1745, the 9th Day of *October* 1745, 10th Day *October* 1745, are false, scandalous, and traitorous 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, parted 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, and vain and impotent Menaces; or of being deluded to exchange the free Enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties, as well Civil

shall be engaged in mine and their Country's Cause: But, notwithstanding all the Opposition he can make, I still trust in the Justice of my Cause, the Valour of my Troops, and the Assistance of the Almighty, to bring my Enterprize to a glorious Issue.'

'It is now Time to conclude, and I shall do it with this Reflection. Civil Wars are ever attended with Rancour and ill Will, which Party-Rage never fails to produce in the Minds of those, whom different Interests, Principles, or Views, set in Opposition to one another; I therefore earnestly require it of my Friends, to give as little Loose as possible to such Passions; this will prove the most effectual Means to prevent the same in the Enemies of our Royal Cause. And this my Declaration will vindicate, to all Posterity, the Nobleness of my Undertaking, and the Generosity of my Intentions.'

Some Objections were rais'd, against this Manifesto, by such as were Friends to the Kirk, as not sufficiently assuring the Security of their Manner of Divine Worship. Upon which a grand Council was held, to consider of such Alterations as were proper to be made for the Satisfaction of such as were discontented. But Mr. *Kelly*, who had drawn it up, was so tenacious of his Performance, that he strenuously insisted, that there was no Room for any Alteration to be made. The Majority of the Council were of Opinion, that it would have a better Effect, if a Clause was inserted, promising to put the penal Laws against *Papists* in full Force. *Juba*, at this Motion, was observ'd to change Countenance; being sensible, if that should be allow'd, he must necessarily lose a great Number of his real and hearty Friends, who, on all Occasions, had shewn their Readiness to serve both him and his Father; however, he prudently kept his Thoughts to himself, and spoke very little during the whole Debate, which was pretty long, and by both Parties maintained with great Obstinacy. It deserves Notice, that the D. of *Perth*, *Sullivan*, and *O'Neil*, who were all *Papists*, voted for the Insertion of this Addition, and that several, who were profess'd *Protestants*, opposed it, Lord *George Murray*, in particular, perceiving, that the Question was like to be carried for the Addition, he rose up hastily, and turning to *Juba*, said, *Sir, if you permit this Article to be inserted, by G—d you'll lose five hundred thousand Friends*; as supposing that there was that Number of *Papists* in *England*. Upon which *Juba* rose from his Chair, and withdrew, and on leaving the Room, said, *I will have it decided by a Majority*: By which the Question being carried in the Negative, the proposed Clause was not inserted in the Declaration.

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.'

'*Resolved*,

'By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament, that, in Abhorrence and Detection 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.

Mr. *Murray*, who was one of the Council, in talking of this Affair afterwards among his Friends, said that he was more terrified at the Apprehension of the Consequence of this Debate than any Thing he had ever met with before. For, as he had been employ'd in Negotiations at *London* and divers other Places, he was well inform'd what a large Body the *Papists* were, and was sensible what a bad Effect such an Article wou'd produce among them, had it taken Place, adding, that he cou'd not conceive how any Gentleman, who had the Interest of his Master sincerely at Heart, cou'd make such a Motion, since the Words of the *Manifesto* were sufficiently expressive of the Security therein promis'd to all Protestants for the Exercise of their religious Worship.

It must, indeed, be acknowledg'd, if one considers the Behaviour of the *Papists*, ever since the Commencement of this Invasion, that that People was not entirely satisfied with the Contents of *Juba's* Declarations; since of all them who join'd *Juba's* Party after his Arrival in *Scotland*, not one in Fifty were *Roman Catholicks*; and some of the most sensible of the Party have been heard to say, That they had but little Reason to with a Prince on the Throne, who durst not treat them with Lenity, altho' he was ever so much inclined to do it, thro' Fear of being thought to favour them. Thus *Juba* had a very difficult Part to act:— The *Protestants* abjure his Claim on Suspicion of his being a *Papist*, and the *Papists* disallow it, on the Persuasion that *he* is a *Protestant*.

But let us resume the Thread of our Narrative. *Juba* was at length furnish'd with Money, Arms, and warlike Stores from *France* and *Spain*, which were transported from *Stonehaven* and *Montrose*, where they were landed, ferried over *Haigen's-Nook* in 185 Carts, which the Country People were compelled to provide for that Purpose. On the 28th an Order for providing Carriages to convey the baggage to *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or the like Distance. This being done, *Juba* set out for *Dalkeith* November the 1st, several Detachments having marched before him; at *Dalkeith* he was joined by a Party of the *Macphersons*; *Lochiel* was the last who left *Edinburgh*. They halted at *Dalkeith* two Days, and then set forward again. The Ammunition and Baggage was escorted by two Corps, which, by different Routes, made their Way for *Peebles* and *Carlisle*. *Juba* himself march'd on foot with the main Body towards *Lauder*, where he arrived that Night, and lay in the Earl of *Lauderdale's* Lodging. The next Day he returned back to *Channel-Kirk*, to bring forward the rest of his Troops, and then march'd with his Army towards *Kelso*, where he cross'd the *Tweed* on the 6th, and with 7000 Men enter'd *England*. That Kingdom, however, was put in a much better Posture of Defence than it was in when *Juba* first landed in *Scotland*. Admiral *Vernon* was station'd with 1 good Fleet at *Dover* to watch the Motions of the *French*, and by his Vigilance prevented their Landing on the *British* Coast. At the Requisition of Mr. *Trevor*, the *British* Minister at the *Hague*, the States sent over the 6000 Troops which by Treaty they are obliged to furnish, notwithstanding the Remonstrances and Memorials of the *Abbe de Ville* who pretended that the sending those Troops to the Assistance of the King of *Great Britain*, was an Infraction of the Capitulation of *Tournay*, by which those Troops were obliged not to act against the King his Master for the Space of sixteen Months. To which the States replied, That those Troops were not to be employ'd offensively against

France, but only in Support of a Crown (with which they were in the strictest Alliance) when attack'd by rebellious Subjects. By the Influence of the Archbishop of *York*, a strong Association was form'd in that County. A Body of regular Forces were got together at *Newcastle*, where General *Wade* took the Command of them; and the *Dutch* were every Day landing in those: Parts, and join'd the General at *Newcastle* as fast as they were unembark'd.

All these Things consider'd, *Juba* took in Hand a very bold Enterprise when he resolv'd to pass the *Tweed*, For he was not ignorant of the Apprehensions that were making to receive him: But depending on the Assistance which was promis'd him as soon as ever he shou'd come into *England*, he determined to run all Hazards, and leave the Success to Fortune, which often favours the Bold and Daring, but scarce ever smiles on the Timorous and Cowardly.

Juba, the better to disguise his Design, and deceive the Royalists, with regard to the Route he intended to take for *England*, when he left *Dalkeith* sent his advanc'd Parties upon the Road leading to *Peebles*, *Moffat*, *Carlisle*, &c. and at the same Time Billets for Quarters were sent to *Musselburgh*, *Fishcraw*, *Inveresk*, *Preston-pans*, *Haddington*, and other Villages upon the East Road to *Berwick*, whilst considerable Numbers were to march by Night Westward. The Design of these Motions was, to keep Marshal *Wade* in Suspence, or put him upon a wrong Scent, and so slip by him into *Lancashire*.

October 30th, General *Wade* issued a Proclamation, intimating the King's Pleasure, That those of his Majesty's Subjects inhabiting the Highlands of *Scotland*, and others, who have been seduced by Menaces and Threatenings of their Chiefs and Superiors, to take Arms, and enter into a most unnatural Rebellion, should be Objects of the Royal Mercy, if they would return to their Habitations on or before the 12th of *November*; but if they slighted this Offer, they were to be punished according to the Demerits of their Crimes.' But this Offer was but little regarded; for the Chiefs were too deeply engaged in the Cause they had espoused to relinquish it for the Hopes of uncertain Mercy; and the Soldiers were kept in Ignorance as much as possible of the proffer'd Grace. Their Language was, 'Whom have we to deal with, but the Remainder of the shatter'd Troops at *Fontenoy*, who will never face us?'

On the 6th *Juba* enter'd *England*, and the 7th march'd with his Army to *Halyhaugh*. The next Day he came to *Langtown*, and on the 9th he appeared with the Body of his Army on the Moor of *Carlisle*. On the 10th, a Part of their Corps approached the Walls of *Carlisle*, first bending towards the *Irish Gate*, but afterwards marched round to the *English Gate*, with a Design to reconnoitre the Place, but were fired upon both by the Town and Castle. Whereupon *Juba* sent the following Message and Summons to the Mayor of the Town:

'*Charles Prince of Wales*, Regent of the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging.'

'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 are prepared 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 resolv'd to force it by such Means as Providence has put in 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 farther Delay as a peremptory Refusal, and take our Measures accordingly.'

CHARLES P.R,

Nov. 10. 1745. Two in the Afternoon,
For the Mayor of *Carlisle*.

No Answer being returned to the Summons, Orders were given to form the Siege; the Command of which was given to the Duke of *Perth*, while *Juba*, with the Body of his Army, remained at *Brampton*. *Perth*, finding by the Preparations that were made in the Town to oppose him, that it would be a very difficult Matter to take it, repair'd to *Juba*, and desires him to summon a Council of war to be held in his Presence. A Council was call'd, and Matters were debated with a great deal of Heat and Animosity. Some were for marching forwards, others for disbanding and returning Home, since they had but small Prospect of Success if they proceeded; a middle Opinion however prevail'd between the two Extremes. *Carlisle* being the first Place they had summoned, was certainly to be reduced, in order to strike a Terror into the rest; and it being notorious that the Inclinations of the private Men were set upon Plunder, they must be gratified. The Duke of *Perth*, who was an active and zealous Friend to *Juba's* Cause, spoke well, and delivered his Sentiments with Freedom, made a Speech to the Effect following:

'I cannot help expressing my Concern to see so much Heat and Animosity to prevail in this honourable Assembly; but this Concern I want Words to express, when I reflect on the great Reason we have to be discontented with our present Situation, and alarmed at the Danger into which we are now plung'd.

'Our Hopes before your R—l H—ss's Arrival in *Scotland*, were rais'd to the highest Pitch: We flatter'd ourselves that your H—— would have appeared backed by a numerous and well supplied Army; their Numbers, we were made to believe, would not be less than 16,000 Men, and those of the best Troops in *France*. These were solemnly promis'd us by Mr. *Kelly*, when with us last Spring; but when the Time came, how were we disappointed. Your R. H. landed with a Retinue so small as might well have discouraged your faithful Clans from joining you, which, however, they eagerly did, being, still persuaded that the promised Succours would certainly arrive before there would be any Occasion for coming to an Action. When I had the Honour of joining you at *Perth*, I was then assured that the *French* were actually embarked, and waited only a fair Wind: That a considerable Insurrection would presently appear in several Parts of *England*; the Places were particularly mentioned, as were the Names of several considerable *Englishmen*, said to have engaged to declare openly for us. We were assur'd, that his Most Christian Majesty would detain the *English* Forces in *Flanders*, and hinder the *Dutch* from sending any Troops to *Great Britain*. But how have we been disappointed in every one of these Articles!

The *French* King, instead of declaring openly for us, order'd his Minister at the *Hague* peremptorily to allure the States that he had no Hand in the *Don Quixote* Expedition, as he term'd your R— H—ss's Undertaking. In Consequence of this, the *Dutch*, without Molestation, have sent over 6000 of their Forces to fight against us, tho' every Man of them might have been kept at Home, by the King of *France*'s declaring your R— H— his Ally.—Neither was the Promise of detaining the *English* Forces any better performed. The *French* had it in their Power to hinder them from returning to *England*; and if I am not very ill informed, they might have made most of them Prisoners. But they were allowed to embark at *Williamstadt* without Interruption, and are now almost all landed without the Loss of a Transport, notwithstanding the *French* were in Possession of *Ostend*.

As to our Hopes from the *English*, they have been as delusive as *French* Promises. Instead of Multitudes declaring for us, we have hitherto heard of nothing but Associations against us in all Parts of *England*. In short, I think we may now finally conclude that *English* Assistance is not to be depended upon: To what Purpose then proceed we any farther into their Country? The Enemy are far superior to us in Number, and well supplied with all Necessaries, while we are almost destitute of every Thing. Your faithful Highlanders will fight for you with all the Zeal and Courage imaginable; but shall we lead these brave Men to certain Destruction? Were the Enemy made equal to us in Number. we might have some Hopes of Success; but while they are above five to one, I should think myself guilty of the grossest Barbarity, should I give my vote for proceeding any further into *England*, 'till such of this Nation as we are told have promised to declare for the Cause, have actually joined us, Mean Time I propose that we return to *Carlisle*, and attempt to possess that City; the taking of it may give some Reputation to our Arms, and encourage the *English* to join us if they have any such Intention; if they have not, we must make as good a Retreat back to the Highlands as we can, there to disperse our unhappy Followers, and shift for ourselves in some foreign Country, where there is more Faith than either in *France* or *England*.'

The Council broke up without coming to any determinate Conclusion, and the D. of *Perth* return'd to the Siege, which he resolved to carry on with Vigour. The first Thing he did, was to lay hold on all the Horses he could find, and to impress Carpenters, whom he obliged to cut down Wood for Fascines and scaling Ladders. Having got a pretty large Quantity, they moved back to *Carlisle* on the 13th, and in the Night got very near it. The next Day the Troops appeared before the Town, and began to break Ground within 300 Paces of the *Scots* Gate, but were driven back by the constant Fire from the Batteries. But taking Advantage of a thick Fog, they made their Approaches, and obliged the Country People to dig a Trench towards the *English* Gate which seem'd the most defenceless. *Carlisle* was now attack'd in three Places at once, which upon clearing up of the Sky, being perceiv'd by the Centries, they were strangely terrified, and the Consternation was soon spread among the Inhabitants. Many jump't over the Wall, which is four Foot broad and six Foot high, cross'd the Ditch which is about five Foot broad, and made their Escape, except a Few that fell into the Enemy's Hands

The Militia garrison'd the Town, that were greatly fatigu'd with watching seven Days and Nights successively, and the Inhabitants almost dead with the Apprehension of their being all massacred upon the Town's being storm'd. Upon which, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens, with Col. *Durand*, the Governor of the Castle, assembled to consult what Methods were to be taken in that Extremity. The Governor gave his Opinion, that the Place might hold out; but the Majority of the Assembly voted in the Negative; pursuant whereto a white Flag was hung out, which the Highlanders seeing, gave over their intended Assault. Deputies were sent by the Magistrates to know of the Highland General what Terms would be granted. The Answer return'd was, That the Town should enjoy its Liberties; but that the Provisions and Ammunition laid up for the Militia, should be deliver'd in the Case they were in. But before they came to an absolute Conclusion, a Messenger was dispatch'd to *Juba*, who lay at *Brampton* to know his Pleasure therein. His Answer was, *That he was not to do Things by Halves; and must have Carlisle and Town, or neither of them*, The Governor of the Castle had almost prevailed upon his Garrison to stand a Siege; however, their Fears being stronger than their Courage, they shamefully deserted him, and of 400 which it consisted of, all left him in one Night, except 50 Invalids, and most of those unfit for Service.

Col. *Durand*, before he surrender'd the Castle, had time to nail up ten Pieces of Cannon, from four to two Pounders, that were placed upon the Ramparts. The Governor finding that the Castle was not tenable, surrender'd, together with the Officers, and few Men that were left, and had Leave given them to go to their own Homes, on their Parole not to bear Arms against *Juba* for the Space of a Year. This Indulgence was granted on Condition of their delivering up all their Arms and Horses.

The Capitulation being sign'd for the Town, the D. of *Perth*, with his Division, were the first that enter'd *Carlisle*. He behav'd very courteously to the Militia, shaking them by the Hands, said they were brave Fellows, and offer'd 'em large Sums to enlist with him. He found in the Town above 200 good Horses, all the Arms of the Militia, beside 1000 Stands in the Castle; where also the Country People had deposited their best Effects, as in a Place of the greatest Security, but which now became the Booty of the Highlanders. The Town capitulated on the 14th, in the Evening; and on the 15th, at Ten o'Clock in the Morning, it was given up. About Five in the Afternoon the Highlanders enter'd the City, and the next Morning the Cattle was surrender'd to them.

Marshal *Wade*, being inform'd, that *Juba*, with his Army, had besieg'd *Carlisle*, call'd a Council of War, wherein it was resolv'd to march to the Relief of that Place, though in the Depth of a very severe Winter, thro' terrible Roads made worse with Ice and Snow. Accordingly, *Nov.* 16, he set out at the Head of an Army of 16,000 Men, and march'd with them to *Hexam*. Here being inform'd of the Surrender of *Carlisle*, he return'd back to *Newcastle*; from whence, on the 24th, he began his March Southward, in Pursuit of the Enemy.

Here it may be proper to take a Step back to *Scotland*, and see what is doing there in the Absence of *Juba* during his Progress in *England*. Of this I shall give

but a summary Account, as not immediately relating to those Transactions which *Juba* personally directed, or was present in.

Lord *Loudon* was very active in the North, in raising Men, and taking such Measures as were necessary to raise a Force sufficient to obstruct *Juba's* Return to *Scotland*, in Case he should be oblig'd to quit *England*. This, indeed, prov'd very prejudicial to his Affairs, since it hinder'd the Reinforcements, he expected, from joining him, and put him under many other Difficulties, which he found it not easy to surmount.

Nov. 1st, Major-General *Campbell* arrived at *Inverary* in *Argyleshire*, from *Liverpool* with Arms, Money, &c. and immediately set about forming a Body in Defence of the Kingdom.

A Proclamation was read the same Day, inviting all able-bodied Men to enter into the Service of King GEORGE, with Assurance of being discharg'd as soon as the Commotions should cease. The Officers of the Excise were also order'd to repair to their respective Divisions, and do their Duty as formerly.

The 13th, the Lord Justice Clerk, the Lords *Minto*, *Elchies*, and *Drummore*, arriv'd at *Edinburgh* from *Berwick*, whither they retir'd when *Juba* first possess'd himself of the City. They were attended by a numerous Retinue of Gentlemen on Horseback, and alighted in the Parliament Close, amidst the Acclamations of the People, and were saluted from the Castle with a Round of their Cannon.

The next Day Lieut. General *Handasyde* arrived there, with *Price's* and *Ligonier's* Regiments of Foot.

Another Accident, which happen'd about the same Time, much to the Prejudice of *Juba's* Affairs, was, that *Donald Macdonald* of *Kinloch-Moidart*, Esq; was seiz'd by the Country People at *Lesmabogoe*, as he was travelling to the Highland Camp at *Perth*, and committed Prisoner to the Castle at *Edinburgh*. In his Pocket was found a Letter from Mr. *Murray*, *Juba's* Secretary, that in case he did not succeed with Sir *Alexander Mac Donald* and Mr. *Macleod*, he must be sure to give out, in the Country as they pass'd along, that those two Gentlemen were on their March, to join *Juba* with 2000 Men well arm'd; otherwise they could not keep the Army together, several of the Chiefs having declared, That if these two Clans did not join them, they would march back again.

But these were not all the bad Occurrences that attended *Juba's* Affairs in *Scotland*, after his leaving that Kingdom: For, *Novemb. 1st*, General *Blakeney*, with the Garrison of *Stirling* Castle, made a Sally, and demolish'd the two Forts which the Highlanders had erected at *Alloa*, across the *Forth*, killed two of them, and took sixteen Prisoners.

The Town of *Stirling* raised 400 Men, and put them under the Command of General *Blakeney*, who arm'd and disciplin'd them for Service. The City of *Glasgow* raised a Regiment at her own Expence, and Arms were sent them from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and the Earl of *Hume* was appointed their Commander. The little Town of *Paisly*, being enabled by their Trade, and the Advantage of a Thread Manufactory, levied a Corps of 70 Men, and maintain'd them at her own Expence. The Shire and Town of *Renfrew*, from the like Advantages, arm'd, and put themselves under the Conduct of the Earl of *Glencairn*. In short, all the Western Parts exerted themselves strenuously on this important Occasion; and the

Southern Parts were as carefully guarded by the Forces at *Stirling*, and Parts adjacent.

In the North, indeed, *Juba's* Cause throve much better. The *French* Privateers were continually landing Men, Money and Ammunition. In *Buchan* the very Boys appear'd in his Interest, by wearing white Cockades, and martialing themselves in Companies, under some young sprightly Leaders; and all that vast Tract of Land, from the *Forth* to the *Spey*, was possess'd by his Friends. In the County of *Angus* there was 5000*l.* levied for his Service; and *Perth* and *Dundee* suffer'd pretty severely by the Excesses of the Highlanders. The Shire of *Fife* was visited by them; for *December 27th*, a Party of Highlanders came to *Dumferling*, and raised the Cess, as they had done before at *Alloa*; and besides the publick Money, they collected considerable Sums from private Gentlemen. In the little Shire of *Kinross*, they demanded a whole Year's Cess, and laid heavy Mulcts on all such as had distinguish'd themselves in Behalf of the Government; and the People were forced to deliver up their best Horses, Guns, Swords, and Pistols. They took away about 40 Horses with all their Furniture, and made the Country People carry into *Perth* a large Quantity of Meal, and 500 Loads of Coals, for the Payment of which the Commanding Officer pass'd his Word, but never paid the Money.

November 30th, Lord *John Drummond* landed at *Montrose*, from *Dunkirk*, with 15 Pieces of Cannon, some of which were 18 Pounders, together with 600 Men. This Corps being divided into several Parties, were canton'd all along the Coast, while the main Body repaired to *Perth*, where was the principal Camp of the Highlanders. Here they fortified themselves, and rais'd Batteries, and made such strong Entrenchments, that they were in no Fear of being attack'd.

The Highland Forces being thus augmented by the Accession of those brought by Lord *John Drummond*, many others join'd them. Lord *Lewis Gordon*, whom *Juba* left to favour and protect the Landings from *France*, in order to furnish his Contingent of Men, used the most severe Methods in raising them. At *Aberdeen*, every Man worth 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *Sterl.* of valued Rent, was obliged, on Pain of military Execution, to pay 5*l.* or furnish an able-bodied Man; by which Means his Troops were increas'd to 500 Men; and by the Money receiv'd from those who chose rather to pay than find a Man, he rais'd about 13,000*l.* *Sterl.*

The Earl of *Cromarty* likewise stirr'd on the same Side, and with a Body of 300 of the *Mackenzies* advanced to the Camp at *Perth*; also about 300 of the *Machintoshes*, and 120 of the *Farquharsons* came in. Such a powerful Body in the North, under the Countenance and Encouragement of the Visc. *Strathallan*, appearing in *Juba's* Cause, induced the *Frasers* to declare openly for the same Side, which they had hitherto declin'd, thro' the artful Management of Lord *Lovat*, their Chief.

This subtil Lord, so remarkable for the strange Accidents of his Life, as well as for his many political Schemes, tho' well inclin'd to favour *Juba's* Interest, yet kept himself on the Reserve, till he had probable Grounds to believe, that the Weight he should throw into the Scale, would turn the Balance entirely on his Side. 'Tis true, he had been, for a long Time, working up his Clan to his Purpose, not directly indeed, or in so many Terms, but by the most sly insinuating Ways and Means that ever entered into the Head of Man to invent. When he had

actually rais'd his Clan, and destin'd them for that Service, the Method he took of sending them to the Camp was so artfully contriv'd, as that he shou'd seem to have no Hand in it, and the whole Blame to be laid on his Son, His Pretence was, that some Cattle was stolen out of the Grounds of *Airds* and sent his Son, with 400 armed Men to recover them; but on the Way, they turned short into the Road for *Fort-Augustus*, with a View to seize the Soldiers that garrison'd that Place; but being prevented in their Design, by Succours sent from *Inverness*, they march'd directly to *Perth*.

Lord *Loudon* being apprized of the Measures pursued by Lord *Lovat*, wrote to him, and required him to deliver up the Arms of his Clan; and even went with a Party to *Castle-Dounie* his Lordship's Seat, planted Cannon against it, and carried him Prisoner to *Inverness*; where he had not been above three Days before he found Means to escape. Lord *Duncan Forbes*, Lord President of the Session, likewise wrote to him, entreating and requiring him, in the most moving Terms, to relinquish such Practices as in the End, must prove his Ruin. This he answer'd with his usual Sophistry, exculpating himself, and throwing the Blame on his Son.

Lord *Loudon*, *December* 3d, march'd to *Fort-Augustus*, and having supplied the Garrison with what it wanted, went to *Inverness*, where, on the 8th he was inform'd of the bad Situation of the Royalists on the other Side of the *Spey*. Upon which he dispatches the Laird of *Macleod* with 500 Men towards *Elgin* and the next Day orders Capt. *Munro* of *Culcairn* the same Way with 200. At *Elgin* Mr. *Macleod* heard that the Highlanders were in Possession of the Boats of the *Spey* at *Fochabers*, intending to dispute the Passage with him; and indeed Lord *Lewis Gordon* was there with that Number, and wrote to the Laird of *Grant* (who had got his Clan together for the Protection of his Lands) requiring him to disband on Pain of Fire and Sword on his Refusal. Mr. *Grants* however, not regarding his Menaces, advanced towards the Hill above *Gordon* Castle to favour *Macleod's* passing the *Spey*, and Lord *Loudon* with his Forces being now on the Banks of the same River, Lord *Lewis* thought proper on the 15th to retire towards *Strathallon*.

The Highlanders hiring retreated, *Macleod* transported his Troops and joined the *Grants*, but afterwards separated, the *Grants* to defend their own Estates, and the *Macleods* in Pursuit of General *Gordon*. But this Separation prov'd very prejudicial to the Royalists, and gave the Highlanders great Advantage over them by their Superiority, as soon afterwards appear'd.

On the 19th, the *Macleods* arriv'd at *Old Meldrum*, and the *Munroes* at *Aldrain* the 21st, and the next Day the two Bodies join'd at *Inverary*. The next Morning, the whole Corps got ready to march to *Aberdeen*, in order to drive their Enemies from thence; but were countermanded upon Intelligence that Lord *Lewis* had receiv'd Reinforcements from *Montrose* and *Aberbrothick*.

Both Sides lay quiet for a few Days; but an Express from Lord *Loudon* to *Macleod* being intercepted, intimating that his Lordship's Business with Lord *Lovat*, wou'd not permit him to send him any Succours, Lord *Lewis*, upon reading this Letter, call'd a Council of War, in which it was resolved secretly to march and attack the Enemy, who, it was supposed, were waiting for fresh Supplies, Accordingly the 23d in the Morning he set out with about 900 of his own Men, 200 *Farquharsons*, 200 of the *Angus* Militia, and 100 *French* Picquets, Lord

Lewis marched by the Bridge of *Don* with 800 to take them in Flank, while the other 100 march'd the common Road. About an Hour after Sun-set, as some of the *Macleods* were relieving the Centries at the South End of the Town, they saw white Colours moving down the Sides of a Hill, and advancing by the Parks of *Keith-Hall*. The Alarm was immediately given, and all were presently under Arms, and tho' but a Handful of Men, were advantageously drawn up at the South-East End of the Town, to wait for the Enemy. Lord *Lewis's* Men came on a-pace; when they were near enough, the *Macleods* gave them a smart Fire, and continued the Fight for some Time. But *Macleod* observing that the Enemy had got regular Troops among them, and that a large Body was crossing the *Don* a little below the Town, and fearing he should be surrounded, sounded a Retreat, which was made very regularly through the Place towards *Strathbogie* about 14 Miles off, and the next Day cross'd the *Spey*, to avoid Surprizes and to wait for Reinforcements. In this Skirmish, seven of the Royalists were killed, and 15 wounded, and about 30 of the other Side. As soon as Victory had declared for Lord *Lewis*, he order'd the Town to be invested, and took 49 Prisoners, whom he carried to *Aberdeen*. He sent likewise after the *Macleods* to *Strathbogie*, but finding they had cross'd the *Spey*, the Detachment returned.

Thus successful was *Juba's* Party at Land; but at Sea Matters went a little unfortunately. For Admiral *Byng* appearing with a large Squadron in those Parts, the *French* Privateers, &c. that had for some Time been very helpful to the Highlanders, were oblig'd to bear away to *France*; whereby the Passage of *Kinghorn* was left free, and on the 25th, the *Milford* took a Privateer, call'd the *Lewis* of *Dunkirk*, and brought her into *Leith* Road. The Prisoners were sent to the Castle, being 206 in Number, Officers and Men, belonging to *Buckley's* and *Berwick's* Regiments, and 27 Sailors, In the Vessel were found 330 Stands of Arms with Bayonets, Broad-swords, Bridles and Saddles, Harness and Collars for Horses. The Soldiers were mostly native *Irish*, or the Offspring of *British* and *Irish* Parents, Some few Deserters were among them, who were tried by a Court Martial, convicted and executed.

The same Day *Price's* Regiment march'd to *Stirling*, as *Ligonier's* did the 9th to defend the Bridge of that Place, against *Glengyle*, and his *Macgregors*, whose Appearance in those Parts threaten'd much Mischief. Thus *Juba's* Party met- with several Checks and Disappointments, and the Royalists had their Share of them too. For, not only the *Fox* Man of War was overset and lost in a Storm, but the *Hazard* Sloop fell into the Hands of the *French*, on the 1st of *December* after an obstinate Engagement at the Mouth of the *Esk*, with two *French* Men of War which she came to destroy, and which had landed some Troops from *France*. She was carried to *Dunkirk*, and turn'd into a Privateer, call'd the *Prince Charles Snow*, and sent three Times with Men, Money, and Ammunition for the Use of the Highlanders, and at last fell into the Hands of her former Masters.

Having thus given a cursory View of the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, from the Time that *Juba* departed that Kingdom till his Return to it; let us now go back to *Carlisle*, which we left *Nov. 15th* in the Possession of the D. of *Perth* and his Forces. The 17th *Juba*, preceded by his Life-guard, entered the Town, amidst the Acclamations of his friends, and to the Terror of his Enemies, Mr. *Pattinson* the

Mayor, with the Aldermen and Bailiffs, were oblig'd to proceed to the Cross with the Mace before them, and there proclaim the Declarations which had been publish'd in the Names of *Juba* and his Father.

Juba's Officers, during the few Days they staid at *Carlisle* levied the Cess, Excise, and Land-tax; besides which, they required of the Inhabitants a Contribution under Pain of Military Execution. The private Men committed many Excesses here, contrary to the Orders and Inclinations of *Juba* who durst not punish them, unless he had a Mind to hazard the losing both their Affections and Service. When they quitted *Carlisle* they left 100 Men in Garrison.

On the 20th, *Juba* set out with his Army for *Penrith*, where they halted till the 22d, and then marched for *Kendal*, from whence they proceeded to *Lancaster* on the 24th, and got to *Preston* on the 26th, proclaiming the *Chevalier*, and his Son, in every Town they came to, and collected the publick Money.

On the 20th, a Party of their Horse came from *Carlisle*, to *Penrith*, and demanded Quarters for 3000 Men, who, they said, were upon the Road, and gave Orders, that the Excise Money, Contributions, &c. should be immediately collected, and in Readiness for them. Upon which the Inhabitants sent out Scouts upon the Road, to discover if any were coming; and on reporting, that there was no Appearance of any, the Fire-Bell was rung, which brought together great Numbers from all Parts. The Highlanders seeing this, march'd off for the Bridge, and from thence to *Lowther-Hall*, of which they took Possession; The Country People immediately pursued them, surrounded the Horse, fired in upon them, killed one, wounded several, and made ten Prisoners, with all their Horses. Eight of them made their Escape over the Water. On the other Side, only one Man was wounded.

In the mean Time, the Government of *England* was prodigiously alarm'd at the vast, uninterrupted Progress of *Juba* since his Arrival in *England*. Expresses daily arrive at Court, with the dismal News of the richest and most opulent Towns in the North falling; into his Hands; that he was hastening his Approaches towards *London* itself; and that his Motions were so quick and various, that Marshal *Wade* found it impracticable to come up with him, This put the *British* Ministry upon forming another Army in the South; to complete which, they were oblig'd to send for several Regiments from *Flanders*, and to fetch over their General, the Duke of *Cumberland* to head them.

The Duke arriv'd at *St. James's*, *Novemb.* 18th, and on the 25th were landed four Troops of *Ligonier's* Regiment of Horse, *Bland's* Regiment of Dragoons, a Detachment of Foot-Guards that serv'd at *Ostend*, *Sinclair's* Battalion of Foot, *Harrison's* or *Henderson's*, *Huske's* and *Beauclerk's* Regiments of Foot. To these were added two Batallions of Foot-Guards. These Forces were order'd to hasten their March into *Lancashire*, to put a Stop to the Progress of the Highland Army.

On the 26th, the Duke of *Cumberland* set out from *St. James's*, to command the Army that was assembling at *Litchfield*, to which likewise the principal Officers repair'd as fast as they could.

About this Time, *Juba's* Party sustain'd no in- considerable Loss, by the taking of the *Soleil* Privateer, on board of which was a great Quantity of Arms, &c. Among the Prisoners was Mr. *Ratcliff*, commonly-called, Earl of

Derwentwater, with one and twenty Colonels, Captains, and other Officers, *Scots* and *Irish*, and 60 others, besides the Ship's Crew. One of the Prisoners was a young Gentleman, who was call'd Mr. *Ratcliffe*, and own'd, by Lord *Derwentwater*, for his Son, but suppos'd, (tho' falsely) from several Circumstances, to be the *Chevalier's* second Son.

But, to proceed in our Story, the *British* Court order'd a Train of Artillery to be sent to the Army which was now assembled at *Litchfield*, where the Duke join'd them the 28th. His Troops were canton'd from *Tamworth* to *Stafford*, with the Cavalry in Front at *Newcastle under Line*; and Marshal *Wade* was, at the same Time, advanced to *Persbridge*.

But not only the King's Forces were in Motion, to frustrate and render abortive the Designs of *Juba*; but several of the *English* Nobility, and Gentlemen of Fortune, rais'd, arm'd, and maintained Regiments at their own Expence; the Citizens of London, and other populous and trading Cities and Towns, rais'd Companies, and had them instructed in the Military Discipline, in order to strengthen the Hands of the Government at this critical Juncture, from an Apprehension, that they were going to be despoil'd of their Religion, Liberties, and Properties all at once. At *London*, Subscriptions were open'd, and large Sums rais'd, to cloath the Soldiers, and enable them to bear the Rigours of a very severe Winter Campaign. Add to this, that the Country People voluntarily supplied the Duke's Army with Horses, Carriages, Provisions, and all other Necessaries; whereas, on the other Side, *Juba's* Soldiers could get neither Assistance nor Subsistence, wherever they came, but by the most compulsive Methods.

As *Juba's* Army seem'd now to bend its Course Westward, the People of *Liverpool* began to think themselves in no small Danger; and therefore, by the Advice of Marshal *Wade*, they removed all the Powder out of their Magazines, on board some Ships in the Harbour, as did the principal Merchants and Traders the best of their Effects, for better Security, in Case of a Visit from the *Jubeans*. The Duke, to encourage them to persevere in their Duty, wrote them the following Letter.

Litchfield, Nov. 29.

'Gentlemen of the Magistracy of Liverpool.

The Proofs of Fidelity and Zeal which you have given, and give, upon this important Occasion, and of which Col. *Greames* has made a very exact Report, are, as they ought to be, extremely agreeable to me; and I must earnestly recommend to you to persevere in the same laudable and honourable Course, and at the same Time let you know, how much it will be for the King's and the Nation's Service, that you should not be induced, either by Entreaties or Menaces, to call back your Boats and Vessels, of what Kind soever, which you have sent off, and put under the Protection of His Majesty's Ships of War, but that you leave them there, in the Persuasion the utmost Care will be had of them, and which, by this Messenger, I recommend in the strongest Manner, to the Commanding Officer of those Ships.

I am very sorry your Courage and good Affections are put to so severe a Trial, and that you are exposed to so great Inconveniencies; but I hope the Time of your Deliverance draws nigh, and that, by the Blessing of the Almighty, those insolent

Plunderers will very soon receive the just Reward of their Villainies. This Army will be formed in a Day or two, when I shall endeavour to pursue such Courses as will most effectually contribute to that End. I can't help taking Notice to you, how much I am pleas'd with the Account Col. *Greames* gives me of your Regiment: Be assured, I shall be glad to do any Thing that shall contribute to your Ease and Contentment; and to give you the most effective Marks of my Esteem; and that I am truly

Your Friend,

WILLIAM.

'By His Royal Highness's Command,

EVERARD FAWKENER.'

At *Chester* the Inhabitants were in as bad a Plight, scarce a Shop to be seen open; but by the Arrival of two Regiments of Foot, and one of Horse, their Spirits were a little reviv'd. Sixty Pieces of Cannon were soon mounted on the Walls; the Gates were kept constantly shut, and whoever wanted to go in or out, must first pass under a strict Examination; and the Works of the Castle were put into so good a Condition, as was sufficient to defend the Place against any Assaults that might be made upon it.

The People of *Hull* form'd themselves into a Camp, and mounted 60 Guns, 9 Pounders, on the Walls, and had more ready for the same Purpose, General *Pulteney* came there, to put the Town in a Posture of Defence; and the *Success* Man of War luckily lying in the Harbour, and being well furnish'd with heavy Cannon, 20 Pieces of 9 Pounders were immediately landed, and mounted on the Bastions; and the Ship was again mounted with a complete Set of 6 Pounders, and other Cannon, being spare ones she had on board, in order to serve as a floating Battery, to flank the Enemy in case of their attaching the Town, which, from the Situation of the River, they were able to do, and be of the greatest Service.

Thus *Juba* seem'd to be in a very unhappy Situation, If he march'd forward to the South, he must encounter the Duke of *Cumberland*, with an Army superior to his own, made up of brave *Veteran* Troops; if he retreated back by the same Way he came, he wou'd probably be intercepted by the Troops under Marshal *Wade*, who was on the March for that Purpose; if he inclin'd to the West, with a View to get into *Wales*, he was sure to be strongly oppos'd at *Chester*, *Hull*, and *Liverpool*. So that it required all his Skill and Judgment, to extricate himself out of these Difficulties with Honour; and we shall soon see his dextrous Management in this Extremity,

We left *Juba*, with his Army, at *Preston*, Nov. 26, still pressing forward to the South; he intended his next Stage shou'd be at *Warrington*; but in order to obstruct his Passage thither, the Inhabitants of that Place, pull'd up the Bridge, and sunk all the Boats in the River, All the other Bridges over the *Mersey* were likewise order'd to be destroy'd, as was also that at *Burton*, by which Means all Communication with *Lancashire* was cut off. Whereupon *Juba* alter'd his Course, and took the Road to *Wigan* and *Leigh*, where his Army arrived the 28th; and the same Day sent a Party to *Manchester*, to provide Quarters for 10,000 Men; and presently a Serjeant, a Drummer, and a Woman of that Party, beat up for

Voluntiers, offering five Guineas a Man. They gave out, that the Vanguard was at Hand, which accordingly enter'd the Town the same Evening.

The 29th, the main Body arriv'd, with *Juba*, who march'd on Foot, in a Highland Dress, surrounded by a Body of Highlanders, and was proclaimed soon after his Arrival, They brought with them 16 Pieces of Artillery, mostly small. The Bellman was immediately sent round the Town, to order the Brewers, Innkeepers, forthwith to bring in their last Acquittances, and that all such as had any Duty to pay, or Cash of the Government in their Hands, to bring it in, on Pain of Military Execution. The Bellman was a second Time order'd to go round the Town, to require the Inhabitants to illuminate their Houses, which was done, and Bonfires made, and the Bells rung.

The 30th, *Juba*, attended by his Guards, and some of his principal Officers, rode thro' the principal Streets of the Town. He had been made to believe, that the whole Town would declare for him and it was no small Disappointment to him, to find, that, notwithstanding the pretended Disaffection of the Inhabitants to the present Government, and the Strength of his Interest there, he was join'd but by a very inconsiderable Number, and those of little or no Note. In the Afternoon, Prayers were ordered to be read in the old Church, and instead of King GEORGE, the King, the Prince of *Wales*, and all the Royal Family were pray'd for. *Juba* did not attend the Service; which gave some Disgust to his Protestant Friends, who, from hence, were persuaded he was a Papist Being inform'd by the Town Voluntiers, who those Gentlemen were that subscribed Money for the Service of the Government, his Officers demanded those Sums, on Pain of Military Execution, and threaten'd to fire the Houses of such Subscribers as were not in Town, if their Friends did not raise and pay the Money; by which Means they got near 1000*l.* *Sterling*.

Decemb. the 1st, the main Body left *Manchester*. They pass'd the River *Mersey*, some at *Cheadle Ford*, and others near *Stetford*, where the Bridge had been pull'd down, and forced the Country People to make another, by laying Planks upon Poplar Boughs across the River.

The 2d, a Party of the *Jubeans* went to *Macclesfield*, and the same Day 2000 Horse arriv'd at *Congleton*.

The 3d, a Party came to *Ashbourn*, and demanded Billets for 3000 Men, The Remainder were at *Leek*.

The Duke of *Cumberland*, being informed that the *Jubeans* were marching for *Congleton*, order'd that Part of the Cavalry that was posted at *Newcastle under Line*, to retreat to *Stone*, till the Infantry should come up. Here having learnt, that they were too far to the East of him, to prevent their getting before him in their Route to *London*, he march'd his Army to the South East, along the Road from *London* to *West Chester*, and enter'd *Coventry*, on the 6th, with all his Horse, and two Battalions of Foot, having order'd the Remainder of his Forces to encamp on *Meriden Common*, between *Coleshill* and *Coventry*, where the Flannel Waist-coats, provided by the Quakers, for the Soldiers, were brought. By this Step the Duke effectually disconcerted the Measures of *O'Sullivan*, who directed the March of the *Jubeans*; for, which Way soever they turned, the Duke was ready to attack them.

The 4th, *Juba* arriv'd with his Army at *Derby*. He walk'd into the Town on Foot, and was conducted to Lord *Exeter*'s House, round which Guards were plac'd. The next Day, the Crier gave Notice to all Persons concern'd, to pay the Excise that was due. They beat up for Voluntiers, offering five Shillings advance, and five Guineas when they came to *London*; but only three Fellows, of profligate Characters, listed.

Juba finding himself so hotly pursued by the Duke of *Cumberland*, that he must either unavoidably hazard a Battle, if he continued his Route for *London*, or surrender at Discretion, judg'd it highly convenient to have the Opinion of his Generals and Highland Chiefs upon this important Occasion-. Accordingly a Council of War is summon'd, and every Member of it is desired to deliver his Sentiments freely upon this grand Question, *Whether to proceed forward, or retreat?* The Debate being open'd, the D. of *Perth* spoke as follows.

It is easy to imagine what Pleasure I take in reflecting on the Success which has hitherto attended our dangerous March from the Northern to the Midland Parts of the Kingdom. We have, in the Space of little more than a Month, taken the strong City and Castle of *Carlisle*, without the Loss of a Man; have raised Contributions, and proclaimed his M—— in the Counties of *Cumberland, Westmoreland, Lancaster, Chester, Stafford, and Derby, for more than One hundred and fifty Miles of English Ground, without Opposition, and are now got above half Way to the Capital of the British Dominions.*

But after all, I must own my Opinion, that we are yet come hither too late. We might have been this Day in Possession of *St. James's*, had not our Victory at *Gladsmuir* (or *Preston-pans*) been frustrated by our Delay to move directly forward into *England*; our Troops would then not have suffer'd so much by fatiguing Marches in bad Weather, by which the high Spirits which that easy Day had given them, evaporated. Besides, not a Man of the *English* Troops would then have dared to look us in the Face for two Months after, so intimidated were they by *Cope's* Defeat, his Fears, and Representations of us: Neither were the perjur'd Troops of *Holland* then landed, nor above 200 of the *English* arriv'd from *Flanders*: Our Friends in *London* were in the highest Spirits, and our Enemies in the utmost Consternation: That the Capital itself shook, was manifest from the uncommon Run upon the Bank, and the doubling all their Guards.

But this fatal Oversight, never to be retriev'd, I shall forbear to aggravate: They who advised this Delay, had their Reasons for it. Yet when those very Reasons were grown stronger by Time, we parted the Northern Borders at the latter End of *October*, took the Western Road thro' *Lancashire*, as we were invited to do, that the large Reinforcements we were made to expect, might join us; but though we advanced even thus far, how few are yet come in? Alas! their Number is too inconsiderable to be mention'd.—Therefore, I come to the Point of our present Deliberation, whether it is more advisable to march forward, and venture a Battle, or secure a timely Retreat. I shall not scruple to give my Opinion for the latter. By our Musters it appears, that we have lost as many of our Countrymen by Desertion and Fatigues, as we have gain'd of *English* Recruits. And tho' we have been in *England* above a Month, not one Person of Consequence has join'd us. The Troops of the Enemy, superior to us in Number,

and under a warm, eager, and esteemed Commander, are now within half a Day's March of us, and can be no longer evaded, if we proceed to march to the Southward: And if we receive one single Defeat here, in the Heart of the Enemy's Country, we must infallibly be every Man of us undone, I would not hereby insinuate, either that our Enemies are formidable for their Valour or Skill; our own Experience has shewn the contrary: Or that our Followers wanted Courage or Conduct in the Field; for we have found them faithful, and our Enemies have found them invincible. And by Virtue of the Terror with which we have inspir'd the *English*, we may return back safely with our Spoils, lie snug on the Northern Borders the Remainder of the Winter, and come fresh again, with Victory on our Wings, in the Summer, to finish the glorious Work we have begun, and that with more Ease and less Hazard than at present.'

Lord *George Murray* spoke on the same Side of the Question, and gave the following Reasons for a Retreat

1. That if they march'd forward, or into *Wales*, the Duke's superior Army would certainly encounter them; and if Fortune should declare against them, they had no Prospect of reinforcing their Army by fresh Recruits; since, at *Derby*, only three Persons, whose Morals were as base as their Circumstances were despicable, had joined them.

2. That if they should have the good Fortune to escape this Danger, and continue unmolested their Route for *London*, it was highly probable that an Army would be formed to receive them, before they could march that Distance, which was computed at One hundred and three Miles.

3. That, should they march forward, their Retreat, in all Probability, would be entirely cut off; since General *Wade*, it was well known, was hastening to join the Duke, and their Junction would certainly be completed before they could possibly return.

4. That, besides all these Difficulties, Fortune seem'd now to have chang'd Sides; that several of the *French* Transports, which were intended to bring them Supplies, had fallen into the Enemy's Hands; and that, by the Vigilance of Admiral *Vernon*, the *French* Fleet was kept in Port, and thereby prevented from landing an Army on the South Coasts of *England*, as had been projected; and therefore his Opinion was, to make as good a Retreat as they could into *Scotland*, and there wait for a better Opportunity of prosecuting their grand Design. The Council having debated this Matter for two Days successively, it was at length resolv'd to *retreat*.

'The common Soldiers, however, were not at all pleas'd with this Resolution; they had fed themselves with the Hopes, that, in a very short Time they should be enrich'd with the Plunder of the opulent City of *London*; and were exceedingly chagrin'd at their being oblig'd to turn their Backs on so rich a Prize. They would have reveng'd their Disappointment, and made up their imagin'd Loss from the Towns which lay in their Way homeward: But *Juba* and his Officers did their utmost Endeavour to restrain their Fury, and convince them of the Necessity both of their retreating, and forbearing to injure the Persons and Properties of the *English*, who had already suffer'd pretty severely every Way. However, understanding that a Subscription has been carried on at *Derby*, by the Royalists,

they procured a Copy of the List of the Subscribers, and made the Inhabitants pay all the Money to them; and likewise oblig'd the People to furnish them with whatever they had a Fancy to, at their own Price, which indeed was but a Trifle.

Juba considering, that if he should delay to make his Retreat ever so little, he should be prevented from making it at all; he staid but two Nights at *Derby*, and then set forward with his Army, and the next Place we find him at, was *Ashbourn* in the *Peak*; the 7th they came to *Leeke*, the 8th they were at *Macclesfield*, and the 9th at *Manchester*. The Party that came in first, to the Number of about 40, were pelted by the Mob, with Stones, as they came thro' *Hanging-Ditch*. They sat on their Horses with their Guns and Pistols ready cock'd, and threaten'd to fire, but did not. The Bellman, by Order of the Magistrates, had been about the Town the Day before, to order all Persons to provide Pickaxes, &c. to spoil the Roads, and then to arm themselves with such Weapons as they could get; upon which 10,000 of the Country and Towns Folks were got together, ready to give the *Jubeans* an unwelcome Reception; however, upon second Thoughts, the Bellman was again order'd about Town, to bid them disperse; and the same Day *Juba* and his Army came in and billeted themselves at their old Quarters. *Juba* issued out his Warrant, to raise on the Town 5000*l.* to be paid in the next Day at 4 o'Clock, on Pain of Military Execution, A considerable Number of the Inhabitants met, and some of them waited on *Juba* to acquaint him, how impossible it was for them to comply with his Demands, and entreated him to excuse the Payment. Upon which he mitigated the Sum to 2500*l.* and sent out his Warrant to levy it on *Manchester* and *Salford* by One o'Clock. While they were contriving Methods to raise the Money, three or four of the *Jubeans* seiz'd on Mr. *James Bayley*, Senior, and took him to Mr. Secretary Murray, who told him he must be content to remain a Prisoner till the Money was paid. But Mr. *Bayley* convinced the Secretary, that his Liberty, and not his Confinement, would be the better Way to the raising the Money, for it was possible that his Credit was good enough to borrow such a Sum. The Secretary, after having retired a little, to consult with *Juba*, return'd, and told him, That the Prince, in Consideration of his Age, (Mr. *Bayley* being betwixt 70 and 80) if he would give his Word and Honour to bring him 2500*l.* in two Hours, or surrender himself a Prisoner, consented he should have his Liberty so long. This Mr. *Bayley* agreed to, and came to the Coffee-House, where a great Number of the Inhabitants were assembled; and it being propos'd, that Mr. *Bayley* and Mr. *Dickenson* should give promissory Notes, payable in three Months, to such as would lend any Money, it was agreed to, and the whole Sum was paid in about Two o' Clock.

The Note, or Receipt, which *Juba* gave for the Repayment of the said 2500*l.* was penn'd in these Words.

CHARLES Pr— of W—, and Regent of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

To the Constables and Collector of the Land-Tax of the Towns of Manchester and Salford.

'These are requiring you to collect and levy, from the said Towns of *Manchester* and *Salford*, the Sum of Two thousand and Five hundred Pounds, to be paid, by you, in to my Secretary, betwixt this and to-morrow at One of the

Clock Mid-day: For which you shall receive our Royal Declaration for having the said Sum repaid to the said Towns, as soon as the Country is in Quiet and Tranquillity under our Royal Government.

Given at *Manchester* the 9th Day of *December*,
‘1745.

‘By his Highness’s Command,
‘(Signed and Sealed by)

J. MURRAY.’

Meanwhile the Duke of *Cumberland* had constant Intelligence of the Motions of his Enemies; by which he perceiv’d, that they were making their Retreat back into *Scotland*; upon which he resolves to give them no Rest, but prepares to follow them with the utmost Expedition. Pursuant to this Resolution, he decamps from *Meriden* on the 8th, and puts himself at the Head of all the Horse and Dragoons, and 1000 Voluntiers, and the 9th came to *Litchfield*, where he was join’d by Sir *John Ligonier*, with a Brigade of Guards, Here they prepare to march in Pursuit of the *Jubeans*; and so enable them to do so with Effect, the Gentlemen of *Staffordshire* furnish’d them with Horses to mount the Foot Soldiers on; in particular, the Town of *Birmingham*; and Sir *Lister Holt*, of *Aston-Hall*, Bart, provided them with 250 from his own Stables and Parks; and the Town of *Newcastle* gave them all the Assistance in their Power.

Marshal *Wade* march’d with his Army from *Persbridge*, Nov. 28th, and set out for *Lancashire*, in order to act in Conjunction with the Duke, or otherwise, as Occasion should require. *Decemb.* 3d, he came to *Wetherby*, which is about 40 Miles from *Persbridge*. Here the Marshal was inform’d, that the *Jubeans* were got into *Derbyshire*; whereupon he directed his Cavalry to march towards *Doncaster*, and the Foot to follow the next Day.

Dec. 8th, the Marshal with his Forces were at *Doncaster* and *Ferrybridge*; where, in a Council of War, it was resolv’d to march the Army, by the Way of *Wakefield* and *Halifax*, into *Lancashire*, with an Intent to intercept the *Jubeans* in their Return Northward. But on their Arrival at *Wakefield* the 10th, the Marshal had Advice, that the Enemy was at *Manchester*, and their advanced Guard gone towards *Wigan*, on their Way to *Preston*, and had got three or four Days March of his Army. Upon which it was resolved to send a Detachment of Cavalry, under the Command of Major-General *Oglethorpe*, to pursue them with all possible Expedition, and that the rest of the Army should march towards *Newcastle*.

The Duke of *Cumberland* left *Litchfield* the 9th, and the 10th arriv’d at *Macclesfield* with two Regiments of Dragoons, thro’ terrible Roads, by *Uttoxeter* and *Cheadle*; and the Foot followed as fast as they could. *Juba*, having Intelligence, that the Duke’s Vanguard was at *Macclesfield*, thought proper to quit *Manchester*, and proceed on towards *Wigan*. The Duke immediately sent an Express to the Magistrates of *Manchester*, requiring them to seize on all the Straglers of the *Jubeans*, and their Abettors, and to keep them in Custody till further Orders; and on the 11th he sent Major *Wheatly* forward with a Body of Dragoons. *Bligh’s* Battalion, then at *Chester*, was ordered to join the Duke, and that at *Liverpool* to take their former Post at *Warrington*. The Country, in general, seem’d pleas’d with the Arrival of the Duke, and voluntarily assisted his Army

with all the Necessaries they wanted; while that of *Juba*, so far from being encourag'd or assisted by the People, as his Emissaries and pretended Friends had made him believe it would, that wherever he came he met with Affronts and Obstructions, nor was join'd by any Persons of Note or Character during his whole Progress in *England*, except at *Manchester*, where about 70 or 80 Persons listed in his Service, and those whose Fortunes were generally desperate. So that finding the Inclination of the Country was, in general, against him, he acted very prudently in making the best of his Way to *Scotland*, where he knew he had many Friends, whose Assistance he could depend upon; and whoever considers the Vigilance and Assiduity of his eager Pursuers, must allow that his Retreat was conducted with the Capacity of a most consummate General.

The 12th, the *Jubeans* came to *Preston*, still follow'd by the Duke at the Distance of about a Day's March, which yet he still found it impossible to gain on the active *Juba*, who, on the other Hand, perceiv'd it equally impracticable to outstrip his formidable Rival in youthful Vigour and Vigilance.

The 13th, *Juba* quitted *Preston*, which he had not done above three or four Hours before General *Oglethorpe*, with his Horse and Dragoons, from Marshal Wade's Army, enter'd the Town, having march'd in three Days above one hundred Miles, thro' Ice, and over Hills covered with Snow. And now the *Jubeans* would certainly have been forced to come to an Action (which, in all Probability, must have been fatal to them, under the Disadvantages they then laboured) had not their *English* Friends in the South, at this critical Juncture, happily reliev'd them, by raising, and industriously propagating a Report, *That the French were actually landed in the South*; which gain'd such Credit, that the Ministry thought proper to advise the Duke of it by an Express, who thereupon halted a Day, in Expectation of further Notice. General *Oglethorpe* was likewise order'd to halt, till he should hear farther from the Duke. 'Tis true, a strong Squadron of *French* Men of War was fitted out, and a vast Number of Transports, with a large Body of Troops, lay ready to sail; but the Coasts of *England* were so well watch'd and guarded by Admiral *Vernon's* Fleet, that there was no Possibility for the *French* to stir out of their Harbours, without manifest Hazard of perishing, or being taken in the Attempt. And therefore the Report of their being landed, was current only for a Day; of which the Duke had soon Notice by another Express, and immediately resum'd his Pursuit after the *Jubeans*.

The Report, however, was of no small Service to the *Jubeans*; for had not the Duke and *Oglethorpe* been thus delay'd, they would certainly have forced *Juba* to an Engagement; and though the Duke's Troops were as much, or rather more, harrass'd and fatigued, by so long and hasty a March in that rigorous Season, than *Juba's* could possibly be; yet they might have obstructed his Retreat till the Duke had come up; in which Case the Action must have been general, and, probably, decisive. What would have been the Event, had this happen'd, GOD only knows; but this is certain, that the Duke had the Superiority in Numbers, his Troops consisted of Veteran Soldiers, hearty, and in good Order; whereas those of *Juba* had, of late, been greatly harrass'd, and much dishearten'd by the Discouragements they had met with since they came to *England*; and therefore had but small Prospect of gaining a Victory, and a Defeat must have been their

inevitable Ruin, since they had no Resource left to recruit their Army; whereas had the Duke been worsted ever so often, he would have been constantly supplied with fresh Men.

The D. of *Perth*, who left the *Jubeans* at *Lancaster* came the 14th into *Kendal*, with 150 Horse, equipped like *Hussars*. They rode up the Town quietly, and turn'd thro' the Fish-Market, down to the Bridge leading to *Penrith*; but as they were pursuing their Route thro' the Town, a Gun was fir'd out of a House, which kill'd one of them; upon which the People of the Town clos'd in, and took two more Prisoners. The rest of them gallop'd away towards the Bridge, where making a sudden Halt, a few Muskets were discharg'd at the People, whereby a Hostler and a Shoemaker were killed on the Spot. They then made a general Volley, but without doing any more Mischiefe, and pursu'd their Journey, as fast as they could, towards *Shap*.

The 15th, *Juba* enter'd *Kendal* with his Forces, Horse and Foot, and 12 or 13 Field Pieces, with several covered Carts. The D. of *Perth*, after the Scuffle abovementioned, went forward to *Shap*, and intended for *Penrith*; but seeing the Beacons on Fire, and being told it was done to raise the Country, sent a small Party to the Round Table to get Intelligence; and finding it true, he returned, for Safety, to *Kendal*, about Two in the Morning of the 16th. About Five, the *Jubeans* began to march from thence, and took the Road for *Penrith*, but not being able to reach it that Day, were forced to lie at *Shap*; but the next Day they came to *Penrith* after ten Hours hard March.

The 18th, the Duke, with his Cavalry, came up with the Rear of the *Jubeans*, at a Village called *Clifton*. *Juba*, at this Time, was with the main Body of his Army at *Penrith*, and knew not what was doing in his Rear till the Skirmish was over. For Lord *George Murray*, who, with Lord *Elcho*, commanded the Rear, seeing the Enemy approach, order'd his Men to take Post in and about *Clifton*, and there receive the Attack. The Duke order'd the Dragoons, to the Number of about 200, to dismount, for the Infantry could not be brought up soon enough. The *Jubeans* had lin'd all the Hedges, Ditches, Orchards and Out-Houses at the South End of *Clifton*; so that the Dragoons fought at great Disadvantage, being expos'd to the Fire of the Enemy, without any Thing to shelter themselves. However, they push'd forward with great Courage and Intrepidity, and drove the *Jubeans* out of their Fastnesses. This Skirmish happen'd in the Close of the Evening, and before it was ended, it grew so dark, that the Dragoons were oblig'd to desist, for Fear of hurting their Friends; but had it been Day-light, it's very probable that *Juba's* Party would have suffer'd considerable more Damage than they did; as it was, they had about 20 Officers and Men kill'd, and about 30 wounded; Captain *George Hamilton*, of Col. *Roy Stuart's* Regiment, was taken Prisoner after a stout Resistance, The Loss of the Royalists was 11 Men kill'd, and about 20 wounded, among whom were some Officers of Note. *Bland's* Dragoons began the Attack, but firing too soon, the Duke of *Richmond* led up the new raised Dragoons, and by five Discharges, when close up to the Enemy, kill'd them several Men, and oblig'd the rest to retire.

It being now quite Dark, the *Jubeans* march'd away unpursu'd, and join'd their main Body at *Penrith*, which was about three Miles from *Clifton*. This

Miscarriage, at *Clifton*, threw them into so great a Consternation, that immediately they put themselves in order of marching, and went away the same Night about Ten o'Clock, obliging the People of the Town to light them on the Road with about 100 Lanthorns the Route they took was for *Carlisle*, where they arriv'd the next Morning.

The Duke rested his Troops at *Clifton*, for a Day or two, as well to refresh them after such fatiguing Marches as they had lately undergone, as to give Time to the Infantry, and the rest of the Forces that were behind, to come up and join them, and then march'd directly for *Carlisle*; but on the Road had Information, that the *Jubeans* had quitted that Place, were got over the *Eske*, and so into *Scotland*. This they did the 20th, and the next Day the Duke, with all his Troops, arrived in the Neighbourhood of *Carlisle*.

At the same Time Marshal *Wade* arriv'd at *Newcastle*, and immediately dispatch'd away 1000 Foot, and 50 Horse, to join the Duke.

The Royal Army being come within Sight of the Town, Major General *Bland* was order'd to invest it on the *Scots* Side with *St. George's* Dragoons, and 300 Men of *Bligh's* Regiment, with Directions to prevent any Passage over the Bridge upon the River *Eden*, which leads directly to the *Scots* Gate. Major *Adams*, with 200 Foot, was posted in the Suburbs of the *English* Gate, to prevent any of the Garrison from escaping that Way; Major *Meirack* at the *Irish* Gate with the same Orders; and Sir *Andrew Agnew* at the Sally-Port with 300. All the Horse and Foot-Guards were canton'd at about a Mile's Distance round the Town. The Garrison, which consisted of between 3 and 400 Men, mostly of *English* Recruits, and the rest of *Gordon* of *Glenbucket's* Men, commanded by one *Hamilton*, put themselves in a Posture of defending the Town, and fired at every Body that came within Sight of it.

The 25th, the Duke having receiv'd six Pieces of Cannon, 38 Pounders, from *Whitehaven*, immediately prepared to begin the Attack. The Garrison fired almost incessantly, but with little or no Effect. In the Night of the 27th, the Duke rais'd a Battery of six Guns, to play upon the four-Gun Battery of the Town, (himself firing the first Gun) with an intent to make a Breach ready for an Assault the next Night.

It's certain, the Garrison would have immediately surrender'd, if any favourable Conditions could have been obtain'd; and many of them, feeing the hopeless Condition they were in, deserted over the Walls, and fell into the Hands of the Royalists.

The same Evening, a Fellow attempting to get out of the Town was taken by one of the advanced Parties, and brought before the Duke. He delivered two Letters, one for his Royal Highness, the other for the Commander of the *Dutch* Troops, suppos'd to be with the Army. They were sent by a Person stiling himself Commander of the *French* Artillery, and of the *French* Garrison that was. at, or might come to *Carlisle*, and who subscribed his Name, *De Geoghegan*, for the Defence of the Town and Citadel, and the Purport of his Letter was, to summon the Commander of the *Dutch*, to retire with his Troops from the *English* Army, under the Pretence of the Capitulation of *Tournay*.

The 28th, *Penrith*, and other adjacent Towns, sent to the Duke's Camp 500 Men, with Pick-axes, Shovels, to work in the Trenches, and to form a Circumvallation, and thereby prevent any of the Garrison from making their Escape. The Inhabitants of *Carlisle* were reduced to the most extreme Distress, being plunder'd of their Provisions within, and prevented, by the Besiegers, from getting any Sustenance without the City, and were heard from the Walls, crying out, *Hunger! Hunger!*

The Night of the 29th was spent in raising a new Battery of three 18 Pounds: But on firing the first Platoon of the old Battery, the Besieged hung out the White Flag; whereupon the Battery ceased and they called over the Walls, that they had two Hostages ready to be delivered at the *English Gate*, on the opposite Side of the Town. The Duke thereupon order'd Col. *Conway*, and Lord *Bury*, to deliver them two Messages; the one importing, that he would exchange no Hostages with Rebels; and desired to know the Meaning of their hanging out the White Flag. The second was, to acquaint the *French* Officer, that there were *Dutch* Troops there, but enough of the King's, to chastise the Rebels and their Assistants. In Answer to which, *John Hamilton* the Governor, his Officers and Soldiers, desir'd to know, what Terms would be allow'd them upon the Surrender of the City and Castle; the White Flag being hung out to obtain a Cessation of Arms for concluding a Capitulation To which the Duke replied, by a written Message, That all the Terms that he could or would grant to the Rebel Garrison of *Carlisle*, were, that they should not be put to the Sword, but reserv'd for the Kind's Pleasure. To these Terms, hard as they were, the Garrison agreed; for having no Prospect, nor even Hopes of Relief from *Juba*, they thought they had better throw themselves on the Mercy of the Government, than be all massacred, as they certainly would, if they had stood the Storming of the Town.

The *French* would fain have made Terms for themselves, and desir'd to have the Honours of War; but their Message only serv'd to make Diversion, and they were forced to submit, as the *English* did.

The 30th, the Garrison surrender'd the Town and Castle to the Duke, and the Gates were set open that Night, and the next Day, at Ten, his Highness enter'd, put a strong Garrison into the Town, and ordered the *Whitehaven* Cannon into the Castle. The Prisoners were all confin'd in the Cathedral; after which the Duke dispos'd of his Troops in the following Manner; *viz.* the Foot he order'd for *Scotland*; the *Liverpool* Regiment was sent Home; *Ligonier's* Horse to *Chester*; Lord *Cobham's* to *Newcastle*; Duke of *Kingstone's* to *Nottingham*; and the Duke of *Richmond's*, *Bland's*, and St. *George's* Dragoons were station'd about *Carlisle* and *Penrith*, till further Orders.

But some will ask, Where was *Juba's* Generosity, in leaving a Handful of Men in Garrison, who, he was morally certain, must fall a Sacrifice to the Resentment of the Enemy? To this it may be answer'd, That he was under an indispensable Necessity of leaving a Garrison in the Town, in order to stop the Duke in his Carrier of pursuing him to *Scotland*, and forcing him to an Engagement before he was ready to receive him. But it was with the greatest Reluctance that he was prevailed on to take this Measure; and he had not done it, even at last, but was over-persuaded by Mr. *Sullivan*, who insisted, that it was of

the utmost Importance to *Juba* to improve this Opportunity; that of two Evils the least was to be chosen; and therefore he ought to prefer the Safety of himself, and the greatest Number of his Friends, who had cheerfully hazarded their Lives in his Defence, to the Preservation of a few of his Followers.

The Reduction of *Carlisle* being entirely finish'd, the Duke invested General *Hawley* with the Command of the Forces in *Scotland*, with Orders to act against the *Jubeans* as he should see Occasion. The Duke himself intended to have march'd with the Army in Pursuit of the Enemy, but at that Instant an Express arriv'd, that was dispatch'd to him from Court, intimating, that the *French* were making vast Preparations, and that a prodigious Number of Transports were lying in their Harbours, ready to take on Board the Troops destined for the Invasion; and therefore it was judg'd necessary to send for his Highness, in order to head the Forces that were to oppose the *French* in Case they should think fit to proceed in their intended Enterprize. Accordingly his Highness set out from *Carlisle*, Jan., 2d, and arriv'd at *St. James's* the 4th. As soon as Marshal *Wade* heard that General *Hawley* had the Command of the Forces in *Scotland*, he left the Army, and went to *London*.

We left *Juba*, with his Forces, crossing the *Eske* with great Precipitation. As soon as the News of their Return to *Scotland* reach'd *Edinburgh*, the Inhabitants of that City were in the utmost Consternation, fearing another Visit from their former unwelcome Guests. The General remov'd to the Castle; and the Bank, and the most valuable Effects of the Town were again put into the same Place; and every Horse that could carry a Man, or Baggage, went for *Berwick*, as did all the Gentlemen and Ladies. However, there was no Occasion for this mighty Hurry, for the *Jubeans* took the *Glasgow* Road, and did not come within 24 Miles of *Edinburgh*.

As soon as *Juba* and his Army were got over the *Eske* into *Scotland* he separated his Forces into two Bodies; one of them, consisting of about 3500 Men, march'd with him to *Annan*, and the other, of 2500, to *Ecclefechan*, where they took up their Quarters, and rested themselves after their late Fatigue. Lord *Elcho* went forward, with 500 Horse, to *Dumfries*, and the main Body, with *Juba*, follow'd the next Day, where they levied the Excise, and impos'd on the Inhabitants a Contribution 2000*l.* in Specie, 1000 Pair of Shoes, seiz'd nine Casks of Gunpowder, all the Arms in the Town publick and private, Horse-Furniture, Boots, &c. and every Horse that could be found in Town or Country; and told the People, that they might think themselves gently used, that their Town was not laid in Ashes, considering that they had entered into an Association against their Cause. They receiv'd 1100*l.* of the Money they had order'd to be rais'd, and carried away Provost *Crosbie* and Mr. *Walter Riddel*, as Hostages for the Payment of the Remainder. They levied the Excise, and intimated, that if the Inhabitants paid either Excise or Land Tax, for the future, to any other than them, they might be sure of paying it again double. They order'd the People to send their Baggage after them, and at the same Time positively assured them, that if they heard that a Finger was moved against any of their Straglers, the Hostages of their Town should Instantly be put to Death. The Damage they did the Town was computed at 4000 but in the Country it was much more.

From *Dumfries* the Army moved towards *Glasgow*, which they entered the 24th. Here they made vast Demands on the City, as a Punishment on the People for having raised and armed a Regiment in Favour of the Royalists. *Juba* sent for the Provost of the City, and demanded the Names of those who had subscribed for raising Troops against him, threatening, in Case of his Refusal, to hang him up directly. To which the Provost made this resolute Reply, *That he would not give up the Name of any one Person in the Town; but that he had himself subscribed a greater Sum than any other Person, as he thought it his Duty; and therefore he fear'd not to die in such a Cause.* *Juba* admir'd the Bravery of the Man, and therefore mitigated the Severity of his first Sentence, by changing it into a Fine of 500*l.* which he was oblig'd to pay.

The following Extract of a Letter, from a Gentleman at *Glasgow*; will sufficiently describe the miserable Condition that City was in, during the ten Days that the *Jubeans* were there.

'After our Regiment was sent to *Stirling*, the greatest Part of the able-bodied Men in Town offer'd themselves for Voluntiers, for the Service of the Government, and Defence of the City. They were immediately regimented, and exercised almost every Day; and upon hearing that the *Jubeans* were flying before the Duke, we call'd in the West Country and Sea-Port Towns People to our Assistance, who came running in great Numbers; but the 22d of last Month, having a certain Account of the *Jubeans* having passed the *Eske*, the Country People were order'd to send their Arms to *Dumbarton* Castle; and the Regiments, with our own People, who were at *Stirling*, order'd to defend *Edinburgh*; by which we have been expos'd to the Resentment of our Enemies, which has fallen hard upon us; for they staid here ten Days, living at free Quarters, committing very great Abuses, and obliging us to comply with a very extravagant Demand, which, they said, was to save us from a general Plunder, *viz.* 13,000 Shirts, 6000 Coats of Kersey, 6000 Pair of Shoes, 6000 Pair of Stockings, and as many Bonnets as could be got; all our Arms, Powder and Shot, besides Carriages for their Baggage, and many Things robb'd from us; and for the full Performance of the above Demands, they carried away Mess. *Archibald Coates*, and *George Carmichael*, Hostages.' The whole of their Demands amounted to near 10,000*l.* *Sterling* in Value.

While Young *Juba*, with his Army, lay at *Glasgow*, he issued the following Orders, for Payment of the Land Tax, and for raising a Supply of Horses.

Glasgow, Dec. 30. 1745.

'Whereas you, by our Letter of the 30th of *September last*, was required, upon Pain of Military Execution, to produce, at our Secretary's Office at *Holyrood-House*, your Books of the Administration of the Land Tax, and to pay in whatever Balance was in your Hands for our Use; which Orders you have fail'd to comply with: You are hereby peremptorily commanded and requir'd, upon Receipt hereof, forthwith to repair to our Secretary's Office, wherever it shall happen to be for the Time, and there pay not only the Land Tax due at the Time of our former Letter, but what has fallen due since, for which you shall receive sufficient Exoneration. This our Demand you are to comply with, upon Pain of the severest Military Execution, to be done against your Goods and Effects.

‘By his Highness’s Command,

J. MURRAY.’

Sic Subscibitur,
Directed to the Collector of the Supply
for the Shire of Linlithgow.

Glasgow, Dec. 30. 1745.

SIR,

‘Immediately upon Receipt hereof, you are to call a Meeting of the Commissioners of Supply for your Shire, and intimate the within Letter to them.

‘I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

J. MURRAY.’

CHARLES Pr— of W—, &c. *Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging to the Commissioners of Supply for the Shire of Linlithgow.*

‘Finding it necessary to have an immediate Supply of Horses, we are resolv’d to raise them in the most equal Way, by laying them upon the different Counties of this our antient Kingdom of *Scotland*, according to their respective Valuations: You are therefore hereby commanded and required to deliver us, on or before the 16th Day of *January* next, where we shall happen to be for the Time, twenty-five Horses, of the Value of 10*l. Sterling* each, which is to be ascertained by us for that Purpose; otherwise to pay to our Secretary, for our Use, 10*l. Sterling* for each undelivered Horse; and, for your Relief, you are impower’d to meet, and lay a Tax upon the whole Heritors, and others in the County, in Proportion to their valued Rents, to the Extent of this Demand, which you are to comply with, upon Pain of Military Execution. Given at *Glasgow*, the 30th Day of *December*, 1745.

‘By his Highness’s Command,

J. MURRAY.’

Sic Subscibitur,
Directed to the Collector of the Supply
for the Shire of Linlithgow.

Let us now step a little back, and see what has been doing, in the mean Time, by *Juba’s* Generals and Highland Chiefs in other Parts of *Scotland*; for they were pretty active, and, in particular, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, who carried it with a very high Hand, and harrass’d the People exceedingly. He was *Juba’s* Governor, and Lieutenant of the Shires of *Aberdeen* and *Banff*, where he levied Men and Money in the most rigorous Manner. These were two of the Counties that had been disarm’d by Law, and therefore were wholly unprovided with Arms, or any legal Authority to use them, the following is an authentick Copy of an Order issued by his Lordship; by Virtue of which he could, in the Shire of *Aberdeen* alone, raise either 2400 Men, or 12000*l. Sterling*, which amounts to 5*s.* in the Pound of the real Rack-Rent; and wherever the Country, for its Want of Protection, shall refuse or neglect to comply with this Order, their Damage, by this Military Execution of Burning, will be vastly greater. The Order runs in the following Terms.

‘By Order of the Right Hon. the Lord *Lewis Gordon*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties, and Governor of the Towns of *Aberdeen* and *Banff*: Whereas I desir’d and order’d *J. Moir*, of *Stonywood*, to intimate to all the Gentlemen, and their

Doers, within the said Counties of *Aberdeen* and to send into the Town of *Aberdeen*, a well-bodied Man, for each 100*l.* Scots, their valued Rent. Which Desire they have not complied with. Therefore I order and command you, to take a sufficient Party of Men, and go to all the Lands within the above Counties, and require from the Heritors, Factors, or Tenants, as you shall think most proper, an able-bodied Man for his M—— K—— J——'s Service, with sufficient Highland Cloaths, Plaid and Arms, for each 100*l.* of their valued Rent, or the Sum of 5*l.* Sterling Money for each of the above Men, to be paid to *J. M.* of *Stonywood*, or his Order, at *Aberdeen*. And in Case of Refusal of the Men or Money, you are forthwith to burn all the Houses, Corn and Planting upon the aforesaid Estates; and to begin with the Heritor or Factor residing on the Lands; and not to leave the said Lands, until the above Execution be done, unless they produce *Stonywood's* Lines, shewing they deliver'd him the Men or the Money. Given at *Aberdeen*, the 12th of *December*, 1745.

Subscribed,

LEWIS GORDON,

On the 21st, the Lord *John Drummond* set up *Juba's* Standard at *Dundee*, and read the *French King's* Declaration there, under a triple Discharge of his Artillery; containing in Substance, That he, Lord *John Drummond*, Commander in Chief of his Most Christian Majesty's Forces in *Scotland*, is come to make War against *GEORGE King of England*, Elector of *Hanover*, in Support of the Family of *Stuart*; declaring, That his Most Christian Majesty, and the King of *Spain*, are the Allies of the above Family; that they are resolv'd to support them with Men, Arms, Ammunition, and Money; that whoever shall join and assist *Charles Prince of Wales*, shall have the highest Tokens of Favour, and that whoever shall resist, shall feel the Weight of Military Resentment, in Proportion to the Zeal they show to his present Majesty.

Decemb. 23. Eight hundred Highlanders, from *Perth*, came into the Neighbourhood of *Stirling*, being quarter'd at *Downe*, *Dumblain*, and Bridge of *Aloa*; 4 or 500 more of them march'd to *Dundee* and *Montrose*, under the Command of Sir *James Kinloch*, and one *Ferrier*; and the Lord *Lewis Gordon* was on his March from *Aberdeen* to *Perth*, with a Body of 800. Likewise Lord *John Drummond*, the Master of *Lovat*, and other Chiefs in the North, were advancing with their Troops the same Way, to give *Juba* a Meeting betwixt *Perth* and *Stirling*; which was done by his Directions: For having resolv'd to lay Siege to *Stirling*, which is one of the strongest and most important Places in *Scotland*, he would have Occasion for all his Forces that were dispers'd throughout the Kingdom, and therefore he had sent to them all to come and join him at the general Rendezvous which he had appointed. These Chiefs brought with them a considerable Treasure, which had been landed from on Board some *Spanish Privateers*, together with Artillery, Ammunition, and other warlike Stores. Lord *Lewis Gordon* had also raised vast Sums in *Scotland*, some of which he had levied by a voluntary Contribution, and the rest extorted under Pain of Military Execution, as has been before observ'd. He, and the other Chiefs, had shewn the warmest Zeal and Cordiality, and had taken the most vigorous Measures in the

Service of the Cause, during *Juba's* Expedition to *England*, and were determined to stand by him to the last.

January 3, *Juba* with his Troops left *Glasgow*, and directed their March for *Stirling*. General *Blakeney*, who commanded there, had taken all imaginable Precaution not to be surpriz'd; he had repair'd the Town Walls, made several Additions to the Out-works, had built up all the Avenues that led into the Town, had caus'd deep Trenches to be cast up, and had made all the necessary Provision for a Siege; so that with so great a Number of Country Militia, Townsmen, that were in it under Arms, resolute to defend it at all Hazards, the Town might have held out for some Months. Notwithstanding which, when *Juba's* Army drew on to invest it, and had summon'd the Town to surrender, the Provost, upon consulting with his Brethren what was to be done on this Emergency, agreed to surrender it up to the Enemy. As soon as General *Blakeney* was inform'd of their Design, he came down into the Town, and went round the Guards, exhorting them to this Effect: *Gentlemen be true to your Religion, King, and Country; and defend your Posts to the last Extremity; and if you are over-power'd by the Rebels, make a handsome Retreat, and I'll keep an open Door for you.* After this, the Conveener, with the Captains of the Voluntiers, sent a Letter to the General, telling him, that if he would aid them with the Militia as formerly, and head them, they would stand out the Siege till the Army came to relieve them. He answer'd, *That if they did not think the Town worth taking Care of he could not do it for them; but that he would take Care of the Castle.* The next Morning, *Jan. 4*, the *Jubeans* took Possession of the Town, and prepar'd to besiege the Castle, and summon'd the General to surrender, which he absolutely refused.

Juba, however, had no Cannon heavy enough for battering the Walls; and therefore sends Lord *George Murray* to *Aloa*, to consult with Col. *Drummond*, about transporting such Cannon as were wanted, over the *Forth* upon Floats from *Perth*; but on surveying the several Passages, they judg'd it a better Way to convey them over in a Brigg which they had seiz'd; and to effect this with the less Hazard, they erected a Battery on the Pier of *Aloa*, and another at *Heigens-Nook*. But this did not entirely protect them from the King's Sloops and, armed Vessels, which gave them a good deal of Obstruction. However, with indefatigable Labour, they brought two heavy Cannon, of 12 Pounders, about the *Frew*, which, with three of four Pounders, they brought with them from *Glasgow*, were conducted to the Hill of *Airth*, and rais'd for a Battery to annoy the King's Ships, and hinder them advancing up the River; this Battery was supported by 400 Men, drawn from the Party that was station'd at *Falkirk*.

Capt. *Faulkner*, in the *Vulture* Sloop,- being arriv'd in *Inverkeithen* Road, sent a Cutter, and some armed Boats before him, for Intelligence; these sailed up the *Forth* to *Kilcardin* Road, where they saw a Brigg, the Passage Vessel above-mention'd for carrying the Artillery and Stores of the: Enemy, come out of *Airth*. The next Morning Capt. *Faulkner* proceeded up the River, and came into *Kilcardin* Road, where he was inform'd of the Brigg, and other two Vessels lying at *Kilcardin*; but to prevent their being of Use to the Enemy, the *Vulture* mov'd up to the Town, and sent out several Boats, mann'd and arm'd, to burn them, which was done accordingly without Loss, tho' smartly fired upon from some Platoons

on Shore, But in doing this so much Time was spent, that the Tide was fallen so low, that the *Vulture* could not get into the Road again that Night. This was soon perceiv'd by the *Jubeans*, who immediately erected a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, with which, the next Morning, they play'd upon her furiously, and was answer'd by the Sloop as briskly, which dismounted two of their Cannon, kill'd one of their Engineers, and wounded the D. of *Perth*; upon which they drew off, and went to the Point of *Elphinstoun*, where they planted a Four-Gun Battery for the Protection of that Pass.

In the mean Time Col. *Leighton*, apprehending that the *Pearl* (another of the King's Ships in the same River) and the *Vulture* were in some Danger, came, with 300 Men, to their Assistance on the 9th, They agreed to attack the Brigg at *Aloa*, which had two Cannon on Board. For which Purpose they mann'd and arm'd some Ship's Boats with 50 of *Leighton*'s Men, and sent them to lie a Mile all Night above *Aloa*, to prevent the Brigg's getting up the *Firth*; but as they were passing the Town, the Boats happened to ground, and in endeavouring to get off, were discover'd by the *Jubeans*; who immediately beat to Arms, and fired upon the Boats incessantly, but were at too great a Distance to do any Mischief, except killing one Man, and wounding another. For, not caring to come within the Reach of regular Troops, so much Time was spent, that the Boats floated, and sail'd away.

This Scheme having fail'd, the Captains of the two Sloops resolv'd on a second Attack the next Morning. For this Purpose Col. *Leighton* landed his Men, and at the same Time the Sloops attack'd the Battery erected at *Elphinstoun* within Musket-Shot. They soon dismounted three of their Cannon, but a Shot having cut asunder a Cable of one of the Sloops, the Strength of the Tide forced her out of her Station; and the two Pilots having lost each of them a Leg they were oblig'd to quit the Enterprize, with the Loss of two Sailors, and ten or twelve wounded, but the Land Forces receiv'd no Damage. Thus the Measures of the *Jubeans*, for attacking *Stirling* Castle, were delay'd, though not wholly frustrated; and they were so intimidated by the Vigilance of Col. *Blakeney*, that they durst not approach within Reach of his Guns, and in the Night were fatigued with getting their Cannon over the *Forth*, so that they could not get the whole transported before the 12th of *January*.

Juba, in the mean while, was not idle, and order'd his Troops, that were quarter'd in and about *Perth*, to join him at *Stirling*. The *Mac Donalds*, under *Barisdale* and *Moidart*'s Brother, and the *Frasers*, under the Master of *Lovat*, march'd for that Place, *Jan.* 11th; as did, the next Day, the *Mackintoshes* and *Farquharsons*; being well furnish'd with Powder and Ball, and all their Cannon, which consisted of two Pieces of 16 Pounders, three of three, and others of a less Size; all which were convey'd to *Stirling*, rais'd into Batteries, and play'd upon the Castle, but without making any Impression upon it. For General *Blakeney*, with a brisk Fire, destroy'd their Fascines, and demolish'd their Works. But though, with all their Efforts, they could not reduce the Castle, yet they made themselves Masters of the West Country, as well as of the Northern Coast, along which, for Protection of their Magazines, and also to favour Landings from *France*, they had station'd the *Hazard* Sloop, with other Ships of Force, and had

also canton'd 1000 Men, that is, 400 *French*, 300 *Gordons*, and about 300 under the Command of Sir *James Kinloch* of *Navey*, a Gentleman of an antient Family, and whose Attachment to the establish'd Government was never before question'd.

General *Hawley* being inform'd how vigorously *Juba* push'd on the Siege of *Stirling* Castle, resolv'd to relieve it at all Events; and having Intelligence that Major-General *Huske* had oblig'd Lord *Kilmarnock* to retire from *Linlithgow* to *Falkirk*, and from thence to the main Body of *Jubeans* at *Stirling*, order'd his Army to be in Readiness to march, and give them Battle which brought on the Action at *Falkirk*, of which we are next to give an Account. Several Relations of this Affair have been publish'd on both Sides, in which the Writers were sure to favour the Party they were most attach'd to. But, to shew that I am under no Bias but that of Truth, I will first give the Narrative which was wrote by General *Hawley* himself, immediately after the Battle, and publish'd in the *London Gazette*; and then that which was drawn up by Mr. *Sherridan*, and transmitted to the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, the *Pope*, and other powers in Alliance with *Juba's* Family. After which I shall compare the two Accounts together, and by the Observation which will naturally arise from thence, we may be able to clear up some Difficulties with which Prejudice and Partiality have obscur'd the Story.

The Account which Gen. *Hawley* gave to the Secretaries of State, in a Letter from *Edinburgh* January 19th, runs thus.

The whole Army being assembled, and *Cobham's* Dragoons being arriv'd early upon the Morning of the 17th, it was resolv'd to march, the next Day to attack the Rebels, who, by all Accounts, lay with their main Body in the Inclosures near *Torwood*; but by the Report of several Persons, which were sent out to reconnoitre, they were observ'd to be in Motion early in the Morning, (as they had also been the 16th) but it was not confirmed, that they were in full March against us till about One; in the .Afternoon, when they were seen at three Miles Distance, marching in two Columns towards the South, to some rising Grounds upon a Moor near *Falkirk*; upon which our Troops got under Arms, and formed immediately in the Front of the Camp, and bent their March towards the same Ground, to which it was apprehended the Rebels were going, being a large Mile to the Left of the Camp. No sooner were the Troops got thither, but we saw the Rebels moving up, their Right extending Southwards. As there was a Morass, or boggy Ground upon our Left, we could not stretch so far as they, so that their Left was pretty near opposite our Center. The Dragoons were posted upon the Left, and our Foot was formed in two Lines, part upon plain Ground, and the rest upon a Declivity: When all was formed, and our first Line within 100 Yards of the Rebels, Orders were given for the Lines to advance, and a Body of Dragoons to attack them Sword in Hand. They accordingly march'd forwards, but upon the Rebels giving them a Fire, they gave Ground, and great Part of the Foot, of both Lines, did the same, after making an irregular Fire, except the two Regiments of *Barrell* and *Ligonier*, under the Command of Brig. *Cholmondeley*, which rallied immediately; and being; afterwards attack'd by the Rebels, fairly drove them back, and put them to Flight. While this was transacting, a Body of the Foot, by the Care of Major-General *Huske*, formed, at some Distance, in the Rear of these

two Regiments; which the Rebels seeing, durst not advance, and about the same Time Brig. *Mordaunt* rallied the scatter'd Battalions into their several Corps, in which he was greatly assisted by the Officers, and had pretty near formed them.

For some Time before the Army mov'd forwards, there was a violent Storm of Rain and Wind, to which we may, in some Measure, impute our Misfortune; for it hinder'd the Men from seeing before them, and consequently the Rebels had the Advantage of us greatly in that particular. Besides, as it rain'd also before that, many of the Firelocks were so wet, that it is believ'd, that not one in five of them that were attempted to be fired, went off. Our Loss is very small, the greatest being that of the Officers, several of whom being left by their Men, were lost. And we have Reason to believe that of the Rebels to be very considerable, by the Report of some who were upon the Field. It was a Misfortune, that we could not get up our Artillery to us; for as it had rain'd heavily in the Night, and on the 17th in the Morning, and having a steep Hill to ascend, and the Horses but bad, they could not get forward; and when we return'd to our Camp, we found the Captain of the Train had abandoned it, and the Drivers had run off with the Horses, which oblig'd us to leave some Pieces of Cannon behind us. The Grenadiers of *Barrell's* Regiment drew down one to the Camp; and Horses were found at *Falkirk*, to bring away three of them.

The Evening being excessive rainy, it was thought proper to march the Troops to *Linlithgow* that night, and put them under Cover, otherwise we should have continued in our Camp, being Masters of the Field of Battle, and Brig. *Mordaunt* was order'd to take Post there. When we came to strike our Tents, we found that many of the Drivers had run off with the Horses, upon which the General gave Orders, that what Tents were left, should be burnt, which was done.

During the Time that the Army was on its March to meet the Rebels, a Body of them, with some Colours, passed the River of *Carran*, towards the Right of our Camp, with a Design, as may be apprehended, to attack it; but the *Argyleshire* Men being posted in the Front of it, kept them in Awe, so that they prevented their advancing.

The *Glasgow* Regiment was posted at some Farm-houses, where it was thought they might be of Use when the Action began, and remain'd formed there, notwithstanding they saw that the Dragoons had given Way, and Part of the Foot.

It was also resolved, that the Army should remain at *Linlithgow*, to which Place it had retreated after the Battle; but upon examining the Powder, it was found to be so much damag'd by the wet Weather, that none of it would take Fire; upon which a Resolution was taken, the 18th, to march to *Edinburgh*, where the Army arriv'd about Four o'Clock in the Afternoon of the same Day. So far the *English* Account; and let us now see the Account that was given by the *Jubeans*. The following Narrative was drawn up by Mr. *Sherridan*, and transmitted, by *Juba*, to the Courts of *France*, *Spain*, and *Rome*. Thus it runs.

After an easy Victory, gain'd by 8000 over 12,000, we remain'd Masters of the Field of Battle; but as it was near Five o' Clock before it ended, and as it

requir'd Time for the Highlanders to recover their Muskets⁹, rejoin their Colours, and form again in Order, it was quite Night before we could follow the Fugitives. On the other Hand, we had no Tents nor Provisions; the Rain fell, and the cold sharp Wind blew with such Violence, that we must have perish'd had we passed the Night on the Field of Battle. And as we could not return to our Quarters without relinquishing the Advantages of the Victory, *Juba* resolv'd, without Cannon or Guides, and in the most extreme Darkness, to attack the Enemy in the Camp; and tho' the Situation of it was very advantageous, and fortified by strong Retrenchments, their Soldiers were seiz'd with such a Panick, on our Approach, that they durst not stay therein, but fled towards *Edinburgh*, having first set Fire to their Tents, They had the Start of us by above an Hour, and some Troops, which they left at *Falkirk*, disputing our Entrance, gain'd them another Hour; so that our Cavalry being poorly mounted, could not come up with them: Hence it was, that in a Flight, in which 5 or 6000 Prisoners might have been taken, we did not make above 500, only half of which were regular Troops. They had 600 slain, two Thirds whereof were Horse and Dragoons, but we know not exactly the Number of the Wounded. Our Wounded were not above 150, and our Slain only 43, Officers included. We have taken 7 Pieces of Cannon, three Mortars, one Pair of Kettle-Drums, two Pair of Colours, three Stands, 600 Muskets, 4000 Weight of Powder, a large Quantity of Grenadoes, 25 Waggons loaded with all Kind of Military Stores, Tents for 4700 Men, and all the Baggage that escaped the Flames. Among their Officers that fell, are five Colonels and Lieut. Colonels, with almost all the Chiefs of their Highlanders and Militia. *Juba*, who, at the Beginning of the Action, had been conjured, for the Love of his Troops, not to expose himself, was in the second Line of the Picquets; but as soon as the Left Wing was thrown into some Disorder, he flew to their Relief with an Ardour that was not to be restrain'd. In the Disposition of his Troops he followed the Advice of Lord *George Murray*, who commanded the Right Wing, and fought an Hour, during the whole Action, at the Head of his Highlanders. Lord *John Drummond* commanded the Left, and distinguish'd himself extremely; he took two Prisoners with his own Hand, had his Horse shot under him, and was wounded in the left Arm by a Musket Ball. We should likewise do Justice to the Valour and Prudence of several other Officers, particularly Mr. *Stapleton*, Brigadier in his Most Christian Majesty's Army, and Commander of the *Irish* Picquets; Mr. *Sullivan*, Quarter-Master-General of the Army, who rallied Part of the Left Wing; and Mr. *Brown*, Col. of the Guards, and of the Aid de Camps, formerly of Major *Lally's* Regiment.

Camp at *Stirling*, 1745-6.

Jan. 31. N. S.

In the *English* Account of this Affair, 'tis allow'd that the *Jubeans* had the Advantage of the Wind; which indeed was a very great Advantage, as it was stormy and wet Weather: But had the *English* General, when he perceiv'd the *Jubeans* in Motion, mov'd forward likewise, he might certainly have gain'd those

⁹ The Arms of the Highlanders are, a Musket, a broad Sword, and Target; their Manner of Fighting is to fire at about 30 Yards Distance, then throw down their Muskets, and rush upon the Enemy with their Swords and Targets.

Advantages which he lost by giving his Army Time to dine, I may say, very unseasonably, when an Object of such Importance was before his Eyes.

Mr. *Sherridan* says, that the *Jubeans* gain'd an easy Victory: If so, why did they suffer the Royalists to remain on the Field of Battle some Time after the Battle was over? Why did they not pursue their vanquish'd Enemy to their Camp directly? How came they to give *Barrell's* Regiment Time to draw away one Cannon, and the People to fetch Horses to carry off two or three more? 'Tis true, they took seven Pieces, but it was because the Captain of the Train, and the Drivers of the Horses were all run away. The same Reason may be given for their getting Possession of their waggons and Baggage; for had there been Horses to draw them away, it's very probable they wou'd never have fallen into the Hands of the *Jubeans*. *Sherridan* says likewise, that there were but 8000 of the *Jubeans* engag'd against 12000 of the Royalists; whereas, by the best Computations I have seen, the former consisted of 7500 Men, the latter of 9000, and only 7000 of them regular Troops; so that the Difference in Numbers was but trifling. As to the Numbers of Prisoners and Slain, the first of which, *Sherridan* says, were 500, and the latter 600, they are also too much exaggerated; the Prisoners were but few, except those who came out of Curiosity to see the Battle, and the Killed were about 300 of each Side.

Upon the whole, Allowances must be made in the Accounts given by one and the other. The most impartial State of the Affair seems to be as follows.

On the 13th Major-General *Huske* march'd with five old Regiments, *viz.* *Monro's*, *Cholmondeley's*, *Price's*, *Ligonier's*, and *Battreau's*, with the *Glasgow* Militia, and the Remains of *Hamilton's* and *Gardner's* Dragoons. They arriv'd at *Linlithgow* about Four o'Clock, so suddenly, that they had almost surpriz'd 1100 of the *Jubeans* commanded by Lord *Elcho* and Lord *George Murray*, who had march'd that Morning from *Falkirk*, with a Design to carry off all the Provisions they could lay their Hands on; and the Notice they had of the Approach of the King's Troops was so very short, that when these were entering at one End of the Town, those had scarce Time enough to escape over the Bridge at the other. On the 14th the Regiments of *Howard*, *Pulteney*, and *Barrell* march'd to *Barrowstouness*, to be at Hand to support Major-General *Huske*. The 15th the Remainder, namely, *Fleming's* and *Blakeney's* Regiments, and a Battalion of *Sinclair's*, set forward to join the others; and the next Day General *Hawley* set out with ten Pieces of Brass Cannon, taken out of the Castle of *Edinburgh*; the same Morning *Cobham's* Dragoons pass'd by the City, without halting, from *Dalkeith*; as did Mr. *Thornton* with his *Yorkshire* Blues, with several other Volunteers. Upon the 16th Maj. Gen. *Huske* proceeded, with eight Regiments, from *Linlithgow* to *Falkirk*, where the whole Army arriv'd the same Night, and encamp'd West of that Village. The next Day Lieut. Gen. *Campbell* brought up 1300 of the *Argyleshire* Highlanders from *Glasgow* and *Linlithgow*. It was very lucky for the Royalists, that they carried Provisions with them; for they would have found none in the Places they came to, the *Jubeans* having, before they came, swept the Country clean.

Juba likewise, upon Intelligence that Gen. *Hawley* was come out to fight him, had muster'd all his Forces together, with a Resolution to give him Battle.

Accordingly, on the 17th, the Armies came to an Engagement. The Officers of the Royal Army had resolv'd to wait, in their Camp, for the coming up of the Enemy, placing Centries, at a Mile's Distance, to give them Notice of their Motions and Approaches. The *Jubeans*, on the other Hand, were determin'd to march forward, and attack the Royalists. Their Forces were drawn up in a Line of Battle, about a Mile Eastward of *Bonnuckburn*, which was their Head Quarters, and within four Miles of the King's Army; in which Posture they continued till about 12 o'Clock, when observing that General *Hawley* did not stir from his Camp, *Juba* order'd his Officers to march forward, and begin the Attack. Immediately the Army, being divided into two Columns, marching at the Distance of about 200 Yards from each other, headed by Lord *George Murray*, and Lord *John Drummond*, parted the Water of *Carron* at *Dunnipace*, where they had the first Sight of the Royalists. Here Lord *John Drummond*, who had the Command of the Left Wing, detach'd himself, with most of the Horse, to reconnoitre the Royalists, and taking a Compass by the North Side of *Torwood*, made a Feint as if he design'd to attack them; which General *Hawley* perceiving, order'd his Men to draw up in Readiness to receive them; but finding that the *Jubeans* did not advance, and that their Colours remain'd unmoved by the Side of the Wood, and falsely supposing, that the Corpse he saw, was the main Body, thought he had Time to give his Soldiers Liberty to dine; which they had scarce finish'd, before the *Jubeans* were in full March, to take Possession of the rising Grounds upon a Moor about a Mile South-west from *Falkirk*; which the Generals of the Royalists observing, drew up in the Front of the Camp, and march'd towards the same Grounds, but too late; for the *Jubeans* had gain'd the Hill before the King's Forces could come up, and by that Means got the Advantage of the Wind, which undoubtedly was of vast Service to them in the Engagement,

The King's Army was form'd in this Manner, as it stood extended from Right to Left. The first Line was compos'd of the Regiments of *Wolf Cholmondeley*, *Pulteney*, and a Battalion of the *Royal Scots*; *Price's* and *Ligonier's* were in the Center; and the Dragoons on the Left. The second Line consisted of *Blakeney's*, *Monro's*, *Fleming's*, *Barrels* and *Battereau's* Regiments; *Howard's*, or the *Buff's*, were behind upon the Right; the *Glasgow* and *Paisley* Militia were stationed at some Farm-houses upon the Left, and the *Argyleshire* Highlanders were placed at several Partes in the Rear.

Juba's Army stood in this Form, in its Extent from Right to Left. In the first Line were the Battalions of *Keppoch*, *Clanranald* and *Appin*; *Lochiel* had three Battalions, *Cluny*, and the Master of *Lovat* with his *Frasers*. The second Line was made up of two Battalions of *Athol* Men, two of the *Angus* Militia, under Lord *Ogilvie*, and two under Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the *Farquarsons* of *Braemar*; and the *Mac Kenzies*, commanded by Lord *Cromarty* and his Son. *Juba*, with a Guard of 450 Horse, accompanied with the *French* Ambassador, was in the Rear, nearly opposite to the Center. On the Left of the King's Army was a Morass, and their Right out-lined the *Jubeans*, whose Left could but cover little more than Half of that of the Royalists. The Dragoons in the Royal Army were stationed with the Artillery, almost due South and North, forming pretty near a right Angle with the Front Line of the Foot, which was inclined North- East, the Space between the

two Lines widen'd toward the Right. The Dragoons were order'd to move, and possess themselves of the rising Ground which was upon the Right of the *Jubeans*, who perceiving their Design, sent out the Battalions of *Appin*, *Keppoch*, *Clanronald*, and *Lochiel*, to encounter them, and get Possession of that Situation before them; for whoever could post themselves upon that Hill, would have so much the Command of the Weather, as to turn it in the Face of the Enemy. The Horse march'd on resolutely, Sword in Hand, and were led by Lieut. Col. *Whitney* up to the very Muzzles of their Enemy's Guns, who opening, the Cavalry rode through them, and received their Fire both in Front and Flank, which so terrified the Horses, not us'd to such Kind of Work, that they ran about like wild Creatures, threw many of their Riders, and were oblig'd to retire in great Disorder. The Infantry seeing the Disaster of the Horse, fled likewise; and at the same Instant a violent Storm of Rain and Wind beating full in their Faces, almost blinded their Eyes, and wet their Fire-Arms, so that they were neither able to Hand their Ground, nor fire their Pieces; upon which a Flight ensued, of almost the whole first Line, scarce any remaining to face the Enemy, besides *Barrell's* and *Ligonier's* Regiments, commanded by Col. *Cholmondeley*, who led them on to the Charge, and, both by Words and his own Example, spirited them up to stand to their Business bravely. The *Jubeans*, seeing their Adversaries in Disorder, threw down their Firelocks, and ran furiously down the Hill in Pursuit of the flying Infantry. But General *Huske*, with great Prudence and Presence of Mind, having rallied the *Old Buffs* and *Royal Scots*, and some others of the broken Regiments, made a Motion to the Right, and by a continual Fire, stopt the Carrier of the Pursuers, and drove them up the Hill almost as fast as they came down. Another strong Party would have attack'd his Right Wing Sword in Hand; but the General kept his Men in such good order, and made them fire so regularly, that the *Jubeans* were kept at a Distance; for he order'd the first Rank to kneel, but to forbear firing till the Enemy were within Reach of their Bayonets, but that the second and third Rank should keep them in perpetual Motion. In the mean while Brigadier *Mordaunt* rallied some broken Regiments, and led them up with great Resolution; and Col. *Francis Ligonier*, who, in ten Days afterwards, died of a Quinsey at *Edinburgh*, had brought back the Horse, which were broke at the first Onset, and drew them to the Right of Gen. *Huske's* Division.

General *Hawley* was now retreating with the broken Troops, that is, such as could not be recover'd from their first Consternation, to *Falkirk*, where he halted, and drew them up in Order. General *Huske* perceiving it was just Night, and that the Weather continued very stormy, judg'd it would be highly inconvenient for the Men to stay any longer upon the Field, and considering that they might perhaps be attack'd in the Night, withdrew likewise; but not before he had order'd the Horse to march to the Place where the *Jubeans* were first station'd; but they were gone off, and to be seen only at a Distance.

Being come to the Camp, they found that Capt. *Cunningham*, of the Train of Artillery, had deserted it, for which he was afterwards tried by a Court Marshal, and broke. The Drivers of the draught Horses had run away at the Beginning of the Action, and the Ground was so moisten'd by the Rain, that it was impossible to carry off the Cannon without 'em; however, the Grenadiers of *Barrell's*

Regiment, by haltering one of the Pieces with Ropes, drew it to Falkirk, where they likewise got Horses to bring away two more. The Tents were so exceeding wet, and no Horses to carry them, that the General order'd them to be burnt; and such as were not destroy'd, fell into the Hands of the Enemy.

The Night continuing to advance, which might give the Enemy an Opportunity to surprize them by an Ambush, it was agreed, to march the Troops to *Linlithgow*, to cover them from the Weather, and to prevent any bad Accident from the Attempts or Stratagems of the *Jubeans*. To *Linlithgow* they march'd that Night, and the next Day to *Edinburgh*, where the News of their Defeat had arriv'd before them, and caused the utmost Consternation among the People; but when the Generals had given a true Relation of the whole Affair, the publick Tranquillity was soon restor'd.

Had the *Jubeans*, when the Royalists were first broke, and fled, push'd forward, and got between the Army and *Falkirk*, they would undoubtedly have made a great Number of Prisoners; for the Rain had render'd the Firelocks of the Royalists almost useless; so that the Highlanders had all the Opportunity in the World, of making Use of their broad Swords; yet, however it happened, they did not do such Execution with them as might have been expected.

In the Course of this Action, several Accidents happened, which prevented the *Jubeans* from pursuing those Advantages which they evidently had at the Beginning of it. Thus, when a Detachment of their Cavalry was on the Point of pursuing the Dragoons in their first Disorder, Col. *John Roy Stuart* cried out, *Gentlemen, keep your Ground; these are only Cope's Dragoons; you have the Battle yet to fight.* Col. *Drummond* likewise, observing the *Royal Scots* to wheel, and imagining they were running away, said, *These Men behav'd admirably well at Fontenoy, and yet they are flying; I fear there is an Ambuscade:* And immediately order'd his Men to keep their Ranks. And, lastly, when Gen. *Huske* was march'd off from the Field of Battle, the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, Commander of *Juba's* Life-Guard, or *Hussars*, who perfectly knew the Course of the Country, requested a Detachment, which he propos'd to lead by a much nearer Way than that of *Falkirk*, to *Linlithgow*, and by that Means surprize the Enemy at unawares; but this was refus'd.

It has been much wonder'd at, why the *Jubeans*, when they had broke the Cavalry of the Royalists at the first Onset, and saw the first Line of Infantry in such Disorder as to be flying before them, that they did not pursue them vigorously, but gave them Time to rally. But the Case was this: The *Jubeans* who advanced, were pick'd out from the worst Men they had; designing they should be beat, and run away before the King's Troops. Had that happen'd, there was in Reserve a Body of 3000 of their best Men; about 1000 whereof, in two Divisions, were plac'd in Ambuscade, entrenched in two different Angles of *Torwood*; and to each a mask'd Battery of six Pieces of Cannon, under the Direction of some *French* Engineers. The other 2000 likewise lay cover'd, but not entrench'd, The Scheme was, that when the *Jubeans*: had pursued the King's Troops within Pistol-shot of the two Ambuscades, and their respective Fires of Musquetry and Cannon had broke and disorder'd their Body, the Body of Reserve was to have

rush'd upon them; the Consequence of which might have prov'd fatal to the Royalists.

The *Jubeans* lost, in this Battle, about 300 Men, but none of much Note, and about as many were wounded. Among the last was Lord *John Drummond*, who was shot thro' the Arm with a Musket-Ball; *Lochiel* likewise, and his Brother, were both wounded. One *Major Mac Donald* was taken Prisoner thus: When the *English* Dragoons were broke, as before shewn, *Mac Donald* seiz'd and mounted one of their Horses. The Creature hearing the Drums beat to rally, run away, nor was his Rider able to stop him, or to throw himself off, till the Horse was got into the Middle of his own Troop, where the Major was taken Prisoner.

On the Side of the Royalists were kill'd near 300; among whom was Lieut. Col. *Whitney*, a Gentleman of undaunted Bravery, Sir *Robert Munro* and his Brother, and some other Officers, who being deserted by their Soldiers, expos'd themselves too much to the Fire of the Enemy, being determin'd to leave their Bodies on the sanguine Field, rather than save their Lives among Cowards. *William Thornton*, Esq; who rais'd, maintained, and headed the *Yorkshire Blues*, with 17 of his Company, were taken Prisoners, But he afterwards made his Escape; also Lieut. *George Cumming*, Cornet *Smith*, of *Hamilton's* Dragoons; Captains *Todd*, *Kellet*, *Dalrymple*, *Edmondson*, and Lieut. *Fairfield*, of *Blakeney's*; Captains *Dalton*, *Gering*, *Hamilton*, *Lander*, *Hale*, and Lieut. *Hickson*, of *Wolfe's*; Captain *Ofrepo* and *Hocker*; of *Howard's* and Lieut. Col. *Powel* of *Cholmondeley's* Regiment; Lieut. Col. *Biggar*, Captains *Hall*, *Fitzgerald*, and *Witheral*, of *Munro's*; 30 of the Dragoons, and about 200 others were likewise made Prisoners; but most of these were of the *Glasgow*, and other Militia, Voluntiers, and By-standers, whose Curiosity led them to see the Battle.

The next Day the *Jubeans* coming upon the Field of Battle, found there, among the Dead, the Bodies of Sir *Robert Munro*, and the brave Lieut. Col. *Whitney*; and in Regard to the eminent Virtues and Merits of these Gentlemen, carried them, to *Falkirk*, and gave them an honourable Internment.

Thus having given a full, distinct, and impartial Deduction of all the Particulars of Moment that happen'd in relation to the Battle of *Falkirk*, I shall proceed to other Matters, having first made this one Remark: That among the Regiments of the Royalists which behaved well in this Action, that of *Ligonier's*, which was engag'd from the Beginning; to the End of it, and kept such a continual Fire, that the *Jubeans* could not possibly come upon them Sword in Hand, had not so much as one Man kill'd. *Barrell's* was another Regiment that stood firm and unbroken, yet lost but 13 out of 800, tho' they were engag'd during the whole Fight.

The Day after the Battle, *Juba* march'd his Army back to *Stirling*, with a Resolution to take the Castle, if it could be done by human Means, of which he had a better Prospect now than ever, since he had effectually prevented Gen. *Hawley* from relieving it, as he intended. As soon therefore as he came to *Stirling*, he summon'd the Castle to surrender. To which *Blakeney* return'd this Answer, *That he had always been looked upon as a Man of Honour, and that the Jubeans should find he would die so.* They were the more sollicitous of getting this Fort into their own Hands, as it secured a Communication between the Northern and

Western Parts of *Scotland*, and was, as it were, the Key to both. They began therefore to erect two Batteries against the Castle; but the Garrison, then consisting of 600 Men, made so constant and terrible a Fire upon their Works, and on those that were employ'd in placing the Fascines, that the Highlanders absolutely refus'd to go near them. Upon which the *Irish* Brigade, and Col. *Drummond's* Regiment, were order'd upon that Duty; but these were so diminish'd by Desertion, and the late Battle, that scarce 300 of them were ready to be put upon that: Service. The Uneasiness of the Highlanders was much increas'd, by the Scarcity of Provisions which prevailed among them; which oblig'd *Juba* to send out Parties round the Country, to bring in all the Corn and Meal they could find.

The first Thing the *Jubeans* did, was, to command all the Inhabitants of the Town, on Pain of Death, from going near the Castle, or holding any Correspondence with the Soldiers in Garrison; in the next Place, under the Cover of some House; and Dykes, they discharg'd some Shot from their small Arms, but without any Effect. In the mean while the Workmen go on in creating the Batteries, which, with much Difficulty, they compleated on the 24th, and having secured them under the Cover of Woolpacks, they play'd against the Walls, but did no other Damage than breaking a little of the upper Part of them. But notwithstanding the many Difficulties and Discouragements they met with, they still proceeded in the Siege; and that they might be entirely at Liberty to apply themselves wholly to it, they sent away their Prisoners, taken in the late Battle, to *Down* Castle, where they were closely confin'd, and suffer'd great Hardships for Want of Necessaries; for the *Jubeans* being short of Provisions themselves, could afford but a small Allowance to their Prisoners; and this Scarcity was greatly owing to the burning of their Boats in the *Forth* by the King's Sloops. To all this may be added, the Untractableness and impatient Temper of the Highlanders, who are not only ignorant of, but extremely averse to, the Service required in Sieges.

Since, therefore, it's apparent, that, in carrying on this Siege, *Juba* labour'd under such Difficulties and Discouragements, why did he undertake it? Why did he lose his Time, and hazard the Lives of his Men before a Place so strong, that it was reckon'd almost impregnable? To this it may be answer'd, That *Juba* propos'd many Advantages by taking this Place; of which these three were the principal. 1. As *Stirling* Castle is reckon'd very strong, and a Place of great Importance, the Taking of it would have given a Lustre to his Arms, and increased his Reputation, as well in *Great Britain* as all over *Europe*. 2. If the *Jubeans* could have made themselves Masters of this Castle, and then have fortified *Perth*, they might have secured the greatest Part of *Scotland* during the Winter. And, 3. They might, by this Means, have maintain'd themselves along the Coasts of both Sides the Country, and so a Way would have been laid open, for receiving whatever Supplies were sent them. But we must leave them, for the present, struggling with Want, the Inclemencies of the Weather, and the Difficulties of the Siege, and quarrelling among themselves; for the Clans, and the *French* Picquets (who were the only People that stood the Brunt in the late Action of the 17th, when the *Angus* Battalions, and those who join'd them at *Edinburgh*, and took to their Heels almost as soon as the Fight began) complain'd, that the whole Weight of

the War lay upon them; and intimated, that if they, and their several Corps were once exhausted, they could not be recruited from the Places whence they came.

These Complaints and Grievances being laid before *Juba* in Council, he endeavour'd, all he could, to pacify the Complainants, by promising them Succours from *France*, which he hourly expected. *O'Sullivan*, too, was much envied for having his Master's Ear in Preference to others; nor was he was chagrin'd at seeing his Advice disregarded. *Sherridan*, who had little or nothing to lose, yet having, seemingly, the Preeminence in *Juba's* Friendship and Counsels, was another Cause of Disgust to Highland Chiefs. *Juba* was very attentive to these rising Discontents, which he endeavour'd to dissipate, by advancing the Officers of the several Clans to higher Posts than those they had, and treating them more, courteously, and with greater Confidence than hitherto he had done; however, the two *Irish* Politicians had still the Ascendant in the Cabinet.

While *Juba* is thus contriving Ways and Means to quiet his angry Chiefs, the Generals of the Royalists at *Edinburgh*, are exceeding busy in repairing their Losses at the late Action, and in preparing for another. The Troops were quarter'd in the Towns and Villages in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*. A Court-Martial for the Trials of the Officers and Soldiers who had misbehav'd in the Engagement at *Falkirk*, and also of the Deserters, that were taken on Board the *Lewis* Privateer formerly mention'd; of which Court Brigadier *Mordaunt* was made President, and who behav'd, on the Occasion, with a great deal of Candour and Impartiality, The *Glasgow* Regiment was sent home, the Time which they had agreed to serve, being expir'd; their Officers, however, assured the Generals, that if there should be any Occasion for their future Service, they would be always ready to stand in Defence of their King and Country at their own Expence. *Sempil's* and *Campbell's* Regiments were arriv'd at *Edinburgh* by the 20th, and the Military Chest was brought in the 21st, for the Payment of the Army; and for the Satisfaction of the People, who seem'd to be much dispirited on Account of the late Miscarriage at *Falkirk*, the Generals order'd a true Detail of the Particulars of that Affair, to be drawn up, printed, and dispers'd every where. Nothing, in short, was omitted, to restore the public Tranquillity, and to put the Army into as good a Condition, or rather better, than it was before the late Action; and the Generals were the more active in their several Posts, as they understood that the Duke of *Cumberland* would soon be among them, to command the Army in Person.

We must now go back to *London*, to attend the Duke of *Cumberland* to *Scotland*; for the Government perceiving, from the Accounts they had of the Affair at *Falkirk*, that more vigorous Measures must be pursued, or *Juba* would yet hold them a long Time in play, requested his Royal Highness, or, as it's said, the Duke petition'd his Royal Father for the Command of the Army in the North. Having obtain'd his Commission, he, without delaying a Moment, set out from St. *James's* at One o'Clock in the Morning of the 25th, proceeding by the Way of *Newcastle* and *Berwick*, and arriv'd at *Holyrood-house*, the 30th, at Three in the Morning; went to Bed, and rose at Eight, dressed, and receiv'd the General Officers, who gave him an Account of what had pass'd; the Nobility, principal Inhabitants, and such Lords of the Session as were in Town, paid him their Respects; about One o'Clock the Reverend Presbytery, and other Ministers,

walk'd in Procession to congratulate him, and he received them in the most courteous Manner; and, lastly, the Masters of the University, in their Gowns, paid him their Compliments. These Visits being over, he walk'd down Stairs, and view'd the 16 Pieces of Cannon in the Close, where he was saluted by the Drums, and loud Huzzas of the People. He then return'd, and sat down to Dinner; after which he began to concert with the Officers, the Plan of Operations to be pursued against the *Jubeans*. Then he order'd the Arms and Ammunition of the Soldiers to be inspected, and commanded them to be in Readiness to march at Four o'Clock the next Morning; but this last Order was communicated to them privately about Nine in the Evening, to hinder any Information of his Motions being sent to the Enemy. Every one prepar'd himself, and were all ready the next Morning at the Hour appointed. Special Orders were given, that no idle or unnecessary People should follow the Army, or be among them; and that if any one should presume to approach it within a Mile, without a Pass from some of the Generals, or Lord Justice Clerk, they should be fired upon; and *Hamilton's* Dragoons were order'd to patrol along the Western Road, to prevent any Intelligence being carried to the Enemy. About Five in the Morning they set forward in two Columns, consisting of fourteen Battalions of Foot, the *Argyleshire* Highlanders, *Cobham's* Dragoons, and Lord *Mark Ker's*; which two last, and two Battalions of Foot, viz. the *Scots* Fuzileers and *Sempil's* Regiment, were not in the late Action. General *Huske* led the Van, and the Artillery brought up the Rear. At Nine the Duke went into a Coach, which the Earl of *Hoptoun* had sent him, and passing up the *Cannongate* down *St. Mary's Wynd*, through the *Cowgate* and the *Grass-Market*, alighted at *Castle-Barns*, where he mounted his Horse, and, amidst the loud Acclamations of a vast Multitude of People, spurr'd his Horse into a Gallop, and soon join'd his Troops, put himself at the Head of the *Scots Royal*, and with eight Battalions march'd to *Linlithgow*, which he made his Head Quarters. Brig. *Mordaunt* march'd to *Borrostownness* with six Battalions; the Dragoons went to the adjacent Villages, and the *Argyleshire* Men, in Front, towards the *Avon*. The next Day the whole Army was in Motion, and form'd in Order of Battle; which being done, they passed in Review before his Highness, and when the Highlanders presented themselves, he seem'd much delighted with their Appearance, and said, *They looked very well, and had Breeches, and he lik'd them the better for that*. Then the Army was order'd to march, and arriv'd at *Falkirk* about Ten in the Morning, expecting every Moment to engage the Enemy, and were much surpriz'd to find none near them. For a considerable Body which *Juba* had station'd at *Falkirk*, on the Approach of the Royalists, quitted that Post, and retir'd to *Torwood*, where they were met by a Messenger from *Juba*, with Orders to halt there till Morning, when he intended to join them with the rest of the Army from *Stirling*, and to give the Duke Battle.

The next Morning the Royal Army was order'd to march forward; which both Officers and Soldiers did with the utmost Alacrity, in Hopes that they should have an Opportunity of retrieving their Honour, which had been somewhat eclips'd at the late Action at *Falkirk*. But scarce had they put themselves in Motion, before Advice was brought, that the *Jubeans*, instead of meeting them in the Field, were retiring over the *Forth* in great Haste. This Intelligence was soon confirm'd, by

the Retreat of the Highland Guards from all their advanced Posts as the Royalists approach'd; and as a farther Confirmation of this News, they heard two very loud Reports from whence it was rightly judg'd, that they had blown up their Magazines. Upon which the Duke gave Orders to Brig. *Mordaunt*, with the *Argyleshire* Troops and Dragoons, to go in Pursuit of the *Jubeans*, and harrass them in their Retreat. The Brigadier immediately obey'd, and arriv'd at *Stirling* late in the Evening; and the first Thing he did, was, to take Possession of the Camp which the *Jubeans* had quitted, with all their Artillery and he was soon inform'd, that they had¹⁰ blown up *St. Ninian's* Church, where was deposited their great Magazine of Powder and Ball the Explosion of which had caus'd that dreadful Noise which had been heard in the Royal Army. Here he likewise found all the wounded Men which the *Jubeans* had made Prisoners at the Battle of *Falkirk*, together with Nineteen of their own sick Men, whom they had left behind in their precipitate Retreat.

It being pretty late when the Brigadier arrived at *Stirling*, and Gen. *Blakeney* having broke down the Bridge that cross'd the River which runs by the Town, he judg'd it was to no Purpose to continue his Pursuit any farther and accordingly stopp'd his March, and quarter'd his Men there that Night; and was join'd the next Day, at Noon, by the Duke, and the rest of the Army.

Having brought the Royalists to *Stirling*, and reliev'd the gallant old *Blakeney*, just in the Nick of Time, when his Provisions and Firing were almost spent; let us now attend to *Juba*, his Counsels and Motions, at this critical Juncture, and explain the Motives that induced him to raise the Siege of the Castle, quit his Camp at *Stirling*, and retire into the Highlands.

We have already observ'd, that on the Approach of the Royalists to *Falkirk*, the Corps which *Juba* had posted there, retired to *Torwood*, where he intended to join them in the Morning, and give the Duke Battle. For which Purpose he summon'd his Generals, and Chiefs of the Clans, to a Council of War, to be held in his Presence. Being met, he acquainted them with his Resolution of fighting the Duke and they were unanimously of his Opinion, that this was the best Measure to be taken at this Juncture, and in their Circumstances. Accordingly a Plan of the Battle was agreed upon, and every Officer had his Post assign'd, and Instructions given him how to act. But no sooner was this Resolution known among the Troops, but the Lowlanders, who were already dishearten'd by the Retreat of the Corps from *Falkirk*, and the News of the Duke's Approach, absolutely refus'd to march, deserted their Colours, and shifted for themselves nor was it in the Power of their Officers, to persuade them to advance against the Enemy. In vain did they endeavour to animate them, from the Consideration of their former Victories, the Importance of the Occasion, that on their Behaviour depended entirely the Fate of their Prince and Country; that by their Bravery they might, by one Stroke, put him

¹⁰ It was currently reported, that the *Jubeans* had wickedly, and with a barbarous Intent, decoy'd several Country People into the Church, with a Promise of giving them such Effects as they could not conveniently carry away but that, when the poor credulous People were got into the Church, they set Fire to the Magazine, and inhumanely blew them and the whole Fabrick up together. But this Story, however confidently told, the Reader may be assured, is absolutely false, and without the least foundation.

into the Possession of the whole Kingdom of *Scotland*, or, by their Cowardice, bring Destruction on both, as well as themselves. But not all the Arguments and Rhetorick they could make use of, nor even the Presence and Entreaties of *Juba* himself, nor his Commands, Reproaches, or Exhortations, could prevail on these dastardly Lowlanders, to stand to their Arms, and face the Enemy; for though they lov'd their Prince, they said, yet they did not think themselves oblig'd madly and foolishly to throw away their Lives, where there was so little, or rather no Prospect of Success, the Royalists being treble the Number of the *Jubeans*, and in all Respects in a much better Condition.

Juba seeing, that all his Pains and Persuasions were lost upon them, immediately gave Orders for their passing the *Forth*, and to proceed to *Perth*, But though this was a terrible Disappointment, yet it did not, in the least, daunt his heroick Soul; he resolves, with his trusty Highlanders, to stand the Attack of the Enemy, and defend their Camp to the last Man, and rather to leave his Life in the Bed of Honour, than save it in the Company of Cowards and Poltroons. His Highlanders were determined, all to a Man, that they would share his Fate, be it what it would. *Juba*, however, that he might not be guilty of Rashness, calls a Council of War, that he might have the Opinion of his Generals and Chiefs, what was the best Course to take in the present Emergency. They, indeed, offer'd more moderate Counsels, and entreated him not to risque his *All* at so evident a Disadvantage, The D. of *Perth* endeavour'd, to the utmost of his Power, to dissuade him from coming to an Action with the Duke, in their present unfavourable Circumstances, since the Odds were manifestly against them, and the Event, in all Likelihood, would be their utter and irretrievable Ruin, *Juba* perceiving, that the general Opinion was against his Resolution of fighting the Enemy, suffer'd his Ardour to subside, and to be govern'd by their Sentiments. It was therefore resolv'd to avoid a Battle, and proceed, with the whole Army, to the Highlands, where they were confident they should increase their Strength by fresh Recruits, and be able, in Time, to engage the Royalists upon equal Terms in which Case they did not, in the least, doubt but they should come off victorious; or, at least, that they should so harrass and weary them with Marches and Counter-marches, the Rigours of the Season, and Badness of the Roads, to which themselves were naturally accustom'd, that they should make their *English* Stomachs sick of the Lay.

Pursuant to this Resolution, *Juba*, who was infinitely chagrin'd at the Thoughts of turning his Back upon an Enemy over whom he had so lately had an Advantage at *Falkirk*, gave immediate Orders for the Troops to quit their Camp, and march after the others, whom he had before sent over the *Forth*. Accordingly the Army decamp'd with as much Secrecy and Expedition as possible; for in Case they had linger'd ever so little, the Royalists would have been up with them, and forc'd them to an Engagement, for which they were not then prepared. The first Place they came to was *Crief*, where, upon a Consultation, it was agreed to divide his Forces into two Bodies; one of them, with which he march'd himself, was directed to take the Route of *Perth*, which they began to enter, *Feb.* 2, and by Parties were coming in till the 4th, but made no Stay. Here they nail'd up 13 Pieces of their Cannon, which they found it incommodious to take with them, and

threw 14 Swivels, that belong'd to the *Hazard* Sloop, and a great Quantity of Ammunition, into the *Tay*. Then they subdivided into smaller Parties, one of which took with them 7 Pieces of Cannon, and 14 Carts loaded with Ammunition, escorted by Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Men, who march'd by *Dunkeld*, cross'd the *Braemar*, directing their Course Northward. The other Body, or Column, under the Command of Majors *Nairn* and *Kennedy*, took the Road to *Dundee*, with 300 of the *French* Picquets, the Life-Guards, Lord *Ogilvie's*, *Pitsligo's*, *Elcho's*, and Sir *James Kinloch's* Battalions, under the general Command of Lord *George Murray* these went by the Way of *Cawpar* of *Angus*, directing their Course to *Montrose* where, to ease them of the Luggage, they put two of their Cannon into a Boat, which was row'd along Shore, and kept Pace with them. From thence they proceeded to *Aberdeen*, where dividing their main Body into small Parties, for the Sake of better Subsistence, some march'd by the Way of *Old Meldrum* and *Bamff*, and others by *Inverary* and *Stratbogie*, from whence General *Murray*, after halting two Days, set forward to meet his Master Young *Juba*. All these Parties and Divisions of these two grand Bodies, or Columns, had their Orders to join at *Inverness*, the Place appointed for their general Rendezvous.

Juba, together with the D. of *Perth*, the Lords *John Drummond*, *Kilmarnock*, and *Nairn*, Brig. *Stapleton*, Secretary *Murray*, the *French* Ambassador, and the several Clans that were with them, passed along *Taybridge* to *Dalnacardoch*, where they arriv'd the 7th. Here he halted, to give Time to his Rear to bring up three Field-pieces; and from hence he dispatch'd his Summons to the *Macphersons*, *Camerons*, and *Macdonalds*, whom he permitted to retire to their Habitations, in order to carry home, and secure the Plunder they had got during their Marches in *England* and *Scotland*.

Juba was not insensible, that the News of his Retreat would exceedingly alarm his Friends, and occasion Impressions, to the Disadvantage of his Cause both at Home and Abroad. To prevent which, he caus'd Papers to be drawn up, printed, and dispers'd over the Country, and in every Town he pass'd through, to explain the Reasons which induced him to take this Step. Some of these Reasons have been already mentioned; and the following were likewise in these printed Papers.

'That as his Men, particularly the Highlanders, were loaded with the Booty they had collected both in *England* and *Scotland*, it was very proper to let them convey it Home, where it might be lodg'd in Safety; and, farther, that this would secure to them an acquired Property; for which they would, doubtless, fight valiantly to the last, and be induced to stand by him, not only on his Account, but also on their own. That, moreover, it was necessary, after so fatiguing a Campaign, to allow the Troops some Relaxation, after which, when well refresh'd and recruited, they would not fail to make another Irruption into the Lowlands, in the next Spring.'

But, besides these, *Juba* had some other Reasons, which, however, he did not think proper to publish. One was, that by carrying the War into the Highlands, he should have an Opportunity to raise and spread Reports of the Severities and Oppressions exercised by his Enemies; by which Means his own People would be exasperated against them, and deterr'd from falling off from him, which many

seem'd inclined to do, from the little Prospect they saw of his succeeding in his Enterprise. Another private Reason for his taking this Step, was, that while he was diverting his Enemies among the Highlands, he might give his Friends in *France* and *Spain*, Leisure and Opportunity to execute the Measures which had been concerted, of making an Invasion in the South; which would, in all Probability, make such a Diversion, as to furnish him with Means of retrieving his Affairs, which then had but an indifferent Aspect. But, besides all this, he was earnestly desirous of getting into his Hands the Chain or Line of Fortifications which run along the North of *Scotland*; which Forts are call'd, *William*, *Augustus* and *George*, the last is the Castle of *Inverness*. He wisely consider'd, that if he was once Master of these Forts, he should have nothing to fear from the Enemy behind him, and at the same Time should furnish his foreign Friends with the Means of sending him those Succours which had been long promis'd, but hitherto had come in but very sparingly.

But let us now return to the Duke of *Cumberland*, who arriv'd as *Stirling*, *Feb.* the 2d, without meeting with any Obstruction by the Way, and immediately gave Orders for the repairing of the Arch of the Bridge which General *Blakeney* had broke down; which being finish'd in two Days, the Army march'd over it. The advanced Guard; consisting of *Argyleshire* Highlanders, and the Dragoons, went on to *Crief*, and the Foot were canton'd at and about *Dumblain*, where the Duke lay the 4th. The 6th he arriv'd at *Perth*, and gave immediate Orders for laying in Magazines of Bread and Forage, Two Detachments of 500 Men each, were sent forward, one to *Dunkeld*, under the Command of Lieut. Col. Sir *Andrew Agnew*, with 120 *Argyleshire* Men added thereto; the other, under the Command of Lieut. Col. *Leighton*, to *Castle-Menzie*, a Mile on the other Side of *Tay-Bridge*. The rest of the Army remain'd at *Perth*, in order to refresh and rest the Regiments of Foot, after the great Fatigue they had undergone.

Many of the *Jubeans*, seeing the desperate and forlorn Condition to which their Cause was reduc'd, and being convinc'd, that their utter Ruin must be the inevitable Consequence of their obstinate Persistence to defend it, sent to the Duke to crave Mercy: To which he return'd this Answer, *That they might expect all the Mercy which perfidious Rebels, and Disturbers of the Peace of the Country, deserved.*

Feb. 8th, the Prince of *Hesse*, and the Earl of *Crawford*, arrived in the Road of *Leith*, from *Williamstadt* in *Holland*, which they left the 4th. An Express was immediately dispatch'd to the Duke of *Cumberland*, to know in what Manner he would have the *Hessians* dispos'd of.

In the Treaty of Subsidy, concluded between the King of *Sweden*, as Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the King of *Great Britain*, it is, among other Things, stipulated, 'That the *Hessian* Troops, which were to pass over into *England*, shall be in the Pay of *Great Britain* that they shall not be employ'd in the Men of War, nor sent into the Plantations; but that they shall serve for no other Purpose, than for the Defence of *Great Britain* and that when there shall be no farther Occasion for them in that Kingdom, they shall be sent back complete; if not, 80 Crowns shall be paid for every Horseman that shall be wanting, and 30 for every Foot Soldier. Also, that 150,000 Crowns *per Annum* shall be paid to the King of

Sweden, so long as the *Hessian* Troops shall remain in the Pay of *Great Britain* during the Term of this Treaty, in Case those Troops should be dismiss'd before the Determination thereof, and that if *England* should have need of a greater Number, they should be furnish'd upon the same Footing, &c.'

Two Days afterwards, that is, *Feb.* 10, the *Hessians* landed, and were canton'd in and about the City of *Edinburgh*; and were allow'd to be well-made proper Men, and well-disciplin'd.

About this Time the Duke of *Athol* publish'd a Declaration, requiring all his Vassals to come to *Dunkeld* and *Kirk Michael*, and join the Troops that were sent there to disarm the *Jubeans*, on Pain of their being proceeded against with the utmost Severity in Case of Refusal.

While the Duke was at *Perth*, one of his Parties took the Duchess Dowager of *Perth*, and the Lady Viscount of *Strathallan*, both strenuous Sticklers for *Young Juba*, and convey'd them, under an Escort of Dragoons, to the Castle at *Edinburgh*; of which the Duke being inform'd, caus'd it to be declar'd to the old Duchess, that unless she could prevail with her Son, to release all the Prisoners taken by the Rebels, the King's Soldiers should be left at full Liberty, to plunder and destroy the *Drummond* Estate; upon which she wrote accordingly, being, sensible what Soldiers are capable of when left to act without Controul; especially at that Time, when they were extremely exasperated, for being oblig'd to suffer the Hardships and Rigours of a Winter's Campaign.

At the same Time the Duke sent to General *Blakeney*, at *Stirling*, 150 Prisoners, whom his Army had pick'd up in the Pursuit, and among them three Lieutenants, and two Ensigns. He also took 400 Arms, which the *Jubeans* had left at *Perth*. He likewise took Possession of *Drummond* Castle, the D. of *Perth's* Seat, seiz'd his Horses, which were said to be of the finest Breed in *Britain*, and secured the Hay and Forage in the Parks, for the Use of the Dragoons,

On the Duke's Arrival at *Perth*, the Nobility, Gentry, and Ministers paid him their Respects; and the neighbouring Towns sent their Deputies, with Addresses to him, as well as his Royal Father. These Visits, however, did not interrupt his more serious Concerns. He delay'd not to send out Detachments, to secure the Passes by which it was apprehended that the *Jubeans* might return; and these Detachments were replaced by other Corps that daily arriv'd from *Edinburgh*; such as *St. George's* Dragoons, *Kingston's* Horse, &c. The Duke, leaving *Perth* the 15th, proceeded with the Van of his Army to *Dundee*.

As soon as the Duke had settled his Affairs, he prepared to pay a Visit to the Prince of *Hesse* at *Edinburgh*. Accordingly, on the 18th, he set out from his Camp at *Dundee*, attended by Lord *Cathcart*, and his domestick Servants. He came to *Kinghorn* at about One o'Clock in the Afternoon, where he was provided with a long Boat from the Men of War, which carried him over the *Firth*, and landed him at *Leith* about Three. The Prince of *Hesse* having Notice of his coming, went, with his Officers, down to the Pier to receive him; and the Meeting of the two Princes was very affectionate; and their mutual Caresses being over, the whole Company went to the Abbey, where the Princes dined in Publick after which, they consulted together about the Operations of the *Army*, and the Measures proper to be pursued by them respectively in prosecuting the War. Every Thing being

adjusted to their mutual Satisfaction, the next Morning, about Nine, he set out on his Return to the Army. On his Departure, as at his Arrival, he was saluted by a complete Round from the Castle, and likewise by the Men of War as he passed by them.

Being arriv'd at his Camp, on the 20th, he put his Troops in Motion in four Divisions; two of which he order'd to take the Route of *Cowpar* of *Angus*, whither he had before sent two Battalions of Foot, and 250 Horse; the other two took the Road of *Dundee*, to which Place the like Number had been before dispatch'd; the Artillery follow'd, which was conveyed over the *Tay* at *Perth*, passed through *Forfar* and *Brechin*, and join'd the Army the 22d at *Montrose*. The several Divisions of the Forces were order'd to pursue the different Routes they were directed, till they arriv'd at *Aberdeen*, the Place appointed for their general Rendezvous.

The Duke having taken all the Precautions possible for the Security of the Country, set out for *Aberdeen*, where he arriv'd *Feb.* 28. All proper Measures being taken for the vigorous Prosecution of the War, to prevent any ill Accidents that might hereafter happen from the Misbehaviour of his Officers or Soldiers, the *English* Generals judg'd it highly necessary to make Examples of those whose Conduct had not been justifiable in former Actions.

Accordingly a Court Martial was held at *Montrose*, by which¹¹ Capt. *C—m*, an Officer in the Artillery, was tried for deserting the Train in the Action at *Falkirk*; and after a full and fair Hearing, he was sentenc'd to have his Sword broke over Head by the Provost, his Sash thrown on the Ground, and himself turn'd out of the Army; which was executed accordingly at the Head of the Artillery. A Lieutenant in *Fleming's* Regiment, was likewise broke for disobeying Orders, and prevaricating before a Court Martial, on Account of plundering the House of Mr. *Oliphant* of *Gask*, a strenuous Asserter of the *Jubean* Cause, and who was, at that Time, with *Juba* in the Mountains.

Thus have we brought the Duke to *Aberdeen*; but before we leave him, to return to *Juba*, let us stop a little, to introduce a few Reflections, which an Author, who has wrote on these Affairs, has made on one of the most surprizing Instances of the great Effects of a General's Reputation, that any History hath ever exhibited. In the Space of a single Week, the Duke of *Cumberland* posted from his Father's Court, travelled above 300 Miles in the Midst of Winter, put himself at the: Head of the Forces in *Scotland*, and saw his Enemies flying with Precipitation before him; those very Enemies, who, in his Absence, despis'd those very Troops by whom they were now pursued, and were now grown terrible to the

¹¹ This Gentleman, upon reflecting on his Misbehaviour, cut an Artery of his Arm, to avoid the disgraceful Punishment he expected for his Cowardice: But happen'd to miss the Point, and recovering the Blow which he thus aim'd at his own Life, liv'd to receive the Reward of his own Pusillanimity and Folly, Strange Infatuation! Says a Remarker on this Passage that a Man should do that, to avoid an honourable Death, which he knew might, probably, bring him to a shameful Death, or a Disgrace which he dreaded worse than Death; and, to avoid which, he afterwards chose to end his Life in a Manner the most shocking to a reasonable Mind, even by his own Hand: This is what I cannot, in few Words, account for.

Fliers, chiefly on Account of only one single Person's having resumed the Command of them. Should the Duke's best Friends endeavour to heighten this Event, by any Strains of Compliment or Panegyrick, they would only obscure it; the bare Recital of the Matter of Fact is the noblest *Eulogium*, and the only Remark I shall add, is this, that as surprizing and incredible as it may seem to Posterity, it must be, at present, allow'd a Truth notorious to the whole *British* Nation.

A WEEK'S WORK.

Scarce had the joyless News of *Falkirk's* Day To *Britain's* Sacred Monarch wing'd its Way, When his Young Hero mounts the rapid Car, To save his Country, or his Fate to share: Intent on this, he ev'ry Let defies, The rigid Journey, and more rigid Skies; And what, with Wonder, latest Times shall hear, Raised *Stirling's* Siege before we thought him there.

We left *Juba*, with the several Corps and Divisions of his Army, marching for *Inverness*, where he had appointed them to rendezvous. On the 10th, he sent General *Gordon*, of *Glenbucket*, to summon the Garrison that was in the Barracks of *Ruthven*, to surrender. A particular Account of this Affair, as it contains a remarkable Instance of Bravery, we believe will not be disagreeable to the Reader; we shall therefore take the Account which Lieut. Col. *Malloy*, the Commander of the Garrison, gave of this Affair after his Surrender. His Narrative runs in these Terms; That on the 30th of *August* last, he was attack'd by 350 of the *Camerons*, and others of the Clans, and made a brave Defence with 14 Men only; the Clans were commanded by Col. *Cameron*, *Lochiel's* Brother, *Lochgarry*, and Col. *Sullivan*, and kept him, and a small Party in Action above four Hours, in which he lost only one Man; of the Enemy were killed, died of their Wounds, and disabled, fourteen. Col. *Cameron* acknowledg'd he had nine Holes in his, outside Coat, as he told the Lieutenant after the Surrender of the Garrison, *Feb.* 11, upon the following Conditions.

General *Gordon* sent a Message to the Lieutenant on the 10th, upon the Approach of about 300 of the Highland Army, to the Village of *Ruthven*, desiring he would surrender the Garrison, and that he should have favourable Conditions. The Lieutenant answer'd, that it was not consistent with his Honour to do so, and that he would not give up his Garrison, until he was besieg'd in Form, and that he could not see but that he was able to make a good Defence. This was about Eight o'Clock in the Morning. About Three in the Afternoon, some Cannon appeared in the Village, which were planted against the Garrison, under" the Cover of some Huts, and discharg'd briskly three Shot against the Garrison; finding that there was 110 Flag of Truce hung out, and that the Lieutenant was resolv'd to defend it, Col. *Grant* was sent with the following Summons, conducted by *John Macpherson*, Deputy Barrack-Master.

'These are by his R—— H——'s Order. I send you this, to desire you will surrender without Loss of Time to give up the Barrack, and so render yourselves Prisoners at Discretion, or these are to certify, you are to expect no Mercy.'

GORDON,

The Lieutenant's Answer.

SIR,

I Don't see but I am in a Condition to make a good Defence in my Garrison. Still I know I cannot stand a long and regular Siege, especially against Cannon, yet I am resolv'd, to the last Extremity, in every Respect, to sustain the Character of a Gentleman, and to answer the Expectation and Confidence of my Royal Master, with Regard to what he has committed to my Trust.

To be brief; I will not surrender until your Prince's Approach to this Place, and then upon the following Conditions only.

1st, That my Men and I be honourably treated, as I am well inform'd of the Revenge and Threats denounced against us by the Clans who attacked this Garrison last *August*. 2dly, That we shall not be rifled or pillaged, and that your Prince grant me my Parole of Honour, and set my Men at Liberty, as he has done other Prisoners hitherto, considering the Difference betwixt Prisoners of this Kind, and those taken in the Field of Battle. General *Gordon*, an experienced and humane Officer, can't deny this reasonable Entreatment; and upon Performance thereof, I will deliver the Keys of the Garrison to your Prince, upon giving a Guarantee to fulfil the above Conditions.

Further, I permit General *Gordon* to send his Horses and Grooms into my Stables this Night, without Arms; all I require, for my Honour and Security on this Head, is, that Col. *Grant* may be permitted to stay as Hostage, in my House, until the Prince's Arrival.

MOLLOY.

Six o'Clock at -Night.

To which General Gordon answer'd.

SIR,

I Received your Proposals, which I think too high to propose your giving the Keys to none but the Prince; I think, my having his Commands to attack your Barrack, is sufficient, upon your surrendering, to receive the Keys from you, and if you rightly consider, and ponder the Thing, you shall find it to your Advantage.

I have again troubled Col. *Grant* to shew you that I understand you are afraid of Mal-treatment, and risking your Honour in giving up the Keys immediately to me: To avoid all Scruples of this Kind, and to shew you that I am resolv'd to treat you with all Humanity and civil Usage, if you give up your Arms to me this Night, and suffer 20 or 30 Men, for whose civil Behaviour towards you and Men, I shall answer; you shall live peaceably in the Barrack until the Prince come, from whose Lenity you may expect all good Treatment.

These shall be the last Conditions you'll have from me, and shall be very sorry if you force me to do what you may repent of, and will not be agreeable to me; for any Thing more, I refer to Col. *Grant*.

GORDON.

Ten o'Clock at Night.

The Answer.

SIR,

I Received yours concerning my delivering up my Arms this Night, and receiving Men into my Garrison; I cannot comply to it. To-morrow Morning at Ten o' Clock, if you make the Demand, and give a Guarantee to fulfil your Letter, and let me continue in Possession of my Room and Kitchen, and Provisions, with

the like Liberty for my Men, I shall then comply to render you my Arms, and receive 16 Men only, for whose Conduit towards me and Men, you'll be answerable.

MOLLOY.

Eleven o'Clock at Night.

The above Articles were agreed to at Twelve Clock next Day, the 11th. The Lieutenant had but twelve Men, whereof three were useless, and they were all conduced to *Blair*. The Highlanders, insensible of the Advantages of keeping these Barracks, directly blew them up.

Juba being, by this Time, come up with the General, he dispatch'd some Messengers to the *Grants*, who had taken Arms for the Government, and threaten'd them with Military Severities, unless they observ'd a Neutrality. The *Grants* were so intimidated with his Menaces, that they sent to him four Gentlemen of their Clan, to assure him of their Readiness to embrace the Terms proposed, and offer'd to give Hostages for the Performance of them.

Having settled this Affair with the *Grants*, he march'd onwards to *Moy*, the Residence of the Laird of *Mackintosh* and lodged there. The Earl of *Loudon*, being informed of the Place where *Juba* was, contrived a Scheme to surprize his Person Lord *Loudon* then lay at *Inverness*, about 8 Miles from *Moy*. On the 16th, about Three in the Afternoon, his Lordship order'd Gentries to be posted at all the Avenues of the Town, and the Inhabitants were required to keep close in their own Houses; every Officer had particular Directions given him, to repair, with his Corps, to *Barnshil*, which was at the East of the Town, exactly at Six o'Clock; all which was punctually observ'd. Being there drawn up, his Lordship walk'd along the Line, and directed every Company to follow the Guides, he had appointed to conduct them; that if he saw any Body of they should fire at them, but not to concern themselves with small Companies, except it were for Intelligence. His Lordship, at the Head of 1500 Men, was got half Way undiscover'd, when a Detachment, which he had sent to prevent Intelligence, going a nearer Road, contrary to Orders, fired about 30 Shot at four Men, which alarm'd the Country, and threw the Body along with his Lordship into Confusion during which, a great Number of his People dispers'd, so that it was necessary to march back to *Inverness*, from whence his Lordship would have march'd to join the Duke of *Cumberland*, but the *Jubeans* changing their Situation, made that impracticable, and his Lordship finding himself, at the same Time, unable to defend the Place with the Numbers he had with him, threw two of the Independent Companies into the Castle, under the Command of Maj. *Grant*, with a sufficient Quantity of Provisions, and having put on Ship-board what Arms and Ammunition could be spar'd, march'd out of *Inverness* and cross'd the Ferry, at *Kessoch*, without the Loss of a Man, though the *Jubeans* were in Possession of one End of the Town before he left the other.

From thence he crossed into *Cromartie*, in order to have it in his Power to cross the *Firth* of *Murray* and join the Duke in case his Army had been so far advanced; but the *Jubeans* increasing, oblig'd him to cross at *Tair*, in order to put himself behind the River in a defensible Post.

The *Jubeans* observing the Royalists crossing the Ferry at *Kessoch*, march'd down to the *Ness*, where that River disimbogues itself into the Sea, and planting two Pieces of Cannon, fired upon them, but without doing them any Damage, The Royalists being got safe on the other Side, took up their Quarters, for that Night, at *Red-Castle*, and the next Day proceeded to *Inverbreaky*, where they encamp'd, and settled a Correspondence with the regular Forces.

The *Jubeans* being in Possession of the Town of *Inverness*, immediately prepar'd to lay Siege to the Castle, which, however, was sufficiently provided to have made a good Defence. The Trenches which Lord *Loudon* had made, now serv'd the *Jubeans* to plant their Cannon upon, and a Drum was sent to the Governor, Major *Grant*, to require him to surrender. The Governor desir'd Time to advise with his Garrison, and in the mean while all Firing to cease. The *Jubeans*, however, contrary to this Agreement, advanced, under Cover of the Night, and broke Ground to the East of the Town 21 Yards nearer the Walls than they were before; of which the Governor being informed by a Spy, he Order'd the Guns to fire upon the Trench, which oblig'd the Besiegers to retire with Precipitation, and to take Refuge in an old Kiln, where they planted a large Cannon, and fired upon the Castle, but with little Effect, The next Day there was furious Firing on both Sides, by which one Man of the Royalists was kill'd, and some few of the *Jubeans* wounded. During the Heat of the Firing, *Juba* set his Engineers to work, to undermine the Northern Bastion; of which the Governor had speedy Intelligence, as well as of the particular Spot where they were at work; and to interrupt them, ordered Granades to be thrown upon them during the Night. The Officers likewise proposed to undermine the Besiegers, and the Soldiers appear'd ready to oppose the Enemy at all Hazards; and the *Munroes* and *Rosses*, in particular, offer'd to make a Sally, and to act with the utmost Vigour in Defence of the Place. But all these Offers and Proposals were to no Purpose; the Governor was so terrified at the Thoughts of the Mine, that he resolv'd immediately to capitulate, and opposed all Arguments that were brought to the contrary. Accordingly, on the Morning of the third Day, he order'd a white Blanket to be hung out; which being observ'd by the *Jubeans*, they sent a Person to know the Meaning of it. He was answer'd, that the Governor propos'd a Surrender, if it could be obtain'd upon honourable Terms; that is, that the Garrison might be permitted to go out with the Honours of War, which was refused; however, they granted him his own Liberty, and Permission to carry away his own Goods and Effects that he had in the Castle. These Articles were agreed to; which when the other Officers heard of, they went to him, and desir'd that they might be included in the Capitulation; he promised they should, and they gave him their Terms in Writing; but in the Hurry and Confusion he was in, he forgot to have them sign'd; as his own were. And, therefore, when the D. of *Perth*, Lord *John Drummond*, and Col. *Cuthbert* came to take Possession of the Castle in *Juba's* Name, the Governor, indeed, had his Liberty agreeable to his Articles, but the other Officers, with the Garrison, were imprison'd, hardly dealt with, and oblig'd to lie upon the bare Ground, without Cloaths, for some Days, in the most rigorous Season, till they were convey'd to *Forres*.

The Castle being reduced, *Juba* came from *Castle-hill*, where he lodg'd, and was congratulated by his Officers, in having one of the strongest Forts in the North of *Scotland* now in his Hands, The Castle being evacuated by the Royalists, the *Jubeans* found in it 12 Pieces of Cannon, 100 Barrels of Beef, 16 Barrels of Powder and Ball, besides other Ammunition and Military Stores. As the Highlanders were always averse to Forts and Garrisons among them, they were resolv'd to erase and destroy all that fell into their Hands. Fort *George* was accordingly blown up, and a *French* Engineer with it, who was a little too curious in inspecting the Train that was laid under the Bastions at the Moment it took Fire. Thus was this Fort demolish'd in an Instant, which had stood the Government in 50,000*l*.

After the Reduction of Fort *George*, *Juba* sent a Detachment to attack Fort *Augustus*, where was likewise a Garrison of Royalists. The Place being of no great Strength, did not hold out long. In the old Tower a Serjeant and 12 Men stood bravely on their Defence, and would not suffer the Enemy to approach, till Cannon were planted against it. The *Jubeans* then erected Batteries against the new Fortifications. Major *Wentworth*, the Governor of the Fort, fired briskly upon them, and kill'd two of their Men; but a Ball unluckily falling into his Magazine of Powder, it blew up; which oblig'd him, with his Garrison, consisting of three Companies of *Guise's* Regiment, to surrender. The Fort, being of small Consequence as a Fortification, they did not blow it up, but turn'd it into a Place of Confinement for their Prisoners, where they were kept till an Opportunity offer'd, of conveying them to *France* and it remain'd in their Hands, for the same Use, till their general Dispersion at the fatal Battle of *Culloden*•

That Column of the *Jubeans* which took their Route along the Coast, came the 16th to *Elgin*, and demanded Billets for 5000 Men, and Stables for 400 Horses. Gentlemen were oblig'd to furnish them with large Quantities of Hay, Straw, Corn, and what else they wanted, under Pain of Military Execution. The next Day Col. *Roy Stuart's* Regiment arrived, with 100 Chests of Arms, Powder and Ball; as did, likewise, Lord *Elcho* at the same Time. These Chests had been brought over in two *Spanish* Privateers, together with a considerable Quantity of Money; one of them was taken and burnt, but the other return'd safe to *Dunkirk*, and carried to *France* the first News of *Juba's* Retreat from *Stirling*; and also a Letter from him to the Old *Chevalier*, his Father, at *Rome*; containing the Reasons which induced him to take that Step. After he has given a Detail of what had pass'd among His People in *Scotland*, since the raising of tile Siege of *Stirling*, with a List of the Troops under his Command, in which he makes them amount to above 20,000; he tells his Father, 'That the Arrival of the *Hessian* Troops in *Scotland*, and the coming up of the Reinforcements sent to the Duke of *Cumberland*, were the principal Reasons which made him determine to give over the Siege that the Difficulty which his Troops had to subsist, in the Situation in which they then were, had also made him resolve to march Northward that he had divided his Troops in three Columns, one of which march'd under his Command through *Athol* and *Badenoch*, toward the Shire of *Murray*, whilst the other two directed their Course through the Shires of *Perth*, *Angus*, *Merns*, and *Marr*, with a Design that all the Three should meet again upon the Rivers *Spey* and *Findhorn*, in order

to possess themselves of the important Post of *Inverness*; that he had taken all possible Care to conceal the Design of his March from the *English* Troops, so that they were persuaded his Army made this Motion with no other View but to disperse that by moving Northwards he had another Advantage in View, which was, that of his facilitating his being join'd by the Succours he expected from the Western Coast of *Scotland*, as well as from the Islands of *Mull and Skey* that as *Sir Alexander Macdonald*, whose Seat was in the last of these two Islands, remain'd inflexible to all his Solicitations, he had required nothing more of him, than that he would continue neutral; that he had offer'd the same Expedient to other Landholders who had refus'd to act in his Favour that several Inhabitants of the Isle of *Skey*, who were not Vassals to *Sir Alexander Macdonald*, had promised to join him that the Lord *Lovat*, and his Son, continued firmly attach'd to him, and that they neglected nothing that could contribute to the Advancement of his Cause that his principal Attention, since he had been in *Scotland*, had been to preserve Lenity and Concord among the Chiefs of his Army, and flattered himself with having succeeded therein, since no one of them had, as yet, forsaken him that they had given him a new Demonstration of their Attachment, when his Army left *Perth*, in signing an Association, by which they engag'd, in the strongest Manner, never to abandon his Interest That, moreover, whatever might be the Success of his Enterprize, he was resolv'd to die Sword in Hand, rather than desist from what he has undertaken that the Succours of Arms, Money, and Ammunition, sent to him from *France* and *Spain*, continued to arrive that some of them had, indeed, the Misfortune to be taken by the *English*, but that Loss, he hoped, would soon be repair'd by the Arrival of those he expected.'

At *Elgin*, *Juba's* Manifestoes were read, and great Rejoicings made. On the 18th, a large Body of them march'd to *Nairn* and *Forres*, leaving in *Elgin* the Corps commanded by Lord *Lewis Gordon*; some *Farquharsons*, and some Horse, under the Command of Lord *Pitsligo*, arriv'd at *Inverness* the same Day that the Garrison of Fort St. *George* surrender'd. As they pass'd through the Country, they exacted the Excise, and requir'd the Cess Books to be brought to them in every Place they came to, and whomsoever they found in Arrears, they oblig'd to pay all that was due, on Pain of Military Execution, which was actually put in Force in case of Refusal; and the Gentlemen and Farmers were every where requir'd to bring in their Meal for which they were promis'd, that a Discount should be allow'd in the Levy-Money and Cess, and if that should not prove equivalent, that the Ballance should be paid them in ready Money but, however, this Part of the Bargain was wav'd, when the other Parts of it were fulfill'd At length, all Parties join'd the Camp at *Inverness*, where *Juba* himself lay; and from whence he was daily sending out Detachments for 30 Miles round the Country, to bring in Provisions, and other Necessaries he had Occasion for.

While the *Jubeans* lay at *Inverness*, the Duke of *Cumberland* apprehending, that they might attempt to get into the *Low-Lands*; and being, at the same Time, inform'd of Troops coming from *France*, of which one Transport was already arriv'd, and five more expected; he wrote to Prince *Frederick* of *Hesse*, to march immediately four Battalions to *Perth*, and two to *Stirling*. St. *George's* Dragoons were canton'd at *Earn-bridge*; and the Remainder of *Naizon's* and *Hamilton's*

Dragoons, at *Bonnock-Burn*, near *Stirling*. With this Cavalry, commanded by the Earl of *Crawford*, the Prince of *Hesse* had a sufficient Body to deal with the *Jubeans*, should they attempt either to avoid the Duke, by going South, or to attack the Posts at *Blair*, or *Castle-Menzie*; and *Bligh's* Battalion was to keep in Readiness to march.

As soon as the Duke arriv'd at *Aberdeen*, he detached Lord *Ancram* with 100 Dragoons, and Maj. *Morris* with 300 Foot under his Command, to the Castle at the Head of the River *Don*, 40 Miles from *Aberdeen*. The Castle is call'd *Cargarf* and situated in the Heart of the Rebellion, where the *Jubeans* had deposited a large Quantity of *Spanish* Arms and Powder. On the Approach of these Troops the *Jubeans* quitted the Castle; but having driven away all the Horses out of the Country, his Lordship was forced to destroy most of the Arms, and 30 Barrels of Powder.

The Duke having station'd the *Hessian* and other Troops, at the Castle of *Blair* and *Menzies*, at *Perth*, *Dunkeld*, and other Places, and thereby effectually debarr'd the *Jubeans* from returning to the Lowlands; the next Thing that employ'd his Thoughts was, to provide for the Defence of *Fort William*, a Place, at that Time, of the last Importance, as it secured another Passage through the West of *Scotland*, by which the *Jubeans* might have made their Way into *England* a second Time.

Juba was no less sensible of what Consequence it was to have *Fort William* in his own Possession, and therefore detach'd a strong Body of his Troops, with Engineers, Artillery, &c. under the Command of that experienced Officer Brig. *Stapleton*, to besiege it. The brave General *Campbell*, with his *Argyleshire* Men, undertook the Defence of it.

The General observing, that the *Jubeans* were making their Approaches to besiege him, that they had posted Parties on each Side of the *Narrows* of *Carron*, and had taken one of the Boats that belong'd to the *Baltimore* Sloop, as she was coming from *Scallestall* Bay, and sent the Crew Prisoners to their Head Quarters, call'd a Council of War, consisting of Land and Sea Officers, wherein a Resolution was taken to send a strong Party to dislodge the Enemy. In Pursuance whereof, early the next Morning, *March* the 4th, Capt. *Askew* the *Serpent* Sloop, sent his Boat, with 27 Men in it, another Boat of the *Baltimore's*, with 24 Men, and another Boat, belonging to *Fort William*, with 20 Men, down the *Narrows*, where they all arriv'd by Daylight, Capt. *Askew's* Men landed first, and were immediately attacked by a Party of 80 *Jubeans*, who fired upon them, but without doing them any Damage; upon the rest of the Men belonging to the Boats, coming up, they fled. The Royalists pursued them, burnt the Ferry-houses on both Sides the Water, and a Village with about twelve Houses in it, a Quarter of a Mile distant from the Ferry-house on the North Side, and destroy'd, or brought off all their Boats. In this Skirmish two of the *Jubeans* were kill'd, and several wounded. Had not the Royalists drove the *Jubeans* from their several Posts along the River, it's very probable, that a Boat, laden with a Party of Militia, that was coming from *Stalkirk* Castle to *Fort William*, would have fallen into their Hands.

The Royalists having thus done the Enemy what Mischief they could, returned hack to their Ships; but were no sooner gone, than the *Jubeans* repossess'd

themselves of their former Posts, and guarded the *Narrows* on both Sides the *Carron*, for two Miles from *Fort William*; and several other Parties of them were seen marching to the same Place from *Strath Appin* So that Capt. *Frederick Scott*, who was going to put himself at the Head of the Garrison, found some Difficulty in accomplishing his Purpose but, at length, by some Means or other, he threw himself into the Fort, the Defence of which, under the Governor, he undertook, and directed afterwards.

As the Garrison made a brave Defence, during the Siege, I am persuaded, that a Journal of it, from first to Last, wrote by an Officer in the Place, will not be unacceptable to the Reader.

March 14th, Began to heighten the Parapets of our Walls, on the Side where we apprehended the Rebels would attack us. This Work continued the whole Week through, till the two Faces of the Bastions were raised to seven Feet high.

Saturday the 15th, a Detachment of the Garrison, with some Men belonging to his Majesty's Sloops of War, went, in armed Boats, to endeavour to destroy the *Killmady* Barns, commonly call'd the *Corpoch*: The Rebels thereupon flock'd down in great Numbers. We fired some Swivels from our Boats. Several small Shot were exchange We had a Sailor kill'd, and three Men wounded. The Tide failing, this Scheme miscarried.

Tuesday the 18th, the *Baltimore*, Capt. *Richard How*, went up towards *Killmady* Barns, in order to protect the landing of our Men; he fired several Shot, and threw some Cohorn Shells, and set one Hovel on fire, but could not attempt landing, for the Rebels were intrench'd by a hollow Road or Rill, and in great Numbers. The *Baltimore's* Guns being only four Pounders, had no Effect on the Stone Walls of these Barns, which the Rebels had loop-hol'd. We brought our People back without any Damage.

Wednesday 19th, we heard, that a Man, whom we fired at on *Sunday* with a Swivel, was Engineer in Chief of the Rebels, and was dangerously wounded; also heard that we had kill'd four Rebels at *Corpoch* Yesterday. Three Centinels, and a Drummer of *Guise's* Regiment, made their Escape from the Rebels to us they were taken at *Fort Augustus*.

Thursday 20th, several Parties covering our Sodd Diggers, had Skirmishes with the Rebels upon the neighbouring Hills; but as both Sides skulk'd behind Craggs and Rocks, we received no Damage, and believe did as little. This Evening, about 11 o'Clock, the Rebels open'd the Siege, by discharging 17 Royals, or small Bombs, of five Inches and a half Diameter, weighing about 16 and 18 Pounds each, and loaded with 14 Ounces of Powder, from a Battery erected on a small Hill, call'd the *Sugar-Loaf* about 800 Yards off; which, because of the Distance, did no Execution, many falling short: And there were return'd from the Garrison, against the Rebels, 8 Bombs of 13 Inches Diameter, 6 Cohorns, one 12 Pounder, five 6 Pounders, and 2 Swivels.

Friday 21st, the Rebels finding the Battery too far off, erected a new one at the Foot of the *Cow-hill*, about 400 Yards off; from which, betwixt 12 and 4 in the Morning, they discharg'd 84 of their Royals, which did little Damage, save penetrating thro' the Roofs of several Houses, beating down a few Floors, and slightly wounding two Men of *Ollir's* Company, and a young Man belonging to

the Garrison And there were return'd against them 20 Bombs, 9 Cohorns, three 6 Pounders, and 2 Swivels.

Saturday 22d, the Rebels open'd their Battery of Cannon, from *Sugar-Loaf-Hill*, consisting only of 3 Guns of 6 and 4 Pounders, but discharg'd only 7 Times, and that without doing any Damage. About 12 o'Clock of this Day, they sent a *French* Drum towards the Fort, who, upon his Approach, beat a Parley, and being ordered to come near the Walls, Capt. *Scott*, our Commander, ask'd him what he came about; to which he answer'd, *That General Stapleton, who commanded the Siege, by Directions from Juba, had sent him with a Letter to the Commanding Officer of the Garrison, requiring him to surrender.* Capt. *Scott* answer'd, *That he would receive no Letters from Rebels, and that he was determined to defend the Fort to the last Extremity.* The Drummer being return'd to the Rebels with this Answer, a close Bombarding ensu'd, on both Sides, for some Hours at last we silenc'd them, by beating down their Battery. About Ten that Night, the Rebels open'd a second Bomb-Battery, near the Bottom of the said *Cow-Hill*, about 300 Yards off, from which, and their Battery on *Sugar-Loaf-Hill*, they discharg'd, before Three in the Morning, 194. of their Royals, and 6 Cannon against us, but without doing any further Damage, than penetrating through some few Roofs, We did not return them one Shell, but kept all our Men within Doors, except the Picquet, to stand by the Fire-Engine, the Governor,, and most of the Officers, being upon the Ramparts.

Sunday 23d, as soon as Day-light appear'd, we fir'd 23 Bombs, 2 Cohorns, 12 Pounders, seven 6 Pounders, and 6 Swivels at the Rebel Batteries; some of which must have torn up their Platforms. They, in Return, fired several Cannon upon us, but did no Harm, save shooting off the Leg of *Donald Mac Indeor*, of *Ballingbay's* Company. About Three this Afternoon some Vessels appeared with Supplies for us, and as soon as they had dropp'd Anchor, the Garrison, all at once, discharg'd eight 12 Pounders, two 6 Pounders, 2 Bombs, and several Cohorns against their Battery, which were so well levelled, that not only a great Part of their Battery was beat down, but they visibly occasion'd the greatest Consternation among them. The Men, from the Ships, saw several of the Rebels fall. We understand they had given out, that they would burn this Place to the Ground in four Hours after their last Battery was erected. All this Evening the Rebels were employ'd in erecting another Work, or Battery, under the Cover of three Cannon, about 300 Yards off, at the Foot of the *Cow-Hill*, which was spied from the Top-mast of one of the Ships.

Monday 24th, we fired but little, and the Rebels but little also. We employ'd the greatest Part of this Day in getting our Provisions on Shore.

Tuesday 25th, at Day-break we sent out a Party, to a Place about six Miles off, to bring in some Cattle, The Rebels fired a good deal this Morning, and we plied them a little with our Mortars and Guns. About Three in the Afternoon, our Party return'd with 20 good Bullocks and Cows. This Evening we sent out another Party of Men, for another Prize of Bullocks, to pass the *Narrows* of *Carron*, and get off all they could from the Rebels Estates.

Wednesday 26th, we fired slowly at their Batteries on the Hills, and .as they only fired from two Guns, we concluded we had dismounted the third. This

Afternoon our Boats return'd with Cattle and Sheep from the Country near *Ardshields* they also brought in four Prisoners, one of whom was wounded. The Party burnt two Rebel Villages on *Appin's* Estate. This Night Capt. *Scott* went out, and damm'd up some Dreins near our Walls, in Hopes of rainy Weather, to make a small Inundation and, with some Pioneers, raised the Glacis, or rather the Parapet, to seven Feet; for Want of Palisadoes we could not make a right Cover'd Way, but still this prevented the Rebels from seeing the Foot of our Walls.

Thursday 27th, at Day-break the Rebels open'd their new Battery of four Embrazures, but only with 3 Guns six Pounders, with which they fired very briskly. We plied them well with our Mortars and Guns, and silenc'd one Gun before Eight in the Morning about Nine we set their Battery Magazine on Fire, which blew up, Their Fire was mostly laid at our Buildings, which they could not reach very low. In eight Days Siege, and pretty smart firing with Cannon, and 300 six-inch Shells thrown at us, we have had but one Man kill'd, 7 wounded, and 2 bruised.

Monday 31st, Capt. *Scott* order'd 12 Men, out of each Company, to march out to the Craigs, about 100 Yards from the Garrison, where the Rebels had a Battery which, after some Dispute, and the Loss of one Man only, *viz.* Serjeant *Duncan Steward*, of the *Argyleshire* Troops, they rush'd in upon, and made themselves Masters of. They brought in 3 Brass Field-pieces 4 Pounders, and 2 of the Cohorns, from which the Rebels threw their Shells, and brought off another Brass Cannon, a six Pounder; which being too heavy to drag in, they spiked, and left under the Walls, whence they afterwards dismounted it by a Cannon Shot. The other large Cannon and Mortars on that Battery they likewise spiked, and left there, and brought in two Prisoners. The Rebels, however, still continued, with five Cannon, to do all the Mischief they could, having destroy'd the Roofs of the Houses but we don't mind that, while the Men are safe.

April 3d, the Rebels left their Batteries, and rais'd the Siege of *Fort William*; Capt. *Scott* is in Possession of 8 Cannon, and 7 Mortars, which they left behind them.

As they carried a Furnace with them, they threw in a great many red-hot Bullets, and some bearded Pieces of Iron, a Foot long, and an Inch thick, which they design'd should stick in the Timber-work, and set it on Fire.—We took in all 4 Brass four Pounders, 4 Iron six Pounders, 9 Mortars, and their Furnace, with the Brass Guns they took from Sir *John Cope*; and, during the Siege, buried only six Men.—Their Batteries were prodigiously strong, some of them being 27 Feet from the Embrasure to the other Side.— The Beseigers were about 1500, commanded by Brigadier *Stapleton*, and, under him, by *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, and *Clanranold*, with three or four more Chiefs of the *Macdonalds*, *Stewarts*, and *Camerons*.

March 16th, the Duke of *Cumberland* having receiv'd Intelligence, that *Roy Stuart* was at *Strathbogie*, with about 1000 Foot, and 60 Hussars, sent Col. *Conway*, with Orders to Major-General *Bland*, to attempt to surprize them and if he should not succeed in that, to attack them and likewise order'd Brigadier *Mordaunt*, with four Battalions, and four Pieces of Cannon, to march, by Break of Day, on *Monday* Morning the 17th, to *Old Meldrum*, in order to sustain Major-

General *Bland*, if there should be Occasion. The same Day Maj. Gen. *Bland* mov'd towards *Strathbogie*, and was almost within Sight of the Place, when the *Jubeans* had Notice of his Approach Upon which they abandoned the Town, and march'd away in great Haste towards *Keith*, yet did not break their Ranks, but drew up at *Westertoun*, which is about a Mile from *Strathbogie* when observing a Party of *Kingston's* Horse to ford the *Devron* below them, and a Body of the *Campbells* just at their Heels, then indeed they betook themselves to downright Flight; and the Vanguard of the Royalists push'd hard upon their Rear But as the Night was coming on, and the Evening wet and hazy, Maj. Gen. *Bland* order'd the Troops to quit the Pursuit Notwithstanding which, the Voluntiers, *viz.* the Marquis of *Granby*, Col. *Conway*, Capt. *Holden*, and several others, continued to pursue them for about two Miles, fired some Pistols at them, and then left them in full Speed to the *Spey*.

General *Bland*, not content with driving the Enemy from *Strathbogie*, resolves to give them no Rest. For this Purpose, a few Days afterwards, he detach'd a Party of 70 *Argyle* Highlanders, with 30 of *Kingston's* Horse, to *Keith*, giving the Captain a discretional Power to act as he should see Occasion. The *Jubeans*, who had Notice of this Motion, march'd from *Fochabers* in the Night, surrounded *Keith*, and enter'd at both Ends. On the first Alarm, the *Campbells* drew up in the Churchyard, and defended themselves for above an Hour; seven of them were kill'd, and five wounded, and the rest, being over-power'd by Numbers, were obliged to surrender. In this Skirmish, no more than five of *Kingston's* Men, a Cornet, two Horses, and one Highlander, made their Escape.

This Misfortune, however, had one good Effect, *viz.* that it taught the King's Troops better Discipline for the future for this Party had Orders to join the General again that Night but on a false Notice, that the *Jubeans* had passed the *Spey*, they thought themselves secure.

The King's Army was hereupon divided into three Cantonments. The whole first Line, consisting of six Battalions, the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, and *Cobham's* Dragoons, were at *Strathbogie*, within 12 Miles of the *Spey*, under the Command of the Lord *Albemarle* and Maj. Gen. *Bland*. The Reserve, consisting of three Battalions, with four Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of Brigadier *Mordaunt*, lay at *Old Meldrum*, half Way between *Strathbogie* and *Aberdeen*. And the whole second Line, consisting of the six remaining Battalions, and Lord *Mark Ker's* Regiment of Dragoons, were at *Aberdeen*.

The Duke being informed, that the Earl of *Airly*, Father to Lord *Ogilvie*, was raising his Men to join the Rebels, sent Capt. *Hewett*, with 100 Men, to take Possession of his House, and to make him a Prisoner in it, until his People should bring in their Arms, and behave as became good Subjects, which soon had a good Effect, and Numbers brought in their Arms. His Highness likewise order'd Major *La Lausille*, with 300 Men, to go to *Glenesk*, where liv'd the most strenuous Assertors of *Juba's* Cause, to attack all he should find in Arms against the Government, and to burn the Habitations of such as had left them, and were in *Juba's* Army. This had the desir'd Effect for immediately all the *Jubeans* inhabiting *Locharbar*, upon hearing the News, deserted, and went Home.

On the other Hand, a Party of the *Jubeans* came down to the Earl of *Finlater's* House, at *Cullen*, with an Order, from *Juba*, to burn the House, unless his Steward and Tenants immediately paid the Cess and Levy that they demanded.

About this Time, two Soldiers of the Royal Army were taken by the *Jubeans*, who, with many Persuasions, prevailed on them to take on in their Service; but took the first Opportunity to make their Escape. But being retaken, were tried by Court-Martial, for Desertion, and were convicted, and condemn'd to be hang'd. Two Clergymen were appointed to attend them at their Execution, that is, one *Mac Lauchlan*, a *Romish* Priest, and one *Hay*, a *Nonjuring* Minister. The two Criminals, however, paid but little Regard to these spiritual Helpers, but read their Bibles as they went along. Being come to the Tree, the Priest desir'd, as they were dying Men, that they would leave their last Advice the People. Upon which one of the Criminals said, *As a dying Man, I exhort all to be true to their Trust*; by this signifying his Sorrow for having engaged in the Service of *Juba*. Having said this, he was bid to go up the Ladder *Yes*, said he, *I will*; and as he was mounting the Steps, he said, *Every Step of this Ladder leads me a Step nearer Heaven*.

But let us attend to some other Exploits perform'd by the Detachments which *Juba* sent out from his Head Quarters at *Inverness*, to make Excursions round the Country, to raise Contributions, beat up the Enemy's Quarters, or to reduce their fortified Places. At the same Time, therefore, as he employed a Body of his Forces in the Siege of *Fort William*, he sent another, under the Command of Lord *George Murray*, to make the like Attempt upon the Castle of *Blair*, the principal Seat of the Duke of *Athol*, a Place of no great Strength, but was stoutly defended by a small Garrison commanded by Sir *Andrew Agnew*. During the Siege, or rather Blockade, which lasted seventeen Days, the *Jubeans* gain'd several little Advantages, by taking some small Parties that were station'd at some Distance from the Castle, A Party of *Argyleshire* Men, under the Command of *Glenure*, quartered at the Foot of *Kanoch*, were attack'd by a Party of *Jubeans*, *March* 17th, at Two o'Clock in the Morning, and most of them either kill'd, or taken Prisoners, The *Jubeans* likewise placed Guards all the Way between *Pitlochry* and *Blair*, by which Means they put a Stop to the Communication between *Blair Dunkeld*, at which Place the Prince of *Hesse*, with his Troops, lay, having driven away a Party of *Jubeans* station'd there. They likewise surpriz'd two Parties of *Argyleshire* Men, that were posted at *Blairfettie* and *Kennachan*, the one three, and the other six Miles above *Blair*. The Party at: *Cashville*, three Miles from *Castle-Menzies*, retir'd to the Garrison there.

The Prince of *Hesse* and Earl of *Crawford* being informed of these Disasters that had befel the King's Troops, the Prince call'd in his Troops about *Perth* and detach'd Lord *Crawford*, with a large Body of *Hessians* and Dragoons, to the Relief of the Garrison at *Blair*, then closely besieg'd. During their March, they were continually pester'd with Shots from small Parties of the *Jubeans* that skulk'd behind Bushes and Thickets, but always run away at the Approach of the Dragoons and Hussars. This, it was suppos'd, they did with a Design to draw the *Hessians* on to a Place cover'd with Shrubs and Bushes, over-against the Pass at *Killecranky*, where they had plac'd an Ambush; but the *Hessians* being appriz'd of their Plot, the Foot, instead of marching down that Path, fetch'd a Compass

round the Height, while the Hussars and Dragoons, with the Cannon in Front, rode boldly toward the Pass, at which a small Bridge was thrown over a Rivulet which runs into the *Tay*, so narrow that four Men could scarce pass over it abreast The *Jubeans* observing the Foot to pass over above them, and rightly apprehending, that they design'd to attack them in Flank, at the same Time that the Cannon were to play upon them in Front, made off, as fast they could, toward *Blair*. The Dragoons and Hussars, came up to the Pass without any Opposition, except from an unlucky Boy, who, from a Precipice, fired down three Times, and wounded two of them, but was himself wounded, and taken Prisoner. After which they march'd on without any farther Interruption, till they came within Sight of *Blair* Castle. At their Approach, Lord *George Murray* raised the Siege and march'd away to *Ruthven*, to the infinite Satisfaction of the Garrison, who had suffer'd extremely for want of Provisions, having been oblig'd to eat Horse-flesh for several Days; their Allowance, to each Man, but 12 Ounces of Bread, 3 of Cheese, for 24 Hours, and had great Scarcity of Water all the Time, and had only 24 Charges of Powder and Ball left to each Man. The Besiegers cannonaded the Place Night and Day, and sometimes with red-hot Balls, which set it on Fire three Times, but the Garrison got it extinguish'd, though they, every Moment, expected to be blown up. The Siege was rais'd the 3d of *April*, and the Earl of *Crawford*, with the Duke of *Athol*, were receiv'd, in the Castle, by Sir *Andrew*, with Abundance of Joy. On the 4th the Prince of *Hesse* set out from *Dunkeld*, for *Blair*, with the rest of the Cavalry and Hussars, who were follow'd by 1000 Foot. His Highness returned to *Perth* the 7th, intending to encamp there with all the six Battalions, except 500 Men, who were order'd to remain at *Tay Bridge*.

The *Campbells* having, all along, exerted themselves very strenuously in Behalf of the Government, had thereby exceedingly exasperated the *Jubeans*, but especially *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, and *Alexander Macdonald* of *Keppoch*. These two Gentlemen wrote the following Letter to Mr. *Stewart* of *Invernakel*, dated *Glenturs*, March 20. 1746.

SIR,

Yesternight we received a Letter from *Clunie*, giving an Account of the Success of the Party sent by his R—— H—— (*Juba*) under the Command of Lord *George Murray*, to *Athol*; a Copy of which Letter we thought proper to send you inclosed; as you happen, for the present, to be contiguous to the *Campbells*, 'tis our special Desire that you instantly communicate to *Airds* the Sheriff, and other leading Men among them, our Sentiments, (which, GOD willing, we are determin'd to execute) by transmitting this our Letter, and the inclosed Copy, to any the nearest to you.

It is our Opinion, that, of all Men in *Scotland*, the *Campbells* had the least Reason, of any, to engage in the present War against: his R—— H——'s Interest, considering they have always appear'd in Opposition to the R—— Family since the Reign of *James VI*, and have been guilty of so many Acts of Rebellion and Barbarity, during that Time, that no injur'd Prince but would endeavour to resent it, when GOD was once pleased to put the Power in his Hands. Yet his present M——y, and his R—— H—— the Prince Regent, were graciously pleased, by their respective Declarations, to forgive all past Miscarriages to the most virulent

and inveterate Enemy, and even bury them in Oblivion, provided they returned to their Allegiance; and tho' they should not appear personally in Arms, in Support of their R—— Cause, yet their standing Neuter would entitle them to the good Graces of their injured Sovereign. But in Spight of all the Lenity and Clemency, that a Prince could shew or promise, the *Campbells* have openly appear'd, with their wonted Zeal for Rebellion and Usurpation, in a most officious Manner. Nor could we ever form a Thought to ourselves, that any Men, endow'd with Reason and common Sense, would use their Fellow Creatures with such Inhumanity and Barbarity as they do; and of which we have daily Proofs, by their burning of Houses, stripping of Women Children, and exposing them to the open Fields, and Severity of the Weather, burning of Corn, houghing [*ham-stringing*], of Cattle, and killing of Horses To enumerate the Whole, would be too tedious at this Time. They must naturally reflect, that we cannot but look upon such Cruelties with Horror and Detestation, and, with Hearts full of Revenge, will certainly endeavour to make Reprisals; and we are determin'd to apply to his R—— H—— for Leave and an Order to enter their Country, with full Power to act at Discretion; and if we are lucky enough to obtain it, we shall shew, that we are not to make War against Women, and the Brute Creation, but against Men; and as GOD was pleas'd to put so many of them in our Hands, we hope to prevail with his R—— H——, to hang a *Campbell* for every House that shall hereafter be burnt by them.

Notwithstanding the many scandalous and malicious Aspersion, industriously contriv'd by our Enemies, they could never, since the Commencement of the War, impeach us with any Acts of Hostilities, that had the least Tendency to such Cruelty, though we had it in our Power, if barbarous enough to execute it.

When Courage fails against Men, it betrays Cowardice to a great Degree, to vent the Spleen against Brutes, Houses, Women, and Children, that cannot resist. We are not ignorant of their villainous Intentions, by the intercepted Letter from the Sheriff *Airds*, &c. which plainly discovers, that it was by their Application, that their General *Cumberland* granted Orders for burning, which he could not be answerable for to the *British* Parliament, being most certain, that such Barbarity could never be countenanced by any Christian Senate.

(*Sign'd*)

DONALD CAMERON, of *Lochiel*.

ALEX, MAC DONNELL, of *Keppoch*.

I cannot omit taking Notice, that my People have been the first that have felt the cowardly Barbarity of my pretended *Campbell* Friends; I shall desire to live, to have an Opportunity of thanking them for it in the open Field,

(*Sign'd*)

DONALD CAMERON.

The *Jubeans* finding, that the regular Troops of the Royalists were so well upon their Guard every where, that it would be in vain to make any farther Attempts to surprize them in their Posts, form'd a Scheme to attack the *Sutherland* Militia, commanded by Lord *Loudon*, at unawares. For this Purpose they got together all the Fishing-Boats at *Findorn*, and two other small Places in the *Murray Firth*, put four Men on Board each of them, and taking the Benefit of a thick Fog, which lasted for eight *Days*, coasted round *Tarhotness* to *Taine* in

Ross-shire, where a great Number of their Men lay; there they embark'd to the Number of 12 or 1500 of them, under the Command of the D. of *Perth*, Lord *Cromarty*, and Lord *Clanronald*; and *March* 20th, at Eight in the Morning, they cross'd the Ferry, and landed on the *Sutherland* Side, about two Miles West of *Dornoch*; 200 of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment being canton'd at that Place, 140 of them, upon the first Notice of their Landing, retir'd Eastward; the other 60 were surpriz'd, and made Prisoners, among whom was Major *Mackenzie*, Capt. *Sutherland*, the Laird of *Mackintosh* and *Robert Grant*, Adjutant to Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, His Lordship had left *Dornoch*, that Morning, about Five o'Clock, and gone Westward, to reconnoitre the different Passes where the rest of his Men were station'd, fearing nothing from that Quarter, as all the Boats were carried over to the opposite Shore, and judging it was impracticable to bring any from the *Murray Firth*, as some of the King's Ships were there.

The *Jubeans*, tho' they had the better in several Excursions and Skirmishes with Parties of the Royalists, yet, in general, they were greatly distress'd for Want of Money and other Necessaries, and impatiently waited the Arrival of Supplies from *France*, which they expected would be brought by the *Hazard* Sloop, which Name they alter'd to the *Prince Charles* Snow. They had certain Intelligence that she was at Sea, and had on Board a pretty large Quantity of Money, and a good Number of experienc'd Officers and Engineers, who were very much wanted in the Army.

On the 25th of *March*, the *Hazard* Sloop was observ'd, by Lord *Rea*, and his People, sailing up the *Tongue Bay*, and followed by the *Sheerness* Sloop of War, commanded by Capt. *Obrian*, who immediately attacked her. In the Engagement, which lasted five Hours, the *Hazard* had 36 Men kill'd, and not a few wounded; and not being able to maintain the Fight, she ran a-shore on the *Shallows*, where the *Sheerness* could not follow, and there landed her Men and Money. The Place on which she ran a-shore, after having been chased fifty Leagues, was in the Lord *Rea's* Country. She made frequent Signals of Distress, but her Friends were not in those Parts. She ran a-shore in the Night, and when her Men and Money were landed, they went to a House at a little Distance from the Shore, and there staid till Morning. The Lord *Rea* having Notice of the Affair, immediately call'd together his Vassals; and it happening, that there were then in his Lordship's House, his Son, Capt. *Mackay*, Sir *Henry Munro*, Lord *Charles Gordon*, Capt. *Macleod*, and about 80 of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, who had retir'd thither, when the *Jubeans*, under the Command of the D. of *Perth* and the E. of *Cromarty*, surpriz'd them by Boats, as above related; they form'd themselves into a Corps, secur'd the Passes, and then attacked the Enemy, The Dispute was, for some Time, very smart; but the *Jubeans* having lost five Men in the Skirmish, and seeing no Hopes of Relief, surrender'd themselves, with their Effects. Thus a rich Booty fell into the Hands of the Royalists: For, besides five Chests of Money, 14 Chests of Pistols and Sabres, with 13 Barrels of Powder, besides Ammunition and military Stores, they took 156 Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors Prisoners. The Money, exclusive of one Chest which was missing, and what had been taken out of another that was broke, amounted to 12,500 Guineas; and amongst the Prisoners there were forty-one experienc'd Officers, who had been long either in

the *French* or *Spanish* Service. The Prisoners were embark'd on Board the *Sheerness*, which sail'd away directly for *Aberdeen*, having the *Hazard* Sloop, and another Prize, which Capt. *Obrian* had taken in the *Orkneys*, in Company.

The Duke of *Cumberland* order'd a Distribution of the Money in the following Manner, viz. 500*l.* to Capt. *Mackay*, who seiz'd the *Hazard*; 500*l.* to Capt. *Obrian*, Commander of the *Sheerness*, that forced her a-shore; and in Proportion to the other Officers; and the rest to the Crew of the *Sheerness*, and Capt. *Mackay*'s Men, which amounted to five Guineas each Man.

Lord *Rea* supposing that Lord *Cromarty*, being very much irritated by this Loss, would put his Menaces in Execution, having a few Days before threaten'd his Lordship with Fire and Sword, embark'd on Board the *Sheerness*, and arriv'd, with the Treasure and Prisoners, safe at *Aberdeen*, April 6th, while Lord *Loudon* cross'd over to *Skey*, with a considerable Body, and from thence carried on a Correspondence with the Militia of *Argyleshire*, and with the regular Troops at *Aberdeen* now preparing for the grand Decision.

With Regard to the *Hazard* Sloop, it may be worth Observation, that she had six Times attempted to come out of *Dunkirk*, and was as often prevented by the Vigilance of Commodore *Mitchell*; but at length effected it in a thick Fog. From whence it is evident, that her Orders were very positive, and the Execution of them of the utmost Consequence, as, in the Event, it appear'd they were.

The Loss of this Vessel, with the Treasure on Board, occasion'd great Confusion and Disorder among the *Jubeans*; for one Third of the Money was to have come amongst the *French* and Lowlanders, under Lord *John Drummond*'s Command.

Juba was then at Lady *Mackintosh*'s at *Inverness*, where he had, for some Time, been endeavouring to prevail on the Highland Chiefs, to spirit up their Men to fight the Duke: But as several Parties of their Men were stragling about, some even as far as *Sutherland*; and as two pretty considerable Bodies, that were coming to join them, were gone Home, on hearing that Lord *Rea* had seiz'd and carried off the vast Treasure they were made to believe was safely landed from *France*, and of which they had been promis'd to be made Sharers; such a Damp and Perplexity reign'd among them all, that *Juba* himself was apprehensive of the fatal Consequences which might ensue; to prevent which, he call'd in all his Parties that were scatter'd up and down, and order'd that Body which besieg'd *Fort William*, immediately to join him, being resolv'd to make a Stand, and give the Duke Battle.

While his Royal Highness lay, with his Army, at *Aberdeen*, he was constantly employ'd in disciplining his Soldiers, settling the Route which was most proper for the Army to take, preparing Magazines of Provisions, &c. in order to march to the *Jubeans* encamp'd at *Inverness*, who, by the Preparations they were making, seem'd determin'd to stand a Battle at that Place.

His Royal Highness likewise publish'd an Order, commanding all those who had been press'd into the Rebellion, to quit that Service immediately, and return to their Allegiance.

At *Forfar*, an Order was publish'd from all the Pulpits, sign'd by the Duke of *Cumberland*, requiring all such as had been engaged in the Rebellion, forthwith to

deliver up their Arms, Designations, and Places of Abode, with a Promise of Recommendation to the Royal Mercy for such as should comply; but the Disaffected put bad Constructions on his merciful Design; and tho' many complied, yet others persisted in their Rebellion. The *Jubeans* began now to gather to a Head again, great Numbers that had left them, having rejoin'd them from their respective Clans. This Reunion of them ow'd its Rise to a Scheme which a Gentleman, for his own Amusement, had projected; the Purport of it was, that, in order to prevent any Insurrections for the future, all the Highlanders should be transported to *America*. Lord *Lovat* getting Notice of it, procur'd a Copy of the Scheme in Writing, translated it into the Highland Language, shew'd it to the Highlanders, told them that the Duke was coming to put it in Execution, and exhorted them to rise and defend their Liberties, Properties, Wives, and Children; and it seems they took his Advice.

While the Duke lay, with his Army, at *Aberdeen*, he made his Soldiers observe the strictest Discipline, and punish'd Delinquents with the utmost Severity: Of which take these Instances. Some detach'd Parties having plunder'd the House of Mr. *Gordon of Cowbardie*, who was then in the Rebellion, his Lady, the Lord *Forbes's* Daughter, petition'd, by her Father, to his Royal Highness, for Redress; who, upon Enquiry, finding the Complaint just, declared, that there never was any Order given, for taking any more than the Cattle and Forage of the *Jubeans*, and the rest to be left to the Decision of the Law; and immediately order'd the Restitution of every Thing that had been taken away, and presented the Lady with a Purse of 100 Guineas, and gave her his own signed Protection.

One *Daniel Hart*, of the late Sir *Robert Munro's* Regiment, having took six Guineas of the Wife of Sir *Francis Ross*, Merchant, in *Aberdeen*, to protect her House and Shop from being pillag'd, his Highness ordered him to be tried by a Court Martial, by which he was sentenc'd to be cashier'd, and render'd incapable of serving under his Majesty in any Capacity whatever: Which Sentence his Royal Highness confirm'd, and order'd it to be transmitted to *Edinburgh*, to be put in the News-papers.

While the Duke was thus employ'd in the Discipline and Regulation of his Army, and putting them in a Readiness for marching against the Enemy, so soon as the Weather Should permit, the *Jubeans*, were fitting out a Ship at *Findorn*, on Board of which they propos'd to send off the Remainder of their Prisoners to *France*; and the Person whom they call'd the *French* Ambassador, being weary of the Winter's Campaign, and seeing what small Grounds he had to expect Success in *Juba's* Affairs, actually arriv'd there in his Coach, and waited four Days for an Opportunity of embarking.

The Weather, at length, beginning to clear up, it was expected, that the *Spey* would be fordable in a few Days; and the South Wind brought up their Firing and Provisions; so that the Duke's Army was ready to march, upon the first Notice that they could cross the *Spey*, which he was daily out Parties to reconnoitre.

By Advices from *Ardoch*, of the 31st of *March*, the Duke was inform'd, that the Lord *Loudon*, and the Men under his Command, were arriv'd in the Isle of *Skey*, and were join'd by Sir *Alexander Macdonald* of *Slate*, and likewise by the

Lord *Fortrose*; upon which his Highness sent a large Quantity of Meal for their Support.

In the mean Time *Juba*, expecting that his Adversary, the Duke, would put his Army in Motion, and attempt to pass the *Spey*, as soon as the Weather should permit, summon'd his Chiefs to a Council of War, to deliberate on this important Question, Whether they should suffer the *English* to pass the River, and then come to Action; or whether they should defend the Banks, in order to gain Time, by obliging the Duke to remain on the other Side? *Juba* was of the last Opinion, and insisted strenuously on opposing the Duke's Passage over the *Spey*; which if they could do effectually, many Advantages would result from it. However, the Plurality of the Council were on the other Side the Question; and the old Duke of *Athol*, otherwise Marquis of *Tullbardine*, spoke very coolly and deliberately on the same Side, in the following Terms.

'They are, said he, well provided with Cannon and Engineers, of both which we are in great Want. Consequently, they have it in their Power to cover the Passage of their Troops, and mow down whole Ranks on the opposite Shore, while we are destitute of the like Means for opposing them with any Prospect of Success; and what other Means can we trust to? To our Swords and small Fire-Arms we cannot, for their Cannon will not suffer us to come within Musket-shot of the River. In short, I believe no Gentleman here can (after mature Consideration) reasonably hope for Success, by attempting to hinder the Enemy's Passage. If we do attempt to hinder them, and prove unable to do it, we are ruin'd inevitably, It will be impossible to rally, and bring our Men to renew the Conflict after our Enemies have got ample footing on this Side the River; and, on the other Hand, will it not, at the same Time, be too late to make any other Retreat than a mere Flight for our Lives? And after such Flight, can we ever hope to face the Enemy again? But if we remain here, and suffer them to pass over to us, we have a fairer Chance: We shall then have Time enough to get ready for a regular Action, or a regular Retreat, according as Circumstances occur. If we fight, we have the same Advantages that we had at *Gladsmuir* and *Falkirk*. If we retreat, we may take our Time, and, having a sufficient Distance betwixt us and the Enemy, may march off either in the Day or Night, and shall have Leisure enough to take Care of our Rear. I said, we have the same Advantages as at *Falkirk* and *Gladsmuir*; and I may farther add, that we have also a Chance which cannot turn out to our Disadvantage, and may prove of infinite Service to us. If we come to Action with the Enemy, after they are entirely on this Side the *Spey*, and gain an entire Victory over them, we may possibly cut them entirely off before they can find Means to repass the River. In this Case their Force in *Scotland* will be absolutely ruin'd; we shall carry all before us in this Kingdom, and perhaps none on this Side *London* shall be able to stop our Progress: One lucky Battle may yet put us in Possession of that Capital.'

The noble Lord pronounc'd the last Sentence with so much Energy, as shew'd it was his hearty Wish, that such an Event might happen, and at the same Time made such an Impression on the rest of the Council, and even on *Juba* himself, that the Question, after having been long controverted, was at last carried, to follow the Marquis of *Tullbardine*'s Advice, and suffer the Enemy to pass the

River unoppos'd. In; the mean while, *Juba* caus'd the necessary Preparations to be made, to give the Duke a warm Reception, whenever he should advance near enough. Neither was he at all discourag'd at the Superiority of the Enemy, nor did they appear the more despicable for his having vanquish'd them before. The Battle of *Fontenoy* was too recent in his Memory, and oblig'd him to acknowledge, that his gallant Rival, the Duke, had Valour and Capacity superior to any General that had yet oppos'd him since his Arrival in the *British* Dominions; and, consequently, that he had no contemptible Foe to deal with; and therefore took all the Precautions possible, by calling in his Parties that were at the greatest Distance, such as the Corps under the Lord *George Murray*, the D. of *Perth*, and the Earl of *Cromarty*, and by detaching a strong Body to the *Spey*, to reconnoitre, and, if possible, to prevent the Duke from passing that River, but with Orders, not to hazard themselves too far, if they found no Possibility of Success.

April the 8th, the Duke of *Cumberland* march'd, with his Army, from *Aberdeen*, and encamp'd, the 11th, at *Cullen*, where Lord *Albemarle* join'd him, and the whole Army assembled. The 12th they march'd to the *Spey*.

This River, by its Rapidity, Quantity of Water, Breadth, and at most Seasons unfordable, seem'd to be the Pass where the most strenuous Opposition would be made; and accordingly, on the Approach of his Royal Highness, the *Jubeans* appear'd in a Body of 2000, and, by their Disposition, seem'd determined to dispute the Passage with the King's Army. His Highness immediately order'd some Pieces of Cannon to be pointed, and dispos'd the Troops for fording the River. The *Jubeans* seeing the good Order and Disposition of the Duke's Forces, retired without attempting any Thing; except some Hussars, who stood their Ground till they saw *Kingston's* Horse entering the Water, and then they fled likewise, having first fired some Shot, some of which pierced the Coat of one of *Kingston's* Horse-men.

The Passage of the *Spey* was effected in this Manner: *April* 13th, Maj. Gen. *Huske* was detach'd, in the Morning, with 15 Companies of the Grenadiers, the Highlanders, and all the Cavalry, and two Pieces of Cannon, and the Duke went with them himself. The Duke of *Kingston's* Horse immediately forded over, sustain'd by the Grenadiers and Highlanders; but the *Jubeans* were got out of their Reach before the Royalists had Time to draw up after they had pass'd; the Foot waded over as fast as they arriv'd; and though the Water carne up to their Middles, they went on with great Alacrity, and sustain'd no other Loss, than that of one Dragoon, and four Women, who were drowned. The Duke's Army march'd on to *Elgin* and *Forres*, the same Day, and from thence to *Nairn*, where they halted the 15th, and there rested, it being his Highness's Birthday.

Juba, finding that the Enemy was drawing near, and that he had no Time to lose, was very assiduous in making the necessary Preparations for a Battle, which he saw plainly was now unavoidable: But tho' he used his utmost Diligence in collecting his Men together, yet, with all his Industry, he had not Time to muster more than 8000, which was far short of the Number of his Enemy's Forces.

I should now proceed to give a Relation of that memorable Battle that was fought the next Day (*viz.* the 16th) on *Culloden-Heath*; but the Order of Time

requires an Account of an Action that happen'd between a Party of the Royalists, and another of the *Jubeans*, in which the latter were defeated, and the Earl of *Cromarty* taken Prisoner, the Day before the Battle of *Culloden*.

His Lordship had been order'd by *Juba*, into his own Country, to raise Men and Money for the Service. In Consequence of which he was very active in the Cause, and so powerful in those Parts, North of *Inverness*, that he had oblig'd Lord *Rea* to leave his Country, being threaten'd with Fire and Sword, unless his Men should submit, and deliver up their Arms. Lord *Rea* retired by Sea to *Leith*, and great Part of his Men to *Tongue*, where they had the good Fortune to surprize the Crew of the *Hazard* Sloop, Being afterwards reinforced by some of the *Munroes* and the Militia of *Sutherland*, they engaged the Earl at *Golspry*, and took him, and his Son Lord *Macleod*, in the Manner as is related in the following Narrative, attested by Ensign *Mackay*, and by him deliver'd to the Earl of *Sutherland*.

Ensign *John Mackay*, of the Earl of *Sutherland's* Militia, having kept a private Intelligence with some Persons in his Lordship's House at *Dunrobin*, it happen'd, on the 15th of *April*, that the said *John Mackay* having got the proper Signal from the Top of the Tower of that House, ran, with 26 Men, to the Water of *Golspry*, and as the Body of the Rebels, consisting of near 400, had march'd before Lord *Cromarty*, &c. *Mackay*, with his 26 Men, got between the Officers and the main Body, and, by firing briskly on them, first drove back the Officers to *Dunrobin*, where they secur'd the Gate, and by ringing a Bell on the Tower, sounding a Trumpet, and displaying a white Flag, they gave an Alarm to their Men to return to their Relief. In the mean Time, *Mackay* had dispatch'd five Men, to call Lord *Sutherland's* Men from the different Corners where they were station'd, to come to his Assistance, and at the same Time plac'd the Remainder in three Divisions, so as to divert the Enemy till the rest should join him, and firing briskly on them on their Return to *Dunrobin*, obliged some to take to a Boat for their Safety, and the rest, perceiving the Militia coming down from the Hills in such Numbers, that they despair'd of Success, directly made the best of their Way to the little Ferry; but Lord *Sutherland's* Men pursu'd them so close, that, by Water and Firing, they kill'd near 50 of them, and took 165 Prisoners; after which they returned to *Dunrobin*, where *Mackay* directly ask'd Leave to speak to the Earl of *Cromarty*; which being granted, he told him plainly, that if he did not surrender the House, the Numbers that were without, would blow it up, and run all Hazards of their Master's Displeasure; upon which Lord *Cromarty* ask'd Half an Hour to consider of it. In the mean Time, *Mackay* went down Stairs, and told the Guard that was in the House, that it was needless to keep their Arms any longer, as their Officers had surrender'd; on which they deliver'd them to *Mackay*, who put them in the Porter's Lodge, and secur'd the Key; then got Possession of the Key of the Gate, call'd in Lord *Sutherland's* Men, went up Stairs, and told Lord *Cromarty*, &c. that there was no more Time for Delays; so disarm'd and took them Prisoners, and sent a Letter of Advice to Capt. *Dove*, of the *Hound* Man of War, who receiv'd them all Prisoners, and brought them, the 18th, to the Camp at *Inverness*.

Thus far Mr. *Mackay*, who has given an Account of so much of the Affair as himself was concerned in; but does not say how his Lordship, with the rest of the

Officers, came to stay behind his Troops, who had march'd near a Mile when this Misfortune befel them. It seems the Earl, in his Excursions through the Country, paid a Visit, with his Men, to *Dunrobin*. Lord *Sutherland* was not at Home, but his Lady was, who entertain'd the Earl and his Company very handsomely, tho' more out of Fear than Affection, as it soon appear'd. For no sooner had she heard him give out his Orders for his Men to march, but she desir'd the Earl and his Company only to stay so long as to drink her Lord's Health, which would not hinder them from soon overtaking their Troops. They agreed, and the Lady order'd in a Dozen of Wine; and while they were toasting her Lord's Health, the Signal was given, and their Delay afforded *Mackay* and his Men, an Opportunity to cut them off from their Corps, and to perform the Exploit, as above related.

Thus have we conducted the Reader through a hard *Winter's* Campaign, in which the Opponents, on both Sides, met with variable Fortune; and though, perhaps, the *Jubeans* might hitherto boast of the largest Share of Success, yet when we consider the innumerable Hardships they underwent, in the Want of Provisions, and other necessary Accommodations, while the Duke's Army had a plentiful Supply of all Things, I don't know but the Scale would turn in Favour of the Royalists. However, the grand Decision is now at Hand, remarkable not only for the Quality of the Combatants, but for the Subject of the Combat. On the one Side, we see the brave Duke of *Cumberland* nobly vindicating his Father's Honour, and defending his Throne, and strenuously averting the Religion, Rights, and Liberties of his Subjects; and on the other, we behold the undaunted *Juba*, boldly pushing for a Crown, which he was fully persuaded he had a Right to, and which he is resolv'd to wrest out of the Possessor's Hands, or, at least, convince the World that he deserv'd to wear it.

The 14th, *Juba* drew up and review'd his Troops in the Streets of *Inverness*, and took indefatigable Pains in animating his Men to behave well in the Day of Battle, which, he assur'd them, was very near at Hand; That his All was now at Stake, and that a Defeat would be his, as well as their, utter and irretrievable Ruin; but that if they prov'd victorious, they would open themselves a Way to a Plenty of all Things, and, perhaps, secure to him an easy Passage to the Crown itself; entreated them to exert their usual Vigour and Activity, and he doubted not but their Labours would be soon crown'd with Success; put them in Mind of their former Successes, and promis'd Rewards and peculiar Favours to such whose Bravery, on this momentous Occasion, should deserve his Regard.' The Troops discover'd a wonderful Alacrity and Readiness to come to Action. 'We have seen *Cumberland* before; we will give him another *Fontenoy*,' was the Phrase of the Day. This *Juba* took for a good Omen, and march'd them out the same Night, and encamp'd them in the Parks, while he and his principal Officers lodged themselves in the Houses of *Culloden* and *Castle-hill*. The next Day they march'd to the Field of Battle, where they erected their Batteries, assign'd the Clans their several Stations, and dispos'd every Thing for an Engagement. In this Posture they continued till about Nine at Night, when a Council of War was call'd, wherein it was resolv'd, to attack the Royalists, who, they suppos'd, were overwhelmed with Sleep, and off their Guard, on Account of their Rejoicings for the Duke's Birthday. But the Duke, whether apprehensive of such a Design, or to

prevent a Surprize of any Kind, when he was so near the Enemy, was extremely vigilant, to keep his Men in Order, and have a good look-out every where. The *Jubeans*, however, about Ten o'Clock, set out, and passing by the Villages, for Fear of giving an Alarm, took thro' the Parks and By-roads, and about One o'Clock in the Morning, arriv'd within two Miles of the Duke's Army, towards the North-West, with a Design to surround them; and had now nothing to interrupt them, but a Morass and a Lake, betwixt which they march'd as through a Defile. About Two o' Clock they were got so near the Centries of the Royal Army, that they could hear them calling out to one another, *Is all well?* and the Answer, *All is well*. Had they made the Attack at that Instant, they would, doubtless, have caus'd great Confusion among the Royalists, who had no Place to retreat to, unless they had cross'd the Water, which must have taken up a good deal of Time, and given the *Jubeans* vast Advantage against them. But they imagining, that the neighing of a Stallion, which was among them, had alarm'd the Enemy, stopt short, and held a Council of War upon the Spot, and the Question was debated, *Whether they should proceed, or not?* *Juba*, and his two Favourites, *Sullivan* and *Sherridan*, were for pushing forward, and instantly to begin the Attack; but his Officers were of a different Opinion, which they grounded on these Reasons, *viz.* That their Troops were not all come up, for some had miss'd their Way; that the Ground was disadvantageous; and that their Scouts, who had been to view the Enemy, had assur'd, that they were on their Guard, and in a Posture to receive them; upon these Considerations they thought it most prudent to retire. Their Arguments prevailed, and on their turning back, a visible Damp and Dejection was spread among the Troops, who had form'd, in their Imagination, such another Battle as they had at *Prestonpans*. *Juba* was very much chagrin'd at the Disappointment, and was heard to say, *G—d d—n it, are my Orders still disobey'd? Fight when you will. Gentlemen, the Day is not ours.* They proceeded on their March, towards *Inverness*, along the Patent Road, where they met a patrolling Party of *Kingston's* Horse, who fir'd upon them, then repair'd directly to the Camp, to inform the Duke of what they had seen. The *Jubeans* continu'd their March till they came on their former Ground, which was about 8 o' Clock, where they rested on their Arms, after the fruitless Fatigue of the Night.

The 16th of April, the great important Day is come, that must finally decide the long contested Claim to the Crown of these Realms. The Royal Army being drawn up, facing the Enemy, and ready to engage, his Royal Highness, calling the Officers and Soldiers about him who were nearest, address'd them in the following Terms, as affirm'd by one of the Officers who heard him, and took down his Words in Writing.

'Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers,

IHave 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 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 is any amongst you, who, thro' Timidity, are diffident of their Courage or 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 farther declare, that they shall have my free Pardon for so doing; for I had 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 and Disgrace upon an Army under my Command.' Having so said, he ordered them to advance; 'For, said he, I will not Dine till my Work be done thereby intimating, that, at the Battle of *Falkirk*, the Generals were guilty of a great Oversight, in suffering the Army to take an unseasonable Dinner at the Instant that the Enemy was preparing to engage them; to which, in a great Measure, was owing the ill Success of that Day. As his Highness rode along the Lines, he spoke to every Battallion, and almost to every Platoon; and his Presence and intrepid Behaviour, inspir'd the most Pusillanimous with Courage; and had, undoubtedly, a wonderful Effect. *Depend, said he, my Lads, on your Bayonets: Let them mingle with you; let them know the Men they have to deal with.*

About Eleven o'Clock, a patrolling Party of the *Jubeans* observing the Royal Army was advancing, immediately informed their Generals of it, who directly sent an Express to *Juba*, then at *Culloden-House*, and a Cannon was fir'd, as a signal of the Enemy's Approach. *Juba* instantly started up, and as he was going down Stairs, met the Steward, who acquainted him, that his Dinner was just ready, consisting of a roasted Side of Lamb, and two Hens, and that he was then going to spread the Table, and desir'd him to stay and take his Dinner. *No!* said *Juba*; *would you have me sit down to Dinner when my Enemy is so near me?* Having so said, he mounted his Horse, and gallop'd away to the Army, which was now drawn up in Battalia. He found his Troops in high Spirits, which had been rais'd on the Junction of *Keppoch Macdonald* with his Regiment, which had come in that Morning from an Expedition he had been sent upon.

We shall now give the Disposition of the two Armies, in the Morning before the Battle began. On the 16th of *April*, between Four and Five in the Morning, the King's Army march'd from *Nairn* in four Columns, and having travell'd about eight Miles, a Detachment of *Kingston's* Horse, and of the Highlanders, being advanced a-head of the Army, discover'd the Van of the *Jubeans* moving towards them; on Notice whereof, the Duke commanded the Army to form in the following Order of Battle: The three Battalions of the second Line defiled to the Left of the respective Battalions in the Van; that is to say, *Barrel's* to the Left of *Munro's*; the *Scots* Fuzileers to the Left of *Price's*; and *Cholmondeley's* on the Left of the Royals: Then marching up, form'd the Front-Line of six Battalions; between each of them two Pieces of Cannon. At the Head of this Line, and in the Center, the Earl of *Albemarle* commanded. On the Right Wing three Squadrons of Horse, commanded by Maj. Gen. *Bland*; on the Left, three other Squadrons, commanded by Lord *Ancram*.

The second Line consisted of five Battalions, plac'd to face the Openings of the Front-Line, with three Pieces of Cannon plac'd between the first and second Battalion, on the Right and Left of the same Line, that if the Enemy either broke through the Center, or out-flank'd either the Right or Left of the Front, they might conveniently play upon them.

To support both, and as a final Reserve, were plac'd the four remaining Battalions, wing'd on the Right and Left by *Kingston's* Horse.

In this Disposition the Army continued some Time; but the Body of the *Jubeans* not advancing, it fell into marching Order again; which continu'd until the Front were within a Mile of the Enemy: Then they formed again in Fighting Order, as before.

The *Jubean* Army formed their Front in thirteen Divisions, being so many Clans under their respective Chiefs, with four Pieces of Cannon placed before their Center, and the same Number on each Wing. The Center was headed by Lord *John Drummond*, the Right Wing by Lord *George Murray*, and the Left by the D. of *Perth*. To support the Front-Line occasionally, and cover'd by some Stone Walls, on the Right was disposed *Fitz-James's* Horse, and four Companies of *French* Picquets; on the Left, one Body of Horse, made up with *Juba's* Guards, some Hussars, and the *Perthshire* Squadron, and five Companies of Lord *John Drummond's* Foot. Open to the Center of the Front-Line, was Young *Juba*, placed with his Body of Guards. In his Rear a Line of Reserve, consisting of three Columns: The first on the Left, commanded by Lord *Kilmarnock*; the Center Column by Lord *Lewis Gordon* and *Glenbucket*; and the Right by *Roy Stuart*. Next, and directly in the Rear of *Glenbucket*, were the Regiments of *Perth* and *Ogilvie* station'd, as the final Reserve.

The different Dispositions of these two Armies were, in some Measure, owing to their respective Situations: The King's Army was to fight uncovered; the *Jubeans* covered behind Stone Walls: But when their Impatience to get out of the Way of the King's Cannon, push'd them on attacking, they necessarily either lost the Benefit of their Reserve, or the Reserve must lose the Benefit of the Cover; which they not chusing to do, the Impetuosity of the Front carried them too far from their Reserve; and then, having no Guard in their Rear, the Horse from the Duke's Right and Left easily did the Business.

On the other Hand, the Disposition of the King's Army was, perhaps, as just as the Mind of Man was capable of contriving. If one fail'd, a Second supported; and if that fail'd, a Third, The Enemy could no Way take two Pieces of Cannon, but Three must play directly upon them; nor break one Regiment, but Two were ready to supply that Place. If the *Jubeans* were repuls'd, they were routed; if any Part of the King's Army was broke, they rallied, and were supported. Had the King's Army attack'd, it might not have been so well, because the *Jubeans* were then close, and cover'd; and, consequently, the breaking of them more difficult.

Success is sometimes the Effect of Accident; but in this Case, chiefly of Skill; and I have been assured, from Authority, that the Lines and Dispositions for Action, were wholly the Contrivance, and formed by the Skill and Judgment of the Duke, who is allow'd to have a Genius entirely Military, with a Spirit scarce to be equall'd.

The Infantry of the Duke's Army at *Culloden*, as presented, in a List, to his Highness, consisted of 26 Field Officers, 84 Captains, 222 Subalterns, 330 Serjeants, 225 Drummers, and 5522 Men. The Horse, *Loudon's*, and *Argyleshire* Men, were reckon'd 2400. The whole Army 8811. *Juba's* Army consisted of about 8000.

It remains now to give a Description of the famous Battle of *Culloden*; of which several Accounts have been given, but the clearest and most authentick is that transmitted by the Duke to the King his Father, dated at *Inverness*, April 18th. And as neither *Juba*, nor any of his Friends, have thought fit to publish any Account of it themselves, nor publickly to contradict any Part of this, we may reckon it as true and genuine.

ON *Tuesday* the 15th, the Rebels burnt *Fort-Augustus*, which convinced us of their Resolution to stand an Engagement with the King's Troops. We gave our Men a Day's Halt at *Nairn*, and on the 16th march'd from thence, between Four and Five, in four Columns. The three Lines of Foot (reckoning the Reserve for one) were broken into three from the Right, which made the three Columns equal, and each of five Battalions. The Artillery and Baggage follow'd the first Column upon the Right, and the Cavalry made a fourth Column on the Left.

After we had marched about eight Miles, our advanced Guard, composed of about 40 of *Kingston's* and the Highlanders, led by the Quarter-Master-General, perceived the Highlanders at some Distance, making a Motion towards us on the Left, upon which we immediately formed; but finding the Rebels were still a good Way from us, and that the whole Body did not come forward, we put ourselves again upon our March, in our former Posture, and continued so to within a Mile of them, where we formed in the same Order as before. After reconnoitring their Situation, we found them posted behind some old Walls and Huts, in a Line with *Culloden-House*. As we thought our Right entirely secure, General *Hawley*, and General *Bland*; went to the Left, with two Regiments of Dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the Right Flank of the Rebels, and *Kingston's* Horse was order'd to the Reserve. The ten Pieces of Cannon were dispos'd, two in each of the Intervals of the first Line, and all our Highlanders (except about 140 that were upon our Left with General *Hawley*, and who behaved extremely well) were left to guard the Baggage.

When we were advanced within 500 Yards of the Rebels, we found the Morass upon our Right was ended, which left our Right Flank quite uncover'd to them; his Royal Highness thereupon immediately order'd *Kingston's* Horse from the Reserve, and a little Squadron of about 60 of *Cobham's* which had been patrolling, to cover our Flank; and *Pulteney's* Regiment was order'd, from the Reserve, to the Right of the Royals.

We spent about Half an Hour, after that, trying which should gain the Flank of the other; and his Royal Highness having sent Lord *Bury* (Son of Lord *Albemarle*) to reconnoitre somewhat that appear'd like a Battery to us, they then began firing their Cannon, which was extremely ill serv'd and ill pointed; ours immediately answer'd them, which began their Confusion. They then came running on in their wild Manner; and upon the Right, where his Royal Highness had placed himself, imagining the greatest Push would be there, they came down three several Times within a hundred Yards of our Men, firing their Pistols, and brandishing their Swords; but the Royals and *Pulteney's* hardly took their Firelocks from their Shoulders, so that, after those faint Attempts, they made off; and the little Squadron, on our Right, were sent to pursue them. General *Hawley* had, by the

Help of our Highlanders, beat down two little Stone Walls, and came in upon the Right Flank of their second Line.

As their whole first Line came down to attack at once, their Right somewhat out-flanked *Barrell's* Regiment, which was our Left, and the greatest Part of the little Loss we sustained, was there; but *Bligh's* and *Sempil's* giving a Fire upon those who had out-flanked *Barrell's*, soon repulsed them, and *Barrell's* Regiment, and the Left of *Munro's* fairly beat them with their Bayonets: There was scarce a Soldier or Officer of *Barrell's*, who did not kill one or two Men each, with their Bayonets and Spontoons.

The Cavalry, which had charged from Right to Left, met in the Center, except two Squadrons of Dragoons, which we missed, and they were none in Pursuit of the Runaways: Lord *Ancram* was order'd to pursue, with the Horse, as far as he could; and did it with so good Effect, that a considerable Number was killed in the Pursuit.

As we were on our March to *Inverness*, and were near arrived there, Major General *Bland* sent a Parcel of Papers, which he had received from the *French* Officers, containing the Terms of their Surrender, together with their Soldiers, that were then at *Inverness*; which Terms were no other than to remain Prisoners of War at Discretion. Major-General *Bland* had also made great Slaughter, and had taken about 50 *French* Officers and Soldiers in the Pursuit. By the best Calculation that can be made, 'tis thought the Rebels lost 2000 Men in the Field of Battle, and in the Pursuit. We have here 222 *French*, and 326 Rebel Prisoners.

Upon the whole, it appears, that the Engagement was very desperate and Moody, and no Quarter given or taken on either Side. What had enraged the Royalists to a very high Degree, was, a Report, that the *Jubeans* design'd to give no Quarter, but to murder and destroy all they could lay their Hands on; which Report was grounded on the following Order, which, it's said, was found in a Prisoner's Pocket; *tho'* it has been positively denied on the other Side, particularly, by Lord *Balmerino* and the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, at the Time of their Execution on *Tower-Hill*, that there was ever such an Order given.

Parole.

Roy Jacques.

IT is his R— H—'s positive Orders, that every Person attach himself to some Corps of the Army, and remain with the Corps Night and Day, until the Battle and Pursuit be finally over, and to give no Quarter to the Elector's Troops, on no Account whatsoever. This regards the Foot as well as Horse. The Order of Battle is to be given to every General Officer, and every Commander of a Regiment or Squadron.

It is required 2nd expected of each Individual in the Army, as well Officer as Soldier, that he keep the Post 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, upon Pain of Death, is to strip the Slain, or plunder, until the Battle is over. The Highlanders to be in Kilts, and no Body to throw away their Guns.

(*Sign'd*)

GEO. MURRAY, *Lieut. General.*

Juba was posted, during the Action, with a Body of Reserve, at a considerable Distance, from whence he was Spectator of a Scene, which at once blasted his

Hopes, and put an everlasting Period to the Success of his Arms; for the Loss of this Battle, he easily foresaw, would be the utter and irretrievable Ruin of his Cause and Interest in *Scotland*. He saw, with Astonishment, those Troops, which he had look'd upon as invincible, flying before the Enemy in the utmost Disorder and Confusion. In vain did he strive to re-animate and persuade them to return to the Charge; the Mouths of murdering Cannon spoke a louder and more persuasive Language than all his Promises and Entreaties could do, though utter'd in the most moving Terms; such as these: 'Rally in the Name of God; pray, Gentlemen, return; pray stay with me, your Prince, but a Moment; otherwise you ruin me, your Country, and yourselves; and God forgive you.' In such-like Terms as these he address'd every Corps he saw retreating: But to no Purpose; the Consternation was too general to admit of a Remedy; neither did the greatest Part of them understand what he said; and such as did, cried out, *Prince! Oh! an! Oh! an!* Which Particles, in the *Scots* Language, are expressive of the greatest Grief: *Oh, unhappy Prince! O fatal Day! In what Destruction have we involved our Country, and our Friends!* Scarce had they utter'd these dismal and dolorous Accents of Grief, but the Route became general, and both Officers and Soldiers were seen flying different Ways, and the *English* Cannon being brought to bear, made dreadful Havock among them.

Juba, seeing all was lost, and his Expectation of a Crown now utterly frustrated, clapp'd Spurs to his Horse, and gallop'd off upon full Speed. While he was in this Confusion, and endeavouring to stop the Torrent of his Men's Flight, his Wigg and Bonnet flew off; the last, it's said, was taken up by one of his Friends, and presented to a Gentlewoman of the *Roman-Catholick* Religion, who keeps it as a sacred Relick, in Commemoration of that fatal Day, in which such a terrible Blow was given to the Cause and Interest she profess'd; but his Wigg he recovered, as it was falling from the Pommel of the Saddle, He rode away for the Water of *Nairn*, which he crossed; for if he had taken his Route to *Inverness*, or by the Places which are situated betwixt that small River and the *Ness*, he had Reason to fear, that he should be overtaken by the Dragoons, and *Kingston's* Light Horse; And, indeed, he was not much out in his Conjecture; for it's certain, that scarce any escaped but those that passed the *Nairn*. The Clans that had stood the Brunt of the Action, and made the Attack on the Right Wing of the Royal Army, fled the same Way, and halted about two Miles from the Field of Battle, where they set up their principal Standard, to which several repaired, and among the rest, *Juba* himself.

Among the *French* Prisoners, were Brigadier *Stapleton*, the Marquis *de Guilles*, Lord *Lewis Drummond*, and above' forty Officers more. About twenty *Scots* Officers were made Prisoners. Thirty Ordnance of different Sorts, with a large Quantity of Firelocks, Broad Swords, and Ammunition of all Sorts were likewise taken; also 12 Colours, several Standards, and among the rest, *Juba's* own.

On the Side of the Royalists, Capt. Lord *Mark Ker*, and Capt. *Grosette* were killed, and Col. *Rich*, and sixteen more Officers wounded, two of whom, *viz.* Capt. *J. Campbell*, and Capt. *Colin Campbell* died of their Wounds; Rank and File, Officers included, 50 were kill'd, and 259 wounded. The Prisoners taken in

Sutherland the 15th of *April*, were the Earl of *Cromarty*, Lord *Mac Leod* his Son, ten Officers more, and 159 private Men. The Earl of *Ancram* saved Lord *Kilmarnock's* Life. Lord *Balmerino* surrender'd himself to the *Grants*, who deliver'd him up to the Royalists. Four Ladies who had been very active in *Juba's* Service, were likewise taken at *Inverness*, viz. the Ladies *Kinloch*, *Ogilvie*, *Mackintosh* and *Gordon*. It was observed of Lady *Mackintosh*, that she was a Woman of a masculine Spirit, and had raised the Clan of that Name, notwithstanding her Husband was in Lord *Loudon's* Army. She behaved quite undaunted, and with great Unconcern; and said, that a sad Slaughter had been made of her Regiment, for that all her Officers were killed, except three.

Among other Reasons which the *Jubeans* have alledg'd, in Excuse for this terrible Overthrow, they say, 1. That all their Forces were not united, for the *Mac Phersons*, and several of *Glenbucket's* Men, in all 500, were not in the Battle; also, that *Glengyle*, with 120 *Mac Gregors*, was in *Sutherland*, as was Lord *Cromarty*, with 200 of his Men; *Barisdale's* Regiment, of 400, was likewise absent; Mr. *Cameron* of *Dungallon*, *Lochiel's* Lieutenant-Colonel, and the Master of *Lovat*, with some of their Attendants, were all at a Distance; and 500. *French* Picquets were then at *Inverness*, and had no Share in the Action. All these being added together, will amount to about 17 or 1800 Men. But, to replace these, it must be observ'd, that about 300 of the *Chrisholms* of *Strathglass*, 140 *Mac Leans*, several of the Name of *Dailas*, of the Branches of the *Catti*, such as *Mac Gillivrays*, *Mac Farquhars*, and others of the Clans that had not before joined, were now with them; which, together with the additional Forces that had been landed from *France*, did more than make up that Deficiency. 2. The *Jubeans* were scarce recover'd from their last Night's Fatigue, in their laborious March in the Dark, out and back again, to surprize the Royalists in their Camp. But that Night was calm and serene, whereas the next Morning was Stormy, and the Royal Army was oblig'd to march thro' Showers of Hail, and the Soldiers were greatly incommoded in wrapping up their Pieces in their Cloaths, to save them from the Weather, 3. It's affirmed, that the *Jubeans* were destitute of Provisions, and had but a very poor Subsistence; this was certainly very unfortunate for them, for a plentiful Provision will undoubtedly make Men chaerful, keep up their Spirits, and animate their Courage in Action; whereas the Want of the Necessaries of Life is apt to depress the Spirits, and damp the Courage of the bravest Men. Notwithstanding which, the *Jubean* Highlanders engaged with their usual Ferocity, and were as impetuous in their Onset upon the Royalists as in any former Action.

But the chief and principal Reason of their Loss of this Battle, in my Apprehension, was this: The Duke of *Cumberland*, in his March from *Aberdeen* to *Inverness*, took the Pains to confer with every Battalion of Foot, on the proper Method of using the Musket and Bayonet, to Advantage, against the Sword and Target; that is, to push over the right Arm against the right Breast of the Antagonist; by which Means the Target, which covers only the left Side of the Body, was render'd, in a Manner, useless, while the Bayonet had a free Play at the other Side; thus finding their usual Defence of no Effect, and vast Numbers of

them, every Moment, falling by the pushing Bayonet, they were quite dishearten'd and, despairing of Success, retir'd hastily from the bloody Scene.

Thus have we given a full and circumstantial Account of the Battle of *Culloden*; which will ever stand, in the *British Annals* as a memorable *Æra*, when an effectual and final Period was put to the aspiring Hopes of the *Chevalier*, or any of his Offspring, ever ascending the *British Throne*. We should, in the next Place, attend to the Adventures of the unhappy *Juba*, and wait on him through all his painful Travels, his lonesome and melancholy Wandrings, and providential Escapes from his vigilant pursuing Enemies, till his happy Deliverance from those Scenes of Horror and Affliction, which he suffer'd with uncommon Patience and Magnanimity for several Months after the Decision of his Fate at *Culloden*: But before we go upon this melancholy Subject, let us take a Trip to *London*; where the News of the Duke's Success was no sooner arrived, than an universal Joy was immediately spread over the whole City; all Ranks and Degrees of People, the Rich and the Poor, the Bond and the Free, every one in the highest, as well as the lowest Capacity of Life, unanimously express'd their Satisfaction on this joyful Occasion, and join'd in ascribing due Praises to his Royal Highness, the glorious Instrument in the Hand of Providence, in delivering them from despotick Tyranny, and the Miseries of Subjection to the Papal Power. Even the Disaffected hid themselves from a Sight that was obnoxious to their Eyes, and Poison to their Souls, or put on an Air of Complacency too forced and affected not to discover the Chagrin and Vexation that reign'd in their Hearts.

It is not in the Power of Words to describe, or a larger Volume than this, to contain, the numberless Instances of Exultation, Loyalty, and unfeigned Acknowledgments of the People, on this surprizing and almost unexpected Turn of Affairs in their Favour. Some imperfect Idea we may conceive of from the numerous Addresses, sent from all Parts of the Kingdom, to congratulate his Majesty on the Success of his Arms against the Rebels, under the Conduct of his Son, the brave Duke of *Cumberland*. It would be endless to insert them all, and therefore I shall only observe, that the two Houses of Parliament gave the highest Testimony of their Zeal and firm Attachment to his Majesty, and his Family, on this interesting Occasion. But their Acknowledgments to the Duke, for the important Services he had perform'd for his King and Country, were not merely verbal; as we shall see by the Sequel.

The House of Peers unanimously resolved, That the Thanks of that House be given to the Duke of *Cumberland*. This Resolution was accordingly drawn up in the following Terms.

April 29

Resolved,

THAT the Thanks of this House be given to the Duke of *Cumberland*, for the great and eminent Services performed by him, to his Majesty and his Kingdom, against the Rebels; and that his Royal Highness be assured of the just Sense which this House has, in how distinguished a Manner the late Victory was owing to his Valour and Conduct, and to his indefatigable Zeal, Activity, and Labours in the Cause of his Royal Father, and of his Country, and of our ardent Wishes, that his Royal Highness may have the Glory to complete the great Work

which he has so successfully begun and carried on.—*Order'd* the Lord Chancellor transmit the same to his Royal Highness.

Copy of his Royal Highness the Duke's Letter to the Lord Chancellor, dated from Inverness.

May 7. 1746.

My Lord Chancellor,

ICould not possibly have received a more welcome and affecting Proof of that distinguished Zeal and Loyalty which the House of Lords have constantly shewed to his Majesty's Person and Government, than by their favourable Acceptance of my Endeavours for the publick Service; and I desire you will lay before the House my sincere Acknowledgments for the Regard they; have shewn me on this Occasion.

The Resolution and Firmness expressed by every Officer and Soldier in his Majesty's Army, under my Command, deserve the highest Commendations; and the Guilt and Terror of that unhappy, infatuated Multitude, who vainly hoped, by unprovoked, tumultuary Arms, and a contemptible, foreign Assistance, to shake an Establishment founded in the Hearts of his Majesty's Subjects, afforded us so easy a Victory, that I can only express my Gratitude, for the favourable Impressions with which the News of it was received by the House of Lords, whose good Opinion and Thanks I shall ever esteem as one of the most honourable Testimonies and Rewards that any Actions of mine could receive.

I have only to add my Thanks to yourself, for the obliging Manner in which you have executed the Commands of the House of Lords, and for all the good Wishes with which you have accompanied them, of the Reality of which I am firmly persuaded.

*My Lord Chancellor,
Your most affectionate Friend,*

WILLIAM.

The House of Commons likewise, equally sensible of the great Services his Royal Highness had done his King and Country, came to the following Resolution.

Resolved, Nemine contradicente,

THAT the Thanks of this House be given to his Royal Highness the Duke, for the eminent and very important Services performed by him to his Majesty and the Kingdom against the Rebels, particularly in the late great Defeat of them in *Scotland*, by his Majesty's Forces, under his Royal Highness's Command.—*Order'd*, That the said Thanks be transmitted to his Royal Highness, by *Mr. Speaker*.

Copy of his Royal Highness the DUKE's Letter to Mr. Speaker, dated from Inverness, May 7. 1746.

Mr. Speaker,

IDesire you will acquaint the House of Commons with the just Sense I have of the Regard they have been pleased to shew me on this Occasion, and to assure them, that nothing can be more agreeable to me than their Congratulation upon the Success of his Majesty's Arms, which is so authentick a Testimonial of their steady Zeal and Loyalty for his Majesty's Person and Government.

I cannot enough extol my own good Fortune, by being placed, by his Majesty, at the Head of an Army, which expressed, all along, the best Affections, and the greatest Ardour, and crowned all by the Resolution shewn by every Officer and Soldier in the Day of Action, to which, under God, our Success was owing.

I return you my Thanks, for the Cordiality and Affection with which you have executed the Commands of the House of Commons.

Mr. *Speaker*,

Your most affectionate Friend,

WILLIAM.

The House of Commons, in their Congratulatory Address to the Throne on this Occasion, having assured his Majesty, that they were ready to give his Royal Highness such distinguishing Marks of publick Gratitude, as should be most agreeable to his Majesty, and were justly due to his superior Merit; his Majesty sent the following Message to the House.

May 13. 1746.

GEORGE R.

THE Desire which his Majesty's faithful Commons have expressed, to shew some publick Mark of their Approbation of the Services performed by his dearly beloved Son the Duke of *Cumberland*, towards suppressing the Rebellion, and preserving our happy Constitution in Church and State, has given his Majesty the greatest Satisfaction. His Majesty is therefore persuaded that, upon this Occasion, he complies with the Inclination of this House, in recommending to their Consideration, the settling an additional Revenue upon his said Son, and his Issue Male, with such Provisions as shall be judged proper.

May 14th. Pursuant to his Majesty's Message of the 13th, the Commons voted, (*Nem. Con.*) That an additional Revenue of 25,000*l.* be settled on his Royal Highness William Duke of *Cumberland*, and the Heirs Male of his Body, for the signal Services done by his Royal Highness to his Country, to be issuing and payable out of the Duties and Revenues composing the Aggregate Fund,—His Royal Highness had before only 15,000*l. per Ann.* payable out of the Civil List.

The Preamble to this Act, which settled a Revenue on his Royal Highness, is expressed in the following Terms.

WHEREAS by the glorious Success with which it has pleased Almighty God to bless your Majesty's Arms, under the auspicious Conduct of your dearly beloved Son the Duke of *Cumberland*, we may reasonably hope for a happy and speedy End of the present wicked and unnatural Rebellion: In Return, therefore, for your Majesty's unwearied Care, and affectionate Concern for the Safety of your People, of which the exposing a Life justly valuable to your Majesty, is a most endearing Proof: We beg Leave to offer your Majesty the warmest Assurances of that Duty and Loyalty, which must ever flow from Hearts full of Gratitude and Affection; and that we may, in some Measure, express the deep Sense we have, of the indefatigable Labour his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* has undergone, and the eminent Services he has performed to your Majesty, and his Country, We most humbly beseech your Majesty, that an additional Revenue may be settled on his Royal Highness, and his Issue Male; which Provision we pray Almighty God, by the long Continuance of his

illustrious Line, may remain as a lasting Monument to all Ages, of our Respect, Gratitude, and Affection to his Royal Highness the Duke, to whose distinguished Courage and Conduit (under God and your Majesty) we owe the pleasing Prospect, of being deliver'd from the Horrors and Desolation that must have accompanied the Continuance of this unnatural Rebellion: Wherefore your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, &c. do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that it may be enacted, That, &c.

The Lord Mayor and Citizens of *London*, in a Court of Common Council, held for that Purpose, resolved to present his Royal Highness with the Freedom of the City in a Gold Box, to be decorated and embellished in the richest Manner: The Lord Mayor and Citizens of *York* did the same; and several other Corporations testified their Respects to his Highness the same Way. So great was the Impression which the Duke's important Services to the Nation had fix'd on the Minds of the People in general, that he was universally look'd upon as their Deliverer from all those horrible Mischiefs which a successful Rebellion must have overwhelm'd them with.

The Lord Mayor and others, Commissioners and Trustees for the Management and Disposal of the Money collected on the *Veteran's Scheme*, remitted 5000*l.* to his Royal Highness, to be given to the Soldiers, a Reward for their Bravery at the Battle of *Culloden*. In Return to which, his Royal Highness wrote a very elegant Letter to his Lordship, acquainting him, that he had received the 5000*l.* appointed by the Committee of the *Veteran's Scheme*, for the Use of the Soldiers who should distinguish themselves most in the Field of Action; and that he intended to dispose of it in the following Manner, *viz.* 4000*l.* to the common Men, and the other 1000*l.* to the Non-commission'd Officers, such as Corporals, &c. if agreeable to his Lordship and the Committee. Upon which his Lordship call'd a Council, and laid the Letter before them; and they immediately came to a Refutation, to return his Royal Highness Thanks for the Honour he had done them, and to desire that he would dispose of the 5000*l.* as they at first intended, and they would immediately raise another 1000*l.* for the Non-commission'd Officers.

Thus was the Duke honour'd by the Chief of the Nation, and almost idolized by the Populace. And now, having seen what Reception the News of his late Victory, at *Culloden*, met with at Court, from the Parliament, the City, and in the Country, let us take our Leave of *England*, and once more repair to *Inverness*; where we shall find the Duke busily employ'd, in taking the most prudent Measures for utterly extinguishing every remaining Spark of the Rebellion.

April 21, Mr. *Grant*, with 600 of his Followers, join'd the Duke at *Inverness*, who ordered them to be quartered in the *Mackintosh's* Country. At the same Time they deliver'd up to his Royal Highness, the Lord *Balmerino*; who, after the Battle of *Dumblain*, in 1715, deserted to the Rebels at *Perth*.

He was then Capt. *Elphinstone*, of *Shannon's* Regiment of Foot.

All the *French* Officers and Soldiers that were left at *Inverness*, were made Prisoners, and on the 28th, were shipp'd off for *Newcastle*. Almost all *Juba's* Servants came in, and submitted to the Duke; and as they were all *French*, and had not been with him before he came to *France*, his Royal Highness gave them

Passports to go home. Lord *Sutherland* remain'd, with 8 or 900 of his People, in the Head of the *Frazers* Country. Lord *Loudon*, with 1300 Men, were in the Isle of *Skey*, and ordered by his Highness to land in the Country of the *Clanronalds*, and to march up to *Fort-Augustus*. Lord *Cobham's* Regiment march'd for *Montrose*, to guard the Sea-Coast.

The Number of Prisoners was continually increasing. The Prisons of *Aberdeen*, *Montrose*, and *Stirling* were filled; and Prisoners were daily brought into *Perth*, *Inverness*, and *Dumfries*. The Marquis of *Tullibardine*, and an *Italian*, who call'd himself¹² *Michell*, and had been thirty Years in the Service of the *Old Chevalier*, surrender'd to *William Buchanan*, of *Drumachill*, Esq; a Justice of the Peace, who committed them to the Castle of *Dumbarton*. The Marquis and his Companion fled thro' *Ross-shire*, endeavouring to make the Sea-Coast, or find a Passage to the Isle of *Mull*; but their Horses tiring, and the Marquis being in a very bad State of Health, they surrender'd, as above.

About the same Time Detachments were sent out from the *Edinburgh* Regiment, to scour the South Side of the *Firth*; and at *Queens-ferry* seiz'd one *Robert Murray*, a Writer in *Edinburgh*, and a Life-guard Man in the *Jubean* Army.

One *James Hay*, a *Scots Man*, who call'd himself a Captain and Paymaster of Lord *John Drummond's* Regiment, surrender'd himself to Lord Justice Clerk, who committed him to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. He said, that the *French*, viz. *Drummond's* Regiment, the *Irish* Picquets, and *Fitz-James's* Horse, at the Time of the late Battle, amounted to between 6 and 700 Men; that of the first, 50 were killed in the Battle; and of the second, about 100. Also, that he parted from Lord *John Drummond* at *Ruthven*, who took the Money belonging to the Regiment from him, and divided it amongst his Officers, desiring every one to shift for himself, as he intended to do.

General *Campbell* marched towards *Lochabar*, in order to clear that Country of the Rebels, who were dispersed all over it, and had begun to rob and plunder.

William Murray, Esq; Brother to the Earl of *Dunmore*, surrender'd himself to a Justice of the Peace in the Shire of *Mearns*.

Lord *Pitsligo*, with many of the Foot, lurk'd about the Coasts of *Buchan*, in Hopes of making their Escape, as they soon afterwards did.

The Misery and Distress of the Fugitives was inexpressible, Hundreds being found dead of their Wounds, and through Hunger, at the Distance of 12, 14, and 20 Miles from the Field of Battle.

May 1. His Royal Highness being inform'd, that great Numbers of the Rebels, after their Overthrow at *Culloden*, had dispers'd themselves over the Country, and retired to their respective Homes, still keeping Possession of their Arms, without giving the least Marks of quitting their traitorous Disposition; his Highness issued out a Proclamation, requiring all Magistrates, and Officers of the Law, to make Search for, and commit such Persons, when found, in order to Trial, and to seize and secure their Arms; and to take Information from the Ministers of the established Church of *Scotland*, touching the Behaviour of the Inhabitants within

¹² The original Author of these Memoirs.

their respective Parishes, and the Haunts and Places of Abode of such Rebels as might be lurking in their several Neighbourhoods, and likewise that such Magistrates and Officers of the Law do make strict Search and Enquiry after such Persons as have harboured and concealed any Rebels, and to commit them to Prison, in order for Trial. Also, that all those that would voluntarily come in, lay down their Arms, and peaceably submit themselves, should have their Pardons, and Liberty to return, unmolested, to their own Habitations. Of which, many of the wretched Highlanders being inform'd, came to his Highness, deliver'd up their Arms, and went quietly dismiss'd. Such as were not to be reclaim'd by the Duke's Clemency, but obstinately persisted in their Rebellion, though Heaven and Earth were against them, were severely punish'd for their Folly. For, besides being depriv'd of all the Necessaries of Life, and the Means of procuring any, their Houses and Habitations were all burnt and destroy'd, by the Parties which the Duke sent out for that Purpose, who also drove away, and convey'd to the Royal Army, all the Cattle, Oxen, Sheep, &c. that they could find on the Lands of those Chiefs who had not yet surrender'd; so that there was no Subsistence, House, nor Habitation left for those who refus'd to accept of the Terms of Grace offer'd them by the Duke; yet some there were who so pertinaciously adher'd to *Juba's* Cause, that, notwithstanding all the Miseries and Distresses under which the whole Party laboured, and the moral Impossibility that ever *Juba* should retrieve his Fortune, yet nothing could deter them, while they had any Life remaining, from asserting their loyal and affectionate Regard for him.

Capt. *Noel*, of the *Greyhound* Man of War, being inform'd, that two large *French* Ships were at Anchor at *Loch Noua*, weigh'd Anchor, and with the *Baltimore* Sloop, being join'd by the *Terror*, sail'd in Quest of them; and the next Day came up with them. The *Greyhound* gave the Commodore a Broadside, and then stood to the other. The Sloops did the same, and continued the Fight till Nine o'Clock; when the Masts and Rigging of the Sloops were so much shatter'd, that they were not capable of keeping under Sail, which was the only Method they had, of annoying the *Frenchmen*, who were superior to them in Strength, one of them carrying 34 Guns, 24 of which were Nine-Pounders; and the other carried 32, 22 of which were 9-Pounders. The *Greyhound* and Sloops, therefore, after lying at Anchor some Time, to repair their Damages, made Sail, and left them.

These *Frenchmen* landed several Chests and Barrels, containing Arms, Ammunition, and a considerable Quantity of Money: The last Article, when the *French* understood the bad Condition of *Juba's* Affairs, they would have took on Board again; but the *Jubeans* understood the Value of it too well to part with it so; and immediately carried it up into the Country, out of the Reach of their *French* Friends. The D. of *Perth*, and several others of the Highland Chiefs, went on Board these Ships, which carried them to *France*.

Simon Lord *Fraser* of *Lovat*, has been already taken Notice of, as a strenuous Assertor of *Juba's* Cause; and it's undoubtedly true, that he did all, in his Power to animate the Clans to take Arms in that Interest yet this he did by such artful Ways and Means, as, he imagin'd, wou'd secure him from the Imputation of Treason however, by all his Cunning, he could not save his Head from the Block: That he was conscious that his Behaviour had merited such a Stroke from the

Government, appears from his Conduct after the Defeat of the *Jubeans* at *Culloden*, For, no sooner did he hear of that disastrous Event, but he retired to the Mountains and hid himself among his Clan. But the Duke having certain Information of his lurking Places, Parties were immediately sent out in Search of him, to seize and bring him to Justice.

His Lordship having got Intelligence of their Pursuit, and not thinking it safe to remain any longer upon the main Land, got off in a Boat to one of the Western Islands, where he thought he should be secure from all Dangers; but his ill Fate still following him, it was not long before he had Intelligence brought him, that the King's Forces was in Search of him. Nor was he was misinform'd; for his Royal Highness, understanding that he was got into the Islands, sent a Detachment of the Garrison of *Fort-William*, under the Command of Capt. *Millar*, on Board the *Furnace* and *Terror* Sloops to make Descents. His Lordship no sooner heard of their Arrival, but he immediately got into the Woods, where he hoped he should be in the greatest Security; but after three Days Search, was there taken, hid, as some say, in a hollow Tree.

The Captain having thus got fast hold of his Prize, committed him to the Care of his Men, to carry him to the Sloops, and so convey him to a Place of Security. However, his Lordship, far from being daunted at this new Misfortune, and scarce thinking himself a Prisoner, told the Captain, *That he had best use him well; for if he did not, he should make him answer for his Conduct before a Set of Gentlemen, the very Sight of whom should make him tremble.* The Captain smil'd at his Menaces, and assured him, that he would take particular Care, that his Usage should be as good as a Man in his Situation could expect; and so, without more Ceremony, conducted him to *Fort-Augustus*, where his Lordship was treated, by the Duke's Order, with the utmost Tenderness and Humanity; and being very weak and . infirm, he had all proper Assistance allow'd him, and every obliging Indulgence shewn him.

His Lordship seeing himself in this unhappy Situation, and being fully convinc'd, that there was no possible Way of escaping the Resentment of the Government, which he had so notoriously offended, wrote to his Royal Highness the following submissive Letter, dated at *Fort-William*, June 22d, 1746.

SIR,

THIS Letter is most humbly address'd to your Royal Highness, by the very unfortunate *Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat*. I durst not presume to solicit or petition your Royal Highness for any Favour, if it was not very well known, to the best People in this Country attach'd to the Government, such as the Lord President, and by those that frequented the Court at that Time, that I did more essential Service to your Royal Family, in suppressing the great Rebellion in 1715, with the Hazard of my Life, and the Loss of my only Brother, than any of my Rank in *Scotland*; for which I had three Letters of Thanks from my Royal Master, by the Hands of Earl *Stanhope*, then Secretary of State which his Majesty strongly promis'd to give me such Marks of his Royal Favour as should oblige all the Country to be faithful to him; therefore the gracious King was as good as his Word to me; for as soon as I arriv'd at Court, and was introduced to the King by the late Duke of *Argyle*, I became, by Degrees, to be as great a Favourite any

Scotsman about the Court; and I often carried your Royal Highness in my Arms in the Parks of *Kensington* and *Hampton-Court*, to hold you up for your Royal Grandfather, that he might embrace you, for he was very fond of you and the young Princesses. Now, Sir, all that I have to say in my present Circumstances, is, that your Royal Highness will be pleas'd to extend your Goodness towards me, in a generous and companionate Manner, in my deplorable Situation; and if I have the Honour to kiss your Royal Highness's Hand, I would easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more Service to the King and Government, than destroying an Hundred such old, and very infirm Men, like me, pass'd Seventy (without the least Use of my Hands, Legs, or Knees) can be of Advantage, in any Shape, to the Government.

Your Royal Father, our present Sovereign, was very kind to me in the Year 1715. I presented on my Knees, to his Majesty, a Petition in Favour of the Laird of *Mac Intosh*, to obtain a Protection for him, which he granted me, and gave it to *Charles Cathcart*, then Groom of the Bed-chamber, and order'd him to deliver it into my Hands, that I might give it to the Laird of *Mac Intosh*. This was but one Testimony of several Marks of Goodness his Majesty was pleased to bestow on me while the King was at *Hanover*; so I hope I shall feel, that the same compassionate Blood runs in your Royal Highness's Veins.

Major-General *Campbell* told me, that he had the Honour to acquaint your Royal Highness, that he was sending me to *Fort-William*; and that he begg'd of your Royal Highness to order a Litter to be made for me, to carry me to *Fort-Augustus*; as that I am in such a Condition, that I am not able to stand, walk, or ride. I am, with the utmost Submission, and most profound Respect,

SIR,

Your Royal Highness's most obedient,

and most faithful humble Servant,

Sign'd, LOVAT,

July 15th, his Lordship was convey'd to *Stirling*, under a strong Guard; and from thence, after a few Days Rest, proceeded to *Edinburgh*, in his Way to *London*; at which last Place he arrived, Aug. 15, and was committed to the Tower the *Friday* before the Lords *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino* were beheaded on *Tower-hill*; where he himself also suffer'd the same Death, *April 9, 1747*.

The *Jubeans* were now so *totally* dispersed, either by the Parties which the Duke sent out after them, or by the Submission of those Clans that had hitherto stood out, that there seemed no more Work for his Royal Highness to do, more than to settle Order in the Country, which, for nine Months successively, had been so terribly harrass'd by the Parties at War, that it look'd more like a Wilderness, the Habitation of Savages, than the Residence of a civiliz'd Society; and also to give due Course to the Laws, and Execution of Justice, which had been so long suspended.

The Peace and Tranquillity being thus in a fair Way of being happily restored, his Royal Highness set out from *Stirling* early on *Tuesday* Morning, *July 21st*, and travelled, without going to Bed, till his Arrival at *Kensington*, about One o'Clock the *Friday* following.

I shall conclude this Part of my History with Reflexion from a Writer, who, though a zealous Whig, has honestly and impartially summ'd up, and repeated only what was, about this Time, remark'd in almost all Companies, both publick and private.

“Thus, says he, the Flame of this Rebellion, which, after being smother'd, for a Time, in *Scotland*, broke out, at last, with such Force, as to spread itself into *England*, and not without Reason, alarmed even *London* itself, that great Metropolis, was, in a short Space, totally extinguish'd by him who gave the first Check to its Force; and who perhaps alone was capable of performing this Service to his Country, his Father, and his King.¹³ It is sufficiently known, how great a Hazard the Person runs, of displeasing him who praises his Royal Highness; but the Regard we have to Truth, Justice, and the Publick, oblige me, on this Occasion, to declare, that Providence particularly made Use of him, as its most proper Instrument in performing this Work. He it was who revived the Spirits of the People, by the Magnanimity of his own Behaviour. He, without Severity, restor'd the Discipline of the Army. He prudently suspended his Career at *Aberdeen*, till the Troops recover'd their Fatigue, and the Season opened a Road to Victory. He waited with Patience, chose with Discretion, and most happily and gloriously improv'd that Opportunity, which blasted the Hopes of the Rebels, and has secur'd to us the present Possession and future Prospect of the wisest and best framed Constitution, administer'd by the gentlest, and molt indulgent Government *Europe* can boast.”

Fortune, or rather Providence, had, in the Compass of a few Months, given *Juba* an abundant Experience of the Vicissitudes of human Life, as well as of the various Humours and Tempers of Mankind. In his Passage from *France* to *Scotland*, he was in extreme Peril of being taken by the *Lyon* Man of War, and perhaps would not have escap'd, had she not luckily been engaged with the *Elizabeth*. On his Arrival in the North of *Scotland*, he was quickly surrounded by his Highland Friends in great Numbers. With them he begins his Enterprise, and meets with a surprizing, and almost uninterrupted Success, till he was got into the very Heart and Bowels of *England*, and had, he thought, but a few Marches to make, before he should reach the Throne, which was the sole Object of his Ambition, and which he already possess'd in his own Imagination. But, in the very Midst of these elevated Thoughts, he receives a Check, and, in an Instant, sees himself oblig'd to turn his Back upon the glorious Prospect, which he so lately had in View, and, with the utmost Chagrin and Reluctance, he beat the Road back again to *Scotland*. Here he finds himself, once more, at Liberty, and Fortune smiles upon him again. Here he can, unmolested, exact Contributions from the defenceless People, and pay his Army at the Expence of his refractory Enemies: and the Event of the Action at *Falkirk*, with the preceding one at *Preston-pans*, confirm'd him in a Persuasion, that his Highlanders were a Match for the *English* upon any Ground in *Scotland*. But it was not long before he was convinc'd of his Error, by the Arrival of the Duke of *Cumberland*, whose very Name struck such a Terror among his People, that no Arguments he could offer,

¹³ Did this Author confider, how great a Compliment he, by the Expression, indirectly pays to *Juba*?

were sufficient to persuade them to stand their Ground, and face his Highness, but oblig'd him to retreat to the Highlands. Here again Fortune flatter'd him with several Successes, which his detach'd Parties met with in their Skirmishes and Exploits with the Royalists. After all, the Day, the memorable 16th of *April* is come, that must try and decide his Fate, with Respect to his Claim of the *British* Crown; The Issue of that Day convinc'd him, that his wild and savage Highlanders were not invincible, and that a sedate Intrepidity will always be a Match for a rough and boisterous Courage.

But *Juba* had no less Occasion for the Exercise of the Virtues of Patience, Prudence, and Magnanimity, in managing the jarring and querulous Tempers of his Highland Chiefs, than he had for his Courage and Conduct, as a General, in the Field, against his Enemies. Each of them supposing he had as much at Stake as any of the rest, and more than some of them, thought his Advice ought to be follow'd, in Preference to others, who had not more, if so much, to lose as himself. So that a Council of War was scarce ever call'd, to deliberate on the Operations of the Campaign, but there were as many Opinions as there were Members? and every one was disgusted, whose Sentiments, however injudicious and unreasonable, had not that Regard shewn them, as, he imagined, they ought to have. And it often requir'd the Exertion of *Juba's* utmost Abilities, to compose their Strifes and Animositities, and to preserve an Unanimity among them, in the Prosecution of the common Cause; yet he had the Dexterity to surmount these Difficulties, insomuch that not one of his Chiefs forsook him, so long as he was able to appear at their Head. But the fatal Overthrow at *Culloden*, had so effectually disconcerted all his Measures, and so totally dispers'd his Officers and Soldiers, that he now finds himself in as forlorn, destitute and miserable a Condition, as the most wretched of his unhappy Followers, as will soon appear in the Sequel of the Relation which we have to give of him.

Juba, as before observ'd, seeing the Battle irrecoverably lost, retir'd over the Waters of *Nairn*; where stopping to take a Retrospect of the Field, he was soon join'd by some of his People that fled the same Way. Wherever he cast his Eye round him, the most dreadful Scene presented itself; his Troops dispers'd and flying all over the Country, and their Enemies, with the most inveterate Animosity, pursuing, killing and destroying them without Mercy. The Clans, who had stood the Storm and Fury of the Battle, retreated the same Way; and being got over the *Nairn*, about two Miles from the Place of Action, set up their Standard, which *Juba* seeing, repair'd to it. They had not been here long, before they observ'd a Party making towards them, and suspecting them to be the *Argyleshire* Militia, their implacable Enemies, began to be under some Apprehension; but on their nearer Approach, found them to be their good Friends the *Mac Phersons*, who were coming to join them, and encrease their Army, which they suppos'd was about to engage the Royalists. Being come up, *Clunie*, the Chief of the Clan *Catti*, paid his Respects to *Juba*, and perceiving in his Face, a Kind of a gloomy Melancholy, enquir'd the Meaning of it. *Juba's* Mind was in too much Confusion to return him any Answer, and therefore one of his Officers said to him *All is over! What!* replied *Clunie*, *has there been a Battle? Yes*, answer'd the other, *and the Day's not ours*. Whereupon the Conversation turn'd upon the Disasters of that

Day, which *Juba*, and all his Officers, imputed to the Conduct of one of their Generals, the Lord *George Murray*. *Clunie* was so astonish'd at the Report of this Misfortune, that it was some Time before he could give any Utterance to his Thoughts; at length, recollecting a little his scatter'd Spirits, he replied, with an Oath, 'There's no Help for it; let us return again, and try our Fortune once more; see here 600 as brave Fellows as ever drew cold Iron.' No, replied *Juba*, it is too late; for my faithfulest Followers are almost all cut to Pieces; *Lochiel* and *Keppoch* (whose Advice wou'd to God I had follow'd) are wounded, with many others. We are too few to encounter the Usurper's Forces, who are in Possession of our Cannon: And even if we should return, my Orders would still be counteracted as formerly: My Case is, at present, bad, but then it would be irretrievable. Good God! why did I not leave this wretched Body on the Field of Battle? Why am I reserv'd to this unhappy Hour, to see my best, my sincerest Friends, suffer so much Misery, so many Calamities on my Account?'

Clunie finding *Juba's* Affairs ruin'd past Redemption, thought it a Piece of Prudence to take Care of himself; and therefore, returning with his Clan to *Badenoch*, he applied himself to one. *Blair*, a Minister, by whose Mediation, his Submission to the Government was accepted, and he, with his Clan, had the Benefit of the Duke's Proclamation of Pardon and Mercy to those who laid down their Arms, and submitted.

The Clan *Cattan* having thus left *Juba* to his own Fortune, his few Friends and Followers that were now about him, consulted what Measures were to be taken, for his and their own Preservation, in their present melancholy Situation; but the Safety of their Prince being, in the first Place, to be consider'd, some advis'd, that the most prudent Method wou'd be, for him, to collect as many of his Troops together as he cou'd, and follow the *Mac Phersons*, by joining of whom he might be capable of raising a Body sufficient to make another Stand against the Enemy. But others, disliking this Advice, said, that before he did any Thing of this Kind, he should consult his old and sure Friend Lord *Lovat*, who knew better than any Man, what was the best Course to be pursued in this Emergency. To this it was objected, that the Enemy were posted betwixt them and the *Aird*, where *Castle-Downie*, the Seat of that Lord, was situated. It was answer'd? that his Lordship, since his Escape from Lord *Loudon* at *Inverness*, had lodged with Mr. *Fraser*, of *Gortlich*, in *Stratherrick*; of which *Juba* being well assured, set out, with about 20 Horsemen, at Six o'Clock at Night, and order'd 200 more to be at the same Place early the next Morning.

About Nine the same Evening, he arrived at the House, and upon presenting himself before his old Friend, expecting Comfort and Consolation from a long Experience of his Friendship, old *Simon* entertain'd him with such Lamentations and Complaints as these: 'Chop off my Head, chop off my Head, said his Lordship to the unhappy, distressed Youth: My own Family, with all the great Clans, are undone, and the whole Blame will fall upon me. Oh! is there no Friend here that will put an End to my Life and Misery? At the same Time calling to some Persons by their Names, he besought them to do him this last Office of Friendship. Thus he went on lamenting his unhappy Destiny, and the miserable Condition of his Friends, now ruin'd past Redemption. Nobody returning him any

Answer, *Juba*, at last, interrupted him with this Reply: I pray your Lordship, don't despair: We have had two Days of them already, and will have yet, another Day, a Bout with them.' Then he proceeded to acquaint him with the several Particulars of the Battle, and extoll'd the Bravery of the *Frazers*, but severely censur'd those who prevented his attacking the Royalists in the Night before the Action, who, he was very positive, were then in no Condition to receive him. But old *Simon*, who perfectly foresaw the dreadful Consequences which the Event of this Battle wou'd produce, was not to be pacified with Lenitives, or amus'd with flattering Tales, that administer'd no Relief against the impending Evils; neither wou'd he advise, or give Attention to any Proposals that were offer'd by others, concerning Measures that were proper to be taken.

The Woman of the House, perceiving thro' Fatigue and Want of Rest, very much dispirited, and out of Heart, roasted a Fowl for him, part of which he eat, and then retired to his Chamber, in order to indulge wearied Nature with a little Sleep; but the present unhappy Situation of his Affairs, employed his Thoughts too much to suffer him to close his Eyes; so that not being able to compose himself to Rest, he got up, and looking out of the Window, saw some of his Guards coming towards him, he dress'd himself, went down, and saluted them in a very friendly Manner, and introduced some of his Officers to Lord *Lovat*. *Juba* again entreated his Lordship, to consult with him what was best to be done in this critical Juncture, to preserve themselves from falling into the Hands of their Enemies: But in vain; for he would hear nothing, nor advise any Thing, but continued to exclaim against his hard and rigorous Fate, which had involved him, and his Family, in Calamities which must be their utter and inevitable Ruin; that his House was no longer his Sanctuary; and that he had no Refuge to fly to, but the Clemency of the Duke of *Cumberland*, who was as Illustrious for his Generosity and Humanity, as any other of his princely Virtues, which he possess'd in an eminent Degree; and since he had no Friend that wou'd put an End to his miserable Life, he wou'd throw himself in the Way of his Enemies, who, he doubted not, wou'd, some Way or other, put a Period to his Miseries.'

Juba, finding no Good was to be done, withdrew, with his Followers, into another Apartment, where having refresh'd themselves with such Provision as the House afforded, he dismissed the greatest Part of his People, with a short, but pathetick Speech, in which he lamented their Misfortunes, as well as his own, concluding in Words to this Effect: 'Gentlemen, I have nothing more to add, but my Advice, that you consult your own Safety in the best Manner you can. I have it no longer in my Power to advance your Pay, (*which he cou'd scarce utter without bursting into Tears*) but if you shou'd have the good Fortune to escape from hence, you may depend upon all my Interest and Endeavours Abroad, to obtain a Subsistence for you, in foreign Service, suitable to your several Ranks and Merits.'

Juba's Servants, who came with him from *Italy*, were not at all displeas'd with this Declaration: for, though they were infinitely griev'd to see their Master reduced to the Circumstance of a Fugitive, yet they were so tired with the Company of the rude and unpolish'd Highlanders, that they were glad to be rid of them at any Rate; and therefore immediately repairing to *Inverness*, they

surrender'd themselves Prisoners to the Duke of *Cumberland*, who gave them Passports to return Home.

But tho' *Juba's French* Servants were so well satisfied with their Dismission, yet *Juba's Highland Guard* were infinitely troubled at their being obliged to quit his Service, as there was almost an inseparable Connexion between his good or bad Fortune, and theirs. What Course to take, or where to retire to for Safety, they knew not; the Enemy, they knew, wou'd soon be in Pursuit of them, and if they were taken, no Mercy wou'd be shewn them. At length they resolv'd to keep together in a Body, and repair to *Strath-Nairn*, where, to get a Subsistence, they made Excursions round the Country, under Pretence that they were the Duke's Troops, and therefore must be supplied with Provisions, and, under that Pretext, committed many barbarous Outrages on the Inhabitants.

But tho' *Juba's Followers* were in so wretched, so distress'd, and forlorn a Condition, he himself was in no better. His only Attendants now were seven Officers, two Servants, and his Favourites O *Sullivan*, and Sir *Thomas Sherridan*¹⁴, of whose Experience and Policy he had had abundant Proof, and of which he had now the greatest Occasion, to assist him in steering his Course through Difficulties and Dangers, which he must necessarily encounter before he shou'd arrive at the Haven of Safety.

With these few Friends he immediately held a Consultation, to deliberate on the first Step to be taken for their Security. It was soon resolv'd, to keep at as great a Distance from the Enemy as possible, but especially the Militia of the *Mac Kays, Munroes, Argyle-Campbells, &c.* from whose Severity and Cruelty, known on former Occasions, they had every Thing to fear. *Sullivan* said, that, without losing a Moment in Consultations, they ought to move farther off; and propos'd to go directly for *Glengary*, being persuaded, that the Enemy had not taken that Route; or, however, that they cou'd not get there before them. Accordingly they took Horse, and, on the Road, *Juba* had the Mortification to see many of his Followers, wounded, fatigu'd, and ready to expire for Want of Nourishment.

They came about Ten o'Clock the same Morning to *Glengary Castle*, which is pleasantly situated on a Lake, and presents a fine Prospect over the adjacent Country; from whence they cou'd easily discern any Parties, that shou'd come against them, Time enough to get clear of them. Mr. *Mac Donald*, the Owner of the Castle, was secretly, and his Clan publickly, Friends to *Juba's* Interest, and now receiv'd him and his Attendants with great Civility and Humanity; but having been informed of the disastrous Issue of the Action that had happen'd the Day before, he began to fear the Consequences of his Hospitality at this critical Juncture, and not without Reason; for though he had, himself, never actually appeared in Arms against the reigning King, yet as he now gave Shelter and Succour to his Majesty's most dangerous Enemy, he had every Thing to fear, should a Discovery ensue. However, he cleared up his Brow, and took Care, that no outward Action should indicate the Uneasiness of his Mind, and desired a particular Account of the Battle, of which he, as yet, had but an imperfect Relation: For both the Chief and his Clan being; of a martial Genius, they are

¹⁴ This *Sherridan's* Wife nursed the Old *Chevalier's* second Son, for which he was Knighted.

wonderfully delighted in hearing and talking; of Achievements in Arms, *Sullivan* and *Sherridan* undertook to gratify his Curiosity at this Time, and in the Course of the Story, observing the peculiar Attention he gave to that Part of it which related to the Behaviour of his Clan, they took the Hint, and so extoll'd the Courage and Intrepidity of his Regiment, that all his Fears and Apprehensions were banish'd in a Moment, and he directly gave Orders to his Servants, to provide for, and accommodate his Guests in the most handsome Manner.

Juba, though he was now in Safety at *Glengay*, yet when he reflected on the Miseries and Misfortunes that he had brought upon his Followers, he was griev'd to the very Soul; and his Affliction was the greater, as it was not in his Power to give them Relief of any Kind whatever. However, he kept a Correspondence with such of them as held together in Bodies.

Lochiel, who was wounded in the Battle, having got his Wound dress'd, march'd the next Day, with his Clan, to the Side of a Hill, where he drew them up, and order'd the Pipers to play, all Night, such Tunes as, he knew, would best amuse and divert them in their present melancholy Circumstances. The next Morning, finding that there was no Likelihood of his being join'd by any considerable Force, and that there was no Subsistence for his Troops, march'd away for *Lochabar*, along those Hills that separate that County from *Badenoch*, and in two Days came to *Glengary*, where he found his unhappy Master, whose Grief was renew'd on the Sight of his Friend *Lochiel*, and so many miserable Objects with him; *Lochiel* himself dangerously wounded in the Ankle, and unable to travel, and a great Part of his Men in no better, some in a much worse Condition. Nothing was to be heard among them but Lamentations for their late Miscarriage, and their present Misery and Distress, Groans utter'd from a pungent Sense of their aking, undress'd Wounds; and many ready to drop under the Weight of their own Bodies, through Fatigue and Want of Refreshment. This was a Heart-breaking Sight to *Juba*, who was less able to bear the Misfortunes of others, than he was his own.

But nothing could exceed the Love of the *Camerons* for their *Lochiel*, unless it were that of the *Mac Donalds* for their *Keppoch*: For being wounded in the very Height and Fury of the Battle, two of them took hold of his Legs, a Third supported his Head, while the rest posted themselves round him as an impregnable Bulwark; and in that Manner carried him from the Field, over the small River *Nairn*, to a Place of Safety.

Juba was deeply affected with the Relation; but *Glengary* was mightily pleas'd at the hearing of these Things, particularly the last-mentioned Exploit, which he wish'd could have been told of any of his own Family, as it was of the Clan of *Keppoch*.

Glengary having refresh'd his Guests with Butter, Cheese, Milk, and Usquebagh (a favourite Liquor among the Highlanders) *Juba* held a Council of War with the Officers, wherein it was moved, to set up a Standard near that Place, and issue out Orders for the dispersed Troops to repair to it. This Proposal was agreed to by some who thought it was the best Method they cou'd take, to secure themselves from being taken by the Enemy, as they certainly wou'd be, in Case they were to separate, or wander about in small Parties. *Juba*, however, truly

inform'd them, that he had no more Money to give them; and therefore, unless they were able to force the Royalists in their Camp, they wou'd run the utmost Hazard of having their Subsistence entirely cut off. *Sullivan* and *Sherridan* spoke on the same Side, and expatiated on the Madness and Folly of such a Project. However, to keep their Fidelity and Constancy to their Master unshaken, these two Gentlemen assured them, that, upon their certain Knowledge, there were large Supplies of Men and Money, at that Instant, coming to them from *France*, and expected to be landed every Day, which would undoubtedly give a very favourable Turn to *Juba's* Affairs. At length, after much Debate, it was agreed, that the *Camerons* should keep in a Body, and march together to *Achnacarrie*, the Name of *Lochiel's* Seat, on the Road to *Fort-William*, and about nine Miles from it; where, by their patrolling Parties, they might observe the Motions of the Royalists; while *Juba*, with the Corps under him, perform'd the same Service upon the Quarter towards *Inverness*.

Pursuant to this Resolution, the *Camerons* march'd away for *Achnacarrie*; and the first Thing they did, on their Arrival there, was, to secure their best Effects in the Woods, and subterraneous Caverns, of which there are many in that Part of the Country; and considering how soon the Royalists might deprive them of their Cattle, they kill'd and fed upon: them in a very plentiful Manner.

Juba, in the mean Time, remained with Mr. *Mac Donald*, in Expectation of hearing from his Officers, whom he parted with three Days before: These Officers were the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, the D. of *Perth*, Lord *John Drummond*, Lords *Ogilvie*, *Balmerino*, *Nairn*, and *Pitsligo*, Lord *George Murray*, and Cpl. *John Roy Steuart*, Capt. *Hunter* of *Burnside*, and about 800 of the *Angus* and *Athol* Battalions, who, with some others, had repair'd to *Corryburgh*, an Inn about six Miles from *Inverness*. *Juba* and these Gentlemen had agreed, before they parted, to keep up a Correspondence between them, that so each might be constantly inform'd of the Situation of the other's Affairs. The Marquis of *Tullibardine* was so lucky as to have his Baggage and Cloaths secur'd by the Care of his Servant, but most of the rest of them had lost all they had, These Noblemen and Officers continued here till about the Middle of the next Day, and were then join'd by Lord *Elcho*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, and some of their Attendants: When suddenly an Alarm was spread, that the Dragoons were advancing towards them; upon which they all immediately mounted their Horses, and took the Patent Road, that is, General *Wade's* Road, to *Ruthven*. Being got as far as *Agymore*, an Inn about eight Miles from the Place they intended to go to, Lord *Balmerino* stopt short, and staid behind the Company, who went forward. Meeting here with one *Fleming*, a Valet de Chambre to the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, he drank a whole *English Pint* of Brandy with him, saying, 'Come, here is the Duke your Master's Health, I actually will surrender to the Enemy; for, to what Purpose should one always be in Terror of one's Life?' Then bidding *Fleming* adieu, he rode on to *Strathspey*, and delivered himself up to Capt. *Grant*, of *Baudallach*, who took him to *Inverness*, where he was put into Confinement, and soon afterwards shipp'd off for *London*, where he was tried, and executed for High Treason.

The other Noblemen pursued their Journey to *Ruthven*, where they held frequent Consultations upon the State of their Affairs, which, indeed, were in so

desperate a Condition, that no Scheme, that they could form, could possibly relieve them. The only practicable Resolution, that they could come to, was, that every one should shift for himself. Accordingly, the Lords *Elcho*, *Ogilvie*, and *Pitsligo*, took their Horses, and rode towards *Braemar*, where they conceal'd themselves, till a Lady of Quality procur'd them a Passage in a Ship that was bound to *Norway*, where they were landed.

The Marquis of *Tullibardine* took the Route of *Dumbartonshire*, and surrender'd himself Prisoner to Mr. *Buchanan*, of *Drummachil*, who delivered him up to the Government, and being put on Board the *Eltham* Man of War, was convey'd to *London*, and confin'd in the Tower, where he had not been long before he died. *Perth*, *Drummond*, and *Nairn* set out in Quest of *Juba*, who every Day received the most mortifying Accounts of the miserable Condition his Affairs were every where, reduced to.

The 20th of *April*, they arriv'd at *Glengary*, where they found *Juba*, who, the Day before, had receiv'd Intelligence of the Earl of *Cromartie's* Misfortune; of which we have already given an Account. This, with other Informations that he was continually receiving, of the Disaster, that had befallen some of his most faithful Clans, had made such an Impression upon his Spirits, that when his Friends, the above-mention'd Noblemen, presented themselves before him, he had scarce Recollection enough to know or speak to them; but by taking some Cordials, and other vivifying Remedies, he recover'd his Senses, so as to be able to tell them, that he was extremely glad to see them; yet wish'd he had died in the Battle, rather than survive to be a Witness of the sad Calamities, which, through his Means, had been brought upon them. They then sat down to eat some Victuals, with which being refresh'd, they took their Repose, which indeed they wanted, after the Fatigue they had gone through.

Being thus pretty well recruited with Food and Rest, the next Thing to be consider'd, was, what was to be done in the present Emergency, *Sullivan* acquainted them with the Measures agreed upon between *Juba* and *Lochiel*, with which they were entirely satisfied, and declar'd, that they had no other View in waiting upon them at that Time, but to offer him their Services, and to partake in all his Fortune, whether it was good or bad; congratulating themselves on their Happiness in being at Liberty, when *Kilmarnock*, *Balmerino*, and the rash *Cromarty* and his Son, were confin'd, and at the Mercy of their Enemies.

Juba gave them a particular Account of every Occurrence that had happened within his Knowledge since he saw them last, and of the Measures he had taken for his future Conduit, and at the same Time enquired after other Officers and Chiefs, of whom they gave the best Intelligence they could, particularly with Respect to the Lords *Ogilvie*, *Pitsligo*, and *Elcho*. But what, said *Juba*, is become of the private Men? *Perth* replied, that they were dispers'd, but believ'd, that the greatest Part of them were gone, with *John Roy Steuart*, to *Strathspey*, where, he was persuaded, they would be kindly entertain'd by the *Grants*. *Perth* was right in his Conjecture; for the People of *Strathspey* us'd them very civilly, and in their Distress afforded them a real and substantial Relief, yet in such a Manner as to avoid Suspicion from the Government: For thus they manag'd it: The Fugitives, who had Plenty of Money among them, entrusted one of their Company, to make

a Bargain with a Farmer for a Pot of Victuals, to serve such a Number of Men. About Six or Seven o'Clock, the Farmer order'd a large Pot, containing much more than was necessary for the Family, to be set over the Fire, The Pot was fill'd with Water and Barley, season'd with Herbs, and a stout Piece of Beef or Mutton, enough to make good Broth, of which they are great Admirers. About Nine or Ten at Night, when this Provision was all ready, upon a Signal given from their Manager, they got out of their lurking Holes, repair'd to the House, and crept in at some Window, which was purposely left open for them, while the Family were all fast asleep, or suppos'd to be so. When they had taken their Repast, they retired to the Huts, where Beds of Heath and Straw were prepar'd for them, according to Contract. Thus were these unhappy Fugitives screen'd and subsisted, that is, so long as their Money lasted, which Lord *John Drummond* had distributed among them; over and above which, their kind Landlords presented *J. Roy Steuart* with a Scots Pint Barrel of *Usquebaugh*, which is twenty *English* Quarts, *Winchester* Measure, to drink the Health of the Day, which was the 10th of *June*.

The general Character of *John Steuart*, call'd from the Redness of his Hair, is, that he was a bold and daring Fellow, strong and active; and before the Rebellion broke out, a Captain of a small Company of Desperadoes, that robb'd and plundered the Country. After that, he enlisted in the Company of *Scots Greys*, of which he was made Quarter-Master. But such was his Inclination to engage in base and dishonourable Enterprizes, such as stealing young Ladies, in order to marry them to Persons of inferior Rank, &c. that at last he lost his Post. Then he went to *London*, where he was concerned in listing Soldiers for the *French* King; but finding himself discover'd, he went to *Rome*, and recommended himself to the *Chevalier* and his Son, by whom he was sent back to *Scotland*, with Letters to the disaffected Chiefs. But having play'd another of his roguish Pranks, he was committed to the Prison of *Inverness*; but broke out, went to *France*, and entered into the Service of the *French* King, and, by the *Chevalier's* Interest, was made Captain of the Grenadiers in Lord *John Drummond's* Regiment, and return'd to *Scotland*, to prepare the Highlanders for the Reception of *Juba*, who, he assur'd 'em, wou'd speedily appear among them.

No sooner was *Juba* landed, than *Roy Steuart* went to welcome him, for which he had a Colonel's Commission immediately granted him; and in this Station continued till the fatal Defeat at *Culloden*. He was, of all *Juba's* Officers, the most active and daring; and seldom an Action happen'd, but his Sword was broke, and his Body wounded. His Exploit at *Keith* has been already mentioned; and it may be proper here to take Notice of the Attempt which he made on the Duke of *Cumberland's* Life. The *Scots* Historian thus relates it: Some abandon'd Desperadoes were taken up in Women's Cloaths, with Arms concealed and hidden about them, while others, more Furious than wise, entered into Conspiracies against his valuable Life; among whom was *John Roy Steuart*, who bound himself with an Oath, that he would bring his Head to the Hand of the Pretender. For this Purpose he got a soft Skin, upon which he sew'd an artificial Beard, put on the Habit of a Countryman, and went into *Aberdeen*, driving a Horse with Forage for the Dragoons. A young Man accidentally came to an Inn, where such Circumstances were told him, as made him conjecture Mr. *Steuart's*

Design; he repair'd directly to the Camp, and inform'd General *Bland* of the Project, which he instantly communicated; the Ports of the Town were shut, the Avenues guarded, and a general Search was made, but the Assassin was hid in a Hayloft, by one of the Disaffected, who likewise assisted him in his Escape after the Search was over.

Among the many memorable Things that are told of this Bravo, I shall only relate one more, as narrated by one who has given a particular Account of his Transactions. This Author says, 'That much of the Clamour against Lord *George Murray*, for the Loss of the Battle of *Culloden*, was owing to this Desperado. That Nobleman, and he, having some Words in the Morning of that Day, *Steuart* was threatened to be put under Arrest, which, he said, he despis'd, and that he only would submit to his Prince, but not to him. *Juba* was applied to, but he desir'd them to defer the Matter till afterwards: "For now, said he, there is no Time to decide Controversies, since the Enemy is so near." 'At the Council of War, held that Morning, *Steuart*'s Opinion that the *French* Picquets should be drawn up within the Park, that was to the Right of their Army, the Wall of which, the Dragoons and *Argyleshire* Highlanders broke down, to attack *Juba*'s Troops in Flank; but as his Advice was not follow'd, he improv'd so far upon the Disaster that befel them from that Quarter, as every where to publish the Treachery of Lord *G—ge M—y*, which, true or false, I am far from taking upon me to determine. It may, however, be observ'd, that Lord *G—ge* could expect little or nothing from the *Chevalier*, altho' he should succeed; for the Marquis of *Tullibardine* was his elder Brother, and so must succeed to the *Athol* Estate. In my Opinion, therefore, he must have been Loser by the *Chevalier*'s Success; he being Heir Apparent to the Duke of *Athol*, who, having no Male Issue, intended his Daughter, as was generally believ'd, for Lord *George*'s Son, who, by this Means, would become Duke of *Athol*, and, perhaps, King in *Mann*.' Thus far this Author.—But it is Time to return from this Digression.

The Noblemen and Chiefs, who, as before observ'd, had resorted to *Glengary* Castle, seeing the forlorn and melancholy Condition of *Juba*, set about contriving Schemes for retrieving his Affairs. For which Purpose it was propos'd to continue the Clans in the Hills, till, by a special Messenger, they could inform the Court of *Versailles* of the true State of his Army. This, probably, would have been agreed to, could they have found out Means or Money for the Subsistence of those Troops; but that being impracticable, the Proposal was dropt.

In the mean Time, several of the broken Corps, and Straglers, that had hid themselves from the Fury of the Enemy, some half dead with their Wounds, and all near famish'd for Want of Nourishment, were continually coming in, and gave dismal Accounts, though often at the Expence of Truths of the Cruelty of the Royalists: For, I believe, it will be allow'd, that never was less Barbarity shewn on the like Occasion; as might be undeniably prov'd from History. *Juba* was extremely affected at the piteous and lamentable Accounts they gave, and usually said, I am sorry to have brought any such Hardships upon these poor People; and the best Way to prevent the like for the future, is to give over all further Attempts; for our Cause is now desperate, and would to God I had died in the Field.' *Perth*, however, and the other Noblemen, being willing to dissipate his Melancholy, and

relieve his Spirits, propos'd a Hunting-Match; For, said they, by this Means we may better escape the Search of the Troops, if advancing towards us, or perhaps they may pass by us, as Gentlemen only taking their Diversion.' This was agreed to, and they diverted themselves, in this Manner, till the 23d, when they were inform'd of the March of General *Campbell*, with a large Body of the *Argyleshire* Militia from *Inverness*. Upon which *Juba*, with the above-named Chiefs, his two *Irish* Favourites, *Sullivan* and *Sherridan*, and about forty others, march'd away to *Achnacarrie*, where they found *Lochiel*, who was then under the Care of Dr. *Cameron*, his Brother, for the Cure of his Wounds. *Lochiel* no sooner saw them, but presently guessing the Truth, hastily ask'd *Juba*, what Body of the Royalists it was that they had retired from? 'The *Campbells*' said he; and added, 'And by this Time, I believe, they are at *Glengary*, for they set out Yesterday from *Inverness*.' 'I thought so, answer'd *Lochiel*, for those Men would, surely, not be the last to the ruining of us, as they have done many other brave and loyal Clans.' *Juba*, upon hearing this, wou'd have gone away directly, had not *Lochiel* assur'd him, that the *Campbells* wou'd be very careful to desolate the Places thro' which they pass'd: 'Consider, said he, that *Stratherrick* and *Glengary* lie betwixt them and me, and these, to be sure, they will sist e're they come to this Place.' He was so far right in his Conjecture, that though they behav'd civilly enough in the Places where they came, yet they made a very strict Search all over *Stratherrick* for Lord *Lovat*, who had left his Abode about two Hours after *Juba* had taken his Leave of him.

Juba being prevail'd upon by *Lochiel's* Arguments, sate down to Table, which was plentifully spread with Provisions of all Sorts, and Wine, and other Liquors in Abundance, which the Highlanders got, it a very cheap Rate, from *France*; for there being no Officers of Excise in those Parts, except at *Fort-William*, where there is a Garrison, and prodigious Quantities of Liquors are run upon that Coast, in Exchange for their Cattle, which they slaughter and barrel up for that Purpose.

Lochiel, however mistaken in his political Notions, was a Gentleman of strict Honour, and inviolably attach'd to *Juba's* Interest; with him, therefore, *Juba* consulted, what was best to be done in this Emergency. Some advis'd to fight the *Campbells* as soon as they came up; others disapprov'd that Proposal, as it wou'd farther enrage the Enemy, weaken themselves; and furnish the *Campbells* with fresh Pretences, to dispossess them of their Goods and Chattels, which they would enjoy as a Reward of their Services. After much Debate, it was concluded, to skulk about in a Body, till the promis'd Succours from *France* arrived. 'But, said *Lochiel*, since the Enemy is so very near us, let us live as well as possible in the mean Time, left those come to take up our Goods, who will give us little or no Thanks for them. Mean while my Clan may be driving their Cattle to the securest Places, and my Servants concealing my most valuable Effects. The *Camerons* took his Advice, and drove their Cattle into Places of the greatest Safety, and then went down to *Morvain*, and drew themselves into a Body, as by their Chief they were directed. In the mean Time his Servants buried his Plate, and best Furniture, in the Caves and Hollows that were about his House; which being done, and the Enemy approaching, the whole Company left the House, which was soon afterwards burnt down to the Ground, Some Time after, a Party of Brig. *Houghton's* Regiment coming to *Achnacharrie*, and finding every Thing

desolated and destroy'd, and Nobody to be seen, search'd for the Treasure, which, they suppos'd, might be hid thereabouts; but, probably, would have lost their Labour, had they not spied the Gardener, who, being anxious for the Safety of his Master's Effects, lurk'd about the Place: Him they secur'd and examined; but, on his pretending Ignorance, they tied him to two Halberts, and lash'd him, on the naked Back, with Rods, till the Smart forced him to discover the Places of Concealment, where they found the hidden Treasure, and then dismiss'd the Man to his Master, to acquaint him with what he had seen and suffer'd, *Camerons* and *Mac Donalds*, should keep in a Body, and favour any Landings from *France*; white *Juba*, with his Favourites, *Sullivan*, *Sherridan*, and others, were to traverse the Isle, and endeavour to raise such a Force, as, with the Succours from Abroad, might enable him to make a Stand. The next Morning they set out for *Glenphillin*, where, at his first Landing, the *Camerons* erected his Standard. Here they made a Cave the Place of their Residence, placed at proper Distances, for six Miles round. They were provided with every Thing for the Support of Life; but *Juba*, being uneasy in his Mind, intimated his Desire to be gone, and accordingly, after he had been there three Days, set out for the Isles.

About this Time, that is, the Beginning of *May*, two *French* Men of War appeared on that Coast, sail'd into the Loch *Noua*, and were attack'd by the *Greyhound* Man of War, and two Sloops, but oblig'd them to steer off, landed a considerable Quantity of Money and Ammunition, and took on Board the D. of *Perth*, the Lords *John Drummond*, and *Nairn*, and the younger *Clanronald*, with several Officers, as hath been before related, and carried them all to *France*, except the D. of *Perth*, who died in his Passage. *Lochiel* staid behind, being willing, he said, to see what Turn his Master's Affairs would take; but desir'd them not to sail of sending some more Vessels, to take away the rest of their Friends; of which, when they had assur'd him they would be very careful, he, with a few more, retir'd to his Cave, *May* 4.

Juba, being informed of this Adventure, was exceedingly vex'd, that he had miss'd the Opportunity of getting off in the *French* Ships; and the more so, when he underlined, that they had Landed 40,000 Lewis d'Ors, and that 35,000 of them were fallen into the Hands of Mr. *Murray* of *Broughton*, in whom, it seems, he had, latterly placed but small Confidence.

And now, as many of the Chiefs as were remaining, assembled, to consider of what was proper to be done. Every one gave in a List of; the Vassals he cou'd muster; and considering the great Supply they had lately receiv'd, 'twas thought they would immediately have enter'd upon Action, but were prevented by the active Measures of the Royalists, and the Duke of *Cumberland's* two Proclamations, before-mentioned, which he issued immediately after the Battle of *Culloden*, promising Mercy to those that peaceably submitted, and threatening Vengeance to those that were refractory; which had such an Effect, that great Numbers laid down their Arms, and were sent quietly to their own Homes: So that, by the 20th of *May*, most of the Clans, together with many of their Chiefs, had embraced the Duke's Terms; and scarce any continued in Arms, except the *Camerons*, some of the *Mac Donalds* of *Keppoch*, and *John Roy Stuart*.

I shall now relate an Incident, as well to shew the Influence it had upon *Juba*'s future Conduct, as to illustrate the Folly of national Distinctions. I shall tell the Story in the Words of an anonymous Author, who seems to have good Authority for what he has advanced.

About Twenty-six Deserters, says he, were found among the Prisoners taken upon the Day of Battle, and being tried and condemned, they were accordingly executed. One of them, being a *Scotsman*, was hang'd up by himself, and as he was swinging, an *English* Officer spoke to a *Scotsman* standing by him, Words to this Effect: 'See your Country-man dancing on the Rope; would to God all the *Scotch* were serv'd in the same Way! D—n 'em, for they are all Rebels.' The *Scotsman*, as inconsiderate as the other, answer'd, with the greatest Warmth, 'If all the *Scotch* were Rebels, Things had gone otherwise than they have; and I will lay any Wager, that there are more *Scotsmen* in the Army than *Englishmen*; and should they turn out, they would defeat the whole Forces here.' Then some scurrilous Language, highly unbecoming the Mouths, of Gentlemen to utter, as well as an Author to relate, ensued: The *Scots* were call'd to draw up on one Side, and the *English* on the other, and perhaps that Day had prov'd fatal to the Royal Cause; for whether the *Scots* or *English* should get the better, his Majesty certainly must lose.

The Town's People of *Inverness* had now as terrible a Prospect as their Ancestors had, even on *Cabbach-Day* itself. The Duke being timely informed of the dismal Scene that was like to be acted, quickly rose up, and run in among them, just when the *Scots* were about to attack the *English* Camp. Taking off his Hat, he demanded to know, what was the Matter? And as he walk'd along the Line, he heard, from several, the Particulars of the Affair. Whereupon he order'd them, in the Name of his Royal Father, to desist from such Rashness. Have we, said he, conquer'd the Rebels? and must we now murder ourselves? How will the Enemies of *Britain* rejoice at the News! Let national Distinctions cease for the future: And here, by Virtue of the Power entrusted with me, I declare, it shall be Death, for either an *Englishman* to reflect on a *Scotsman*, or for a *Scotsman* to reflect on an *Englishman*, on Account of their Country¹⁵. And though the Rebels, who live in the Skirts of this Country, or among the Isles, and are disjointed by Nature from the Continent, differ in Language, Habit, Religion, and Way of Living, have risen up in Arms against my Royal Father, yet I am fully convinced of the Loyalty of the Body of the People in general, (who have as little Connexion with them as any *Englishman*) And the Services they have done us, shall never be forgot, while any Branch of the King's Family remain.' Having spoke these Words in a becoming and princely Manner, he order'd each Colonel to draw up his own Regiment, and so dismiss the Whole to their Quarters; which was done with imaginable Harmony.

When *Juba* heard of this Affair, and the Facility with which his Rival quelled the Tumult, he was no less chagrin'd than he was on Account of the Proclamations which I have mentioned. He was now at the Head of *Knoidart*; and altho' he had always spoken and written most disrespectfully of King GEORGE'S

¹⁵ This Resolution was afterwards ratified by a Court-Martial.

Family, yet neither he nor his Favourites could help applauding the Conduct, the Wisdom, and Prudence of the Duke. They are closely connected, says *Sullivan* to his Master; but your Highness's Forces have ever been like a disjointed Body, which cannot stand upright unless it be supported. You was Witness to their Animosities and Divisions; you know how they abus'd the Trust reposed in them by your Royal Father, as he was pleased to signify by his¹⁶ Letters to yourself. Consider that our Body is not only broke and dismember'd, but several of the Parts are scatter'd up and down, not to be gather'd again, while our Enemies are more, and close united, even by Divisions. Let us yield to our Misfortune so far as to consult our own Safety, and not be led aside by desperate Fools, who see not into the Event of Things.' *Juba* acquiesced, and immediately agreed to go in Quest of a Boat, to carry them over to *Lewis*, where, by good Fortune, they might possibly find a Vessel to transport them to *France*.

Thus far my Author, who farther says, that, in Pursuance of this Scheme, they let out for the Place; but, being come to the Sea-shore, they could find no Boats, for the *Mac Donalds* of *Clanronald's* Family, had seiz'd on all that were there, for transporting themselves to *South-Uist*, and the Boats were not yet return'd. This oblig'd them to take to the Mountains, up and down which they roam'd three Days and three Nights successively. From the Heights of those Hills they had the Mortification to see Drovers of Cattle going before Parties of the Royalists to *Inverness*, for the Use of the King's Troops. It was well for *Juba* and his Company, that they had brought Provisions with them, particularly, cold Venison and *Usquebaugh*, which *Lochiel* had supplied them with; for the Inhabitants were either kill'd in Battle, or lurk'd among the Caves for Safety; so that they met with scarce any Body but old Men, Women and Children, in their former Places of Abode.

Juba's small Company, which had hitherto consisted of about ten Persons, were divided into small Parties, of two and two in each, and himself chose his two Favourites for his Fellow-Travellers, with *Kinloch-Moidart's* Brother, who was then Guide; and agreed, that if any Danger was apprehended, to apprize one another of it. And, indeed, they were so wary, that none of them fell into the Hands of the Enemy, except one *O Neal*, an Officer, thought to be a Priest, who, carelessly going beyond the Bounds they had prescrib'd themselves, was seiz'd by the *Campbells*; and being a Man of Letters, and polite Behaviour, a Lieutenant complimented him with a Share of his Bed. In a short Time, a Friendship was commenc'd between them, and *O Neal* too easily inform'd him, of the several Motions and hiding Places which *Juba* had frequented, and where, it was suppos'd, he then was. This Discovery undeceiv'd the Royalists; for it was generally believ'd, that he went off with the *French* Ships before-mention'd; and this Notion was industriously propagated by his Party, to make his Enemies the more careless in their Search after him. But after this, the Militia set themselves, more vigorously than ever, to find him out. They travers'd the Mountains where *O Neal* said he had left him; and he and his Company must have fallen into their Hands, had not a Boat, much about the same Time, come from *South-Uist*, to

¹⁶ Alluding to a Letter which the Old *Chevalier* wrote to his Son, after the Battle of *Preston-pans*, in which he desir'd him always to act in Concert with the Loyal Clans.

fetch more of their People that were missing. *Juba* seeing the Boat, immediately went to the Shore, and set up a Signal, which the Crew observing, and guessing it was made by some of their Party in Distress, put into a small Creek, to the Westward of *Barisdale*, and took him and his Company on Board, and sail'd directly for *South-Uist*, but told the People, who came to see the Boat, that they were going for *Lewis*, in order to get on Board a Vessel for *France*; and Night coming on, they were soon out of Sight.

Being out at Sea, some of the Crew propos'd to sail to a little Island, call'd *Canna*, lying to the Westward of *Mull*, but cover'd by *Egg* on that Side. *Juba* and his Company, knowing that the Islanders were *Roman-Catholicks*, and that the Family of *Clanronald* resided there, approv'd the Motion. There they landed, and were receiv'd by the Inhabitants very civilly, who provided them good Quarters and Refreshments, such as Beef, Mutton, Wild Fowl, Bannocks made of¹⁷ Gruddin, and Usquebaugh. Here they kept a sharp Look-out, for Fear of the Militia, and to prevent a Surprize, sail'd all Day in the Boat, and at Night return'd to their Quarters. This they continued doing till the 28th of *May*, when perceiving some Vessels coming out of the Sound of *Mull*, which, they rightly judg'd, belong'd to the *Campbells*, *Juba* propos'd to quit their Residence. Accordingly they made off to *South-Uist*, where they were receiv'd, and very hospitably entertain'd by the Lady *Clanronald*, in her Lord's Absence. The Inhabitants being all Papists, and firmly attached to *Juba's* Cause, brought in Wild Fowl and Venison in Abundance, and Wines of all Sorts. Here he continued for some Time, visiting the principal Families, particularly that of *Buisdale*. *Clanronald's* Brother had Advice, the 28th of *June*, that General *Campbell* had got Intelligence of the Place where *Juba* then was, and was marching thither through *North-Uist*

General *Campbell* being inform'd, that the *Camerons* were in a Body at *Strontian*, sail'd, *May 27*, with 1000 Men, from *Dunstaffnage*, to disperse them, and in two Days arriv'd at the Place. Upon which, *Lochiel's* Lieut. Colonel, *Cameron* of *Dungallon*, brought in his Men and Arms, and submitted to the King's Mercy; as did, soon after, the Inhabitants of *Ardnamurchan* and *Morvern*, where the *Popish* Religion had, of late, greatly prevailed: *Lochiel*, however, was determin'd never to surrender to any Man.

The General continued here, till he was inform'd, that the Duke of *Cumberland* was arriv'd at *Fort-Augustus*, and that Lord *George Sackville* and Major *Wilson* were scouring the Country. Upon this Intelligence he sail'd for the *Lewis*, which, on his Arrival, he strictly search'd; but not finding *Juba* there, he march'd through the *Harris* and *North-Uist*, where he was inform'd of his Abode, and got within about two Miles of *Benbicula*, a small Island, that, at Ebb Tide, is

¹⁷ That is, Meal made in the following Manner: They throw some Sheaves of Corn into a Fire kindled with Straw, and after the Whole is burnt, they gather up the Pickles, which they put into Vessel, which a Woman enters bare-footed, and by trampling it, severs the Rubbish from the Grain. When they judge it clean, they grind it betwixt two Stones, the one whereof lies upon the Ground, with a smooth Surface, and has a small Piece of Iron for its Axis, and grinds the Bear, (which makes better Meal this Way than any other grain) till it be conveniently small; but the utmost Pains cannot make it so fine as the coarsest is render'd by Means of a Water-Mill.

join'd to *South-Uist*, but at full Sea is separated, before any of *Claronald's* Family had Notice of it.

Here it was, if I am rightly informed, that *Mackenzie*, a young Man, of *Juba's* Height and Stature, lost his Life to save his Master's. For, being told, that *Campbell's* Militia were crossing into the Island, he put himself in Sight of them, as if to see who they were, and, then, as if he was frighted, on seeing that they were his Enemies, ran away, which the Militia observing, and imagining, from his Figure, that it was *Juba* himself, fired at him, and lodg'd not less than thirty Balls in his Body; but, when they came to view him, soon found their Mistake.

Juba, and his Company, being informed, that the Enemy was so near them, were in the utmost Surprize. I think, said *Sullivan*, your Highness and I should separate; for if many be found about the House, we shall certainly be discover'd; put on Women's Apparel for the present, and I will go with Mr. *Sherridan*, Mr. *Buchanan*, and the other Gentlemen, to the other End of the Island, where, perhaps, we may meet with a Boat, and sail over to *Ireland*, where I am not afraid of being secure, tho' indeed your Highness ought not to venture thither, for as 50,000*l.* is there set upon your Head, I would trust none of them. As for me, if I get off to *France*, I shall represent your Case at the Court of *Versailles*? *Juba* agreed to the Proposal, and, with infinite Reluctance, parted with his old Friend and Counsellor *Sullivan*. 'Here, said he, take my Cloak-Bag with you; shew my Pocket-Book to my Cousin, the King of *France*, as a Token of my Distress; and I hope a Vessel will be soon sent for me, if you arrive in *France*, which pray God you may.' *Sullivan* promis'd he would; then all took their Leaves, met with a Boat, sail'd to *Ireland*, and from thence to *France*, where *Sullivan* discharg'd his Trust.

Mean while, the Royalists approaching, Lady *Clanranald* earnestly entreated *Juba* to think of some Method of escaping: But his Spirits were in such Confusion, that he knew not what to say or do. Her Ladyship, therefore, said, 'Here is a young Gentlewoman,¹⁸ Miss *Flora Mac Donald*, upon whom I will prevail, to take your Highness under her Protection.' Accordingly, Miss undertook the Affair; for it was by both observ'd, 'That if he was taken there, the whole Country might suffer for it.' Lady *Clanronold* then dress'd *Juba* in Women's Cloaths, and he kept nothing on of his own, but his Breeches and Stockings. The Lady then order'd a Boat to be got ready for them, and a Servant to attend the Boatmen, who had Orders to carry Miss *Flora*, and her supposed Maid, to the Isle of *Skey*. They were all Night at Sea, and next Morning came to a Place near Sir *Alexander Mac Donald's* House. The Servant was sent on Shore, to see whether they might safely land, but *Juba* would suffer none else to quit the Boat, till the Servant's Return. In about an Hour the Man came back, and assur'd them they had nothing to fear. Upon which, Miss and her Maid went ashore, and proceeded directly to Sir *Alexander's* House, who was then with the Duke, but the

¹⁸ A Daughter of one Capt. *Hugh Mac Donald*, of *Clanronald's* Family, who was with the Lady, as a Companion, at that Time. Many false and idle Stories have been publish'd of her; but it's certain, that, instead of being the brilliant Lady she has been represented, she was no other than a simple, modest Girl, remarkable only for befriending a Fugitive in Distress.

Lady receiv'd them with great Politeness, and earnestly press'd them to stay a Night with her; but Miss *Flora* desir'd to be excus'd, having urgent Business, which call'd her elsewhere.

After Dinner, they set out for the Laird of *Mac Kinnon's* House, where *Juba* resum'd his Figure, and of a Maid became a Man, with a Dress suitable to his Sex. Here they staid all Night, and in the Morning, Miss went Home. In the Evening *Juba* took a Walk to the Sea-side, where he met with *Normaud Mac Leod*, an old Fisherman, one perfectly acquainted with all the Western Islands, and who happen'd to know *Juba*, who bargained with him to carry him to *Raarsa*, which he did; and the Proprietor of the Island entertain'd him very generously; but, being afraid of a Visit, he advis'd *Juba* to return to *Skey*; who complied, being still under the Care and Conduit of *Mac Leod*, who, to prevent being discover'd, now took the Name of *Mac Kinnon*, and continued there till General *Campbell* returned to that Island.

That Officer being arriv'd at *South-Uist*, was soon inform'd of *Juba's* Departure, and in what Manner. Upon which he took the Lady *Clanranold* into Custody, and pursued his March through *North-Uist* and the *Harris*, till he came opposite to *Skey* to which Place he had before sent Captain *Ferguson* in a Cutter. The Captain, suspecting that *Juba* might be conceal'd among the *Mac Kinnon's*, order'd the Pilot to direct his Course to that Part of the Country. The Vessel happen'd to put in at the very Spot where *Juba* then was, and had certainly been taken, had he not retir'd behind a rising Ground, from whence he made off. The Boatman seeing this, and that General *Campbell* was on the Point of landing with his Militia, steer'd his Boat to the other Side of the Island, from whence he row'd the *Chevalier* to the Continent.

He had no sooner landed, but he had a fresh Danger to encounter; for a Company of *Munro's* Militia were waiting thereabouts, in Hopes of his falling into their Hands, and had with them Blood-hound to trace him out. The Dog was got upon the Scent, and within less than 100 Yards of him and the Men just behind, when *Mac Kinnon* saw them, and suspecting their Design, advis'd *Juba* to strip himself naked, and go into the Water up to the Neck, while he amus'd the Dog with some Fish he had in his Hand in a String. *Juba* did as he was directed, while *Mac Kinnon* hid his Cloaths in a Cliff of a Rock, and diverted the Dog with his Fish. By this Artifice *Juba* was secur'd; but the Dog would not leave the Fisherman, till the Militia-men laid hold of him, and kept him till the next Day; but not being able to get any Information from him, they dismiss'd him, and he return'd to *Juba* by a different Way. He found him catching Muscles, and small Shell-fish, upon the Craigs, and breaking them with Stones, eating the Fish to satisfy his Hunger, which, perhaps, was never so sharp before. As soon as he saw *Mac Kinnon*, he fell down on his Knees, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, said, 'O God, I thank thee, that I have not fallen into the Hands of my Enemies; and surely thou hast still something for me to do, since, in this strange Place, thou hast sent me back my Guide.' Then he told *Mac Kinnon*, that he had continued in the Water for several hours, after he left him, but at last ventur'd out, and put on his Cloaths; but durst not move from that desert Spot, judging it too hazardous to go up in the Country, to which he was an utter Stranger. This *Mac Kinnon*, alias *Mac*

Leod, has often repeated the Story, and being known to be an honest sincere, well-meaning Man, Nobody ever doubted the Truth of it.

Juba having had this surprizing Instance of his Guide's Fidelity, resign'd himself wholly to his Conduct. Well then, said *Mac Leod*, we will go a little farther to the Northward, where your Highness has many Friends, though they have not been in Arms for your Interest, which, as Things have happen'd, makes it so much the better, because they are the less suspected, and the Militia are not upon the Watch among them.' Upon which, they went forward, till they came to the House of one *Mac Kenzie*, who entertain'd *Juba* very courteously, though with the utmost Privacy; Here, and in the Neighbourhood, he continued till the 21st of *July*; when hearing of General *Campbell's* being landed at *Apple-cross Bay*, he entirely quitted the Country, dreading the very Name of the *Campbells*; but first sent home his Guide, as having, at present, no farther Occasion for him.

Having dress'd himself in the Habit of a Peasant, he took the Road to *Inverness*; but within two Miles of *Brehan*, turn'd aside, and cross'd a little above *Beulie*, and pass'd through *Strathglass*, making his Way, in the Night-time, through *Glengary* to *Badenoch*, where his faithful Friend, *Clunie Mac Pherson*, conceal'd and furnish'd him with all necessary Accommodations, Here he might long have remain'd in Safety; for, about this Time, a Report prevail'd, and was generally believ'd, that he was really *dead*, which occasion'd his Pursuers to slacken their Diligence in searching after him. For near two Months a Chain of Centries had been station'd from *Inverary* to *Inverness*, to guard the Passes, and prevent his Escape; which End it could never answer, considering the vast Extent of Country, and the numerous Woods, Lakes, Mountains, and Hollows, with which it abounds; and Parties that had been hunting after him, declar'd, that they had Sight of him more than once, but by Means of some Lake, or the like, they could never come at him.

About this Time, several Persons were taken into Custody, for harbouring and assisting the unfortunate *Juba*. Besides Lady *Clanranald*, already mentioned, and Mr. *Mac Donald of Kingsborough*, the elder *Clanranald* himself, though wholly unconcern'd in the Rebellion, and not at Home when his Lady entertain'd *Juba*, was seiz'd by General *Campbell*, and sent Prisoner to *London*. His Son, indeed, *Clanranald* junior, was very active in *Juba's* Service, and excepted, by Name, out of the Act of Grace; but the Father solemnly declar'd, that when he was seiz'd, and even at the Time when *Juba*, unknown to him, was at his House, he was employing his Interest and Authority, for the Service of the Government, in and about *Arisaig*. But he did not, however, charge this to the Government, but to General *Campbell*, on Account of some private Pique, or Quarrel, he had against him: Yet it must be observ'd, that this Laird of *Clanranald* is a *Roman-Catholick*, as well, as his Brother *Buisdale*, who was likewise seiz'd, though not openly in the Rebellion. Miss *Flora Mac Donald* was also taken into Custody, for the Assistance she had given *Juba* in his Distress; for which she suffer'd a long Confinement at *London*.

These, and some other Seizures being publickly known in the Country, People began to be very cautious in receiving or entertaining *Juba*; yet still some were

found kind enough, not only to assist, but to bear him Company in his solitary Retreats.

But though *Juba* was here in the greatest Security, yet still he was under Apprehensions of Danger, and intimated to *Clunie Mac Pherson*, his Desire of changing his Situation. *Clunie* told him, that he was just Informed, that the Duke of *Cumberland* was gone to *England*, and that the Camp at *Fort-Augustus* would soon break up; and therefore, added he, wait here a little longer, and, my Life for yours, you are safe. But *Juba*, who fear'd an Enemy in every Man he did not know, though he saw him at ever so great a Distance, could not be persuaded by *Clunie*, nor, indeed, could stay long in any Place. *Clunie*, therefore, willing to serve him in his own Way, directed him to a Hill, not far off, where, he assur'd him, he would be in Safety. Here he continued till the 8th of *August*, having been in *Badenoch* upwards of five Weeks; when General *Campbell*, being inform'd, by some Prisoners, whom he had taken in their Hunting, in what Manner *Juba* shifted his Abode, brought his Militia into that Part of the Country, and pursued him so closely, that they had frequently Sight of him, or, at least, of the Company he was in, but supposing them to be poor People, of no Consequence, took no farther Notice of them.

Juba having escap'd the Vigilance of General *Campbell* in *South-Uist*, the General follow'd him to *Skey*, landed at the Place where Miss *Flora*, and her pretended Maid, before had done, and went directly to Sir *Alexander Mac Donald's* House, and upon questioning his Lady about her two Guests, she acknowledg'd, that Miss *Mac Donald*, with a young Woman that pass'd for her Maid, had been there: 'Though, indeed, said she, if this supposed young Woman was really such, she was certainty one of the tallest that ever was seen, and that her Looks were very confused. That if this Person was *Juba* in Disguise, 'twas more than I knew. All that I am certain of, is, that I earnestly press'd Miss *Mac Donald* to stay all Night, which she absolutely refus'd, and went to the Laird of *Mac Kinnon's*, but what is become of them since, I have not enquir'd.' Whereupon a Party was sent directly to *Mac Kinnon's* House; but not finding *Juba*, they seiz'd the Laird himself, and carried him away.

About the same Time, several others were made Prisoners; particularly Capt. *Ranold Mac Donald*, Brother to *Kinloch Moidart*; and Abundance of Arms, Ammunition, and military Stores were found among the Rocks, fine Horses running Wild about the Woods, and large Drovers of Cattle of the Rebel Clans, carried away by the Royalists to their Camp at *Inverness*; which oblig'd the Owners of them to quit the Country, which they did, by Means of false Passports, or in some Disguise, and got on Board such Ships as convey'd them to *France*.

But I must not omit one extraordinary Curiosity that fell into the Hands of the Plunderers; namely, the Engine call'd a *Barisdale*, from *Mac Donald* of *Barisdale*, the Proprietor, in whose House it was taken. It was an Iron Machine, contriv'd to torture such poor thievish Highlanders as were not in the Service of this tyrannical Laird, and whom he suspected of stealing any of his Cattle; and it was enough to tell them they should be *Barisdal'd*, and shew them the horrid Engine, to make the poor frightened Wretches confess all they knew, and Sometimes more: But as for such as either would not, or could not give the

Satisfaction required, they were sure to suffer. When in the Machine, their Hands, Feet, and Neck, were fixed in such a Manner, that the Posture the Man was forced to remain in, was neither sitting, kneeling, lying, or standing; but though debarred the least Use of his Hands or Feet, his Neck was somewhat more at Liberty, but then he had a great Weight upon the Back of his Neck, to which if he yielded in the least, by shrinking downwards, a sharp Spike would run into his Chin.—The very Name of this Engine kept the whole Country in Awe.

In the mean while, *Juba* and his few Companions are providing for their own Safety, it has been before hinted, that he was very uneasy in his Situation among the *Mac Phersons*. One of his Attendants said, he knew the Place where *Lochiel* resorted, and offer'd to conduct him thither. *Juba* agreed to it, in Hopes that *Lochiel* might direct him to some Part of *Lochabar*, where the Search for him was slacken'd. *Clunie*, however, and some others of his Friends, insisted on his staying a little longer, at least till an Express could be dispatch'd to *Lochiel*, to which, with great Reluctancy, consented. One Argument which *Clunie* made use of, to induce him to stay, was, that he could secure the News-papers as they were publish'd; which would give him the Satisfaction of knowing the Fates of the Lords *Cromartie*, *Kilmarnock*, and *Balmerino*, who had been impeach'd of High treason, and were then on their Trials before the Houses of Lords, Two of these Lords, viz. *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino* were convicted, and executed on *Tower-hill*.

Juba receiv'd Advice of the Execution of these two Lords, about the 29th of *August*, and was greatly affected with their unhappy Fate. About the same Time, *Lochiel* sent him an Invitation, to meet him in a certain Cave. Accordingly, *Juba*, and his small Retinue, dress'd in a Highland Habit, and wearing black Cockades, except *Juba*, who would not wear that Part of the Disguise. Being come to *Lochiel*, they embraced each other, and immediately consulted on the most probable Means for making their Escape from *Scotland*. In Conclusion whereof, it was agreed to repair separately to the Coasts, and watch the Appearance of any Ship from *France*, on which they might embark; and that whoever should discover any Ship, should immediately go on Board, set up a certain Signal, known to them all, and direct the Sailors where to take in the rest. This being settled, *Juba*, with three or four Attendants, made for the Country of the *Mac Kenzies*, cross'd that vast Tract of Land where they inhabit, and arriv'd at *Kintail*, and came to the House of one *Mac Ra*, who receiv'd them but coldly, and told them plainly, 'That he did not believe it was safe to entertain such Guests.' *Juba*, therefore, left him, and went to the Water-side, in Hopes to find *Mac Leod*, his faithful Boatman. Here he waited 48 Hours in the most anxious Expectation; at last, *Mac Leod* came with his Boat, and having found him, embraced him with the most affectionate Tenderness. Indeed, such was the forlorn Condition of the unhappy *Juba*, that the Sight of him must move Compassion in any generous Mind. His Linnen was exceeding dirty and foul, his Cloaths threadbare and torn, his Shoes so rent that they scarce kept his Feet from the Ground: Besides all this, he had got the Itch, which might be owing, partly, to his not being able to keep himself clean, and partly, to his Complexion, which was fair, and his hair red. Indeed, when he was at *Edinburgh* he did not seem to be of a strong or healthful

Constitution; which makes it the more surprizing, that he was able to support the continual fatigues of Body, and grievous Anxieties of Mind, which he underwent, during his Pilgrimage in that Country.

Mac Leod, his Guide, took him into his Boat, and conducted him to a Gentleman's House, who made him heartily welcome, and furnish'd him with Cloaths, and every Thing he wanted. Here he might have staid safely enough; but remembering his Agreement with *Lochiel*, at their parting, to look out for a Ship, he remov'd, in a Day or two, to the Isle of *Skey*, where he dismiss'd his other Attendants, sent a Line to *Lochiel*, to inform him where he was, and that he resolv'd to pursue the Scheme agreed on when he left him. On their Arrival at *Skey*, the Boatman took him to his own House, and prepar'd him a fine hot Supper of fresh Fish and Sauce, which is reckon'd a noble Dish in the Highlands. After which he made him up a clean, wholesome, warm Bed, though the Materials of it were no better than Straw and good Blankets.

The Nights were now pretty much lengthen'd, it being the 3d of *September*, which was a Circumstance very favourable to *Juba*; and his kind Host desir'd him to remain in his House, while he went with his Boat towards *Uist*, to see if any Vessel was yet come on that Coast: 'For, said *Mac Leod*, whether they be *English* or *French*, I run no Hazard by speaking with them. If they be Friends, I shall be sure to conduct them to you, or else inform them of your Situation, and make them stay till I bring you to them.' But *Juba* would by no Means agree to this, wholesome Counsel, declaring, That he would not part from *Mac Leod*, and that he look'd upon his Boat as the best Place of Safety, 'If, said he, you leave me here, you may never see me again. The *English* Men of War are not far to the Northward of us; and who knows how soon they may approach this Place? *Mac Leod* answer'd, that he entirely submitted himself to his Pleasure: 'Only, said he, I wish you may not repent rejecting my Proposal.'

Upon this, he took in some Provision, and a Bottle of *Usquebaugh*, and sail'd for the *Harris*, where they pass'd the Night, and the next Day made their Way for *North-Uist*, where they met with a kind Reception. Thus they spent their Time; while it was Day, they rambled about the Coast in the Fishing-Boat, and at Night lodg'd in some House, or Place of Retreat, well known to the Boatman.

After they had continued a few Days at *North-Uist*, they set sail for *Ardnamurchan*, where *Juba* fancied he might venture himself, as imagining that the Enemy would take but little Notice of a Country, which they had, in a Manner, already desolated with Fire and Sword. In about twelve Hours sailing, they were got near a Place call'd *Mac Lean's Nose*, which is situated near *Cambusnageaul*, and *Mingry* Castle. *Juba*, however, desir'd *Mac Leod* to carry him to *Scallisdale* Bay in *Mull*: 'For there, said he, we may, possibly, find some of my faithful Friends.' Accordingly they sail'd on, and the next Morning came to the Place. But again apprehending he might be discover'd, he set sail for *Tobermory*, and landing there in the Evening, went directly to the young Laird of *Mac Kinnon's* House in *Muisnish*, where this Lady, the Sister of *Clanranold*, receiv'd and entertained him very courteously.

It now evidently appear'd, that *Juba's* Fears were not wholly groundless: For the *Trial* Sloop of War, being on that Coast, her Crew had got Intelligence where

he was, and sail'd directly for *Tobermory* in Pursuit of him; and being inform'd of the very House where he lay, sent a Party directly to it, and at the same Time mann'd a Boat, which fell down about three Miles lower. The Sailors landed at a Village, which they immediately surrounded, being resolv'd to have him if he was there. *Juba* was now in the utmost Danger of being taken; but *Mac Kinnon's* Maid, dressing him in some of her own Cloaths, help'd him, once more, to make his Escape. Thus disguis'd, in Company with the Lady and her Maid, they pass'd the Guard that was posted at the Door, and gave the Men Money for their Civility, in suffering them to go away unmolested. As soon as they were got clear of the Enemy, they made the best of their Way to that End of *Mull*, which is nearest to *Coll*, where a Boat, well mann'd, waited to receive them. In this Boat he pass'd over to *Coll*, where he was kindly entertain'd, the better Part of the Island being held by one *Hector Mac Lean*, under the Duke of *Argyle*. But his Pursuers having again got Scent of him, he made off, in the same Boat, to *Egg*; hither they follow'd him likewise, which oblig'd him to fly to *Barra*, where his Pursuers were soon after him. Here he must inevitably have been taken, had not the Boatmen thrust the Boat into a Place which the Enemy could have no Sight of; and the very Moment that the Sloop's Crew landed, the others put to Sea, and set *Juba* a-shore in *South-Uist*; and going the same Night to the Harbour of *Flota*, found a *French* Schooner, of about 18 or 20 Tons, that had been waiting there some Time for him. In this Vessel he joyfully embark'd, together with seven other Persons, and, among them, his dear and trusty Friend *Lochiel*, with one Captain *Mac Leod*, and one *Mac Kinnon*; but the Names of the others I could never learn, and as they were only private Men, the Knowledge of them is of no Moment. The next Morning, which was *Sept. 17*, they set sail for *Boulogn*, where, after a quick Passage, they safely arriv'd, to the infinite Satisfaction of *Juba*, and the Surprise both of his Friends and Enemies.

Thus have we brought this History to a Conclusion; in which, however, scarce any Mention has been made of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. The Reason was, because the Papists and Disaffected behav'd very quietly and peaceably during the whole Time of the Rebellion; and as this quiet Behaviour of theirs was owing, in a great Measure, to a Letter wrote to them by that true Patriot and Friend of his Country, Dr. *Swift*, Dean of *St. Patrick's*, we believe a Copy of it will be no disagreeable Entertainment to the Reader; and therefore have given it a Place here.

*The Drapier's Letter to the good People of Ireland,
particularly the poor Papists.*

My dear Countrymen,

IT is now some considerable Time since I troubled you with my Advice; and, as I am growing old and infirm, I was in good Hopes to be quietly laid in my Grave before any Occasion offer'd of addressing you again: But my Affection for you, which does not decay, tho' my poor Body does, obliges me, once more, to put you in Mind of your true Interest, that you may not unwarily run yourselves into Danger and Distress, for Want of understanding, or seriously considering it.

I have many Reasons to believe, that there are not a few among you, who secretly rejoice at the Rebellion which is now rais'd in *Scotland*; and, perhaps, conceive Hopes of some Alteration for the better, in their Circumstances and

Condition, if it should succeed. Such mistaken People it is my Design to talk to in this Letter, and I desire nothing more of them, than to give me a fair Hearing; examining coolly with themselves, whether what I shall say be true.

It is no Objection to my speaking to them, that they are generally *Papists*. I do not know how other People are disposed, but, for my Part, I hate no Man for his Religion; I look upon a *Papist* as my Countryman and Neighbour, though I happen myself to be a *Protestant*. And if I know what Advice is good for him, I can see no Reason why I should not give it him, or why he should not take it.

A *Papist* has Sense, I suppose, like other Men, to see his Interest and Advantage; and the same natural Desire to embrace it, where he finds it; and if I can shew him where it lies, he will not, I believe, kick it from him, barely to spite me as a *Protestant*.

I have nothing to say to the *Popish* Gentry of this Kingdom. They would hardly take such a plain Man's Advice; and besides, they have so many Ways of coming off safe themselves, tho' the poor People were undone, that I need not be concern'd for them.

My Care is for the common People, the Labourers, Farmers, Artificers, and Tradesmen of this Nation, who are in Danger of being deluded by their Betters, and made Tools to serve their Purposes, without any Advantage to themselves. It is possible, that among the Lords and Esquires, one, perhaps, of a Hundred, would get something by a Change: Places and Employments would be promis'd them, no doubt; and a few of those Promises, perhaps, the *French* and *Scotch* Friends of the *Pretender* might give him Leave to keep; but what are the poorer Sort the better all this while? Will the Labourer get one Farthing a Day more? Will the Farmer's Rent be lower'd? Will the Artificer be more employ'd, or better paid? Will the Tradesman get more Customers, or have fewer Scores upon his Books? I have been bred in a careful Way of Life, and never ventured upon any Project, without consulting my Pillow first, how much I should be a Gainer in the Upshot. I wish my dear Countrymen would do so too, and, before they grow fond of Change, ask themselves this sober Question, Whether it would better their Condition, if it were really brought about? If it would not, to what Purpose should they wish it? If the poor Labourer, when all is over, is to be a Labourer still, and earn his Groat a Day, as hardly as he did before, I cannot find why he should fancy it worth his while to venture a Leg, or an Arm, and the Gallows too into the Bargain, to be just where he set out. If he must dig and delve, when the *Pretender* is settled on the Throne, he had as good stick to it now, for any Difference I can see.

I believe my Countrymen are not so mad as to imagine, that the *Pretender* can, or will, give every one of them Estates; and I am sure if he does not, they can only be where they were. If a Farmer must pay his Rent, I can see no Reason that he should be much concern'd whether he pays it to one Man, or to another. His *Popish* Landlord will, I suppose, demand it as soon, and as strictly as a *Protestant*; and if he does not pay it, seize his Cattle, or distrain his Goods, as readily, at least, as a *Protestant*.

I doubt not but you are told that you will be *made*; and I do not expect that you shall take my Word to the contrary. I desire, only, that you would trust to the

Understanding God has given you, and not be fool'd out of your Senses. Will the Manufacturer be *made* by an entire Stop to Business; or the Tradesman, by being oblig'd to shut up his Shop? And yet you all must know, that, in a Civil War, no Work can be carried on, nor any Trade go forwards. I hope you are not yet so stupid as to think, that People will build Houses, buy rich Furniture, or make up fine Cloaths, when we are all together by the Ears, and Nobody can tell to whose Share they will fall at last. And if there be no Buyers, you can have no Employers. Merchants will not stock themselves with Goods, when there is no Demand for them, to have their Shops rifled, and their Storehouses broke open, and plunder'd, by one Side or the other.

Indeed, my good Friends and Countrymen, let designing People say what they please, if you enter into their Schemes, you will be ruin'd in the Struggle, let it end which Way it will; and it well deserves your Thought, whether it is worth your while to beggar yourselves and Family, that the Man's Name upon the Throne may be *James* instead of *George*. You will, probably, see neither of them while you live, nor be one Penny the richer for the one, or for the other; and if you take my Advice, you will, accordingly, not trouble your Heads about them, but peaceably follow your own Business while you have any; and if your Business is put a Stop to, you will account those your Enemies who are the Cause of it.

You may think it a fine Thing, when you get drunk over your Ale, to throw up your Caps, and cry, *Long live King James!* But it would be a wise Thing, to think how you will live yourselves, after you are beggar'd in his Cause. Will he make good your Losses? Pay one Man for the Plundering of his Warehouses, and another for the Rifling of his Shop? Will he give you Money, think ye, to release your own and your Wives Cloaths, which you must pawn for Bread, when no Work is stirring? Will he buy new Looms and Tackle for you, because yours have been burnt or destroy'd? If you fancy so, you are strangely impos'd upon indeed. He will have other Things to do with his Money; or if he had any to spare, there will be hungry *Frenchmen* enough about him, to snap it up before it comes to you.

I will not say any Thing to you about the Dangers which you must run in the Course of a Civil War, tho' they are very dreadful, and more horrid than you can possibly imagine, because I cannot think that there is any Need of it. I have shewn you very plainly, that if you should be deluded to take up Arms for the Disturbers of our Quiet, you fight for less than nothing, for the undoing of yourselves and Families: And if this Argument will not prevail upon you to be quiet, I can only pray for you, that God would be pleased to restore you to the right Use of your Understandings.

*I am,
Your old and faithful Friend,*

THE Drapier.

A
S U P P L E M E N T
TO THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
Young *JUBA*.

Introduction to the following Letters.

THE ensuing Letters having been generally received as genuine, I could not, in Justice to my Readers, deny them a Place in this History of the unfortunate Young *Juba*, whose Distresses are here painted by his own Pencil, and that in such lively Colours, and placed in so natural, so true a Light, as justly claims the Attention of the Curious and Candid.

As to the Means by which these Letters came to make their Appearance in Print, I refer the very inquisitive or doubtful Reader, who will not take my Word as to the Reception they have met with from the Publick, to the printed Copy of them, originally publish'd by *H. Carpenter* in *Fleet-street*, whose Consent I have obtain'd for their being inserted in this *Supplement*.

To Mr. *Carpenter's* Edition, which is now very scarce, is prefix'd an Advertisement, sign'd by eight Gentlemen, of undoubted Reputation in *Scotland*, giving an Account of these Letters, and the Means by which they fell into the Hands of the reverend Gentleman who made them publick. But this Account I have not copied, because of its Length, which would take up too much Room in this *Supplement*, and must either oblige me to swell the Work beyond the Limits I have prescrib'd to myself, or to leave out some other Particulars which I have yet to add, and which, I imagine, will contribute more to the Satisfaction and Entertainment of my Readers in general. I shall, however, make some short Quotations from the above-mention'd Editor's Introduction, leaving my Readers to remark on his Reasoning and Principles, as each of them shall be influenced, either by the apparent Evidence for or against the Point in Question, or by his particular Principles as a Party-man: Which, tho' not so impartial a Method, is, I believe, the most universally practised.

The above Editor tells us, 'That no one, to whom he had shewn the Manuscript, could discover who the Writer of the first Letter was; for there was neither Name, Date, nor Superscription to it: But all agreed, that it must have

been a rough Draught, from which the finished Letter, intended by the Writer to be sent to his Correspondent, was probably copied: For it was much blotted, many Expressions erased, with not a few Interlineations; so that it would have been difficult to have read it, so as to preserve a Connection of the Sense, had not the Hand been pretty good.'

The second Letter had neither Date, Subscription, nor Address, except the initial Letters prefixed to the Beginning.

'Some Gentlemen (says the Editor) have surmised, that both the Papers might be a Contrivance, and left behind, not thro' Hurry or Forgetfulness, but on Purpose to lull us into a Security, which might facilitate another Invasion. He grounded this Conjecture on the Improbability of Young *Juba's* being convinced of the Injustice of his unfortunate Undertaking, and seeming to call in Question the Reasonableness and Rectitude of his Father's Claim to the *British* Crown, a Claim founded only on the exploded Principles of an indefeasible hereditary Right.'

To this our Editor answers, That as Young *Juba* easily might procure, and doubtless did procure, many of the antipapistical Sermons and Pamphlets against the *Stuart's* Pretensions, and in Support of the Parliament's Right, occasionally to alter and settle the Succession agreeably to the Interest and Satisfaction of the People, so there can be nothing strange in his being convinced of the Badness of his Cause, (which, says the Editor., he might easily be, if he be a Man of Sense, and has a tolerable Share of Ingenuity of Mind) nor in his venturing to communicate his Thoughts to his Brother. If, during his Recess in the Highlands, he sometimes amused himself with reading; what his Enemies wrote against him, his Dissatisfaction at his melancholy Circumstances, the sound Arguments used by, and the great Reputation of those, who, during the Rebellion, distinguished themselves by their Discourses and Writings in Defence of the Government, might, all together, make a great Impression in his Mind, and contribute much towards the Opening of his Understanding, and shewing him those Truths which are so obvious to every impartial Enquirer.'

LETTER I.

My Lord,

I Have his R— H—'s Orders, to send you some Account of his present disagreeable situation here, tho' God knows whether he is yet alive, or whether a Prisoner, or at Liberty, if it be proper to call such a State of Life, as he hath lately passed through, a State of Liberty: For I have not seen him, nor heard a Word of him these three Days, but I hope to see him in two more. Mean Time, as I am but

too much at Leisure, (being oblig'd to keep close in an obscure Room In a lonely Cottage, for Fear of a Discovery) I shall be the more diffuse in this Letter; though, after all, I am in no small Fear of its never reaching *Italy*, it being extremely difficult to procure any one to carry so dangerous a Charge into *England*, and here I now begin to despair of seeing any friendly Ship: Alas! *F*—— is no longer to be trusted, and *S*—— is a broken Reed:—But of this, doubtless, you are already but too well apprized.

His R. H. would have you acquaint the * * * his Father, that he wrote to his Brother in *F*—— on the 11th Instant, but does not look for an Answer; I have Orders to send a Copy of this Letter, which you are to communicate to his M——.

Happy had it been for his R, H. had he never set his Foot in *Scotland*; for it will be almost a Miracle, if he escape safe out of it. Few are the Remains of his Friends here, and numerous are his Enemies. The Government, indeed, seems not over solicitous to secure his Person, but, whatever the Court Reasons may be, some (unluckily ignorant thereof, though not ignorant of the great Price set on his Head) may think of doing themselves and the State a considerable Service by finding out our Retreats, which, if very carefully sought, would, I doubt not, be, at length, discover'd.

Hitherto, God be praised, we have happily escaped, though surrounded by Enemies; some of whom have, more than once, enter'd the very Houses in which we have been conceal'd, and that within a few Hours after we have left them: Nay, his R. H. hath several Times beheld his Pursuers, and yet providentially got clear of them. Various have been the Disguises we have had Recourse to for Safety, and which, under God, have been the immediate Means of effecting it. And on these Occasions his * * * hath discover'd a Greatness of Soul far superior to the most pungent Adversity. Instead of being drove to Despair, or in the least cast down, when on the Brink of the Pit he had the greatest Reason to dread falling into, he hath preserv'd a Composure of Mind, a Chearfulness of Heart, and a Gaiety of Temper; at every new Instance of which I could not help being fill'd with Admiration, though a continual, a daily Witness of his heroick Behaviour in the most distressful Circumstances. When traversing the wild and lonely Desart, climbing the craggy Rock, or exploring the dark Recesses of the subterraneous Cavern, instead of bewailing his unkind Fortune, he hath often made himself merry with our Disguises; while himself perforated, by Turns, the various Ranks and Characters of the *Highlanders* of both Sexes, He is, at present, I believe, in Quarters of Refreshment, in the House of a zealous and constant

Friend, in the Isle of * * * * *, where he is to wait for me; who dare not, as yet, quit my present Recess. And great Need he hath of such a Relaxation, having lately endur'd such Fatigues as are hard to be imagined, and cannot be rightly conceived by one who hath never been in this dismal Country, and in the same forlorn Circumstances. He now repents of his Stay here, after the Principal of his Followers deserted him, and went over to the Continent. He had the same Opportunities, the same Vessels might have convey'd him hence, but he generously resolv'd not to abandon the poor faithful *Highlanders*, while the least Ray of Hope, that his Affairs could possibly be retriev'd, was left. He knew that these unfortunate People, who, for his Sake, had involv'd themselves in their present unhappy Circumstances, could no longer hope for a turn of Fortune's Wheel in their Master's Favour, than while he remain'd among them, ready to catch the first Opportunity for repairing past Misfortunes.

And such an Opportunity, alas! was too long expected here, through the fruitless Promises of those whose Interest it surely was to have perform'd them. A few Men of War, and only six thousand Land Forces, might have recover'd all, especially in Case of a Diversion in the South, But even these (tho' more were promis'd, if the Exigency of Affairs requir'd them) are now no longer look'd for, nor so much as a twelfth Part of them.

I cannot account for the Folly and Baseness of a certain Court; but may Heaven shower down its severest Vengeance on these who wantonly sport with the Distressed, and unconcernedly plunge an ill—s suffering Family into new and still greater Misfortunes; and this under the fallacious Pretence of retrieving the past: The Business is now done, his M—— hath play'd away his last Stake, and can never hope for such another Opportunity of asserting his Right to the *British* Crown: The two Nations are now so absolutely, so invincibly prejudiced against the Catholick Religion, and so averse to being governed by a Catholick Prince, that if our Attempt should be renewed, we must only expect a still greater and more general Opposition: And hence appears the sad Consequence of so ill supporting our late Undertaking. It should have been vigorously carried on by those who set it on foot, or it ought never to have been begun. For the Mortification, consequent upon our ill Success, is still the more aggravated, as we are not in so good a Situation as before the fatal Project was brought to Execution. The Manner in which his M—— hath now attempted to recover his * * *, hath, I fear, destroy'd every future Opportunity which Fortune might have in Store for him. By his Connexions with the old and most inveterate Enemies of *England*, and

who are now at open War with her, and she being perfectly satisfied with the Justice of her Cause, he hath only extended the Distance betwixt himself and the Affections not only of *England*, but those of *Scotland* and *Ireland* also. And as this Attempt hath been unsuccessful, tho' made in the most favourable Conjunction that could have been wish'd, or, at least, in Reason, hoped for, it will be in vain to repeat the Trial.

The above are not only my Sentiments, but those of his R. H. also; who hath had but too late Experience of the little Interest his Family hath, or can hope to raise in these Kingdoms.

The People, in general, are well satisfied with the *Hanover* Family; the Clergy, even of the establish'd Church, not less so than the Laity. The Catholicks, though pretty numerous, are not at all forward to put themselves to the Expence, and run the Hazard of ruining themselves, by a new Trial for the Re-establishment of their Religion in the *British* Dominions, especially under a P—— of the unfortunate House of *Stuart*; for such an one, supposing him in Possession of the Throne, and acting with all imaginable Art and Address, would ever be distrusted by his Subjects, whose *Experience* must induce them to be always on their Guard: And hence it appears, that it would be impossible for such a P—— to accomplish this great End by any other Means than downright open Force; and of the Success of this desperate Method there is little Probability, for these Nations never will submit to be guided by Authority in Matters of Religion. This (I am sorry that I can so truly say it) is the Effects of the ill-advised Conduct of his M—— Royal Progenitors, especially his late Majesty King *James II*, who appears to have had more Piety than Precaution; to have been but too little acquainted with the Genius and Temper of his People, and to have made Use of all Means but the right, for securing the Succession to his Posterity, and for reconciling his Protestant Subjects to the Catholick Church. And though, by Means of the Doctrines of passive Obedience to, and Non-resistance of the Prince's absolute Will, and unbounded Prerogative, King *James I*, and his Successors, maintain'd a loyal Party, which continued firmly attached to them under all Circumstances, yet this Party was ever not much, and is now become no better than a Faction against the rest of their Countrymen, Who are, by far, the Majority of the *British* Subjects, of whom the former are not, I dare say, a fifth Part.

This brings me to the Question, whether such a Minority hath naturally a Right to disturb or break the Tranquillity of the Majority, and force them to live under a Government they have abolish'd, and the Restoration of

which would inevitably prove incompatible with the Conveniency, and destructive to the Well-being of the Majority? I could, with Pleasure, express my Sentiments on this Head, but shall defer it till, if Heaven permit, I have the Happiness of seeing your Lordship.

To conclude, the best that his R. H. can now hope for, is to escape hence with Life; and to content himself, for the Future, with whatever Situation it shall please God to place him in. But I refer you to his R. H's own Letter, for his Sentiments on this Head. I shall only further observe (though it may be unnecessary to give your Lordship the Hint) that ***** J am, with the highest Esteem and Respect for your Lordship,

*Your Lordship's most
devoted Servant,*

* * * * *

Pp

L E T T E R

LETTER II.

*A Copy of a Letter from Young Juba to his Brother.*¹⁹

*M. D. B.*²⁰

AS I doubt not but you are long since acquainted with the unfortunate Turn of our Affairs, my last, dated at *Inverness*, so in this I shall not much trouble you with Advices concerning what is past, especially as you had the most important Particulars of the Action near *Inverness*, and its Consequences, in *M——*'s Letter, which went from hence in the Beginning of *May*. Therefore I shall confine myself chiefly to what more immediately regards *your* Preservation and Safety, which are, I again repeat to you, of more Value to me than my own.

The few Friends and Adherents I have left in this Kingdom, I mean, the few who dare openly appear and act as such, are in daily Expectation of your Arrival in some Part of *Scotland*, or in *England*, with a Force sufficient to retrieve our Affairs, or, at least, retard our Fate. Indeed, the last Advices I had from you, as well as those from the Duke *de B——n*, once gave me Reason to expect that such a Step would be taken by that Court, which I will never trust again, yet now, believe me, (though I dare not speak my Mind here, for obvious Reasons) I neither look for, nor desire it. However, as his most Christian Majesty may be induced to make another Attempt, meerly by the Hopes of distressing *England*, exclusive of any Regard to our Interest; and as he may employ you in it, with a View of securing our Friends in that Kingdom, I think it incumbent on me, to warn you not to be drawn into the Snare, into the same Gulph of Ruin in which I am plunged.

As I am almost certain, that a fresh Invasion cannot succeed, so, doubtless, you cannot expect to gain either Honour or Profit by being concerned in it. And as the Danger, with Respect to your own Person, must undoubtedly be eminent, why should you plunge yourself into it? Let those who may have some Prospect of Advantage by it, or who are forced to obey the Voice of Authority, embark in such Schemes, let such alone undergo the Danger, You may be killed, taken, or wounded. Grant this, and you must confess you venture a large Stake: And what do you lay against? Nothing but a Commander's Pay, and that, I hope, you don't absolutely stand in Need of. If you are actuated by a Desire of contributing all in your Power towards extricating me out of my present Distresses, I must insist on abandoning all Thoughts of that Nature.

¹⁹ The latter was, at that Time, in *France*.

²⁰ The Originals were, *M. C. F.* (i. e.) *Mon Cher Frere*, in English, *My Dear Brother*.

One of my chief Inducements for remaining here, after being deserted by the Principal of my Followers, was, to wait the ultimate Issue of Things, and to lay hold of any, even the smallest Opportunity for retrieving our Affairs but such I never met with, nor do I expect. The *Scots*, on whom I have hitherto chiefly depended, are far from being so generally well affected to us as they have been represented. Their Dread of the Catholick Religion is, I find, the greatest Obstacle to a hearty Reconciliation with our Family. How much Reason they have for this, I need not observe to you. The Majority of their Clergy, greatly alter'd from what they were in my Grandfather's Days, fired with Apprehensions for their Kirk, and having an Abhorrence of the Church of *Rome* instilled into them in their Infancy, and this increasing as they grow in Years, have exerted themselves, and made it their main Business to depreciate our Religion, and represent his Holiness of *Rome*, as the greatest Monster on the Face of the Earth. They are no less industrious in decrying the Principles upon which our Father claims the Crown of his Ancestors. His Right of Succession, they tell us, hath no Existence, but in the mistaken Notions imbibed by some People in a wrong Education; hereditary indefeasible Right is ridiculed, laugh'd out of Doors, and confounded with absolute Power. And so reasonable do their Arguments appear, that 'tis no Wonder the People are influenced by them, since (for, I think, I ought truly to speak my Mind to you) I myself have been, in some Measure, sensible of their Force.

In *England* our Affairs are still in a worse Situation. There the Pulpit hath incessantly thunder'd, and the Press hath taken Arms against us: Both Clergy and Laity are united in the same Cause, which they stile the Cause of God and their Country, the Cause of Liberty, and the Defence of Property: For they all seem persuaded, that the most abject Slavery would infallibly be their Lot, if a *Stuart* should reign over them.—Nor can I blame their Distrust, when they reflect on the Experience they have had, of what they now so much dread.

'Tis true, we had, and still have, many Friends in both Kingdoms; but those in *Scotland* have not the Ability to make their Services equal to their Zeal, and those in *England* are not to be depended upon. Even while I was personally among them, they hardly offer'd to strike a Blow, or speak a Word for me. There were not 400 Swords, nor hardly one Pen drawn in my Behalf throughout the whole Nation. From hence it is evident, that not only the Hearts, but the Understandings of all, but an inconsiderable Number of the People, are prejudiced in Favour of the House of *Hanover*: That as our Friends durst not take up Arms for us, so they could not give the World one solid

Reason, to prove that it would be Right to do so. As for the negative Arguments contained in the Manifestoes I published, they have produced little Effect, or, rather, have had no *good* Consequence at all.

Instead of being received as the Son of their lawful King; as one who might hereafter reign over them; as their future Ruler, Guardian, and Protector, the *Britons* looked on me as the Invader, the mortal Enemy of their Country; as one come to destroy their civil and religious Liberties, to rule them with a Rod of Iron, and to make them equally miserable with those Nations, which yet, with some Reason, they look down upon as Objects of their Pity and Contempt; and while consider'd in this Light, 'tis no Wonder I met with no greater Success, but amazing that I ever met with so much.

In short, from the Highest to the Lowest, both the Clergy and Laity of all Ranks, the Members of every Church but that of *Rome*, are more than ever prepossess'd against us; and, I fear, it is impossible for them ever to be reclaim'd.

Indeed, I cannot but own, that 'tis a great Hardship, upon any People, to be invaded, and exposed to the Miseries of an intestine War, for the Sake only of a single Person or Family, in whose Elevation, or Depression, they may be very little interested. That this is the Case, with Regard to our late Attempt, is not to be questioned. The *British* Nations are well enough Satisfied with the Person they have chosen to reign over them. And what Right hath a Stranger to force himself upon them, to extort their Obedience, to manage their Affairs, to guard their Religion, Liberties, and Laws, (for this is undoubtedly the Sum of the Regal Authority) and all this without their Consent, against their Approbation, and after a vast Expence of their Blood and Treasure, spent in defending themselves against his Efforts to force their Submission? But the Appearance of Injustice is still greater, when the People, instead of being assur'd, that the Person, who would obtrude himself upon them, instead of securing to them their civil and religious Liberties, will, in all human Probability, subvert their Laws, take away their Liberties, and not only destroy their Religion, but force upon them that, which, of all others, they most abhor, and to which rather than subscribe, great Numbers would undergo the most cruel Tortures, and the most painful Deaths.

What am I, that I should attempt to deprive a free People of the Happiness of living under such a Government as they are satisfied with? That Nature gave them the Liberty of chusing for themselves, they have proved by demonstrative Arguments, and that this Liberty is secured by their Laws, is known to all the World. Is my enjoying a

regal Title, and a princely Revenue, of so much Consequence to the People of three Kingdoms, that they should suffer me, with hostile Arms, to break in upon their Peace and Tranquillity; to sow Discord among whole Nations, united together under one Government, and in one common Interest; put them upon burning one another's Houses, plundering and desolating their Estates, and cutting each other's Throats? On the other Hand, while I am content with what Providence shall permit me to enjoy without Violence, all the Horrors and Devastations above are prevented, and the People quietly enjoy their Lives and Properties.

I pray God, that I be not hereafter call'd to a severe Reckoning, for the many innocent Lives lost, and the Rivers of Blood shed on our Account. All the Consolation I have in this gloomy Recess, (where I have sufficient Time to brood over past Errors and Misfortunes) is the Consideration, that I have not been the Principal in the Mischiefs I was concerned in: That I have been the passive Instrument of an Authority which I thought myself oblig'd to obey; and that I knew not (on my Entrance into the late fatal Undertaking) what I did.

But now I have ample Time for Reflection. My youthful Heats and Thoughtlessness have been severely corrected by the hard and heavy Hand of Adversity. And as I have not the Ability, so, I thank God, neither have I the Inclination to proceed in an Enterprize which, I am persuaded, hath drawn the Wrath of Heaven upon me. I hope my Sufferings will, in some Measure, be an Atonement for me; and yet, alas! though many and grievous, beyond Imagination, have been the Hardships I have undergone, what Proportion will such a Punishment bear to the Mischiefs in which I have been so greatly instrumental? Will the Correction of one unhappy Wretch satisfy the offended Lord and Father of the World, for all the Havock, the Slaughter, the Desolation of Countries, and the Distress of innocent Families, that hath attended our Undertaking? I fear not! If I have deserved my Sufferings, how great are the Demerits of those whose Power and Authority were the Springs that guided all my Motions? God be merciful to those, who, I hope, have yours, as they daily have my most earnest Prayers. *****

Desunt Cæteræ.

N.B. The foregoing Letter broke off abruptly, which, doubtless, was with Design, as it appears to be only a Copy from the Original which probably went to France.—If the Whole be genuine, which, though I really believe, I cannot positively assert; having not seen the Gentlemen who sent the MSS from Scotland, and consequently have only their Testimony, under their Hands, joined to the

Evidence, the Marks of Authenticity which appear in the Papers themselves; but this I submit to the Reader: Time may, perhaps, give us some further Insight into the Affair, which may prove to of no small Importance to these Kingdoms. If any satisfactory Intelligence can be timely procur'd, the Publick may depend upon a Communication thereof in the next Edition of this Work.

CHARACTER I.

Some Memoirs of Mr. Sullivan, the great Favourite of Young Juba.

THIS Gentleman was born in the North of *Ireland*, of a good Family, but much reduced from its antient Affluence of Fortune. His Parents being very desirous of his making a *Figure* in the *World*, for which his forward Genius soon discover'd that he was naturally well qualified; but yet unable themselves to introduce him upon the *great Stage*, on any other Footing than that of an extraordinary *Education*, they spared no Expence their small Estate would admit of, to make him a compleat Gentleman, in every Respect, but that of a large Fortune, which, they thought, it would be his Business to acquire, after they had furnished him with such ample Means. Accordingly, being Roman-Catholicks, they sent this their only Son, at the Age of nine Years, to *Paris*, the best Place in the World for the Education of Youth, not only for the Sake of Cheapness, and the excellent Methods the *French* have, of teaching Children every Thing that can be taught, but on Account of the great Sobriety of Manners, the Strictness of Morals, and the early Notions of Religion and Piety, which the Tutors are remarkably careful to inculcate.

At fifteen Years of Age, Mr. *Sullivan* went to *Rome*, where his Education received a different Turn, and concluded in his being ordained an Ecclesiastick. After entering into Priest's Orders, he returned into *Ireland*, whither he was called by the Death of his Father. His Stay in that Island was not long; not intending to settle there, and having no Relations to take Care of, his Mother dying while he was at *Paris*, he sold his Estate, and went again into *France*, where, soon after his Arrival, he had the good Fortune to be recommended to Marshal *Maillebois*, by whom he was retained as a domestick Tutor to his Son.

It was not long e'er the Marshal, perceiving in him some Symptoms of a Genius better adapted to the Sword than to the Gown, encouraged him rather to apply himself to the former than the latter Profession. This Advice was well relished by our young *Reverend*, he followed it, and that with such Success, that, attending the Marshal to *Corsica*, when the *French* attempted to deprive the poor,

but brave Inhabitants of that little Island of their Liberties, he acted as Secretary to that General.

Maillebois, who was a *Bon vivante*, and used constantly to get drunk every Day after Dinner, was almost incapable of Business the greater Part of the 24 Hours; so that, during the whole Time of this General's Stay on the Isle of *Corsica*, all the Weight of the War, and the whole Power, devolv'd on Mr. *Sullivan*, who executed it in such a Manner as derived great Honour both to himself and his Patron: In short, here he gain'd a very high Reputation for his military Accomplishments in general, but more particularly for his Knowledge in what is call'd the Art of making *irregular* War.

After finishing the Conquest of *Corsica*, Marshal *Maillebois* returning to *France*, carried Mr. *Sullivan* with him into that Kingdom; in which, however, he did not tarry long, but going into *Italy*, made one Campaign there, and the next Year he serv'd the King of *France* in another upon the *Rhine*. Here he acquir'd so much Fame among his most Christian Majesty's Generals, that one of them mentioning him in a Letter to M. *de Argenson*, says, 'That he (Mr. *Sullivan*) understood the *irregular* Art of War better than any other Man in *Europe*; nor was his Knowledge in the *regular* much inferior to that of the best General then living.'

Being at *Paris*, in the Beginning of the Year Forty-five when *Juba* came there, to consult with the *French* Court on Measures for the intended Expedition into *Scotland*, Mr. *Sullivan* (whose Abilities, and the Manner in which he had distinguish'd himself in the Service of his most Christian Majesty, had recommended him to the particular Notice of that Monarch) was, by the Royal Appointment, nominated to accompany Young *Juba*, to assist him with his Counsel, and to act as a General Officer in the future Northern Army.

While the Preparations for the *Scotch* Expedition were going on, Mr. *Sullivan* had the Honour of conversing daily with *Juba*, who soon contracted such an Esteem for him, that he was never easy but when this agreeable *Irishman* was with him: Indeed, no one who knows Mr. *Sullivan*, can deny his being one of the best bred, genteelest, complaisant, engaging Officer in all the *French* Troops, which, in these Respects, are certainly inferior to none in *Europe*. To these external Accomplishments were added (and *Juba* soon perceiv'd them in Mr. *Sullivan*) a Sincerity of Heart, and an honest Freedom of both Sentiment and Speech, temper'd with so much good Nature and Politeness., as made his Conversation and Friendship equally useful and agreeable. But if *Juba* was highly pleas'd with Mr. *Sullivan*, the latter thought himself no less

happy in the Regard paid him by the former, to whom, in Return, he passionately desir'd to render all the Service his Abilities, strengthened by the Favour of the Grand Monarch, were possibly capable of rendering: Of this *Juba* was well satisfied; and he, on the other Hand, expected no small Things from the good Sense, the solid Judgement, the political Knowledge, and the military Skill of Mr. *Sullivan*. Nor was he deceiv'd, either in the Prosecution, or the End of his famous Expedition: For to the Abilities of this Gentleman we are chiefly to attribute the Success with which the unexperienc'd *Juba*, with a Handful of raw Highlanders, so long maintain'd a sharp, and, for some Time, doubtful Dispute with the whole Force of his Britannick Majesty, in which he so surprizingly over-run, and (as far as he pleased) plunder'd not only the major Part of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, but also a great Part of the rich and powerful Nation of *England* itself: A Nation which is, or might be, the Terror and Arbitress of all *Europe*!

But this *great Spring*, and *first* or *chief Mover* of all the *Jubean* Army's Motions, like that of a Clock or Watch, (which animates and moves the whole Machine) was unseen, and all its Operations unperceiv'd by the gross of *Juba's* Followers. Mr. *Sullivan's* Authority and Influence over *Juba*, as the *automical* Spring in its Box, was so closely conceal'd from the Eye of the World, that none but the most prying, curious, artful of the Highland Chiefs, and those that were the most entrusted, and, as it were, let into the Mystery, knew how greatly this Gentleman was favoured and confided in both by *Juba* and the *French* Government. Though, in Fact, he was the * “* * General, he never openly acted as such; all his Advice was given in Secret, and his Orders never came directly from himself: While he did all, *Juba* appeared as the Principal, and in his Name was every Thing transacted.

The Reason of all this was, the Jealousy and Pride of the Highlanders, who, as *Juba* soon perceiv'd, would never submit to be guided and directed by any Body hut himself; and this the more especially, as they soon found that as the *French* were greatly remiss in sending over the promis'd Troops of that Nation, so his chief Dependence lay upon the *Scots*, and that if they should desert him, he must infallibly be ruin'd. Hence they were puffed up with the highest Ideas of their own Importance to their young Leader, and. took it mighty ill that any one else should share in his Favour, or partake of his Smiles. Had the King of *France* indeed sent a considerable Body of his Troops over to *Scotland*, and had Mr. *Sullivan* acted as Commander of them, the *Scots* would then, doubtless, have paid him more Respect; but, as it was, they look'd on him only as a private Gentleman, of no more Merit, and of less

Importance to *Juba* than themselves, yet (as they at length closely found out) engrossing all his Favour and Confidence. This roused their Jealousy, and excited their Enmity towards the Favourite to such a Degree, as, in the End, prov'd of bad Consequence to the whole Party; for Divisions and Animosities springing up among them, they became less ardent in the Service of their Leader, consequently Weak in Proportion; and then follow'd the utter Ruin of a Body of Men, who could not have been so easily subdued, had they been more firmly united among themselves; I say, among *themselves*, because the *Scotch* Chiefs were not only jealous of the *Irish* Favourite, but of one another, each looking on the other as his Rival in *Juba's* Favour, each unwilling to subserve the other's Elevation, and some of them, perhaps, chusing rather to hazard the Destruction of the whole Party, by their Remissness in contributing all in their Power to support it.

CHARACTER II.

The Character of Mr. SHERRIDAN, Preceptor to Young JUBA.

THIS Gentleman was also a Roman-Catholick, born in the North of *Ireland*. His Father had the Command of a Troop of Horse, in the Army which King *James II.* commanded in Person, in that Kingdom, after having been forced to abandon *England* to the Prince of *Orange*, afterwards *William III.* The Captain was kill'd at the memorable Battle of the *Boyne*, which also decided the Fate of King *James*, obliging him to fly that Kingdom likewise, which he did immediately after the Battle.

Among those who, at that fatal Crisis, attended the Person of this unfortunate Monarch, was Mr. *Thomas Sherridan*, Son to the Captain, a promising Youth of about Sixteen. The King had promis'd his Father to take Care of the Boy, and he was the more willing to keep his Word, as he was very fond of him; I am not certain under what Denomination he, at this Time, passed in the King's Household, but believe he was ranked as a Page, or something of that Kind.

Mr. *Sherridan* liv'd with King *James* at *St. Germain's*, till that unhappy Prince *died* there; afterwards he was still retain'd in the Family by the *Chevalier*, who, upon the Declaration of the *French* Court in his Favour, assumed the Title of King of *Great Britain*.

Not having much Employment at the Court of *St. Germain*, Mr. *Sherridan* improved his leisure Hours by reading, and made a great Progress in Mathematicks and moral Philosophy. His literary Accomplishments, join'd to his great Sobriety, good Sense, and fine Behaviour, gain'd him a still greater Share of the *Chevalier's* Esteem, than he

had of the late King's; and after the ruined Remains of the *Stuart* Family went to reside at *Rome*, the *Chevalier* appointed Mr. *Sherridan* to be Tutor or Preceptor to his eldest Son, the renowned *Juba*, then but an Infant. In this Post he acquitted himself, not only to the full Satisfaction of the *Chevalier*, but to the great Delight, as well as Improvement of his Pupil also, who contracted such an Esteem for his Preceptor, that he chose never to be without him; nor could his Father prevail with him to leave Mr. *Sherridan* behind, when he undertook his *Scotch* Expedition: For the *Chevalier*, out of Regard to this Gentleman's declining Age and growing Infirmities, would have had him remain at *Rome*. But *Juba*, who had been used to consult Mr. *Sherridan* on all Occasions, and could not think of entering upon any Action of Consequence without his Advice, foreseeing the many Occasions he should have for him, during the Prosecution of his approaching Enterprize, resolved to carry him with him; nor was the latter, who tenderly lov'd his Pupil, at all verse to the accompanying him, and sharing his Fate, let it prove never so adverse. This Gentleman, together with Mr. *Sullivan*, was one of the very Few who landed with *Juba* at his Arrival in *Scotland* from *France*. But he never concerned himself with the Management of that great Affair, upon which his Pupil came into this Island, any further than just to give his Opinion concerning such Transactions as more immediately concerned Young *Juba's* own Person, from which he never cared to be separated, tho; but for Half an Hour: Nor was it without great Uneasiness, on both Sides, that *Juba* and his Preceptor parted, after the fatal Battle of *Culloden*; after which they saw each other no more, till they met again in *France*.

Tho' Mr., *Sherridan* had the Happiness of escaping out of *Scotland* much sooner than *Juba*, yet his Health was so greatly impair'd by the Fatigues and Hardships he underwent during his Stay in that Country after Young *Juba's* Defeat, that before he got to *Paris* he found himself in a very dangerous Way, and, in short, plainly perceiv'd the unavoidable Approach of Death. Nevertheless, though extremely desirous of seeing *Rome*, and the *Chevalier*, once more before he died, yet he resolv'd to wait in *France*, as long as the Tyrant, Death, would permit him, in Hopes of seeing his beloved *Juba* arrive there in Safety, before he quitted this World. Herein Providence granted his Desire, and in a few Days after *Juba's* Arrival from *Scotland*, Mr. *Sherridan* set out for *Rome*, where he had hardly Time to pay his Duty to the *Chevalier*, before he died, greatly lamented by all his Acquaintance.

FINIS.