



*HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS  
William Duke of Cumberland.*

*Farr Sculp*

A  
Compleat HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION,

From its first *Rise*, in 1745, to its total *Suppression* at the glorious  
Battle of Culloden, in *April*, 1746.

---

By *Mr James Ray of Whitehaven*,  
Volunteer under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

---

*Non folum nobis, nati, partim pro Patria.*

---

WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED,

THE Intrigues of the *Pretenders* Adherents before the breaking out of the Rebellion, with all the memorable Transactions, and the Particulars of their several Invasions, during that Period of Time, with a particular and succinct Account of the several Marches and Counter Marches of the REBELS, from the *Young Pretender's* first Landing on the Isle of Skye, till his retreat at CULLODEN.

Also, an Account of the Family and Extraction of the *Rebel Chiefs*, especially the CAMERONS, with the Life of the celebrated Miss JENNY.

LIKEWISE the natural History and Antiquities of the several Towns thro' which the Author pass'd with his Majesty's Army; together with the Manners and Customs of the different People, particularly the *Highlanders*.

THE Tryals and Executions of the Rebel Lords, &c.

---

Y O R K :

Printed for the Author by John Jackson, in *Petergate*.

M,DCC,XL,IX.

TO EVERY  
**F R I E N D**

TO

Liberty, Truth *and his*  
COUNTRY;

But particularly to the  
Candid READER,

THE FOLLOWING

# HISTORY

Is most humbly inscrib'd

*By their most sincere Friend,  
Most devoted, and  
Most obliged Servant,*

**JAMES RAY.**

THE  
P R E F A C E

**I**N this History I propose to give my Readers a genuine Account of the late Rebellion, as it occur'd to me from ocular Demonstration; for as I had the Honour to be a Volunteer under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland; so I took all Opportunities of writing a Journal; which contains the most material things that happened during that Period; and those Circumstances that did not fall directly under my Observation, I have taken Care to collect from the most authentic Accounts I could procure. It is through want of Care in this Particular, that in many ancients and in some modern Histories, we are so much at a Loss about the Dates and Circumstances relating even to the most remarkable Events; and in these a strict Regard ought to be paid to so memorable, as well as melancholy a Series of Transactions as this History contains; carried on by a Set of Men whose desperate Fortunes, and unreasonable Prejudices, made them fit Instruments for our common Enemy to work upon, delude, and at last engage to join them in distressing the Nation, endeavouring to depose the King, and set on the Throne of these Realms, an abjured Pretender; bred up and instructed in Popish Superstition, and Arbitrary Principles; to the utter Subversion of our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties and Properties; the very Name whereof, had they succeeded, had been extinct; — for France, to design, and do their utmost to effect all this Mischief, had been no Wonder; but, that any of our Fellow-Subjects, and Protestants, (who could not be ignorant or insensible of the cruel Spirit of Popery, and intolerable Joke of Despotic Power; and had tasted the Sweets of Liberty; and shared all the Advantages of a mild and legal Government;) should be such Traitors to their Country, as to assist the common Enemy in enslaving and bringing it under a foreign Jurisdiction, is Matter of Wonder; and what can scarce be parallel'd in History.

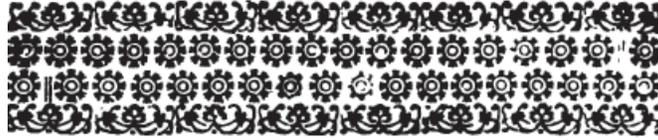
The Barbarians indeed that over-run your Country, were like the antient Goths, intrepid, bold, and daring, inur'd to hardships and Fatigues from their Infancy; and what is still more, headed by Men of desperate fortunes, to whom they said an implicit Obedience; but, that they, who were so small a Number, and some of them unarm'd, should penetrate so far into this Kingdom, is what future Ages, when they read of it,

*will hold in Derision: However, if it is consider'd, that at that Time, the Nation was destitute of its chief Defence, our Troops, with their brave Commander, being then abroad; a Rebellion and Invasion had been long laught out of Countenance by the superior Impudence of the Jacobites, nay even many of his Majesty's best Friends, some of high Dignity, were fallen into a Lethargy of Disbelief as to that Monster Rebellion ever appearing among us; our Nation not only undisciplin'd as to Arms, but through a long Peace and great Plenty, undisciplin'd as to the more noble Exercises of the Mind, Sobriety, Temperance, true Virtue and Publick Spirit; torn in Pieces by Ambition and Faction among the great, and in all Degrees of Life, by an Abuse of the most extensive Liberty, and best Government ever People were bliss'd with: When we consider that many Jacobites had been lavish of Promises to the Scots Rebels, who repaid the deluded, unthinking English, who join'd them, by forcing them to stay at Carlisle, where the Consequence must be that Martyrdom which they boasted of when they found it unavoidable: Add to this, that the French, our inveterate Enemy, remarkable for Deceit, Perfidiousness and every Art of Political Villany, even when meditating against us solemnly denying it, and forming an Expectation of finishing their Conquest of Flanders when our brave Troops were drawn thence; when these Things are consider'd our Wonder in some Degree ceases. But if you would continue to deserve the Name of Britons, unite in the vigorous Defence of your Liberties and your Country. Be not amus'd with Party-Names, nor let any Distinction for the future subsist among us, but that of such as are, or are not Friends to our King, our Country, and the Protestant Religion, and Enemies to France and Slavery, Popery and Bigottry; for in Proportion as we are good Subjects and truly virtuous, we shall recover our former Honour, and yet become a Scourge to France.*

*To conclude, I have taken Care through. the whole of my history, to relate Facts with the greatest Perspicuity and Exactness; and will only add, that when the Nation became rous'd from its Lethargy, never was there a greater Spirit of Love and Loyalty than appear'd amongst all ranks of People, (Jacobites excepted); which plainly shews that his Majesty King GEORGE reigns in the Hearts of all his faithful Subjects; I hope that great Example of theirs will spread its Influence through the Dwellings of the Disaffected, and convince them (and such as are of unsettled Opinions and Prejudices) that it*

*would be a wise Part in them to discountenance all Popish  
Impostures and defend to the last drop of their Blood—that  
illustrious and heroick Family, by which kind Providence has  
made us a free and happy People.*





A  
Compleat HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION



AS soon as a War broke out upon the Continent, the *Irish* and *Scots* Partizans of the *Chevalier*, at the Court of *Madrid*, judged it a fit Opportunity to put their Scheme of Rebellion into Practice, and proposed an Invasion both in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, pretending they had very clear and good Proofs, of a strong Spirit of discontent, working in both Countries; so that with a small foreign Force a Revolution might with Probability of Success be attempted. This was very well received at *Rome*, the eldest Son of the *Chevalier* de *St. George* having studied for some years, every thing he thought requisite, to qualify himself for an Expedition of this Nature, But perhaps it had not taken Effect so soon, if his future Secretary *Mr. Murray* had not reported to him, that it was easy to raise the Clans, if he could be sure of any Assistance from *France*. At this very Time the *Spaniards* were employed, in driving the *French* into a War declared against us; and *Cardinal Aquaviva*, being let into the Secrets of the *Chevalier's* Intelligence, undertook that his Catholic Majesty should make a Point of this likewise, and oblige *France* to take a part in this Scheme, and grant Prince *Edward* such Succours as might appear requisite for carrying his intended Invasion into immediate Execution. But upon Application to the Court of *Versailles*, many Difficulties arose; for several of the *French* Ministers being perswaded they had already more upon their Hands than they could well manage, vehemently opposed adding a new and expencive Project, to those with which, they were perplexed before. But there were three Persons in in the Council of that Kingdom determind to support this Disposition from very different Motives, who, though they did not avow it publickly, were however determind to bring it about. Cardinal *Tencin* owed his Hat to the *Chevalier*, and was always his declared Partizan; *M. de Saxe* had an irreconcilable and hereditary Hatred, to be gratified by this Measure; and *M. de Belleisle* judged it agreeable to his general System, the Basis of which was, that the more his Majesty's Affairs were embroil'd, the more necessary his Services would be, and the more, consequently, himself and his Family consider'd. But though these great Men concurred in the Design, they would

none of them venture proposing to invite the Chevalier or either of his Sons into *France*, but resolved to procure that Step being taken without Formality, by the Interposition of Cardinal *Aquaviva*, that they might afterwards be able to disavow it.

Accordingly this Method was taken, and Cardinal *Aquaviva* solicited the Chevalier to consent to his eldest Son's setting out, even before a formal Invitation came from *Paris*; for he was satisfied, that notwithstanding any Appearances, the great Men at the Court might waver, they would be very glad to see and assist the young Man, who on his Side, was so desirous of shewing himself, and so confident of Success, that he never left teasing his Father, whose Experience made him left sanguine, 'till he obtained his Consent; but this was not till he had certain Advice from *France*, that they were meditating an Invasion on *England*, which was in the Winter of 1743, and then he entered on the necessary Preparations It was the Month of *February*, 1744, before every Thing was ready, and the necessary Remittances fixed, in case he should think proper to act upon his own Plan of going into *Scotland*, instead of landing with the *French* Troops, who were on the Point of embarking when he left *Rome* The Manner of his Departure, which was entirely in the *Italian* Strain, and his Journey to *Genoa* where he took up some Bills of Exchange, which were duly paid, made a fine Piece in *Italian*, which was presented to all the Friends of the Family at *Rome*,

On his Arrival at *Paris* he was very coldly received, more especially by the Ministry; and the King seemed a little surprized at the abruptness of his Appearance. But notwithstanding this, some of the Ministers and the Relations of his Family welcomed him in another Manner, and persuaded him to go and Parade at *Dunkirk*, where they were still carying on the Farce of an Invasion, in which he was brought to act his Part, but not without Reluctancy. This threw hin; in some Measure out with the Court, and he was left to mind his own Scheme and Projects, without any apparent Countenance all the next Winter. By this kind of Managment, he split his own little Party into Factions, who were as warm in their Debates, as furious in their Contests, and as much soured in their Opinions, by these different Sentiments about the Measures he was to take, as if that all their Projects had not been alike empty and chimerical Those who followed him from *Rome* were absolutely moulded by his Inclinations; they were perfect Courtiers, had nothing to lose but their Lives; and by having experienced a long Scene of Misfortunes, were grown in some measure careless about them. They magnified the Project, extolled the Courage, and hoped mighty Things from the Fortune of their Chief; his very Person was an Army, and his Presence sufficient to make a whole Nation revolt. The old Cavaliers, who had remained long in Exile in *France*, and were heartily .weary of the Usage they had met with, ran very easily into the same way of thinking, and were eager

for entering upon Action. But the wisest Heads, and greatest Men among them, were in Sentiments directly opposite; they laid, he ought well to consider his first Expedition, for if he failed in that, it would never be in his power to make another; they said, that risking his Person was nothing in Comparisson of risking his Friends; and that every Measure he took towards raising an unsuccessful Rebellion, was a Step in favour of his Enemies. The latter Party were so much in earnest, that they applied to the *French* Court to desire they would interpose, and received a Promise to that effect: But the *French* Ministers were well pleased to see Things take this Turn, hoping he would make a desperate Attempt himself, at much less Expence then if abetted by them; persuaded, that whether successful or not, he would do their Business, and create a Disturbance in *Britain* as might affect our publick Credit.

In publick therefore, and even under their Hands they opposed and discountenanced his Scheme for an Invasion, but privately applauded it, and expressed a vast Confidence in the heroick Disposition of the young P. and made no scruple of saying, that by venturing upon such an Exploit he would surprize his Friends, amaze and confound his Enemies, and put the King and his Ministers under a Necessity of owning, assisting and supporting: him for ever. This they managed, cheated and betrayed both Parties.

The Arrival of the Pretender's Son in *France*, could not but give great Reason to suspect that something was meditating there in his Favour, nor was it long before there was evident Signs of an intended Invasion, though, as I have shewn .the *French* Court pretended to have no Knowledge of the young Chevalier's journey and it was even suggested by the *French* Party in *Holland*, that M. de *Amelot* was removed and disgraced, for having given the young Adventurer those Hopes, which drew him into *France*.

However in the Summer of the Year 1745 it was known that some Preparations were privately making for an Expedition in Favour of the Pretender; and for that Purpose, an Officer in the *French* Navy raised a Company of one hundred Men, under Pretence that they were for the *East-India* Company's Service, which were stiled *Grassins de Mar*, and were handsomely cloathed in Blue faced with Red; (who we have since had the Pleasure ot seeing Prisoners of War at *Penrith* and *Carlisle*.) They were put on board a Frigate carrying eighteen Guns; and every Thing being now ready, the young Deputy Pretender came privately from the House of the Duke de *Fitz-James*; to Port *Lazare* in *Brittany*, where on the 14<sup>th</sup> of *July* he embarked with about fifty *Scotch* and *Irish*, in order to have sailed round *Ireland*, and to land in the NorthWest of *Scotland*: This Frigate of his was joined of *Belle-Isle* by the *Elizabeth*, a Man of War of sixty Guns, taken from us by the *French* in the last War, and now extremely well mann'd for this Service. In their Passage they fell in with a Fleet of *English* Merchant-men,

under the Convoy of three Men of War, one of which, viz the *Lyon* Captain *Brett*, engaged the *Elizabeth* for nine Hours; but soon after the Engagement began the Frigate bore away, and continued her intended Voyage. The *Elizabeth*, when Night came on, made all the Sail she could, got clear, and returned to *Brest* quite disabled, having her Captain and sixty-four Men killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded. She had on board a large Sum of Money, and Arms for several thousand Men, which were to have been landed with the Pretender, for the Use of his Adherents.

As for the Frigate before-mentioned, she stood in for the Coast of *Lochabar*, and landed the mock Prince and his Attendants in the Isle of *Sky*, where he remained in private for some Time, at the House of Mr *M'Donald* of *Kinloch Moidart*; until he was join'd by the *Camerons*, *M'Donalds*, *Stuarts*, and some other of the Clans, in Number about 150; then he set up his Standard on the 16<sup>th</sup> of *August*, and chose for his Motto, *Tandem Triumphans*, i. e. *At length Triumphant*.

As the *Camerons* were the most distinguished Clan in the Rebel Army, and. of which the celebrated *Mils Jenny* is a Branch, I thought it might not be improper to give the following Account of them.



#### *Of the CAMERONS.*

**T**HE Clan of the *Camerons* is very numerous in *Scotland*: The present *Lochiel*, Chief of that Name, pretends to be lineally descended from *Hugh* the first of that Family, which is of about 700 Years standing. There has been a constant Succession of Great Men, down from the said Sir *Hugh*, to the present *Lochiel*, famous in the late Rebellion. The Revenue of the Estate is about 500l. per Annum, exclusive of the Wood there is now on it. Some of the Merchants of *Whitehaven* have of late had large Dealings with, young *Lochiel* for Timber.

The present Sir *Hugh Cameron* having resided long in *France* and *Rome*, is strongly attached to the House of *Stuart*: He came over with the Pretender in 1715, and went back again with him to *France*. When the late Rebellion broke out in 1745, he embark'd with the *Chevalier* in his Expedition against *Scotland*; where, tho' he was eighty Years of Age, he behaved with surprizing activity: As for young *Lochiel* he was never abroad with his Father, but lived quietly at Home upon his Estate; and it is supposed he knew nothing of the intended Invasion till after the young Pretender landed in *Scotland*, when he received a Summons to raise the Clan and come at their Head and join the Standard. But young *Lochiel* not liking to meddle in so dangerous an Affair delay'd it for the Space of six Weeks, tho' the Pretender and his Father were all that Time at the House of *M'Donald* of *Kinloch Moidart*. At last the young Deputy Pretender came to *Acknacary*, with about

fifty Persons in his Retinue, together with old Sir *Hugh Cameron*; on their Arrival the old Gentleman immediately shewed himself to his Clan, who were overjoy'd to see their old Chief amongst them again; the Son had nothing left him but to obey his Father's Command like his other Vassals.

The Clan of the *Camcrons* are about 800 fighting Men; there are but few Gentlemen of the Name settled in *Scotland*, tho' there is a considerable Number of them in the Service of *France* and *Spain*. The chief Branch of this Family was Mr *Cameron* of *Glendessary*, Father of the celebrated Miss *Jenny*. The Estate of *Glendessary* does not exceed 150l. per Annum, yet he can raise very near as many Men as his Chief.

Mr *Cameron* was a Gentleman of good Parts, and bore a good Character in his Neighbourhood: He bestowed a liberal Education upon all his Children, but seemed lavish in his Expence upon Miss *Jenny*, who was his Favourite; but out of mistaken Tenderness for her, was so long before he would put her under the Restraint which her Education required, that some Passions were suffered to take so deep Root in her Mind, that neither Time, Care nor Expence could afterwards eradicate. Now Miss must prepare to go to *Edinburgh* for her Education; where she was put under the Tuition of an Aunt of *Lochiel's*, an old Lady of great Prudence and strict Virtue.

When Miss *Jenny* came to her Aunt at *Edinburgh*, she was a wild, uncultivated *Hoydon*, who did not want Sense, and had a surprizing ready Wit, which was buried in a violent passionate Temper, impatient to the last Degree of Contradiction; but the Regard her Aunt had for the Family made her undertake the taming her: By the help of gaudy Apparel and some Trifles that she had not been accustomed to in the *Highlands*; she was kept within Bounds for some Days, and prevailed on to keep within Doors; but soon grew so turbulent, that the Lady found she must try what Effect a Course of wholesome Discipline would have on her, and Miss soon gave her an Opportunity of putting the Experiment in Practice; for having transgressed, Mrs *Cameron* called her into a Closet, and there intended to give her some moderate Correction: Miss, not being used to such Treatment, could not be brought to submit to it, but fell foul of her, and what the old Lady had designed for her, was unhappily return'd upon herself, so that she was obliged recapitulate with Miss, and promise her unlimited Indulgence for the Future, and Forgiveness for the Present; having fettled these Articles, the Door was open'd, and the Servant whom she called to assist her, let in; Mrs *Cameron* (proved like the *French King*, no strict Observer of Treaties) with the Help of the servant, obliged Miss to submit to a Course of Correction she had never known before, which was repeated every Morning for a Fortnight: When she had nigh humbled Miss's Spirit, and brought her to a ready Compliance, she applied herself, though unwillingly, to her Education, in which she advanced so surprizingly, that in less than two Years

she was Mistress of the *French* Tongue, wrote a fine Hand, and learn'd to dance; could play upon the Spinnet, and was a compleat Mistress at her Needle. She was now grown tall and well shaped, her Skin clear, and her Features agreeable; she had large sparkling Eyes. with a wanton Softness about them, that never fail'd to please if they designed to make a Conquest; so that if she might not be reckon'd a Beauty, at least she was very agreeable.

Mrs. *Cameron's* Maid, who was one of those domestick Bawds, that are always ready to help their young Mistresses in the Pursuit of their amorous Inclinations, brought, her into an Intimacy with *Sawney*, the Footman, who having formerly lived with a Man of Quality, had learn'd all the fashionable Vices and Follies of the Town; he was what they call a most compleat agreeable Fellow: These three contracted a strict Friendship, and for a Time they confin'd their Amusement to the House, but but at last the Humour took them to go ramble in the Streets. Miss and the Maid dressing themselves in Men's Apparel, and being attended by the Footman, they strolled about, picking up the Women of the Town, went sometimes with them to the Houses of Infamy, and carried on the Frolick as far as their Sex would permit them: This Fancy mightily pleased Miss, who was always glad when Night came, that she might quit her Petticoats and assume the Breeches, which suited her Temper, and she acted the *Cavalier* to a Miracle. They carried on this Trade for some Months without being discover'd; but one Night an unlucky Accident happen'd: On their Ramble they went to *Lucky Spence's*, from which *Sawney* was dispatched on a Message into the City, while the two *Cavaliers* engaged a Couple of Mistresses over a Bottle: In the mean Time a Quarrel happening in the House the Guards were call'd, who carried along with them all they found there, and amongst the rest the two Ladies in Masquerade; they had frequently before been in Danger, but *Sawney* had always Address enough to get them off; but he:at that Time being out of the Way, they were hurried with a large Train of Bullies and Doxies to the Guard-House, where a Discovery being made of our .two Female Bullies, it occasioned a Subject of much Mirth, and afforded Matter of Conversation to all the Tea-Tables in Town; and Miss was oblig'd to keep at Home for some Days, not having quite Courage enough to get Home, conceal'd his being of the Party, and remain'd in his Place; continual Favours were heap'd on him by Miss, whom he had now got the Ascendence so much over, that she could deny him nothing that was in her Power to grant. She was now about sixteen Years of Age, and had carried on her Amour with *Sawney* for six Months; when to her great Surprize, she found an uncommon Alteration in the State of her Health, and being ignorant of the Cause, applied to her Aunt for Advice, who to her Sorrow knew the Disease too well, but did not discover it to Miss, she being resolv'd to find out the Author of her Misfortunes.and that very Night let her into the Secret, for Miss was caught in the Arms.of *Sawney* the News of which afflicted her Father so much that he took his Bed and died

in. about eight Days after: *Sawney* was sent out of the Way, and some say he was violently dispatched, for he never was heard of since. Miss went about three Months longer and then miscarried, either by Accident or Means used to cause Abortion.

Her Mother and the rest of her Relations, willing to bury the Scandal she had brought upon them, resolved to send her to *France*, and put her into a Nunnery, where they design'd she should take the Veil; but they found it very difficult to bring her into this Scheme, for .he had not the least Inclination to be confin'd in a Cloyster; being young, gay, and amorous, she had much rather her Friends had propos'd her making a Campaign in *Flanders*; she would have preferr'd the Breeches to the most sanctified Habit, and the Company of a Gallant to all the cloister'd Sisterhood in *France*. But she found there was a Necessity to submit, so seem'd to be overcome by the Persuasions of her Relations, and very willing to leave the World, but secretly resolved to make her Escape from her Confinement before the Year of her Novitiate should be out. When Miss arrived at *Paris*, with the Person who was sent to conduct her thither, she was lodg'd in the House of a Merchant, whose Wife was a distant Relation of Miss *Jenny's*, to whose Care she was recommended: The Lady at whose House she was could not help being surpriz'd, to find such a serious and fixed Habit of Devotion in a Creature so young; and that she should willingly throw herself into a Cloister: But Miss still personated the Devotee, and told her, that she had conceiv'd a very high Opinion of a Nun's Life; that she had known very little of the World hitherto, and that by the slight Ideas she had of it, thought there was nothing in it worth coveting. The Lady who had but an indifferent Opinion of Nuns in general, and could not see any Religion either in the Devotion or Celibacy of the Cloister'd-Sisters, gave her a full Detail of scandalous Practices they are charged with being guilty of in Secret: This Account just squared with Miss's Inclination, finding that there were Ways and Means within the Walls of a Nunnery to gratify the most wanton Passions; that their Religion was only Hypocrisy (of which Art she was a compleat Mistress) but above all that there was Room for Intrigue, for which she seemed entirely formed: Miss was placed in a Nunnery of which a *Scotch* Lady of the House of *Seaforth* was Abbess; by the Favour of the Lady Abbess, Miss had more Liberty than is common, which she generally improved to serve such of the Sisterhood as she had contracted an Intimacy with. Among these was a young Lady who had as little Nun's Flesh about her as Miss *Jenny*; she had an Intrigue with a young Marquiss which was carried on by the assistance of one of the *Friars*, whose Habit this young Spark assumed as often as he thought fit, but the Affair being likely likely to be blown, occasioned both the real and pretended Friar to abscond for some Time; during this Interval, the amorous Nun entrusted Miss *Jenny* with the Secret of her Intrigue, and prevailed upon her, as she had the Liberty of going

Abroad, to carry Letters betwixt her, and her Gallant: Miss lik'd the Employment much) and for the firsts Time met the young Marquiss at the Church of St. *Dennis*, and soon found, Means to supplant the young Nun who had made her the Confident of her Armour: About three Months after, a Discovery being made of the Intrigue, Miss *Jenny* was ordered to a severe Penance; the Father she pitched upon was an *Irishman* of the Order of St. *Francis*, a Person much fitter for a Gallant, which was the Reason no Doubt she chose him, for without Intrigue she could not possibly be happy; she now laid a Plot for her Confessor, whom she easily discovered to be no Enemy to the World, nor the Pleasures which gave an imaginary Relish to Life: By the Confession which she made him, she designedly gave him to understand, that the Flesh was more predominant than the Spirit, and the Holy Father found out a Method to get the better of the Evils she complained of Miss had not confessed many Weeks before she found herself pregnant by the Church; However her ghostly Father soon eas'd her of that Burthen, by forcing an Abortion, (by which she was nigh losing her Life) but escaped without Discovery, and was recovered enough to appear at the Grate: Her Confessor happened one Day to bring along with him an Officer belonging to the *Irish Brigade*, a Gentleman of a very good Family in *Ireland*, who had an agreeable Address, a good Share of Sense, and wanted nothing of that Assurance, or any other Qualification, necessary to recommend him to the Fair Sex. The young Colonel was much charmed with the Conversation of Miss *Jenny*, and she with his; he proposed to free her from the Cloister, to which she consented; for this purpose he procured a false Key for a Garden Door, through which Miss passed, where he and his Servant with Horses were waiting to receive her; they immediately set out from *Paris*, and arrived before Day appeared at a Tillage in their way to *Versailles*: The Colonel having received Orders to go directly for *Flanders*, and it being inconvenient for him to travel in Company with a Lady, Miss recollected her Masquerade Habits, and propos'd it to the Colonel, who lik'd it much; the Servant was immediately order'd to provide a Habit and Equipage for a young Gentleman; she was soon equipp'd, and in that Dress quite ravish'd the Colonel, who grew every Day more fond of her. ----- She pass'd for a *Scotch* Gentleman, and went by the name of *Johnson*, who had resolved to make the Campaign in *Flanders*; she returned to *Paris* in this Dress, but as the Colonel was obliged to wait on the Prime Minister, Cardinal *Fleury*, before he set out, Mr *Johnson* must needs attend him, whom the Cardinal received very courteously, and promis'd Preferment.

She travelled with the Colonel to the Camp, where she arrived in the Beginning of the Year 1713 and continued with him till the Conclusion of the Treaty of *Utrecht*, where he died and left her an odd sort of widow.

Miss was now absolutely destitute; her Money, Jewels, and all she could

get together, would not raise above one hundred Pounds. Her affairs were in this bad Situation, when she accidentally met Sir *Hugh Cameron*, of *Lochiel*, who knew her Misfortunes in *Scotland*, but were ignorant of her Transactions in *France*; he and some of the rest of those Refugees that left the Kingdom in the Year 1715, advised her to return to *Scotland*, (to her Brother Mr *Cameron*, of *Glendessery*)

About two Years after her Arrival, her Brother married, and his Lady and Sister lived for some Time in the greatest Harmony, when the Wife became jealous of a criminal Correspondence being carried on betwixt the Brother and Sister; so that continual Jars on that Account made Miss *Cameron's* Life very miserable, who died a short Time after; her Husband did not survive her long, leaving his eldest Son a minor, and little better than an Ideot: He left Miss *Jenny* his Executrix, and when he arrived at the Age of fourteen, the Boy himself chose her Guardian to his Estate, which he has manag'd ever since; for tho' her Nephew is of Age, yet his Incapacity is such, that he cannot transact any Business, but leaves it entirely to his Aunt. So much for the Historical Part of Miss *Jenny's* Life, now I proceed to known Facts.

When the Chevalier *Charles*, Deputy Pretender, came to *Lochiel's* House, *Lochiel* sent an Order to Mr *Cameron* of *Glendessery*, to raise his Men, and join the Family Standard; Mr *Cameron*, incapable of obeying such a Summons, his Aunt Miss *Jenny*, who soon got together two hundred and fifty Men and marched at the Head of them to the *Pretender's* Camp; she was dressed in a Sea-green riding Habit, with a Scarlet Lapell, trimm'd with Gold, her Hair tied behind in loose Buckles with a Velvet Cap and Scarlet Feather; she rode on a Bay Gelding, deck'd with green Furniture, which was fringed with Gold; instead of a Whip, she carried a naked Sword in her Hand, and in this Equipage arrived at the Camp: A Female Officer was an extraordinary Sight, and it being reported to the young *Chevalier*, he went out of the Lines to meet this Supply; Miss *Jenny*, who indeed had seen more terrible Fellows abroad, rode up to him without the least Concern, and gave him a Soldier-like Salute, and thus addressed him, *That as her Nephew was not able to attend the R---l Standard, she had rais'd his Men, and brought them to his H—hn—s; that she believed them ready to hazard their Lives in his Cause, and tho' at present they were commanded by a Woman, yet she hoped they had nothing womanish about them; for she found that so glorious a Cause, had raised in her Breast every manly Thought, and quite extinguished the Woman; what an Effect, then added she, must it have on those who have no Feminine Fear to combat; and are free from the Incumbrance of Female Dress? These Men Sir are yours, they have devoted themselves to your Service; they bring you Hearts as well as Hands; I can follow them no further, but I shall pray for your Success.* This Speech being ended, (she ordered her Men to pass in Review before the *Chevalier*, who

express'd himself pleas'd with their Appearance, but much more with the gallantry of their Female Leader: He conducted her to his Tent, and treated her in the most gallant Manner; her Humour was extremely free, and as full of Gaiety as if she had been but fifteen; the young *Pretender* was much delighted in her Conversation, and whilst she continued in the Camp, spent several Hours with her, and used to call her Colonel *Cameron*, which Name she has chiefly bore ever since. The Succours which she now brought him, and the early Assistance her Family had given him, were sufficient Grounds to caress her more than ordinary, and as to other Obligations, he might be under to her, I leave you to imagine. She continued with the Army till they marched into *England*, and joined them again on their return to *Falkirk*, from whence the *Pretender* fled with much Precipitation, on the near Approach of his Royal Highness the Duke of CUMBERLAND, that he forgot to carry off his Female Colonel, who was taken Prisoner, and when I returned from the Highlands to *Edinburgh* in *May*, she was then a Prisoner in the Castle.

The *Pretender* being now joined by the whole Clan of the *Camerons* of *Lochiel*, the *McDonalds* of *Glengary*, the *Stuarts* of *Appin*, and some other of the Clans, his Army amounted to about 2000 Men, when on the 20<sup>th</sup> of *August*, he appeared with his Forces near *Fort William*, and about this Time dispers'd many of his Father's Manifesto's, one of which was dated in 1743, that plainly shewed a Diversion was then intended; another in 1745, declaring his Son Regent; and a Third containing large Promises to the People of *Scotland*: Soon after this, two Companies of *St. Clair's* Regiment fell in with the Rebels, whom they were sent to reconnoitre, and were most of them taken Prisoners, as was Capt. *Sweetenham*, of *Guise's* Regiment, soon after, but he was released upon his Parole; after which he immediately posted up to *London*, where he gave the first and most distinct Account of the Force, Situation, and Design of the Rebels; who now began to think themselves strong enough to march Southward, which they immediately prepared to do.

Lieutenant-General Sir *John Cope*, Knight of the *Bath*, was at that Time Commander in Chief of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, and had the Direction of Military Affairs there; in pursuance of which, he drew together the Troops then in that Kingdom, armed the Militia, and took what other Precautions he thought necessary, and then judged it proper to march North, in order to find out the Rebels, expecting to meet with them at the Chain, which is the Name given to the great Road leading across from *Fort-William* to *Inverness*, where the General arrived with his Forces after a fatiguing March, but found himself disappointed; for the Rebels instead of marching through the Pass at *Korryerrock*, they took the Way over the Mountains, and the first News he heard of them, was, that they had taken Possession of *Perth*, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *September*, and on the 5<sup>th</sup>, proclaimed the *Pretender*.

It was now publickly known, that several Persons of Distinction had joined

the *Pretender*, particularly the Person called Duke of *Perth*, Chief of the Family of the *Drummonds*, and Son of the Earl of *Perth*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, who followed the Fortune of the late *K. James*, and was by him created a Duke in *France*, the Marquis of *Tullibardin*, then stiling himself Duke of *Athol*, eldest Son to the late Duke, but attainted for the Share he had in the late Rebellion, Lord *George Murray*, his Brother, and several others.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> they began their March on the Firth of *Forth*, which they crossed on the 13<sup>th</sup>, at the Ford of *Frew*, in Number about 3000; they seemed to take their Root for *Glasgow*, which they summoned, but received no Answer; the Substance of the Summons is as follows; *I need not inform you of my View in coming, that is already sufficiently known, all those who love their Country, and the 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 Privileges 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 Demands, a Sum of Money not exceeding 15,000l. Sterling, (besides what is due to the Government) and whatever Arms can be found in the Ctty, is all at present I require. The Terms proposed are very reasonable, and what I promise to make good. I chose to make those Demands, but if not complied with, shall take other Measure; and you shall be answerable for the Consequence.*

Signed CHARLES, P. R.

*Lecky*, Sept 15, 1745

On the 14<sup>th</sup> they directed their March Eastward towards *Edinburgh*, which they enter'd on the 17<sup>th</sup>, being not only invited but solicited thereto, by the *Jacobites* in and about that City, who well knew that the well-affected Inhabitants would have baffled any Attempt upon it, if they had got the fencing of the City finished, and the thousand Men levied and trained, who were to be raised by the voluntary Subscription. Besides these, five hundred of the chief Inhabitants of the City; Lawyers, Writers, Physicians, and even Divines took up Arms, for the Defence of the Town. About twenty three *Pattararoes*, and Ship Guns, were placed at the Gates, and on the Bastions of the City Walls. These Volunteers, &c. continued under Arms all Sunday Night, and likewise on Monday, till Five o'Clock in the Afternoon; at which Time *Gardiner's* and *Hambleton's* Dragoons retired from *Coltbridge* towards *Musselburgh*; on the Approach of the Vanguard of the Rebels, and put the Inhabitants of the City into some small Confusion, imagining that the whole Body of the Rebels were approaching, and that the Dragoons had deserted them. However, the Volunteers, &c continued under Arms, waiting for Orders to take their respective Stations, which they were resolved to defend to the last.

At this Time, several Persons presented a Petition to the *Provost* desiring that a meeting of the Inhabitants might be called, to consider whether they should hold out, or deliver up the City. The Fire-Bell was accordingly rung, which the Persons under Arms, took as a Signal for bringing them to the Place of Rendezvous, and immediately drew up, headed by their Officers; and the Meeting of the Inhabitants, in the New Kirk-Isle, was filled immediately with Persons who had been strolling in the Street, many of them disaffected to the present Government.

In this Meeting, a Letter from the *Chevalier* was presented, intimating his Intention to enter the City, but the Reader was soon interrupted, and the Question put, whether the Town was or was not tenable, some affirming, that the Dragoons had left them, and others that it was false, and that they were ready to defend the City to the last, if required. In the mean Time, the Secretary at War acquainted them; that he had an Order from the General to desire the two Regiments of Dragoons to enter the City, if the Inhabitants desired it. This occasioned some warm Debates; when a Gentleman, who had been present at a Council of War some Days before, asserted, that the general Opinion of the Officers was, that the City was not tenable, and that bringing the Dragoons into it, would be cooping them up to their Destruction. Immediately the Vote was put, whether to receive the Dragoons, or not, when it passed in the Negative; and so they went and joined General *Cope*.

No Orders being given what Part the Volunteers should act they delivered their Arms into the Castle; the Governor of which, sent for the Cannon on the Walls and Gates, to be brought into the Castle or nailed up; but for want of Orders from some Person in Town, they could not be carried away but fell into the Rebels Hands.

At this Time, Sir *John Cope* was at *Inverness*, from whence he dispatched Orders Southwards, for Transports to be sent to *Aberdeen*, where he embarked his Men, and on *September* the 16<sup>th</sup>, enter'd the Harbour of *Dumbar*, where next Day he landed his Men, and on the 18<sup>th</sup> his Artillery, where he received Advice of the City of *Edinburgh*, being in the Hands of the Rebels, which it was suspected the *P-----t* had treacherously deliver'd up to them the 16<sup>th</sup> in the Evening; for about Five the next Morning, the *Netherbow Port* being open'd to let in a Coach, the Rebels enter'd in at the same Time without the least Resistance, so that some or the well-affected became a Prey. General *Guest* had retired into the Castle with a small Number of regular Troops; the Bank, and most of the Publick Offices being removed into the Fortress before

Brigadier *Fowke*, with *Hamilton's* and *Gardiner's* Dragoons, having joined Sir *John Cope's* Army, they on the 19<sup>th</sup> marched from *Dumbar*, and encamped that Night on the West-Side of *Haddington*. The next Morning early, they continued their March, and in the evening reached *Preston-Pans*.

The Rebels having got a good Supply of Arms and what else they wanted at *Edinburgh*, and their Army being now augmented to 5000 Men; they marched out of the City to engage the King's Troops. General *Cope* had no sooner pitched on a Piece of Ground, and got his little Army formed, than the Rebels appeared on the high Ground to the South of him: He armed a full Front to theirs, when the Armies exchanged several Huzzas, and probably from their not liking our Disposition, they began to alter their own.

They made a large Detachment of their Left towards *Preston*, (as may be suppos'd) in order to take us in Flank, their Number being superior to ours. The General having upon this, with several of the Officers reconnoitred their Design, immediately ordered the Front to be chang'd, forming our Right to the Sea, and our Left where the Front had been: This Disposition disappointed their Project of taking us in Flank; and that Part of their Army immediately counter marched. From this Change of theirs, we were again obliged to take new Ground. The Night coming on, and the Enemy so near, we lay on our Arms, and in the Night with a Train of six Pieces of small Cannon, threw some Shot amongst an advanced Party of theirs, who had taken Possession of the Church-yard of *Tranent*, that lay between their Front and ours.

The Forces under Sir *John Cope* were, Major-General *Hamilton's* and Colonel *Gardiner's* Dragoons; Lieutenant-General *Guise's*, Col. *Lee's*, Col. *Murray's*, Col. *Lascelles's*, and the Earl of *Loudon's* Regiments of Foot; but of these, there was only one compleat: A great Number of Volunteers from *Edinburgh* and other Places offer'd to join them, but Sir *John Cope* refus'd their Assistance for fear of confusing his Men. About three in the Morning, it being very dark, our Patroles could scarce perceive any Motion they made, every Thing seemed so quite; But about this Hour, the Patroles reported them to be in full March, in great Silence towards the East; at four they reported, that they were continuing their March North-East. From this it appeared, that they designed to attack our Left Flank with their main Body; and upon the General's being informed that this was their Intention, he ordered the Disposition to be changed, by which he brought our Front to theirs, and secured our Flanks by several Dykes on our Right towards *Tranent*, with our left Flank inclining to the Sea. The Moment this Disposition was compleated, three large Bodies in Columns, of their pick'd out Highlanders, came on a-pace, though in a collected Body, with great Swiftmess, and the Column which was advancing towards our Right, where our Train was posted, after receiving the Discharges, almost in an Instant, and before Day appeared seized the Train, and threw into the utmost Confusion a Body of about 100 Foot of ours, who were posted there to guard it. All Remedies, in every Shape were tried by the General, Brigadier *Fowke*, the Earls *Loudon* and *Hume*, and the Officers about them, to remedy this Disorder, but in vain.

This unhappily, with the Fire made (tho' a very irregular one) by the Highland Column on our Right where *Gardiner's* Dragoons were placed, whose Horses took Fright at the first Fire, and were thrown into Disorder; their Officers rallied them again, and as they were returning alongside of Lord *Grange's* Park Dyke, an Ambuscade of the Rebels gave them a second Fire, which made them reel and ride quite off, *Hamilton's* Dragoons went off likewise; the Foot were surprized and thrown into Confusion, firing too soon, and their Bayonets not being fix'd, the Rebels fell furiously upon them, Sword in Hand, surrounded them, killed about 200 Men, and made about 1000 Prisoners: Lord *Loudon's* Regiment being placed with General *Cope's* Baggage, as a Body of Reserve, were fallen upon next behaved well, gave the Rebels a smart Fire which kill'd many of them; but being overpowered by Numbers, they were obliged to surrender Prisoners; the Field Pieces and Baggage were all taken: The Earls of *Loudon* and *Hume*, having rallied the Dragoons went off with them to *Lauder*, and from thence the next Day to *Berwick*: Brigadier *Fowke*, and Col *Lascelles* came back to *Dumbar*, and Sir *John Cope* went to *Berwick*. This is by some called the Battle of *Preston-Pans*, from the Place near it, which takes its Name from the Number of *Salt Pans*, there; but it is more properly stiled the Battle of *Glaidsmuir*, since that was the Field of Battle, being a wide barren Heath, about seven Miles East of *Edinburgh*.

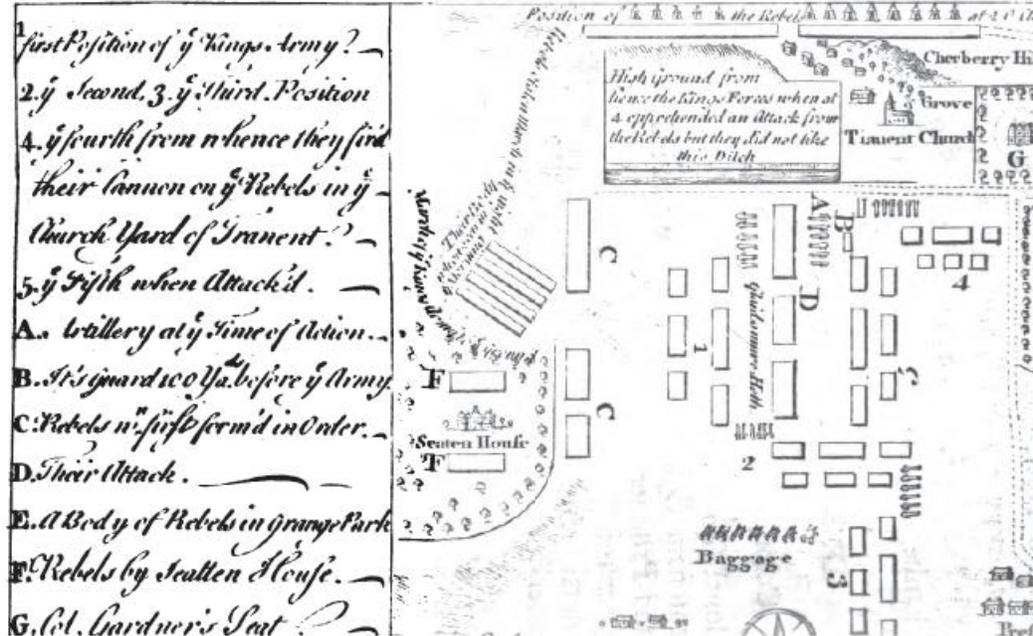
Before I conclude this unfortunate Affair, I will only observe, that notwithstanding our Soldiers were struck with such a Pannick as occasioned them to act beneath the Dignity of the Cause in which they were engaged; yet it is universally allowed, that all their Officers did their Duty, and well supported the Honour of that Character due to. true *Britons*: In particular, it will be doing Justice to the Merit of the brave Colonel *Gardiner*, to say, that he did, all that could be expected from the most gallant and experiene'd Officer to rally his Dragoons; but finding his utmost Efforts in vain; and seeing an Officer who commanded the Foot fall, the Colonel immediately dismounted, and snatch'd up a Half.Pike, and took upon him the Command of the Foot, at .whole Head he fought till he was brought down by three Wounds, one in his Shoulder by a Ball, another in his Forehead by a Broad Sword, and the third which was his mortal. Strike, in the hinder Part of. his Head, by a *Lochaber Axe*; this Wound was given him .by a Highlander who came behind him, while he was reaching a Stroke at an Officer with whom he was engaged; he is regretted not only by his Friends, and those of the prelcnt Government, but even by those against whom he fought, who agree with all others in acknowledging, that he finished a worthy and examplary Life, with a most honourable and heroic Death for he very easily might have escaped with the rest, if like them, he would have deserted his Duty. He was decently interr'd on *Thursday, Sept 24*, in the Parish Church of *Tranent*, where eight of his Children lie: The fatal Action happened almost by the Walls of his own

Seat at *Bankton*; his Lady and eldest Daughter at that Time, had been left by him at *Sterling* Castle.

I know it will be expected, that I should inform you, what were the Number on both Sides in the Action ---- Of the King's. Troops, there were about 2800 who should have fought; and the Rebels were no less than 5000 Men, and it was so dark when they attacked us that that they could only be perceived like a black Hedge moving forward, and the Artillery consisting of six Pieces of Cannon, being planted all on the Right, and at some Distance from the Army, guarded only by 100 Men, the Rebels were immediately possessed of them, who turned them on our Dragoons, at the same Time giving a most hideous and frightful Shout: The Dragoons seeing the Cannon in the Possession of the Enemy, and that it was to be pointed at them, thought . proper to provide for themselves by a sudden Retreat; as knowing that,

*He that fights and runs away,  
May turn and fight another Day;  
But he that is in Battle slain,  
Will never rise to fight again.*

Soon as the Affair was ended, the Rebels incircl'd their Dead and buried them with all Expedition to conceal their Number. The following is an exact List of the Loss sustained on our Part, in this unhappy Action.



A LIST of the OFFICERS killed, wounded and Prisoners, at the Battle of GLADSMUIR, September 21, 1745.

D R A G O O N S

Colonel GARDINER's.

Colonel *Gardiner*, killed.

Lieutenant- Colonel *Whitney*, wounded and Prisoner.

Lieutenant *Grafton*, Prisoner

Cornets. *Burroughs* and *Alcock*, Ditto.

Quarter-master *West*, Ditto.

H A M I L T O N 's.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Wright*, wounded and Prisoner.

Major *Bowle*, Ditto.

Cornets *Jacob* and *Nash* Prisoners.

Quarter-master *Nash* and Dr *Trotter*, Ditto.

FOOT .

C o l o n e l L A S C E L L E ' s .

Captain *Stuart*, killed.

Ensign *Bell*, much wounded and Prisoner.

Major *Severn*, Prisoner.

Captains. *Drummond*, *Adams*, *Forrestter*, *Anderson*, *Corbet* and *Collier*, Ditto.

Lieutenants. *Swinie*, *Johnston*, *Carrick*, *Dundas* and *Herring*, Ditto. Ensigns. *Stone*, *Cox*, *Gordon*, *Goulton*, and Dr. *Drummoud*, Ditto.

C o l o n e l M U R R A Y ' s .

Captain *Lesle*, wounded and Prisoner.

Ensign *Halden*, Ditto.

Lieutenant-Colonel *Clayton*, Prisoner.

Major *Talbot*, Ditto.

Captains. *Reid*, *Cockran*, *Scot* and *Blake*, Ditto.

Lieutenants. *Hay*, *Cranston*, *Dinsey*, *Wale*, *Wry* and *Simms*, Ditto,

Ensigns. *Sutherland*, *Lucey*, *Holdane*, *Birn*, *L'Estrange*, and Adjutant *Spencer* Ditto.

C o l o n e l L E E S ' s .

Captains. *Bromer* and *Rogers*, killed.

Colonel *Peter Halket*, Prisoner.

Captains. *Basil*, *Cockran*, *Chapman* and *Tatton*, Ditto.

Lieutenants. *Sandilands*, *Drummond*, *Kennedy* and *Hewitson*, Ditto.

Ensigns. *Hardwick*, *Archer* and *Dubmar*, Ditto.

Mr. *Wilson* and Dr. *Young*, Ditto.

L o r d L O U D O N ' s .

Captains. *Stuart* and *Howel*, killed.

Captains *Mackay* and *Monro*, Prisoners.

Lieutenants. *Macnab* and *Reid*, Ditto.

Ensigns. *Grant*, *Ross*, and *Maclaggan*, Ditto.

Colonel *Whiteford*, Volunteer, Prisoner.

Major *Griffith*, Master-Gunner of *Edinburgh* Castle, Ditto.

The *Pretender* lay at *Pinkey-House* the Night after the Battle, and the next Day returned to *Holy-rood-House*. That Day they carried their mock Prince from the Palace of *Holyrood-House* to the high Cross, where they proclaimed his Father a second Time *King*, and him *Regent*, with great Formality; although few or none of the Inhabitants of any Credit attended the Ceremony.

The King's Heralds being compelled to it, perform'd this Office, after

which they were obliged to read a Manifesto, which promised much more than the *Scots* believed would be made good. The same Day was issued a Proclamation, commanding all within the City and twelve Miles round who had any Arms, to bring them in, and deliver them at *Holyrood-House*; and all who had any Horses of his Majesty's Dragoons to lend them to the Camp at *Didistone*, under Pain of military Execution. The next Day another Proclamation was read at the publick Cross, by which all who had taken Arms, Clergy or others, were declared Rebels, if in so many Days they did not make their Submission; which occasioned all the Clergy to desert the City, and was the true Reason of divine Service being suspended, during the time it was possessed by the Rebels; notwithstanding Mr *Neal M'Vicar* continued to perform divine Service as usual: On which the *Pretender* sent to him, requiring that he should pray for him, and forbid him to mention King *George* in his Prayers; yet Mr *M'Vicar* prayed for the Royal Family as usual, but in mentioning his Majesty, he said, *Bless the King, thou knows what King I mean; may the Crown fit long easy on his Head, &c. And for this Man that is come amongst us to seek an earthly Crown: We beseech thee in Mercy to take him to thyself and give him a Crown of Glory.* At this Time the Rebels had taken Possession of the Custom House of *Leith*, in which were Scissars to a great Value, which they sold to the Smuglers, from whom they had been taken, and to none else, for one third Part of the known Value.

The *Pretender* demanded of the City of *Edinburgh* 6000 Pair of Shoes, 2000 Targets, and 1000 Tents to be made with all Expedition, to be paid when the Troubles were over.

He then published several Declarations to recal all Gentlemen and Tradesmen who had left the Town, to their 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 Equipage, &c.

The next Act of his mock Government was, to order all the Receivers of publick Offices, Stewards of Counties, Burroughs, &c. to make up their Accounts immediately, and to pay him the Ballance that remained in their Hands.

He levied a Contribution of 2000l. on the Earl of *Hopton* besides his usual Land-Tax; seiz'd on the *York Buildings* Estate, formerly the Earl of *Wintoun's*, and made the Tenants pay half a Crown in the Pound of their Rent.

A Proclamation was issued for the Citizens to withdraw the Cash, or Money Banks from the Castle, and carry on their Business as usual; but they being disregarded, another immediately followed; forbidding the furnishing

the Castle with Provision on pain of Death: In answer to which, General *Guest* gave the Citizens to understand that he would lay the Town in Ashes, to clear a Passage for the receiving Supplies, and advised them to provide for their personal Safety by the next Morning.

The Rebels having placed Guards at all the Avenues leading to the Castle, began to fire upon it, but were soon silenc'd by the Garrison. General *Guest's* Threats occasioned the Chief of the City to apply to the *Pretender*, to take a proper Method to prevent the threatened Ruin, he wrote to the Governor of the Castle, and a Truce was concluded for six Days. During which time the Castle was suffered to receive Provisions from the City and Country; which Space being elapsed, the Fire begun on both Sides with greater Fury: During this Interval, the Rebels not liking to lie idle, divided themselves into small Parties, and went several Ways into the Country, pilfering and stealing all they could lay Hands on. A large Party of them got to Lord *Somerville's* House, and had began to plunder it, but the Alarm Bell being rung, a great Number of Colliers came out of the Coal Pits, attacked the Rebels, killed some of them, and took others Prisoners, whom they carried with them into the Pits: Another Party went to the Earl of *Stair's*, where they pillaged the House and carred off all the Cattle. Six of them one Night broke into a House (the Gentleman's Name I forgot) near *Kerntouloch*, six Miles from *Edinburgh*, a very mortified Gentleman, remarkable for his great Charity, Piety and Abstemious Life, who lay every Night in his Coffin and Winding Sheet: The *Highlanders* having secured what Arms was in the House, set a Guard on the Servants, and picked up all the Plate and Linnen they thought they could carry off. The chamber where Mr ---- lay, was without Furniture, and the last they visited as they were going off, having locked the Servants in a Room, seeing the Coffin, they concluded a Corpse was incloted in it, and that it might have a good Winding Sheet, thought it would be a pitty to leave it behind them; they therefore, with a Design of taking what the dead Man would never miss, removed the Lid of the Coffin; on which Mr ---- raised himself up, they were struck with such a Panic, thinking the Devil had taken Possession of the Corps, and that he would have them next, that they all took to their Heels, and Mr ---- running after them to the Door, at their rushing out, fastened it upon them, tho' the Precaution was needless; for they scaring the Devil would take the hindermost never looked behind them, or slackened their Pace till ought of Sight of the House; their Terror was so great that they left all their Plunder behind, and Mr ---- lost no individual Thing.

The main Body of the Rebels after the Battle stayed about *Diddiston* and *Musselburgh* two Days, and on the 24<sup>th</sup> returned to *Edinburgh*: On the 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup>, they sent the Prisoners to *Pertb, Drummond* Castle, &c.

Sometime after this, 110 *Highlanders* of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, who were made Prisoners at the Battle of *Glaidsmuir*, on their Petition were let at

Liberty by the Rebels, on swearing not to carry Arms against the *Chevalier*. About this Time 200 more of our Soldiers, who had been taken Prisoners at the same Place made their Escape, and joined those under the Command of General *Blakeney*, at *Stirling* Castle.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> they sent out Parties to *Haddington* and *Dumbar*, and began again to take their Measures for cutting off the Communication between the Castle of *Edinburgh* and the City; which considering they had no heavy Artillery was a wild Attempt. On the 1<sup>st</sup> of *October* they opened their Trenches on the Castle Hill, a little below the Reservoir; upon which they began to fire upon them the Castle, kill'd 3 Men and wounded a Commanding Officer, so that by four in the Afternoon they abandoned their Works; on which 200 Men from the Garrison sallied out and took Possession of them, and with their Fire cleared the *High-street*, which is said to contain more People than any Street in *London*, yet there was not a Person at that Time to be seen in it: The Weigh House in which the Rebels kept their Guard was set on Fire by the Artillery from the Castle, so that the Citizens apprehending the entire Demolition of their Metropolis, left the City, and flying for Safety to *Leith*, met in their Way the Inhabitants of that Town flying for Shelter to *Edinburgh*; for the Rebels being in Possession of *Leith*, and prohibiting Provisions being carried to the *Fox* Man of War lying in the Road, she fired furiously upon that Town, so that the distressed Citizens and Townsmen knew not where to find Refuge.

The Rebels having erected a Battery against the North-West Side of the Castle near Mr *M'Vicar's* Church (who made the remarkable Prayer already taken Notice of) and fired from thence, but were soon silenc'd by the Fire from the Castle, which beat down a House, where was Capt *Taylor*, a Shoe-maker, (who had promised to present the *Pretender* with the Keys of the Castle) and several other Rebels; many of whom were killed, and those who escaped, (among whom was the said *Taylor*) were taken by a Party of the Garrison, who slung themselves down with Ropes, and with the same hoisted up their Prisoners: Thus the Captain took Possession of this Fortress, tho' he could not find the Keys to make good his Promise. The Rebels plotted several Ways to surprize the Castle, and had once almost got it by treachery; for one of the Centinels had undertaken to betray it, but was luckily seiz'd with his Ropes, Letter of Instructions, &c. about him; on which he was hang'd over the Wall, and afterwards none but Men of Character were posted within the Draw Bridge.

The City of *Glasgow* was summons'd a second Time, and 15,000l. demanded by Way of Contribution, but were constrain'd to compound for 5000 Guineas, which was directly paid: Hostilities continued betwixt the Garrison of the Castle of *Edinburgh* and the Rebels till the the 5<sup>th</sup> in the Evening, when several Houses being beat down by the Artillery, and the

Rebels having lost 20 Men, in an Attempt to drive Part of the Garrison from the Castle-Hill, the Communication betwixt the Town and the Castle was restored, and Hostilities ceased. On the 7<sup>th</sup> the Rebels demanded Half a Crown in the Pound from the Landlords of Houses in *Edinburgh*, and began to have some Thoughts of quitting the Place, finding the Fortress impregnable, both against their Forces and *French* Bribery, which has been elsewhere so persuasive, that some thought to be the most steady Patriots of their County, have sold their Faith and Honour for Louis d'Ors.

The Rebels one Night broke into the House of Mr *Aske*, an eminent Brewer, that is a Quaker, and one of my Acquaintance, he has since shewed me the Drawers which they broke, and robbed him of all the Money he had then in the House, with some linnen and other Things of Value: Upon which great Injustice, the fair-dealing Quaker makes his Application to their Prince, assuring him. *That Method he pursued would never Prosper, to answer his Expectation; for, faith he, our George takes only a part of our Money, but thou, even wickedly takes all, and thou may'st as well take my Life, as take away the Prop that supports it.* Upon which Complaint the Highland Prince, answered, *That he (Mr Aske) was many Years in Debt to the Revenue of his Father's Excise, and it was but the proper Dues to his Government.*

On the 14<sup>th</sup> the Rebels received considerable Reinforcements, headed by old *Gordon of Glenbucket, Forbes, Lord Pitsligo, Lord Kilmamock*, and others; they likewise received from Abroad, Supplies of Ammunition, Small Arms, Field Pieces, Military Stores, &c. There was one Mr *Boyer* came over at the same Time, whom they were pleased to dignify with the Title of Ambassador: About the 10<sup>th</sup> a great Part of their Army marched to *Dalkeith*, to which Places they removed their Field Pieces and Ammunition, and having erected a Battery at *Alloway*, to secure the Passage of the *Firth*, they transported from *Montross, Stonehive*, and other Places the Supplies they had received from Abroad.

About the latter End of *October*, the mock Prince came to the Camp at *Dalkeith*, where he had caused the Palace belonging to the Duke of *Buccleugh*, said to be one of the most magnificent Seats in *Scotland*, to be fitted up for his Reception, where he fixed his Head Quarters, which lay convenient for sending Spies to see what was doing in the North of *England*, where he had but cool Encouragement, some refusing to read his Letters, and several of his Emissaries were seiz'd at *Newcastle, Berwick, &c*, But notwithstanding this, Measures were taken for marching Southwards, and happy was it for us, that they stayed so long with their Friends at *Edinburgh*; for had the Rebels, flush'd with Victory, follow'd their Blow, whilst the Hearts of his Majesty's Subjects were dismay'd by General *Cope's* Defeat, and very few disciplin'd Troops in *England*, it is hard to say what would have been the Consequence, by which it appears, that an overruling

Providence retarded them.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of *October* one *Hixton*, who kept an Inn at *Perth*, was taken up at *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, as a Spy, and thereupon cut his own Throat, tho' not mortally. On searching him, a Letter, or rather Paper of Instructions was found in the Top of one of his Gloves, of which the following is a Copy, viz.

**Y**OU are hereby authorized and directed to repair forthwith to England, and there to certify to my friends, and particularly those in the North-West, the wonderful Success, with which it hath pleased God to favour my endeavours for their Deliverance: You are hereby to let them know, that 'tis my full Intention in a few Days to move forwards to them, and they will be inexcusable before God and Man, if they do not do all in their Power to assist and support me in such an Undertaking. What I depend upon and expect is, that as many of them as can, should take Care to provide Provisions and Money, that the Country may suffer as little as possible by the March of my Troops, let them know there is no more Time for Deliberation; now or never is the Word. I am resolved to conquer or perish in the Attempt: If the last should happen, let them consider what they and their Posterity have to expect

Charles. P. R.

About this Time, his Majesty had been pleased to appoint Field Marshal *Wade*, to be Commander in Chief of the Army which was intended for the North, and our Forces began to move that Way; the *Dutch* were landed at *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, as also Part of our *British* Forces from *Flanders*, under the Command of the Earl of *Albemarle*: At that Time the *Trial* Sloop brought into *Bristol* a *French* Ship, on board of which were 5000 Fusils with Bayonets, and 100 Barrels of Gunpowder, seven Chests of Money, &c. design'd for the Use of the Rebels.

At *Bristol* on the 11<sup>th</sup> of *October*, the Mayor, Recorder, &c. assembled at the *Guildhall*, when the Duke of *Newcastle's* Letter was publickly read, authorizing the Magistrates, from his Majesty, to call the City to Arms, and Officer them at Discretion; intimating that his Majesty was highly pleased with the Zeal and Unanimity of so considerable a Body of his Subjects: After this was read, an Association was enter'd into, when the Mayor subscribed 10,000l. in the Name of the Chamber; and the Master of the Society and Company of Merchants 5000l. in the whole Society; which was follow'd by a Subscription of the whole Bench of Magistrates, some of whom subscribed 500, others 300, 200, and 100l.

His Grace the Duke of *Devonshire* was one of the first that raised Men for his Majesty, arm'd and kept them at his Seat at *Chatsworth*, at his own Expence, and when the Rebels came forward, joined the County Regiment; he sent from *Derby*, and raised the *Peak* Miners, who destroyed the Turnpike

from *Whaley* to *Buxton*, which prevented the Rebels from marching that Way: The *Derbyshire* Regiment was of great Service in keeping the Country quiet.

By this Time the Militia in the Northern Counties were raised; Associations and Voluntary Contributions were set on Foot in most Parts of the Kingdom; in the County of *York* particularly, thro' the timely Vigilance and Zeal of the Archbishop, assisted by the Nobility and Gentry, four new Regiments were raised, cloathed and disciplined at the Expence of the County; *William Thornton*, Esq; raised and maintained at his own Expence a Company, and marched them into *Scotland*; there was likewise a Body of Gentlemen Volunteers well mounted, who serv'd at their own Expence, under the Command of Major-General *Oglethorpe*, stiled the *Royal Hunters*; so that there was an Army formed in the North of *England*; of 14,000 Men, and at the same Time, a considerable Body. was formed in the North Highlands of *Scotland*, by the Care and Vigilance of the Lord *Ray*, Lord *Sutherland*, and *Duncan Forbes*, Esq; Lord President of the Court of Sessions, who distinguished himself by his Zeal and Loyalty, in granting Commissions for raising Independent Companies, who were put under the Command of Lord *Loudon*, for the Security of *Inverness*, *Fort-William* and other Garrisons there, which much retarded the Rise of the Rebels; these Military Preparations, join'd to a Spirit of Loyalty which diffused itself through the Nation, no Doubt was a great Disappointment to the Disaffected, and drew off many that went to *Edinburgh* to join the *Chevalier*; there is no Cause to value the Expence of raising those Troops, tho' they did not enter into immediate Service, yet they shew'd the Spirit of the Nation, protected the King's well-meaning Subjects, and kept the Rebels under a Restraint for some Time.

*November 1.* The *Pretender* sent off his Baggage and Ammunition on about 150 Carts. and about the same Number of Sumpture Horses, escorted by two Detachments, the one by *Pennycock*, and the other by *Lone-Head*, both in the Way to *Peebles* and *Carlisle*, and were followed by the whole Army in three Columns: At this Time he who stil'd himself the Duke of *Perth*, had the Title of General; Lord *George Murray*, Lieutenant General; Lord *Elcho*, who is eldest Son of the Earl of *Weems*, commanded the *Pretender's* Life Guards; the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, acted as Colonel of the Hussars; and Lord *Pitsligo*, had the Command of the *Angus* Horse: But tho' in regard of their Interest, these; People were honoured with such high Commands, yet it was known that the *Pretender* confided most in a few that came over with him. At the Head of his Council was Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, an *Irish* Gentleman, of a middle Age, and reputed a Man of Capacity, who has been long about him; Col. *Sullivan*, who acted as Engineer; General *Macdonald*, an *Irish* Officer, who was his Aid de Camp; Mr *Kelly*, that was

so long in the Tower, on the Affair of the Lord Bishop of *Rochester*; and Mr *Murray*, who acted as Secretary.

As Mr *Sullivan*, was a Person the most concerned of any in the Rebellion, and whole Councils the *Pretender* chiefly relied on, I thought the following Character, remitted to me by a Friend might not be disagreeable. 'He is by Birth an *Irishman*, and was educated in a *Romish* College abroad, where he enter'd into Priest's Orders: He had afterwards the good Fortune to be recommended to Marshall *Maillebois*, of whom he was retained as a Domestick Tutor to his Son. The Marshal perceiving in him some Symptoms of a Genius better adapted to the Sword than the Gown, encouraged him rather to apply himself, to the former than the latter Profession, which he did with such Success, that having attended his Master to *Corsica*, when the *French* designed to deprive those poor People of their Liberties, he acted as his Secretary. The Marshall who was a *Bon-Vivant*, and used to get drunk every Day after Dinner, it made him for the greatest part of the Day incapable of Business; during which Time, the whole Power devolved on *Sullivan* who executed it in such a Manner, as to do great Honour both to himself and Master; having here gained a very high Military Reputation as well as much Knowledge in what is the Art of making irregular War: He afterwards served two Campaigns, one in *Italy*, and the other on the *Rhine*; in which latter Campaign, a *French* General giving a Character of him, said that he understood the Irregular Art of War better than any Man in *Europe*; nor was his Knowledge in the Regular much inferior, to that of the best General. To the Abilities of this Man, we may justly attribute the Success, with which a Handful of *Banditti* have so long been able, to over-run and plunder a large Parts of this large and populous Nation.' On the 6<sup>th</sup> their advanced Guard enter'd *England*.

It may perhaps be expected, that I should give some Account of the young *Pretenaer* himself, and his Behaviour among his People. What I have been able to collect on this Head, take as follows. 'His Dress is a Highland Garb of fine Silk Tartan, red Velvet Breeches, and a blue Velvet Bonnet, with a Gold Lace round it, on his Breast a large Jewel and St. *Andrew* appended; he wears also a green Ribbon, is about six Foot, walks well and streight, and speaks the *English* and broad *Scotch* very well. For a while he affected to imitate the Example of *Charles* the XII of *Sweden*, marching all the Day on Foot, and every River they were to cross, he was the first Man that leap'd into it: he dined with his Soldiers in the open Field, and slept on the Ground wrapp'd in his Plaid (at this Time the Weather was warm) This Course of Life he followed for some Time after he had been among his Friends the *Highlanders*; but his *Italian* Constitution not being enur'd to such Kind of Hardships, after his Arrival at *Edinburgh*, he indulg'd himself in all the Conveniencies. he could procure for his Ease and Pleasure.'

Thus I have given you a particular and succinct Narrative of all the material Transactions, that happened during the Progress of the Rebellion in *Scotland*; and have now brought the Rebels to the Borders of *England*, where for a while I shall leave them, until I present to your View in this critical Juncture, what was doing in *Ireland*, where it is well known, that a. great Number of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom are profess'd *Papists*; however, by the Care of the Government in erecting Protestant Schools, many of them have got their Eyes open, and are come to the Knowledge of Truth, notwithstanding the endeavours of their Teachers to keep them in Ignorance: Add to this, the Unanimity which at all Times, but more especially then appear'd among the Protestants, who in general, express'd the most unshaken Zeal and Affection to his Majesty's Person and Government, and the utmost Abhorance and Detestation of the unnatural Rebellion, which was broke out in *Scotland*: The News of which was no sooner confirm'd, but an Association was immediately formed and recommended to be sign'd, by all his Majesty's faithful Subjects of every County in *Ireland*; a Copy of which is as follows:

**W**HEREAS a .Rebellion; is rais'd in North-Britain by the eldest Son of the *Pretender* against our rightful Sovereign King GEORGE II, to subvert our Religion and Liberties, and to entail Popery and Slavery upon us, and our Posterity: We his Majesty's true Prostant Subjects in the County of —— having the utmost Detestation of so horrid an Attempt, do hereby in the most solernn Manner Vow to Almighty God, and do pledge our Faith and Honour to one another, that we will, every one of us, to the utmost of our Power and at the Hazard of our Lives and Fortunes, oppose all Attempts against his Majesty's Person and Government; and particularly that abominable and unnatural Rebellion now carried on in Favour of a *Popish Pretender*: And we do hereby promise and engage from Time to Time, whenever it may be necessary, to concert and execute Measures, for effecting the Purpose of this our Association, the Defence of ourselves, our Religion and Liberties against Popery, France, and Arbitrary Power.'

*Sept.* 17, a Proclamation was issued by the Lord Mayor of *Dublin*, offering a Reward of 50,000l. for apprehending the *Pretender* and his eldest Son, or either of them, that shall attempt to land in *Ireland* Measures were concerted for raising several Independent Regiments of Horse and Foot, to be as well train'd and disciplin'd as the regular Forces; so that there was quickly rais'd an Army of 65,000 Men, who were well cloth'd, arm'd, and disciplin'd, and many of them march'd to such Places as it was judged they might be of the most Service in. There were sent to them from *England* several thousand Muskets, for the Use of such of the Militia as had not any of their own. Those Military Preparations, join'd with the Admonitions of well affected Persons, had so good a Tendency, that not the least Signs of Disaffection appear'd

amongst them: What contributed not a little to the quiet Behaviour of the Papists in *Ireland*, at this Time, was the following Letter of the true Patriot and Friend to his Country, Dr. *Swift* Dean of St. *Patrick's*, wrote in a plain and easy Stile; yet so full of Conviction, that whoever reads it, tho' a Papist, ever so much biggotted to his own Principles, must see Truth and Reason run through every Line and Sentence of it.

*The DRAPER'S LETTER to the good People of Ireland; particulary to the poor Papists.*

*My dear Count rymen,*

**I**T is now some 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 offered of addressing you again: But my Affection for you, which does not decay, though 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 raised 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 my 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 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 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 promised 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 allow'd? Will the Artificer be more employ'd, or better paid? Will the Tradesman get more Customers, or have fewer Scores in his book? I have been bred in a careful Way of Life, and never ventur'd upon any Project, without consulting my Pillow first, how much I should be a Gainer by 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 befofe, 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 let 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 be only where they were. If a Farmer must pay his Rent, I see no Reason that he should be much concern'd, whether he pays it to one Man or to another. His Papist Landlord will, I suppose, demand it as soon and as strictly as a Protestant; and if he docs not pay it, seize his Cattle, or distrain his Goods, as readily at least, as a Protestant. I have not observ'd, that Tenants of Popish Landlords wear tighter Cloths, ride better Cattle, or spend more Money at Markets and Fairs than Tenants on Protestant Estates; therefore I cannot believe that they are any better used; no the contrary; I know, from long Experience, that there is more Money taken in my Shop from Protestant Tenants than from Popish; and therefore, I suppose, that generally speaking, they are in better Circumstances I wish that all of them had better Bargains; but since they will not be mended by the best Success that their own Hearts could wish to the *Pretender*, they may as well be quiet, and make the best of such as they have already.

There is not a more foolish Trade than fighting for nothing; and I hope my good Countrymen will be too wise to be persuaded into it. Fine Speeches, and fair Promises will not be wanting to delude them, but let them remember the Warning I now give them, that when all is over, the very best that can befall them, is to have their Labour for their Pains.

I doubt not but you are told that you will be made; and I do not expect that you will take my Word to the contrary I desire, only, that you will trust the Understanding that God has given you and not to be fool'd out of your Senses. Will the Manufacturer be made by an entire Stop to Business; or the Tradesman, by being obliged 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 no body can tell to whose Share they will fall at last. And if there be no Buyers, you can have no Employ. Merchants will not Stock themselves with Goods, when there is no Demand for them; to have their Shops rifled, and their Storehouses broken open, and plundered by one Side or the other. Indeed, my good Friends and Countrymen, let designing People lay what they please, if you enter into their Schemes, you will be ruined in the Struggle, let it end which Way it will; and it well deserves your Thoughts, whether it is worth your while to beggar yourselves and Families, that the Man's Name upon the Throne be *James* instead of *George*; you will probably see neither of them while you live, nor be one Penny the richer for 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'll live yourselves, after you are beggar'd in his Cause. Will he make good your Losses? Pay one Man for the plundering of his Warehouse, 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 burn'd or Destroy'd? If you fancy so, you are strangely imposed 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 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 your 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 will be pleased to restore you to the right Use of your Understandings.

*I am*

*Your old faithful Friend*

The D R A P E R .

By this Time Field Marshal *Wade*, with the King's Troops under his Command, were encamped at *Newcastle*, upon *Tyne*; by which Means, with the Care and Vigilance of some of the neighbouring Gentlemen, and of the Magistrates and Inhabitants of *Newcastle*, the Town and adjacent Country were preserved from falling a Prey to the Rebels, and obliged them to throw

themselves into the Western Road, to which their Chiefs at first seemed least inclined: The Rigour of the Season, the forced Marches, &c. occasioned a Flux amongst the Soldiers, which retarded the Operations of the King's Troops for some time; but good Quarters, proper Refreshments, and an extraordinary Care of the Officers soon overcame those Difficulties.

November the 9<sup>th</sup>, the *Rebel Army* appear'd on a Moor two Miles distant from *Carlisle*, on whom the Garrison began to Fire and continued it briskly for some Time - the *Pretender* took up his Quarters at Mr *Lowrey's* of *Blakewell*, from which on the 10<sup>th</sup>, he dispatched a Messenger, to whom he gave two Guineas, with a Letter to the Garrison, which was received in at the *Sally Port*; the Summons was as follows:

**C**HARLES, *Prince of Wales, Regent of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging:*

*Being 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 fulfill the King our Father's Declarations and our own. But, if you shall refuse us Entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such Means as Providence has put into our Hands, and then it will not perhaps be in our Power to prevent the dreadful Consequences which usually attend a Town's being taken by Assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your Answer within the Space of two Hours; for we shall take any further Delay as a peremptory Refusal, and take our Measures accordingly.*

Charles, P. R.

November 10, 1745;  
Two in the Afternoon.

*For the Garrison of Carlisle.*

On which the Garrison thought proper to confine the Messenger, and returned no other Answer but from the Mouths of their Cannon.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> the *Pretender* drew off his Army, and marched them to *Brampton*. seven Miles distant from *Carlise*.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> *Carlisle*, in the Forest of *Inglewood*, is the Metropolis of the County of *Cumberland*; it has a pleasant Situation, being bounded on the North by the large River *Eden*, over which is a fine Stone Bridge of nine Arches, from which is *Scotch Street*, leading to the *Scotch Gate* of the City On the South by the *Petersil*; the Suburbs on that side are called *Butcherby*, leading to the *English Gate*; and on the West by the River *Caude*, or *Cauda*, which Name the Suburbs bear, leading to the *Irish Gate*; and besides those natural Fences it is fortified with a strong Wall and Castle, said to be first

In Point of Force at the Time of the late Rebellion, there was the whole Militia of the two Counties of *Cumberland* and *Westmorland*, who were about 1600 Men, besides the Inhabitants, and eighty Invalids in the Castle; Colonel *Durand* being at that Time Governor of the Castle, which was well supplied with Ammunition, partly from *Whitehaven*: They might likewise have been well stored with Provisions, as being in a plentiful Country, but the Gates being shut up for three Weeks obstructed their Markets, and the whole Garrison being kept upon Duty five Days and five Nights without any Relief, they were very much fatigued.




---

built by one *Luel* an ancient *British* King, who was Prince of the County before she *Romans* Time, and from him called *Caer Luel*, i.e. *Luel's* Town, to which it retains an Affinity of Sound. It was a flourishing City in the Time of the *Romans* after whose Departure it was ruined by the *Caledonians*, &c. but in 680 *Egfrid* rebuilt it, and wall'd it round and afterwards being almost ruined by the repeated Incursions of the *Danes*, it lay about 200 Years in Ruins, till *William Rufus* rebuilt it, and placed a Colony of Southern *English* in it; to which Colony the first Tillage ever known thereabouts is by all Records ascribed: He is said likewise, by *Cambden*, to have enlarged the Castle, and fortified with a strong Fortress, as it now stands in the North West Corner of the Town. Almost in the middle of the City stands the Cathedral Church, the upper Part of which (being new) is a curious Piece of Workmanship, built by King *Henry VIII* but the lower Part is much more ancient. King *Henry I* erected it into an Episcopal See, Anno 1133, out of the Dioceses of *York* and *Durham*, and bestowed many Privileges on it, which were much augmented by his Successors. In the lower West Part of the Town is the Parochial Church, as old as St. *Cuthbert*, after whom it is called. King *Henry VIII* also fortified this City against the *Scots* and built an additional Castle or Fortress, on the South East Side near the *English Gate*. The City has three Gates which I have already named; and the Walls round it are now so thick that three Men may walk a-breast on them within the Parapet, which is well planted with Cannon. This City has given the Title of Earl to the *Howard's* Family ever since the Restoration of King *Charles II*. It is the Key to *England* on the West Sea, as *Berwick* is on the East Sea; it's a wealthy populous Place, having a good Thorough-Fare and Inland Trade: The Houses are most of them well built-,and the Streets neatly paved; and is a Sea Port, but without Ships or Merchants. It is [situated](#) in Longitude 21 Degrees, 31 Minutes West, and 25 Degrees, 25 Minutes North Latitude. This Town in Times past, has been considered as a Bulwark against the *Scats*.



*The following Speech of the Person who calls himself the Duke of Perth, at a general Council of War, held at Brampton, near Carlisle, in Presence of the Pretender's eldest Son, is inserted as suppos'd to be authentic; if it should not prove so, can only say, that it contains too many Particulars of true History, to be neglected; and therefore wants not its Merits as to Matter of Information. It being communicated to me, I thought it might not be amiss to give it a place.*

May it please your Royal Highness,

I Cannot help expressing the Concern I am in, to see so little Unanimity, and so much Heat and Animosity prevail in this Honourable Assembly; but my Concern wants Words sufficient to express it, when I reflect, that there are so many Reasons to complain of our present Situation; that there are so many Circumstances daily occurring to perplex us in our Projects, to weaken our Strength, and discourage us in our Undertaking.

“Our Disappointments are so many, that we can number them only by the Days that have elapsed since our first Insurrection; and their Greatness to be measured only by the Danger into which we are now plunged.

“Our Hopes before your Highness's Arrival in *Scotland*, were raised to the highest Pitch; and could only be equalled by the Zeal which Subjects of all Ranks in that Kingdom express'd for his Majesty. We flatter'd ourselves, that your Highness would have appear'd back'd by a numerous Army, well supplied with Arms, Money, and Ammunition; their Number, We were made to believe, would not be less than 10,000 Men, and those of the best Troops of *France*. These were solemnly promised by Mr *Kelly*, when with us last Spring; we were told they were ready in the Ports of *France*, with Transports, and a Fleet sufficient to protect their Landing. But when the Time came, how were we disappointed? Your Royal Highness landed in the West, with a Retinue scarce sufficient for a private Gentleman: However, this did not discourage your faithful Clans from joining you; being still flatter'd that the promised Succours were at Hand, and would certainly arrive before there was any Occasion of coming to an Action.

“The Numbers of the faithful Highlanders still increased, till they were strong enough to venture for the East. When I had the Honour of joining your Highness at *Perth*, I was then assured that the French were actually embarked, and waited only a fair Wind; and that a considerable Insurrection would presently appear in the North, and several other Parts of *England*. The Places of the several Risings were particularly mention'd, and we were made acquainted with the Names of many considerable Men in *England*, who had undertaken to appear openly in his Majesty's Interest.

“We were assured, that his Most Christian Majesty would certainly detain the English Forces in Flanders; and would hinder the Dutch from sending any Troops into *Great-Britain*, by openly declaring your Royal Father his Ally. But how have we been disappointed in every Article of these Promises! The long promised Succours are not to this Day embarked; the Brest Squadron, which we were made to believe was to conduct the Transports, has long since sailed; but whither no Man knows; only we are certain, they could not be designed for this Kingdom, for they have had both Time, and frequent fair Winds to have brought them long before now.

“His Most Christian Majesty has been so far from declaring himself openly in Favour of his Majesty, that his Minister at the *Hague*, peremptorily declared to the States, that his Master had no Hand in the *Don Quixote Expedition*, as he was pleased to term your Highness’s Undertaking in *Scotland*. The *Dutch* were allowed without Molestation, to send over 6000 of those Forces which were made Prisoners by the *French King’s* Arms: Troops which could be of no Use to the *Dutch* in their own Country by the Capitulation with *France*; Troops, which his Majesty of *France* could hinder being made Use of against us, by a simple Declaration, that your Royal Father was his Ally; yet this was thought risking too much in Favour of a People who had ventured their All upon the Assurances, Promises, and Faith of the *French King*. And what makes this Disappointment sit the heavier upon us, is, that we are sure, if the *Dutch* had not sent these very indetical Troops, they would have been very much embarassed to have spared others, to perform their Engagements with the Elector of *Hanover*.

“But the Promise of detaining the *English* Forces was as ill performed as the other, tho’ that solely depended upon his Most Christian Majesty’s General. They had it in their Power to have hindred every Man of them from returning to *England*; and either I am very ill informed, or they might have made most of them Prisoners, had the *French* General been as sanguine at the latter End of the Campaign, as at the Beginning of it. But they were allowed to embark at *Williamstadt*, without Interruption; and are now almost all landed in *England*, without the Loss of a Transport; tho’ the Possession of *Ostend* enabled his Most Christian Majesty, had he been so inclined, to have annoyed them much.

“As to our Hopes from *England*, they have been as delusive as *French* Promises. When we arrived at *Edinburgh*, and had the Fortune to defeat Sir *John Cope*, our Assurances of a speedy Insurrection in *England* were renewed, and the Days fixed; but these, and many others, have passed by, and not the least Appearance of any such Design; tho’ on the Faith of them, we continued unactive at *Edinburgh*. We might have proceeded southward while the Pannic of *Cope’s* Defeat was fresh upon People’s Minds, and before the Elector’s Forces could possibly be got together; but the

Opportunity was lost, in hopes, Sir, that your *English* Friends would declare for you, and supersede the Necessity of your loyal Clans going out of their own Country. But instead of any such Numbers declaring for you, we were entertain'd with nothing but Associations in all the Parts of *England*, in Defence of the Elector's Right; and not a Man from that Kingdom either joined us in *Scotland*, or made any Interest to promote an Insurrection in your Favour, in their own Country.

“At last, Sir, the Scene- was shifted, and new Conditions annexed to old Promises. We were now told that the *French* Embarkation was delayed until all the *English* Forces were drawn Northward; and that then an Invasion would be made in some Part of the South, now supposed to be left destitute of Troops to defend them; and that the *English* in the North are now intimidated from Rising, by the Vicinity of the Enemy's Troops; but promise faithfully to join us, so soon as our Army sets Foot on *English* Ground. The general Disposition of the People is represented to us, as strongly in our Interest; and we are assur'd, that the Gates of all Towns will almost open of themselves to receive us; and that the People ardently wish to join us.

“Notwithstanding the numerous Disappointments we met with from the first Beginning of this Affair, yet we were again persuaded to listen to delusive Promises. We march from *Edinburgh*, and enter *England*; but instead of that Disposition to join us, which we were flattered with, we find those who cannot oppose us, fly us; and those who have the least Shelter from our Resentment, despise us, and treat us with the utmost Contempt.

“We were assured by a Gentleman, upon whose Veracity I always thought I might depend, and who now hears me, that the City of *Carlisle* we have just now passed, would open its Gates to us at our first Appearance; nay, that your Highness would have received the Keys of the City some Miles from the Place. But how we were disappointed, you all know, and with how much Contempt your Highness's Summons was treated.

“The Value of the Place I know to be insignificant; nor do I believe the Possession of it would be of any real Service to the main Cause; yet the Repulse we have met with from that poultry Town, has this Influence upon me, to convince me, and I am afraid too late, that we are all made the Tools of *France*; a Nation, whose Faith, like that of *Carthage*, is become a Proverb; and there is as little Dependence en the Promise of *English* Malecontents, whose Zeal sir your Royal House these 50 Years past, has manifested itself in nothing else but womanish railing, vain boasting, and noisy Gasconades: their Affection for you is most elevated when in their Cups; and their Sense of Loyalty only conspicuous in the Absence of their Reason: Warm'd with Wine and a Tavern Fire, they are Champions in your Cause; but when cool, their Courage and Zeal, Sir, for you and yours, evaporate with the Fumes of the Wine.

“Thus, Sir, I conclude that we have no Dependence on *English* Assistance; to what Purpose proceed we any further then? The Elector’s Forces are by far superior to ours in Number, daily supplied with Money, Arms, Carriages and Ammunition; while we are destitute of all these. Your loyal Highlanders will fight for you with as much Zeal and Courage as Men can boast of; but shall we lead these brave Men to certain Destruction? Were the Enemy’s Number but equal to us, or but exceeded us in a small Proportion, I doubt not but from the Justness of our Cause, and the Courage of our Men, we might hope for Success, but when they are Three to One, and that we must expect: to diminish rather than increase, I would think myself guilty of the grossest Barbarity, should I give my Voice to proceed any farther into *England*, until such of this Nation as have promised to declare for the Cause, actually join us.

“I entered, Sir, into this Affair, with as much cheerfulness as any Man here; I have contributed as much to support it as any; and I think, I may say without Offence, that I have as much to lose by the Event as most Men, and as little to hope. I shall venture my Life with Pleasure to promote his Majesty’s Interest yet, I think I owe something to the Safety of these People, who have followed my Fortune: I think I am bound in Duty to prevent their Ruin, as much as in my Power, which I think inevitable if they proceed any farther; therefore I propose that we return to *Carlisle*, and attempt to possess that City; for 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 then make the best Retreat back to the Highlands while we can, there disperse our unhappy Followers, and shift for ourselves in some foreign Country, where there is more Faith than in either *France* or *England*.”

The Rebels having slept quietly at *Brampton* for two Nights with full Bellies, lying idle from all Action, except Feats of Rapine and Plunder, for they spent those Days in hunting and destroying the Sheep of Lord *Carlisle*’s Tennants, and bearing off the Country People’s Geese and other Poultry. They also seized upon all the Horses they could lay hold on, without any Question relating either to Value or Property; notwithstanding they declared their Design was to redress Grievances, and correct Abuses.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> the Rebels began to move back towards *Carlisle*, (by what Invitation I don’t pretend to say) That Evening a Non-commissioned Officer went round the Walls, giving Orders that none should presume to fire except he saw something approach him, but nothing appearing the Night was spent in Silence. In the Morning it was perceivable, that the Rebels had thrown, up a considerable Entrenchment under, the Covert of a Thorn Hedge, about two hundred Yards distant from the Wall on the South-East Side, on which the Fire from the Garrison was renewed, but the Rebels made no Return, only with their Bonnets, holding them up on the End of their Spades, except one

Musquet that was fired from behind a Hay Stack. By this, and some other Threats, the Town was so intimidated, that in a Consultation, it was resolved to capitulate, which they did on the 14<sup>th</sup>; a Deputation was sent to the *Pretender* at *Brampton* and the Town and Castle was delivered up on the 15<sup>th</sup>, I cannot positively say what the Articles of Capitulation consisted of, but it appears, that the Garrison were not to march out with the Honours of War, nor to carry any Pieces of Cannon with them.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> I was on the March with a Party from *Whitehaven*, intending to have thrown them into the Town; but it, having capitulated before I reach'd it, prevented me sharing the Fate with them, in taking the Oath not to serve against the House of *Stuart* for a Year and a Day which, if imposed, I should have been unwilling to keep. We likewise had sent off several Cart Loads of Powder and Shot for the Use of the Garrison, which was saved from falling into the Hands of the Rebels; but they got all the Arms of the Invalids, and the Light-Horse of the two Counties.

At this Time *Whitehaven* had raised ten Companies of 50 Men each, for the Defence of the Place, and raised Breast-Works before the Avenues leading to the Town, on which they planted Cannon; but on hearing that *Carlisle*, altho' a strong Garrison, had surrendered, *Whitehaven* being an open Town, it was thought adviseable to dismount the Guns, and put them on board the Ships, that they might not fall into the Enemy's Hands; and many of the Houses and Shops were disrobed, so that all the Horses and Carts with many People, were employed for a Day and a Night, in carrying Goods to be put on Board the Ships, to be sent to *Dublin*, the *Isle of Man*, &c. So low was the Rebels Credit in *Whitehaven*, that I saw an old Woman carrying away a large Basket full of Bottles, rather than trust them to their *Highland* Civility.

*Lochiel* as I mentioned before, having had large Dealings with some of our Merchants for Timber, and there being a Dispute to the amount of twelve or fourteen hundred Pounds betwixt them, it was imagined he would come and take by Force, what the Law would not give him a just Title to, which was the chief Reason why so many Effects were removed.

The 16<sup>th</sup> in the Morning, the *Pretender* was proclaimed at *Carlisle*, and after the Proclamation was over, the Corporation walk'd in their Formalities to meet the *Mock Prince*, and conduct him into the City. Thus have I given you an Account, of the Siege of *Carlisle*, and, for your further Information shall refer you to the following Letter.

A Letter from a Gentleman in *Kendal*, dated *Nov. 18*.

*Most of our Militia are got Home from Carlisle, who generally complained of very ill Usage in that Place, and though perhaps some of them may exaggerate Matters through Resentment, yet by all Accounts, the Conduct of that City fell much short of what was expected from a Place of so*

*much Strength and reputed Loyalty. An Officer in the said Militia, who is a Man of Fortune and good Credit, declares, that Carlisle, merits no greater Honour by its Surrender to the Rebels than Edinburgh did. The Garrison wholly consisted of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Militia, together with a few Volunteers, and two imperfect Companies of Invalids. There were besides some Independent Companies of the Town, who would not assist the said Garrison, with more than two or three Men out of a Company; so that last Week they were obliged to be continually upon Duty, and the Week before one half relieved the other alternately. The Militia were also put to other great Hardships; many of the Inhabitants making them pay an exorbitant Price for Provisions; and they could not for any Money, procure a sufficient Quantity of Straw to lie upon on the Walls. Capt. Wilson, Son of David Wilson, Esq. Member of Parliament for Westmoreland, paid one Pound ten Shillings, for the Use of a Cobler's Stall under the Walls. Upon the first Approach of the Rebels, the Garrison gave out that they were 3000 strong, upon which the Rebels durst not attempt the City immediately, but went forward towards Brampton; from whence they returned on the 13<sup>th</sup>. The Garrison kept continually firing until that Evening, when they were ordered to desist, and they continued so all Night, when on the 14<sup>th</sup> in the Morning it was observ'd; that the Rebels had entrenched themselves before the Town, of which the Garrison renewed their Fire, until they were ordered by the Managers of the Town to desist, and come off the Walls; by which it may be supposed, the Terms of Capitulation were agreed on. The Duke of Perth, with his Division, were the first of the Rebels that entered Carlisle, which they did on the 15<sup>th</sup>, the Pretender being then seven Miles from the City. They made the Garrison to swear never to appear in Arms any more against them, and Perth shaking the Men by the Hands, told them they were brave Fellows, and offered thru Money to enlist with him. The Rebels have taken above two hundred good horses, and all the Arms from the Militia, besides 1000 Stand lodged in the Castle. They also found a rich Booty in the Castle, the People of the Country round about, having brought thither for Safety, the most valuable of their Effects. One of their Chiefs was killed by the Fire from the Walls on the 10<sup>th</sup>. The Town capitulated on the 14<sup>th</sup>, and on the 15<sup>th</sup> about ten o'Clock in the Morning it was given up, and the Rebels entered the City. Several of the Militia endeavoured to escape, without being obliged to take the Oath, as also did some of Cope's Men, who had deserted from the Rebels, one of which they threatened should be shot as an Example to deter others.*

As soon as Marshal Wade had Intelligence at Newcastle, of the Rout which the Rebels had taken, he resolved, notwithstanding the Severity of the Season, to march from thence to the Relief of *Carlisle*; and accordingly on the 16<sup>th</sup>, the Army began to move for that Purpose. His Excellency, intended to have begun his March as soon as it was light but moving from the Left, the Swiss Troops had the Van, which delayed their Motions for several Hours, to

the great Prejudice of the Expedition; for the Weather being extremely cold attended with a deep Snow and a hard Frost, the Troops suffered much. The Major Generals *Howard* and *Oglethorp*, and the Brigadiers *Cholmondeley* and *Mordaunt*, marched on Foot at the Head of the Infantry, to encourage the Soldiers. It was eight at Night and very dark, before the front Line got into the Camp at *Ovington*; and tho' the Soldiers marched with great Cheerfulness yet the Roads being much broke and full of Ice, it was foreseen, that many of the last Column might drop through excessive Fatigue, and therefore the Major Generals *Husk* and *Oglethorp* sent out Countrymen with Lights and Carts to assist the Rear-guard, and bring up the tired Men, in which Service they were employed until Morning: On the 17<sup>th</sup> Marshal *Wade* continued his March to *Hexham*, where he arrived with his first Line about four in the Afternoon, but the Rear did not come up until Midnight. His Excellency having Intelligence that *Carlisle* had surrendered, resolved to march back to *Newcastle*, which he accordingly did; but the Weather continuing bad, and the Roads being almost unpassable, he did not arrive, there with his Army till the 22<sup>nd</sup>, and even then the Forces under his Command were so excessively fatigued, that if it had not been for the great Care taken of them by the People of *Newcastle*, who shewed the utmost Zeal and Affection in providing them Quarters, they must have been in a great Measure ruined by this fatiguing March.

This Invasion of the Rebels, having thrown all the Northern and Western Parts of the Kingdom into Confusion, Directions were given for forming another Army in *Lancashire*, under the Command of Sir *John Ligonier*, Knight of the Bath, a Man of Experience, Courage and Conduct. The following new rais'd Troops, viz the Duke of *Montague's* and the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse the Duke of *Ancafter's* Earl of *Cholmondeley's*, Earl of *Barckley's*, Earl of *Halifax's*, Lord *Gowcr's* and Lord *Herbert's*, Regiments of Foot, together with eight old Regiments were assigned for this Service, and ordered to march for *Staffordshire*. The City of *Chester* was also put in a Posture of Defence, in a surprizing short Time, by the Care and Vigilance of the Earl of *Cholmondeley*. At *Liverpool* likewise, all necessary Precautions were taken, and the Inhabitants of the Town shewed all the Spirit and Resolution that could be desired.

*Their Behaviour was as follws.*

During this Time of publick Confusion the Town of *Liverpool*, a Town remarkable for its Loyalty to the present August Family on the Throne, and for having steadily adher'd to the true Revolution --- Principles, was not unactive, and therefore deserves a more particular Mention in this Place. Sensible of what Dangers their Zeal in the Cause of Liberty might expose them to, they were justly alarmed at the rapid Progress of the Rebels; and accordingly the Magistracy, with the principal Merchants and Inhabitants

consulted, how best to provide for their own, and the general Safety. The result of their Deliberation, was, to petition his Majesty, to raise a Regiment of Foot, which they readily obtained, and as soon as obtained, failed not to make Use of. This Body consisted of near 700 Men, whom at their own Expence they cloathed and paid whilst in the Service. The Field-Officers were appointed by the King, and the Command was given to the Honourable Colonel *Graham*, an able and experienced Officer. To this Service, the Corporation (besides the worthy Example they set their Fellow-Townsmen, by their own private, generous Subscriptions) voted at two different Times, two thousand Pounds out of the publick Stock, which by the Merchants and others was made up to six thousand Pounds. Here I cannot forbear observing, the Chearfulness and Alacrity with which every one contributed to the forwarding this noble Design; since even the poorer Sort did not refuse to cast in their Mite, and the rich were not slack in giving according to their Abilities. When the Regiment was rais'd and compleated, the next Point to be considered, was, how to dispose of it; and here there was a difference of Opinion: Many were for fortifying the Town, and employing these Men as a Garrison; others argued from the Situation of the Place, that this was scarce practicable. However, on mature Deliberation, when they reflected, that to provide for their own private Security, when that of the PubJick was at Stake, was mean and ungenerous, they unanimously agreed to send them to reinforce the Royal Army. Accordingly, after having broke down several Bridges, and thereby embarrassed and greatly retarded the Rebels, they joined the King's Forces under the Command of the Duke, and were present at the Siege of *Carlisle*, in which they had the Honour of a Share. His Royal Highness was surprized to find them so well disciplin'd, considering they had not been long raised, and paid them some handsome Compliments on that Account.

In the men while, the Corporation knowing that the Northern Counties had been severely plundered by the Rebels, and fearing least the Royal Army should be greatly distress'd for Provisions, resolved to supply them; and having considered what Quantity they could raise, sent two Gentlemen of their own Body as Commissioners, to wait upon his Royal Highness the Duke, till the Surrender of *Carlisle*, with the Offers of Bread and other Necessaries during that Time, the former of which he was graciously pleased to accept. After the Reduction of *Carlisle*, his Royal Highness having no further Occasion for their Service, dismissed the *Liverpool Blues* (for so they were called) with Honour; and in two Letters wrote by *Sir Everard Faulkner*, at his Command, was pleas'd to thank the Magistracy and Gentlemen of the Town, for that Zeal and Affection for the present Government, which they had so signally demonstrated.

While they were thus taking Care for the publick Good, they were not entirely unsolicitous about their own peculiar Security. They considered that many Papists and ill-affected Persons liv'd among them, and to prevent any

Disturbances these People might possibly have occasioned, they raised six Companies of 70 Men each for their Defence. These they arm'd and disciplined, and made Use of them in the Night as a Guard. They were officer'd by the principal Gentlemen of the Town, and shew'd a great Courage and Firmness of Mind, of which I will, to conclude the Account of this Place, give a remarkable Instance. While the *Pretender's* Army were at *Wigan*, it was expected they would pay a Visit to *Liverpool*; and one Day there was an Account brought that they actually were marching that Way. Hereupon the Gentlemen assembled together, and armed as many Men as they could, besides the six Companies, with a View to defend the Town. Towards Evening they sent out a Party on Horseback to reconnoitre the Enemy, who on their Return found the Avenues of the Town guarded, and the lower Stories of the Houses illuminated, with Men planted in the upper ones in readiness to fire, if a Body of the Rebels should enter the Town: However, on their assuring them, that there was no Appearance of any Danger, and that the Rebels had not mov'd from *Wigan*, the Apprehensions of the People were dissipated, and every Thing perfectly quieted. Though this was only a meer Preparation, and the Valour of the Men was not put to the Tryal; yet the Ardour they expressed, and the Readiness they were in, if there was occasion to engage the Enemy, and not to suffer their Town to be plundered without Resistance, sufficiently evidence their Strength of Resolution, and undaunted Fortitude of Mind. I will conclude with this general Remark, that there was no Regiment in the Campaign, that made a better Appearance than the *Liverpool Blues*. Their Officers were a Set of Soldier-like Gentlemen, tho' they had not been bred in the military Way, being mostly Gentlemen, Tradesmen, &c. yet had acquired a very good Discipline, having thrown up their Trade and Merchandize for a Time, and ventured their Lives, their Fortunes, and every Thing that was dear to them, in Defence of their King and Country; such Men ought to be had in the greatest Esteem, by all true Lovers of our happy Establishment.

At this Time the Magistrates of *Liverpool*, removed all the Powder out of their Magazine on board some Ships in the Harbour, as did many of the Merchants and Traders their best Effects, to prevent their falling into the Hands of the Rebels; they likewise removed all the Boats and small Craft from the Shore, and put them under the Care of the Ships of War lying in the Road, at which Time his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, was pleas'd to send them the following Letter.

---

Litchfield, Nov. 29

Gentlemen of the Magistracy of Liverpool,

*THE Proofs of Fidelity and Zeal which you have given upon this important Occasion, and of which Col. Graham has made a very exact Report, are as they ought to be, very 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 Intreaties 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 this severe Trial, and that you are exposed to so great Inconvenience; 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 Villanies. 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 pleased with the Account which Col. Graham gives me of your Regiment: Be assur'd, I shall be glad to do any Thing that may contribute to your Ease and Contentment and to give you the most effective Marks of my Esteem; and that I am, truly,*

Your good Friend,

WILLIAM

By His Royal Highness's Command, *Everard Falkener,*

In my Proposals, I only promised to give a Description of the Towns thro' which I pass'd with his Majesty's Army; but as *Liverpool* has distinguished itself by its most unshaken Loyalty in this Time of Trial, I thought proper to add the following Account.

*Liverpool*, or *Lirpool*, is not a very antient Town, but is very neat and populous, the People very polite, courteous and well bred. It has three large Churches, that called *St. George's*, is a very curious Piece of modern Architecture, from the Top of which you have a View of the Town and adjacent Country, and towards the Sea a most agreeable Prospect of the Ships in the Road and Harbour: There is likewise two large Presbyterian Meeting Houses, one Quaker's, and one Baptist's House, all which live in perfect Harmony with each other, a Virtue deserving to be imitated. There was at the Time of the Rebellion a large Mass-House, which the Mob could not be restrained from pulling down. At the Head or Extremity of four

Streets, which are clean and well paved, stands the Exchange, where from Eleven to One o'Clock, every Day, Merchants and Masters of Ships meet for Business, over which is the Hall where the Mayor and Aldermen meet, to regulate the Affairs of the Corporation. It is the most flourishing Seaport Town in these Parts, and it may be justly said to vie with the City of *Bristol*, the second Port in *England*, its Customs being encreased eight or ten Fold within these sorry Years past, and though the Town is said to be above three Times as large as it was in the Beginning of the late King *James's* Reign, yet they continue still to build considerably, being well provided with Clay for making Brick, of which there are many stately Houses built. The Inhabitants are mostly Merchants, who drive a large Trade, with great Success and large Stocks, to all the Northern Parts of the World, viz. *Hamburgh*, *Norway* and the *Baltick*; to the *British Colonies in America*; to *Guinea*, *Ireland*, *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*; so that there is no Trade but that of *Turkey*, *Greenland* and the *East-Indies*, in which they are not concerned. As it imports almost all Kinds of foreign Goods, it has consequently a large Inland Trade, and shares that to *Ireland* and *Wales*, with *Bristol*; for as *Bristol* trades chiefly to the South and West Parts of *Ireland*, from *Dublin* in the East, to *Galloway* West, this Town hath all the Trade of the East and North Shores, from *Dublin* to *Londonderry*. As *Bristol* has the Trade of South *Wales*, and the South-West Counties in *England*, and some North of it as high as *Bridgnorth* and *Shrewsbury*; *Liverpool* has North *Wales*, and all the Northern Counties in *England*, besides what Goods it sends to *Cheshire* and *Staffordshire*, by the new Navigation of the Rivers *Mersey*, *Weaver* and *Dane*. This Port has wet Docks, in which, by the Help of Flood-Gates, Ships of the largest Burthen may ride a-float when the Tide is out; I likewise saw them this Summer making a dry Dock, into which they carry Ships of large Burthen, and keep them dry at High Water. Here they have brought the Delf and Earthen Ware to very great Perfection, with which they drive a considerable Trade. Their Delf Ware very much resembles China. But I must return to our Highland Invaders.

The following contains the Route of the Rebel Army from *Carlisle* to *Derby*.

At the same Time when they set out, I did, in order to reconnoitre them, and to go to the *King's* Army; and seeing that I could not get before the Rebels, who had spread over the Country, running a Dog-trot, like so many ravenous Wolves hunting for their Prey, I was obliged to keep a little behind them, (although too nigh) for I was in Danger not only of being taken, but likewise of being infected with the Itch and Scab; for the Lodgings they left in the Day I was commonly in at Night, sometimes before the Chamber-Maid got Time to sweep the *Grays* out; they set out from *Carlisle* flushed with their Success, some of them being well mounted and accoutred, with the

Spoil of our Country Trainbands, made a tolerable good Figure, but for the most Part they were a very despicable Mob; and had it not been for the Arms they carried, it might well be thought that there was a Famine in *Scotland*, and that they came to *England* to beg; but they soon undeceived us, letting us know that they were sturdy Beggars, committing all Manner of Rapines as they ran along the Country, and their Chiefs threatening the Towns where they came with Military Execution, if their Demands were not complied with, viz. in raising Contributions and collecting the Excise

*November 20*, After leaving a Garrison in *Carlisle*, this formidable Army, or rather a despicable Mob, to the Number of about 6700 took their Rout in three Columns by Way of *Penrith* (which is 16 Miles from *Carlisle*, of which I'll give a Description hereafter) to *Kendal*, where on the 22<sup>nd</sup> their Van-guard arrived, headed by Col. *Stuart*, consisting of 120 Horse, mostly Gentlemen, and 60 Foot; the Quarter-Masters took a List from the Constables of all the Lodgings in the Town; and after reviewing all the Houses, deliver'd the Billets themselves: The 23<sup>rd</sup> came in the Lords *Murray*, *Kilmarnock*, *Ogilvy*, *Nairn*, &c. with their Companies, most of which were quartered in *Strickland-Gate*: The 24<sup>th</sup> in the Evening came in the Highland Clans with their pretended *Prince* in their Front; he had walk'd from *Penrith* that Day which is 20 Miles, and was quartered on *Thomas Shepherd*, Esq, soon after came in the Duke of *Perth* with 200 Men, who convoy'd their Artillery and Baggage. The Morning after they first came to Town, they made a Proclamation in the Name of their mock *Prince*, that this Country People who brought any Sort of Provisions to Town, both their Persons and Horses should be safe, which was observ'd for that and the next Day until Night, when the Rebels went out in Parties, took several Horses, and plunder'd the Country in a shameful Manner: This and several other Outrages they did on *Sunday*, which so chagrin'd the Country People and Inhabitants of the Town, that on *Monday*, when the main Body of the Rebels went out (tho' there were upwards of 1000 in the Town) they attack'd several of the Horse Stealers, amongst whom were two of their Hussars on Horseback, which they immediately dismounted and retook their Horses.

Their Hussars were most of them young Men, dress'd in close plaid Waistcoats, and large Fur Caps; but having very bad Horses it occasion'd them to exert all their Vigour in bringing them to a Gallop, tho' very often (in Spite of them) the poor Beasts would immediately drop that Speed and take to one more suitable to their Age and Infirmities. If the common Men got a Belly full of Victuals (they were not very curious about the Goodness of it) and a little Straw to lie upon they were intirely easy. The Excise they Collected here for six Weeks.

---

*Kendal*, called also *Kirkby Candele*, i.e. a Church in the Valley, situated on the River *Can*, which runs round half of the Town over which is three

Bridges of Stone with several Arches; it is the largest Town in the County of *Westmoreland*, and is enriched by the Industry of the Townsmen and the Woollen Manufacture, with which they have drove a Trade throughout *England* ever since the Reign of *Edward III*, as early as *Richard II* and *Henry IV*. Special Laws were enacted on Purpose for regulating *Kendal* Cloths: Queen *Elizabeth* erected it into a Corporation by the Name of Aldermen and Burgesses; and King *James I* incorporated it with a Mayor, Recorder, Town's Clerk, twelve Aldermen, twenty four Burgesses, and two Attorneys; of whom the Mayor, Recorder, and two senior Aldermen are always Justices of the Peace; It is of Note also, for the Manufacture of Cottons, Druggets, Serges, Hats, Worsted and Yarn Stockings, &c. There are seven trading Companies belonging to the Town, *viz.* Mercers, Sheermen, Cordwainers, Tanners, Glovers, Taylors, and Pewterers, who have each their Hall. Although this Town is situated high a very hilly, mountainous Country, (resembling the Highlands of *Scotland*) yet it has a very plentiful Market for all Kinds of Provisions and Woollen Yarn, which the young Women (who are not so handsome as those in *Lancashire*) bring in large Bundles under their Arms to sell. Just opposite the Town, on the East Side the River, upon a Mount stands the Ruins of an old Castle, which was formerly of great Note. From *Kendal* to *Lancaster* is 16 computed Miles.

On the 24<sup>th</sup>, the Van of the Rebel Army continued their March by Way of *Burton* ('a Town half Way betwixt *Kendal* and *Lancaster*) to *Lancaster*, where they demanded the public Money; but I shall leave them until I give you an Account, that on the zad of *November*, his Majesty's Ship the *Sheerness* brought into *Deal*, a *French* Privateer called the *Soliel*, with a great Number of Arms defign'd for the Use of the Rebels, likewise 22 Officers and 60 private Men, besides the Ship's Crew.

---

LIST of the principal Prisoners taken on board the *Soliel*, as their Names were given in by themselves.

Mr *Ratcliffe*, called Earl of *Derwentwater*, Captain in *Dillon's* Regiment.

Mr *Ratcliffe*, said to be Son of the former, Captain in Do.

*Robert Cameron*, Captain reformed, in *Ruthe's*; Regiment,

*Thomas Nairn*, Son to Lord *Nairn*, first Lieutenant in Lord *Drummond's* Do.

*Sam. Cameron*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Lieutenant in Do.

*Patrick Fitzgerald*, Capt, in *Buckley's*.

*James Ohanlow*, Captain in *Berwick's*.

*William Fitzgerald*, Second Lieutenant in *Buckley's*

*Corn. Maccarty*, Ensign in *Buckley's*.

*Alexander Baillie*, Capt. in *Drummond's*.

*Alexander Macdonald*, Captain in Do.

*Adam Urquhart*, Lieutenant in Do.

*Lewis Shee* Captain in *Ruthe's*.

*Thomas Renally*, Lieutenant in *Lawley's*

*John Riley*, Lieutenant in *Buckley's*.

*Murdoch Gennis*, Captain in *Dillon's*.

*James Seaton*, Captain in *Ruthe's*.

*Edward Dunn*, Lieutenant in Do.

*Merseiel Devant*, Lieut, in *Saintouge's*.

*Edmund Riley*, Lieutenant in *Dillon's*

*Robert Grace*, Capt, reform'd in *Lally's*.

*Clermont Macdermet*, *Radcliffe's* Equerry

*N B.* The Ship taken by the *Sheerness* Privateer, was formerly called the *Soliel*, but the Name she now goe, by is the *Esperance*,

*Lancaster*, the County Town, so called from the River *Lon*, on the Side of which it stands, near its Mouth, gives Name to the County. 'Tis the antient *Longovicum*, where the Lieutenant of *Britain* kept a Company in Garrison, called the *Longovici*. There are sometimes found the Coins of *Roman* Emperors, especially where the *Benedictine* Friars had once a Cloyster, which *Cambden* says, was the Area of an antient City, that in the Year 1322 was burnt to the Ground by the *Scots*. After this they began to build nearer the River, on the Side of a Green Hill, on the Summit of which stands a fair and strong Castle, and upon the Top of it at one Corner, is a square Tower called *John a Gaunts* Chair, from whence there is a pleasant Prospect of the adjacent Country, and the Course of the River *Lon*, and towards the Sea you have a most extensive View, even to the *Isle of Man*. Close by the Castle is a large handsome Church the only one in Town, and a very neat Presbyterian Meeting-House. At the Bottom of the Hill there's a very fine Bridge over the *Lon*, to which Ships of Burthen come, and on the steepest Part of it, there hangs a Piece of very antient *Roman* Wall now called *Weary-Well*, and in digging a Cellar, several Cups have been found, used in Sacrifices. King *John* confirmed to the Burgesses all the Liberties he had granted to those of *Bristol*; and *Edward* the III granted to the Mayor and Bailiffs that Pleas and Sessions should be held here, and no where else in the County. It is at present a populous, thriving Corporation, trading to the *West-Indies*, with Hard-Ware and Woolen Manufactures, and in return import Sugars, Rum, Cotton &c.

The 26<sup>th</sup>, the last Column of the Rebels entered *Lancaster*, in such Haste, that they only stayed to eat some Bread and Cheese standing in the Streets, their first Column being then at *Preston*, from *Lancaster* to *Preston* is twenty Miles.

The 27<sup>th</sup> they were at *Garstang*, which is a good thorough-fare Town, half Way betwixt *Lancaster* and *Preston*, where the same Day I was going, but that I met with some Acquaintance at *Lancaster* Town end, who told me there was not a Possibility for me to pass that Evening, for that the Road was full of stragling Rebels, who robbed all that fell into their Hands; so I returned to my Quarters at the *Sun* in *Lancaster*, where the Magistrates and Gentlemen had taken care for my Safety, by directing me where to call upon People well affected to the Government, who always were free and willing in giving me the best Advice how to proceed. On the 18<sup>th</sup> I got to *Garstang* (being my first Stage) about nine in the Morning; and as directed, I alighted at Capt. *Gardners* at the *Royal Oak*. At the first of my setting out to reconnoitre the Rebels, I purposed to pass and repass them in the Road, in the Station of a Trader, going about my own private Affairs; for which I was provided with Bills of Parcels, Letters of Orders, &c. in case I should be search'd by them, as it might more evidently appear I was the real Person pretended to be: But being advised not to venture among them, by reason I might find it a great Difficulty to acquit myself of them again, as they might be too penetrating not to see through such a Disguise. Seeing my Desires could not be readily fulfil'd in this Way, I resolved to take some other Method which might be full as prejudicial as the former, viz. in taking up their Straglers; and being informed that there was two in the Town which happened to stay behind their Command, I resolved to go and take them; for which Purpose I borrowed a Fuzee and a Case of Pistols, so being shewed to their Quarters, I immediately went in and made them Prisoners, and after disarming them, with which Arms I supply'd myself, committed them to the Care of a Constable, who, with his Guard, conducted them safe to *Lancaster* Castle. In the Road to *Preston*, I picked up another Straggler following his Company; and within two Miles of that Town I met the Rebel Post, returning with Dispatches from their Army to *Scotland*, whom I also made Prisoner, and took from him 49 Letters. I conducted him and the above Straggler to *Preston*, intending to deliver them to the Magistrates; but they would neither receive the Prisoners nor Letters, for they feared the Consequence of so rash an Undertaking, the Rebels being but just gone out of the Town; and as I had brought Prisoners into the Town, they obliged me to carry them out of it, and told me, that amongst the Croud in the Streets, there were several who had wore white Cockades, that were for going with the Rebels who would know me again, so that if ever I had the Misfortune to be taken Prisoner, I might be sure of loosing my Life; on which, a Serjeant of the Militia was hired for one

Pound five Shillings who with four Men to assist him, carried the Post and the other Stragler to *Lancaster*.

---

*Preston*, or *Priest's Town*; so called from the Religious, who were formerly here in great Numbers. As it was first ornamented with the Beauty of Holiness, to it you may add Female Beauty with which it now shines, the Ladies being very agreeable, and much Gentry live here. This Town is situated on a clean, delightful Eminence, having handsome Streets and Variety of Company, which the agreeableness of the Place induces to board here, it being one of the prettiest Retirements in *England*, and may for its Beauty and largeness compare with most Cities, and for the politeness of the Inhabitants none can excel. 'Tis incorporated and governed by a Mayor, Recorder, eight Aldermen, seventeen Common Council Men, and a Town Clerk. It was incorporated by King *Henry* the Second, and had Privileges and large Immunities granted and confirmed by several of his Successors. There are Traces of a *Roman* Military Way over the Common, from *Ribchester* to the Mouth of the *Ribble*, being the Name of a fine River (over which is a large Stone Bridge) which plentifully supplies this Town with Fish. It is vulgarly called *Proud Preston*, on Account of its being a Place of the best Fashion. 'Tis the Residence of the Officers belonging to the Chancery of the County Palatine. Here is a handsome Church and a Town Hall where the Corporation meet for Business, and the Gentlemen and Ladies for Balls and Assemblies. Here is likewise a spacious Market-place, in the middle of which stands a fine Obelisk; the Streets are neatly paved, and the Houses well built of Brick and Slate. This Town being a great thorough-fare, there are many good Inns for the Reception of Travellers, but one in particular, the Sign of the *Black Bull*, kept by Mrs *Chorley*: I never met with any better, for all kind of good Eatables, proper Attendance, kind Usage, and a moderate Charge, and where you may have all Things done in the most grand elegant Manner, if required. This Town has a pretty good Trade for Linnen Yarn, Cloth, Cotton, &c. 'Tis remarkable for the Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, near it, in 1648, when he came to rescue King *Charles* the First from his Imprisonment; and also for the Defeat of the *English* Rebels, who took up Arms against King *George* the First, on *Novemter* 12, 1715. From *Preston* to *Wigan*, is 17 measured Miles.

After I had secured the Prisoners beforementioned, I fled cross the Country, intending to have gone to *Ribchester* with the Letters, expecting to have been pursued by the Rebel Hussars; but without my Knowledge, the Gentlemen of *Preston* had taken Care for my Safety by planting a Guard upon the Bridge, with Orders to let no Person Pass, that might give the Rebels an Account what had happened, until I was got out of their Reach. In the Evening I met with a Country Man, of whom I ask'd the Way, and told him if he met any Rebels enquiring after me, to turn them a contrary Way,

which he promised to do; he also told me, it was not safe for me to go to *Ribcbester*, but advised me to go to *Clithero*. Before I got to the right Road I came to a deep Brook, over which there was a long Stone laid for foot Travellers, and in riding over it, one of my Horses's hinder Feet slipped and we both fell backwards into the Water, where I was well dipped, but I and my Horse happily got out without any other Damage. Having no Time to lose I immediately mounted, the Water running from my Cloaths, but my Boots continued full, and my Fire Arms were likewise wet, so that if I had been pursued I could have made little Resistance. In this Plight I was, in a cold, frosty Night, and knew not the Road, till I came to a House where I hired a Guide, who conducted me over *Longridge Fell*, to *Clithero*, where I arrived about ten that Night, and had the Letters opened by a Justice of the Peace. There was little in them of Consequence, but boasting of Favours they had never received; saying the People of *Lancashire* had joined them, so that their Army was increased to 24,000 Men, and that they were going directly, without Opposition, to *London*: Two of them deserves particular Notice, and shall be given in their own Words, viz.

### LETTER I.

*We have taken Carlisle which is the Key to England; we don't know that there will be another Stroke struck, especially if the French land according to our Expectation. We are going to London without Opposition, and as soon as our Affairs are settled, which I expect will be in about two Months, then I'll return home to my Family, &c.*

### LETTER II.

*We have left our heavy Baggage in Carlisle Castle, and march so light, that neither Hedges, Dycks nor Devils are able to stop us: We have out-stripped Wade, and have nothing to do but to go by Ligonier, and so to London, &c.*

These Letters if they had gone to *Scotland*, might have been of bad Consequence, in spiring up the People to Rebellion; for all the foremention'd 49, whatever Stile they were writ in, all treated as one Subject, viz. That they were going directly to *London*; so that it would be thought Madness in them that stay'd behind, not to have gone to *London* to see that fine Place, and got a Part of what was to be had there. When the Rebels were at *Lancaster* going South, amongst the Multitude which quarter'd at the *Sun*, there happened to be two Lowland Gentlemen; the one was complaining of his Horse, which in some Respect did not please him, to which the other answered; *there were mouny guid Hors's in London*; the first replied, *I ken that right wee'I, we'I ilke'a ene get a Hors in enst we woon there, and monny a guid Thing beside.*

The Rebels were at *Wigan* on the 28<sup>th</sup>, (it is a fair built Town in the high Post Road, pleasantly situated near the Rise of a Rivulet call'd *Dugless*. 'Tis a Corporation erected by King *James* the First. It has a stately Church said to be the best endowed in the County, and the Rector of it is always Lord .of the Manor. This Town is famous for its Manufacture of Coverlids, Rugs, Blankets, and other Sorts of Bedding; Brass, Copper, &c. Likewise for extraordinary Coal Mines, which lie contiguous to it, on the Estate of Sir *Roger Bradshaw*, Baronet, which they call Kennel Coal, yielding in burning a very clear Flame, and consumes to a white Ash, like Wood. Of these Coals they make many curious Toys, it bearing to be turned and polished, so as to look like black Marble or Jet, being formed ed into Snuff Boxes, Nutmeg Boxes, Candle Sticks, Salts, &c. by one *Tootell*, a Turner who lives here: It cannot be work'd far distant from where it's got, by reason of the Hardness which it will acquire through Time when conveyed to distant Places. From *Wigan* to *Manchester* is 12 computed Miles.

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, when the Rebels were at *Wigan*, a Party of them went through *Leigh*, and the same Day an advanced Party entered *Manchester*.

*Manchester* was taken by a Serjeant, a Drum, and a Woman, about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, who rode up to the *Bulls-Head* on Horses with Hempen Halters on (a just Emblem of what they deserved) where they din'd after Dinner, they beat up for Recruits, and in less than a Hour, listed about thirty. They were likewise joined by several Persons, some of desperate Fortunes who were modelled into what they called the *Manchester* Regiment; mostly People of the lowest Rank, and vilest Principles; which occasioned him who called himself the Duke of *Perth* to say, 'That if the Devil had come a recruiting, and profer'd a Shilling more than his Prince, they would have preferr'd the former;' which no Doubt was a great Disappointment to them, for they had flattered themselves with the Hopes of a considerable Insurrection in their Favour.

On the 29<sup>th</sup>, a considerable Body of Rebel Horse entered *Manchester*, about ten in the Forenoon, and the Bell-man was sent about the Town, requiring all such as had any Publick Money in their Hands to bring it in. About two in .the Afternoon the *Pretender*, (in an highland Dress) at the Head of a Party of pick'd Highlanders marched into *Manchester*; he took up his Quarters at Mr *Dickanson*'s, in *Market-street-Lane*, and was proclaimed in Form. In the Evening the Bell-man was again sent about to order the Town to be illuminated, and at Night the Rear of the Army arrived, where they continued for two Days On the 30<sup>th</sup> I got to *Rochdale*, where I very narrowly escaped being taken by a Party of the Rebels, who were there to demand the Militia Arms, Land Tax, &c. Near the End of the Town I met with some Men that had made their escape, who told me the Rebels were in Pursuit of them to take their Horses; on which I turn'd back with what Speed I could make,

until I got to a Mill; the Miller shewed me a Path leading out of the Road to a Village where one Dr. *Bentley* lived, to which I hasted, and strip'd my Horse, hiding the Furniture up in the Hay Loft and drew off my Boots, that if the Rebels chanced to see me, I might pretend that I lived there, by which I escaped. In the Dusk of the Evening I set forwards to *Rochdale*, and in my Way thither, I met with a Man who told me he had been round the adjacent Country, to order the Arms to be brought in and sent to the Rebels next Day; on which I resolved they should not have mine, so threw them over a Garden Hedge, near the End of the Bridge, where I went late in the Night with my Landlord and brought them from thence; and by the Resolution of *Robert Entwistle*, Esq; and some other Gentlemen, the Arms were not sent to the Rebels as agreed on: At *Rochdale* I met with *P--- M---*, a Gentleman well affected to the Government, who gave me a Lift of the Road to *Macclesfield*, by which Direction I got safe, although not without Difficulty. The Rebels carried off all the Horses they could find about *Manchester*, not excepting their Friends, who if they solicited on that Score, got for Answer, that if they had a Regard for *P--- C---*, sure they would not refuse so small a Trifle as a Horse for his Service: They likewise borrowed all the Shoes and Boots they could meet with, so that many were deprived of their understandings. On the 30<sup>th</sup>, an advanced Guard of the Rebels marched, part for *Stockport* (by some called *Stopford*, being a Market Town on the Edge of *Cheshire*, noted for its Silk Mills and a very antient Church; situated on the Banks of the River *Mersey*, over which is a neat Stone Bridge which divides *Lancashire* and *Cheshire*) and the rest for *Knotsford*. The Bridge over the River *Mersey* at *Stockport*, being broke down by the *Liverpool Blues*, already taken Notice of, they cross'd over above where it stood.

The next Day a Party of the Rebels, mostly mounted on Horses taken at *Preston-pans*, were at *Ashton*, receiving the Excise, Land-Tax, &c. I was there that Evening, and took Advice of the Reverend Mr *Penny*, how to proceed. It is very remarkable, that in their whole Progress, no Discoveries could be made of the Routs they intended to take, because they were never given out above an Hour before their March began, and neither Officers nor Soldiers knew over Night where they were to go, or what Service they were to perform the next Morning; which Secrecy in all Probability preserved them from Destruction; since however formidable they might be at a Distance, it was the Opinion of others as well as myself, that they were very far from thinking that they made a dreadful Appearance. In the mean Time the Duke's Army was forming in *Staffordshire*, for upon the Approach of the Rebels, it was resolved that his Royal Highness should be sent down to command the Forces in that Part of the Kingdom; and accordingly he arrived at *Litchfield*, on the 18<sup>th</sup> of *November*, his Troops at that Time being canton'd with a Line of Cavalry in their Front, from *Tamworth* to *Stafford*, making a very fine Appearance, being well furnished with Artillery, and whatever else

was requisite for the Service. As for the Forces of which his Army consisted, I will only say, that the following was looked upon at that Time to be the most authentic Account.

---

*An exact LIST of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's Army.*

**F O O T**

Veteran Soldiers	7500
New raised Soldiers	3000
	<hr/>
	10500
	<hr/>

**H O R S E**

Veteran Horse	1400
New raised Horse	800
	<hr/>
	2200
	<hr/>
Total of the Army	12700
	<hr/>

The Army under the Command of Field-Marshal *Wade*, began to move towards the latter End of the Month, the Cavalry having, reached *Darlington* and *Richmond* by the 25<sup>th</sup>; and on the 29<sup>th</sup>, Marshal *Wade* with the Infantry was at *Persbridge*, from whence he proposed to march for *Weatherby*, and there to canton the whole Army in the adjacent Villages; looking upon this as the most convenient Situation, either for distressing the Enemy, in Case they should attempt to return, or for co-operating with his Royal Highness Forces, as Occasion should require. By these well conceived Dispositions, all Apprehensions of Danger were in a great Measure taken off, and the Country People, began, every where to recover their Spirits, and put themselves in the best Posture of Defence they could, in Case of their being visited by these Highland Invaders. Such was the Situation of Things at the Close of *November, 1745*.

*Scarborough* being sensibly alarm'd at the rapid Progress of the Rebels, and the Danger their Town was exposed to, if Visited; they having some Time before subscrib'd 320l. for the Service of the Government, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of *November* chose out of their Body a Committee of twelve Gentlemen to consider how this Money should be applied, who unanimously agreed to lay it out in fortifying the Place, which they immediately set about with so much, Alacrity, and without out Distinction, under the Direction of Mr. *Vincent*, their Engineer, that in three Weeks Time, with the Labour of 1000 Hands daily, raised Breast-Works and Batteries before the Avenues leading to the Town, from the South to the North Seas, and planted thereon 99 Pieces of

Cannon, which were taken from the Shipping in the Harbour, with above 2000 Small Arms, and Plenty of Ammunition; which, with the Assistance of the Sailors, who seldom fail in their Undertakings, were determined to defend the Town for the Honour of the Government and their own Safety.

I will now return to the Progress of the Rebels, so long as they continued to persist in their wild Notion of marching South. They were very industrious in collecting the Excise, and that none might escape them, they had ordered Officers to go about the Country in Foot Walks: I got Information of one of these Sort carrying his Bag on his Shoulder, whom I pursued, intending if I came up with him, to have assumed the Office of Collector-General for that Time. I set out from *Ashton* with a Guide, who conducted me to *Samuel Chetham*, Esq, of *Mellor*, on the Edge of *Derbyshire*, one of his Majesty's Justices of the Peace for that County; he sent a Servant with me to Mr. *Royle's* at *Bullock-Smithey*, where I left my *French* Fuzee. Thus I kept to the Left of the Rebels in the Day, having sometime a View of them, and the Quarters they left in the Day, I always came to at Night, by which I obtained the most authentic Accounts, as well from the best Judges as from my own Observations, of their Proceedings from Place to Place.

*December 1.* The Mock Prince with the main Body of his Army and all his Artillery entered *Macklesfield*. The Afternoon was spent in scaling and putting in Order their Fire Arms, so that the Rebels expected that a Battle was intended, but what was the real Intention of the Deputy *Pretender* and his Council of War, it is impossible to say, since it was first believed they intended to have marched into *Wales*, but perceiving if they should accomplish that Scheme, they would certainly be shut up there, and reduced to great Necessities in a mountainous Country, with which they were not acquainted, they abandon'd this Project as impracticable. On the 2<sup>nd</sup>, as their Rear was marching out of *Macclesfield*, one of their Boys wanting to buy a Cap, was shewn to a Shop by one who had deserted from the King's Army, who drew a Dirk from the Boy's Side, with which he stab'd him in the Thigh, and running through the *Angel* Inn, escaped Backwards; upon which Part of the Rebels returned, threatening to burn the Town, and as he who committed the Fact could not be found, they carried away, as Hostages, the Landlord of the *Angel*, and the Master of the House adjoining the Shop where the Fact was committed. This shews with what Injustice their arbitrary Power was executed, often punishing the Innocent for the Guilty: That Day I was accompanied by Mr. *Royle's* Son from *Bullock-Smithey*, to within half a Mile of *Macclesfield*<sup>2</sup>, when being informed that the Rebels were all gone

---

<sup>2</sup> *Macclesfield*, or *Maxfield*, gives Name to a spacious Forest on the Edge of *Derbyshire*, which is water'd (besides other Rivers) by the *Bolin*, on which the Town stands. 'Tis an ancient, large Town, one of the fairest in the County, and was erected into a Borough by King *Edward* III. It is govern'd by a Mayor, and enjoys great Privileges and Jurisdictions, by Virtue of the Court, and the Liberties

out of the Town, and thinking that I was quite safe he left me; but as some of the Rebels had returned on the above Occasion, I rode into the Town too soon, and alighting at the *Angel* Inn, narrowly escaped being taken. I immediately applied to the Mayor, who took all the Care he could of my Safety but I not chusing to trust much to their Highland Civility, was afraid of falling into their Hands, knowing that they would be more fond of meeting with the Person who had intercepted their Letters, than the Parson of the Parish, was unwilling to give them that Pleasure; and as the Favours for which they were indebted to me were contained in my Journal, I thought proper to commit it to the Flames, and would have left my Arms with the Mayor, but he told me, if the Rebels should return, and upon Search find any, of their Instruments of Death, they might be provoked to burn his House, he advised me to leave them at my Inn, they not being accountable for what a Traveller left; on which I hid them in my Room, and only acquainted the Hostler: After I was gone (as I was inform'd at my Return) the Chamber Maid went to make the Bed, and by drawing the Curtains shook the Bed-Tester, on which a Handful of Bullets trundled out of a disjointed Corner, which occasion'd her to stand on a Chair to look from whence they came, where she found my Highland Pistols, which were a Piece of curious Workmanship; the Stock as well as the Lock and Barrel being of pollish'd Steel, ingraved and inlaid with Silver; and on sweeping under the Bed she found my Sword, which was of the Highland Make, by that curious Workman *Andrew Ferrara*; when she came down Stairs she reported to the House, that some of the Rebels had left their Arms; but the Hostler told her they did not belong to the Rebels, and that he would take Care of them till the Owner returned.

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of December, about 2000 of their Foot passed by *Gosworth*, and the same Number of Horse and Foot entered *Congleton*.<sup>3</sup>

The same day in the Evening a Detachment went for *Ashburn*, as if they

---

of the Forest. The Church, or rather Chapel, (it being in the Parish of *Presbury*) is a fair Edifice, with a very high Tower Steeple, and a College adjoining to it, with Monuments of the *Savages*, and other Persons of Note. There is also an Oratory in it belonging to the Earls *Rivers*, where are two Brass Plates, on one of which, is a Promise of 26,000 Years, 26 Days Pardon, for saying five Pater-nosters and five Aves. Their chief Manufacture is Buttons. The Free-School is of an antient Foundation. It first gave Title of Earl to Lord *Gerrard*, of *Brandon*, in the Reign of King Charles II but new to one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. *George Parker*, Son of *Thomas Parker*, who was created Earl of *Macclesfield*, and Lord High Chancellor, by King GEORGE I. There are several good Inns, of which the *Angel* is the best, for good Entertainment and civil Usage.

<sup>3</sup> *Congleton*, is a neat Town in *Cheshire*, about 7 Miles from *Macclesfield*, on the Borders of *Staffordshire*, pleasantly watered on all Sides by the River *Dan*, the Brook *Howley*, and the *Daning Schow*; it's a Corporation consisting of a Mayor, and six Aldermen, and noted for a good Trade in Leather Gloves, Purses, and Points. Mr. *Camben* says, that in his Time it had only one Chapel, and that entirely of Wood, excepting the Choir, and a little Tower; for the Mother Church was at *Astbury*, two Miles off. There is now a stately Church besides the above Chapel.

intended to go to *Newcastle Underline*, a Party of their Hussars advanced as far as *Talk o'th'Hill*, where they took Capt. Vere Prisoner in the *Red-Lyon Inn*: The Alarm of the Rebels Approach was sent to *Newcastle Under-line*.<sup>4</sup>

At this time an advanced Party of the King's Troops which lay at *Newcastle Under-line*, consisting of about five Regiments of Horse and Foot, hearing of the Approach of the Rebels, the Drums beat to Arms, which put the Inhabitants in the utmost Confusion. The Regiments were all drawn up on the Parade, and rested under Arms for some Time, when about twelve o'Clock at Night, they marched out of *Newcastle*, leaving their Baggage unladen in the Market-Place, and retreated to *Stone-Town-Field*, where his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* drew up his Army and Artillery, expecting, that the Rebels would come and give him Battle, but they not willing to come to any Engagement where his Royal Highness commanded, filed off towards *Leck* and *Ashburn*, about fifteen Miles from *Derby*. On the 3<sup>rd</sup> his Royal Highness ordered his Army into *Stone* for Quarters, which were very hard to get; it being but a small Town, so many Soldiers soon occasioned a Consumption in the Victuals and Drink.

*December 4, Charles*, Deputy Pretender enter'd *Derby*, with about five hundred Horse, and 2000 Foot: and in the Evening, the rest of the Forces, in all, about 7000, arrived with a Train of Artillery, consisting of 15 Pieces of small Cannon, and one Co-horn, with all their Baggage.

That Evening, the Duke of *Perth*, asking for a News-Paper, the *St. James's Evening-post* was brought him, dated *Nov. 30*, which contained the following *Advertisement* with a *Reward*, which he carried to the *Pretender* the next Morning.

**R**UN away from their *Master at Rome*, in the Dog-Days of last *August*, and since secreted in *France*, two young *Lurchers*, of the right *Italian Breed*; and, being of a Black Tan Colour, with sharp Noses, long Claws, and hanging Ears, have been taken abroad for *King Charles the Second's Breed*, but a *Bitch* from *Italy* unfortunately broke the Strain in 88, by admitting into the Kennel, a *base Mongrel of another Litter*.---- They are

---

<sup>4</sup> *Newcastle Under-line*, or *Lime*, stands on a Branch of the *River Trent*. Mr *Cambden* says, that the *New Castle*, from whence it was denominated, stands not far from *Chesterton Underlime*, which is now levelled. It was incorporated by King *Henry I* and is govern'd by a Mayor, two Justices, two Bailiffs, and twenty-four Capital Burgesses. The Corporation has a Court, vested with Privileges of holding Pleas for Action under 40l. There is a Castle here which was built in the Reign of King *Henry III*. The Streets are broad and well paved, but most of the Houses are low and thatch'd. They have 4 Fairs, and a Weekly Market, and a great Trade for Cloth. It had four Churches formerly according to *Cambden*, which are reduc'd to one, having suffer'd much in the *Barons Wars*. The Town is surrounded with Coal-Pits, and about three Miles from it, is a Manufacture of Earthen Ware, which imitates brown China, and makes curious Black Tea-Pots, &c resembling Japan, being neatly figured and gilt.

supposed to be on the Hunt for Prey in the *North*. They go a full *Dog Trot* by Night, for fear of being catch'd. They answer to the Names of *Hector* and *Plunder*, and will jump and dance at the Sound of the *French Horn*, being used to that Note by an old *Dog Master* at *Paris*; they prick up their Ears also at the Musick of a *Lancashire Hornpipe*.

This is to give Notice, that whoever can secure this Couple of *Curs*, and bring them back, either to the *Pope's Head* at *Rome*, near *St. Peter's Church*, or to the *Cardinal's Cap* at *Versailles*, or to the *King's Arms* at *Newcastle*, or to the *Thistle* at *Edinburgh*, or to the *Three Kings* at *Brentford*, or rather to the Sign of the *Axe* on *Tower-Hill*, shall have the Reward of *Thirteen Pence Halfpenny*; or any Sum below a *Crown*, and the Thank of all the Powers of *Europe*, except *France*, *Spain*, and the *Pope*.

*N.B.* They have each a *French Collar* on, stamp'd with their Father's Arms, a *Warming-Pan*, and the *Flower de Luce*, with this Inscription. *We are but Young Puppies of Tencin's Pack.*

Beware of them, for they have got a Smack of the *Scots Mange*, and those that are bit by them, run mad, and are called *Jaco-BITES*.

Their whole Force being now together, and the Stragglers and English Recruits all come in, they made the most formidable Appearance in *Derby*; yet they used all the Precaution imaginable to hinder an exact Account from being taken of their Number, which was a Point they laboured to manage with the utmost Diligence; during their whole March, often demanding Billets for ten thousand Men, when they had not above half that Number with them. On their first coming into *Derby*, it was judged, both from the Measures they took, and from the Behaviour of their Chiefs, that they were still disposed to march on. In the Evening they held several Councils of War; on which the Disputes amongst their Chiefs grew too high to be concealed, yet they agreed upon nothing the first Night, except levying the Publick Money, which they did with the usual Threats of Military Execution, as they had done in all the Towns they marched through. They also endeavoured to levy Men here, beat up publicly for that Purpose, but with very little Success, for there were few that took on with them in the Town, and those of the lowest Class both in point of Morals as well as Condition, which strews how low their Credit was brought.

The next Day they continued in *Derby*; and in the Afternoon another great Council was held in the Presence of the young Pretender, in which, as it was afterwards known, a final Resolution was taken for returning into *Scotland*. There have been various Reasons aligned for their making this sudden Retreat: But as it is my Design to relate known Facts, rather than Conjectures, I shall pass by them, and only offer my own Opinion which I take to be the true Cause, viz the Disappointment they had met with in the

Augmentation of their Forces; for they flattered themselves with a great Insurrection in *England*, in their Favour, and *Lancashire* being the Place most depended upon, as appeared by their Letters, for those imaginary Succours; which County they had gone through without receiving the expected Supplies, few having joined them, but such as I have already described, People of desperate Fortunes and vile Principles: All of any worth or Reputation appear'd hearty and zealous for the Cause of their King and Country, exerting themselves in their several Stations, for the Interest of the Government: There was scarce a Town that I came to, when on the Reconnoitre, where I was not known, but there was an Officer came to take me up for a Rebel; but when they found their Mistake, I was visited by the Mayor and Aldermen of corporated Towns, Justices and Gentlemen, who all congratulated me on my good Success, with which they appeared to be well pleased: So that I look upon it as no Discredit to *Lancashire*, that the Rebels got some Recruits amongst them, since they were mostly such as were a Nuisance to the Country; and I think it would have been better if such in every County had distinguished themselves according to their Inclination, for then they might have had a Chance to be hanged or dispatch'd in a readier Way, by which the Country would have been eased of a Load not worth to be bore above Ground; and if they had escaped without receiving their Deserts, yet honest Men might know how to place a just Value on such detestable Wretches; so that it is most probable, the small Encouragement which the Rebels met with in the Place where they had the greatest Dependance, might be the Cause of their sudden Retreat.

The Case was much the same in the Year 1715; for although a great many *Lancashire* Gentlemen, with their Servants and Friends had joined the Rebels yet they were most of them *Papists*, which made the *Scots* Gentlemen and Highlanders mighty uneasy, very much suspecting the cause; for they expected all the High-Church Party to have joined them; who, according to *Patten's* History of that Rebellion, are never right hearty for the Cause, till they are mellow over a Bottle, and then they do not care for venturing their Carcases any further than the Tavern; there indeed, (says he) with High-Church and *Ormond*, they would make Men believe, who do not know them, that they would encounter the greatest Opposition in the World; but after having consulted their Pillows, and the Fume, a little evaporated, it is to be observed of them, that they generally become mighty tame, and like the Snail, if you touch their Houses, they hide their Heads, shrink back and pull in their Horns Upon the Whole, it may be said of the *English* Jacobites, no People in the Universe know better the Difference between drinking and fighting; it is true the latter they know not practically; and I believe they are so well satisfied of the Truth of what they have by Relation, that they never will; would toasting Healths, Down with the Rump, &c. reduce Kingdoms; if the *French* Monarch had a large Body of these Men in his Service, he would

bid fair for succeeding in his savourite Scheme of Universal Monarchy.

Although some People were very busy in forming Schemes to promote this Rebellion, and insinuating their Friends to join them, in which they have not met with Success suitable to their Diligence, as a Help to their Industry, I have annex'd the following Receipt to make a Rebel; which is a never-failing Remedy if duly adminstered, and may be of great Use to young Practitioners in that Way against their next Undertaking, But as the best Receipt may be spoil'd unless it's made up of good Ingredients, I have added some few Remarks, to shew where these may best be had.

A RECEIPT *for making a REBEL.*

*Recipe Pride and Ambition ad libitum.*

They may be given, and are usually taken, in large Quantities, when the Constitution of the Patient will permit, to which great Regard ought always to be had; for as they abound with an intoxicating Quality, where they meet with a weak Brain, they are apt to turn the Head; for which there is no Remedy but taking it off, or Strangling. From the many Instances we have lately had of this in the North, 'tis to be feared this Recipe has been made too free with, and used there without this Precaution.

ENVY and DISCONTENT, MALICE and REVENGE, equal Quantities, in proportion to the forementioned Ingredients.

The two first of these *Envy* and *Discontent*, are raised in all the Courts of *Europe*; and transplanted, thrive best in a poor, lean, hungry Soil. They must be kept in the Shade, for the Sun infallibly destroys them.

The two last, *Malice* and *Revenge*, are very common in Italy, but not so good as those met with in *Spain*, of which they are supposed to be Natives.

TREACHERY and PERFIDIOUSNESS, as much as will lie on a *Scots* Groat.

Most of our Botanists suppose them to have been orginally of *French* Production; tho' others, and not without Reason, derive them from the North, since, in the earliest Accounts of Time, we meet with them there. However that be, they agree so well with the Climate, and are so carefully cultivated, that they come to as great Perfection there as in *France* itself.

BASENESS and INGRATITUDE, the same Quantity.

These are purely of North Extraction; where they have been always greatly encouraged, but more especially within these thirty Years.

FOOLHARDINESS, one Ounce.

TRUE COURAGE, a Dram.

As these Ingredients seem to operate much in the same Manner, and to produce similar Effects, they are often mistaken one for the other: But I

assure the Reader, if this Recipe be truly prepared, there is not the least Grain of *True Courage* in it, more than the Quantity above-mentioned.

CRUELTY, as much as *Cowardice* itself will admit of.

'Tis a vulgar Mistake that this is an Exotick, and brought over to us from both the *Indies*, where it grows wild; since, upon Examination, it appears to have been first carried into *America* by the *Spaniards*, and into the *East-Indies* by the *Portuguese*, both of which Nations have a proper Nursery, or Place set a-part for the Propagation of it; where it is committed to the Care and Culture of those able and experienced Botanists, the *Master-Inquisitors*, who have several Persons employ'd under them in the Cultivation of it. These exhibit publickly some Specimens of their Art and Industry at certain Seasons, called *Acts of Faith*; it being incredible, unless one saw it, to what Perfection they have, by their Skill and Management, brought this single Article.

To these you may, if you please, add a Scruple of HONOUR; which will be sufficient to give a Tincture to the whole Mass, as a little of it will go a great way. But as *true British Honour* is very scarce, (not being exposed to Sale) beware of Counterfeits; for what is generally pass'd off under that Name, is no more than a Bastard Sort run from *France*, which has scarce any Properties of the *True*, and loses the little Virtue it has when exposed.

To prepare the Patient for this Recipe, you need only divest him of *every good Quality*, and to reduce him, as near as you can to Mr *Hobbes's*, State of Nature. Especially, if he has the least Spark of Christianity in him, you must be sure to extinguish it.

Notwithstanding all the Artifice used to prevent it, there was, I believe, the most true and curious Calculation made of their Numbers during the Time they were at *Derby*, which was the more easy, because they stay'd there so long, and had their whole Forces with them; they were more regularly quarter'd there than in anyother Place during their whole March: This Calculation being communicated to me, I thought proper to give it a Place here, as it was made by the principal Inhabitants of the Town in all its Parishes; and that it might be the more exact, it was taken both the first and second Nights, so that the small Difference between between those Calculations, plainly shews how much they may be depended on;

First Night	Parishes	Second Night.
1590	<i>St. Warbur's</i>	1641
2979	<i>All Saints</i>	3027

1001	<i>St. Peter's</i>	1001
724	<i>St. Michael's</i>	724
714	<i>St. Edmund's</i>	755
<hr/>		<hr/>
7008		7048

*N. B.* Women and Boys excluded.

The Rebels, during their Stay at *Derby*,<sup>5</sup> were inform'd, that a Subscription had been set on Foot in that Town, for the King's Service, a little before their Arrival, and that the Money was paid in; they found Means to procure a Copy of the Subscription-Roll, which Sum they demanded under Pain of Military Execution. They were very industrious in providing themselves with Cloaths, Stockings, Shoes, and other Necessaries while at *Derby*; and it is not to be supposed that such Customers would pay the full Value for what they had, so that the Difference between their Price and the just Price of the Commodities and Manufactures they took, might be considered as a second Contribution.

Thus have I given you a journal of the Rebels Proceedings, whilst they continued in their wild Resolution of marching Southward; which, I doubt not, will be more acceptable to my Countrymen from me (being an Eye-Witness) than from Strangers, who must write only on Hearsay.

On the 5<sup>th</sup>, the Weather being extremely cold, I rode all Night with a Guide, and about Four o'Clock in the Morning, I got to *Stafford*, where his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* was with the Army. The Town was very full; however, I got my Horse taken Care of at the *Cross-Keys*: By the Length of my Journey, the Roads very bad, the Weather extreamly cold, and Want of Sleep, you may suppose I was pretty much fatigued, yet had no Opportunity to get to Bed; but the Satisfaction of being amidst the King's Troops, with the Help of some good old Beer, and a Couple of stew'd

---

<sup>5</sup> *Derby* is the County Town, and has its Name from having been a Park, or Shelter for Deer, which is partly confirm'd by the Arms of the Town, viz. a Buck couchant in a Park. It stands on the West Side of the River *Derwent*, and the South Side of it is water'd by a Rivulet, call'd *Merlin-Brook*, which has nine Bridges over it before it falls into the *Derwent*. It has a fair Stone Bridge of seven Arches over the latter, on which formerly stood a Chappel dedicated to *St. Mary*, but it is now converted into a Dwelling-House. When this Town was first built, there is no certain Account; but from some old Churches, and certain Privileges which it enjoys, 'tis supposed to be ancient; for we read that it was a Royal Borough in the Reign of *Edward* the Confessor, exempted from paying Toll in *London*, of any Place except *Winchester*, and some few other Towns In the Time of the *Saxons*, the *Danes* had their Head-Quarters there, till *Ethelsleda* at the Head of the *Mercian* Forces, took it by Surprise, defeated an Army of the *Danes* here, and put them to the Sword. In the South East Corner of the Town, there was formerly a Castle, of which there are now no tokens but a Hill called *Cowv-Castle-Hill*, and a Street leading to *St. Peter's*, which in ancient Deeds is called *Castle-Gate*.

Rabbits, I was well refreshed to undertake another Day's March; at Half an Hour past Six I went to his Royal Highness, and acquainted him with the Observations I had made, and repeated the most material Part of the Letters which I took from the Rebel Post, not having them with me for fear of being taken. Being joined the King's Army, and having nothing to fear but common Fate, I resolved to take my Chance with them in so good a Cause: There was a House by some Accident set on Fire that Morning that I went into *Stafford*.<sup>6</sup>

On the 6<sup>th</sup> the Rebels made a Feint as if they would have marched for *Loughborough*, but suddenly retreated Northward with the utmost Speed, and fled to *Ashburn* that Night. His Royal Highness having taken all the necessary Precautions to prevent their penetrating any further South, and to bring them to a Battle, march'd his Army that Day to *Litchfield*, and the next Day to *Meriden*, and advanced with the Horse to *Coventry*. Most of the Foot encamp'd on *Meriden* Common, between *Coleshill* and *Coventry*. The Soldiers had here the Quaker's Gift of Flannel Waistcoats. The Quakers being a quiet peaceable People, don't swear and fight for the King as we do, the former of which, might be omitted without the least Prejudice to our Military Discipline; for I never heard that bloody Oaths without Actions was able to defend a Town; but Actions without Oaths may; and I don't know any Reason, but that an Officer may bear as good a Command with yea and nay, as with d-m-me Bl—d and O-n-s. Although the Quakers do not as I have said, fight for the King, it being contrary to their Principles to bear Arms, yet they contribute to them that do. I have not met with any of them, during the late Rebellion, but what were zealous Friends to the Government.

*Spoken extempore by a Soldier, the Day after he received a Flannel  
Waistcoat, thro' the Bounty of the Quakers.*

THIS friendly Waistcoat keeps my Body warm,  
Intrepid now I march and fear no Harm;  
Beyond a Coat of Mail, a sure Defender,  
Proof against *Pope*, the *Devil*, and *Pretender*.  
The *Highland Plaid* of no such Power can boast,  
Arm'd thus, I'll rush the foremost in the Host;  
Exert my utmost Art, my utmost Might,

---

<sup>6</sup> *Stafford* is a Town of great Antiquity; *Cambden* says it was first built by *Edward* the Senior, under the Name of *Betlery*, where one *Berteline*, who was afterwards canonized for a Saint, for his great Piety, led an Hermit's Life: It was afterwards call'd *Statford*, and now *Stafford*; it is situated in a fruitful Soil, and a sweet Air on the Bank of the River *Sow*; it is adorned with two Churches, one whereof is very large and spacious; and a Free-School, beautified with a large and uniform Market-Place, in which is a House where the Assizes are held for the County; the Streets are clean and well paved, the Buildings of Stone and Slate, and some of them very handsome, with several good Inns, I was well accompanied at the *Cross-Keys*. King *John* made this Town a Corporation, and *Edward* VI confirmed and enlarged the Charter.

And fight for those whose Creed forbids to fight.

At this Time his Excellency Field Marshal *Wade*, had marched the Army under his Command to *Wetherby*, where they encamp'd on the 5<sup>th</sup>; and the same Day Orders were given for the Horse and Dragoons to proceed to *Doncaster*, whither the Foot were to follow them; so that if the Rebels had delayed marching for two or three Days, their Retreat would have been cut off; and to have proceeded South, they must have met with and been obliged to fight the Duke's Army, which I believe they never design'd.

It is to be observed, that the second Son of the *Pretender* was arrived in *France* about this Time, where great Preparations were made for the invading of this Kingdom; though by the timely Care and prudent Precautions of the Lords of the Admiralty, they were prevented by the Vigilance of Admiral *Vernon*, who was intrusted with the Command in the Channel, yet they occasioned a great deal of Confusion, and proved in that respect of some Service to the Rebels, but in another Sense they were of Service to the Nation, since, they not only kept: alive, but heighten'd that Spirit of Zeal and Loyalty which had appeared since the breaking out of the Rebellion, and of which all Ranks and Degrees of People gave at this Time such lively Testimonies, as were sufficient to convince even our Enemies, that his Majesty reigned in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects, as well as over their Persons; yet in *Scotland*, the Flame of Rebellion began again to spread itself, by the Assistance of the *French*, a Party of which were landed under Sir *John Drummond*, An Account of their landing is as follows.

*November 21.* About Five in the Evening, a Ship attempting to come into the Harbour of *Montross*, having no Boat to conduct her, run ashore on the Beach on the South Side of the River, and upon the *Hazard* Sloop firing, she put out *British* Colours, but some Hours after it was known she was a *French* Man of War of sixteen Carriage Guns besides Swivels, and that she had brought over the Lord *John Drummond*, with two Companies and a half of his Regiment; she came out in Company with three other Ships, who had on board the rest of the Regiment, but had parted with them in stormy Weather, and they observing the *Hazard* Sloop in the Harbour, supposed it one of them, but on finding their Mistake, they were employ'd that Night in carrying the Cannon ashore from their stranded Ship, and erecting a Battery to command the Harbour.

Admiral *Byng*, who had the Command of the *English* Ships of War on the *Scotch* Coasts, having Information that Lord *John Drummond* was embarked for *Scotland*, the Admiral ordered some Ships to cruize on the Coast, particularly between *Montrose* and *Stonehaven*, where the *French* Ships had formerly landed; but they had been driven off by a Storm.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> a Boat belonging to the *Hazard* Sloop was attacked by a Party

of Rebels that had been hovering about the Harbour of *Montrose* for some Time, who killed one, and took four Prisoners and the Boat. On the 24<sup>th</sup> the *Milford* and *Ludlow-Castle*, who had been blown off the Coast return'd much shattered.

About this Time the Rebels made a Shift to get Possession of the *Hazard* Sloop of War, which they effected in this Manner, viz.

Capt. *Hill*, of the *Hazard*, had sent a Party ashore in his Boats, who seized all the Cannon and Arms on board the Ships in the Harbour of *Montrose*, which he put on board a Vessel to be transported to *Leith*. That Night about 200 Highlanders came into the Town and kept very quiet, suffering no Intelligence to go to the Captain, who next Day sent his Long-Boat with twenty Men ashore to make further Search for Arms; the Rebels as soon as they observed the Boat a-ground, rush'd forward, kill'd one Man, and made the rest Prisoners, without being observed by those on board the Ship; and afterwards, with the Assistance of some Seamen, they mann'd out several Boats, and boldly boarded the Vessel loaded with Cannon and Arms, which rode at some Distance from the *Hazard*, and made themselves Masters of her; then, with the Assistance of this Ship, they attack'd the *Hazard*, who having lost so many of the Crew, was obliged to strike after making some Resistance; they gave the Command of the *Hazard*, in the *Pretender's* Name, to one of the Ship Masters who had his Vessel burnt by Capt. *Hill's* Orders, and he was very instrumental in taking the *Hazard*. There was another large Ship from *Dunkirk* at *Montrose*, the *Ludlow-Castle* who rode at the Mouth of the River, not being a Match for her, was obliged to cut her Cables and go to Sea: Admiral *Byng*, with four Men of War, came before that Harbour, but the Rebels had planted their Cannon so advantageously upon the Beach, that it was impossible to get at them; the *Milford* lost her Bowsprit, and received considerable Damage in her Rigging in attempting it.

About this Time, Lord *Lewis Gordon* with about 600 Men, was joined by *Glenbucket* with 300, who took Possession of and laid *Aberdeen* under Contribution, besides obliging them to raise 500 Men, or to pay; 51. for each Man wanting of that Number; here they proclaim'd the Pretender, and likewise his Son Regent, with great Solemnity. Provost *Mearison*, and the Aldermen, who kept a constant Correspondence with the Lord President, fled the City, and had solicited Succours from him and the Earl of *Loudon*, who sent a Detachment of 800 Men, to recover *Aberdeen* out of the Hands of the Rebels; but they in that Interim, had quitted the City, to go meet Lord *John Drummond*, who was landed at *Montrose*, they being joined, their Force amounted to about 1700 Men; who hearing of Lord *Loudon's* Detachment on the Road towards *Aberdeen*, marched with the greatest Expedition to get thither before them, which they did, while the others were 12 Miles short of the City at *Inverary*, where they intended to lodge all Night, not having any

intelligence of this forced March of the Rebels back from *Montrose*, thinking themselves in Security: Their Men were disposed of in the neighbouring Village and Farm Houses, except one Company which stayed with Captain *Monroe* of *Culcairn*, who commanded the Detachment, which the Evening before had marched through *Strathbogie*, where 600 of the *Grants* were under Arms, who had promised the Lord President to join Captain *Monroe*, they let him set forwards, promising to follow him, but did not.

The Night Capt. *Monroe* came forward to *Inverary*, where he quartered with one Company, he was fallen upon (between eight and nine at Night, when it was very dark) by the whole Force of the Rebels under Lord *John Drummond*, and Lord *Lewis Gordon*; they immediately assaulted the House in which were Captain *Monroe* and some other Officers, some of whom were undressed and going to Bed. Notwithstanding this Surprize, the Rebels met with a very resolute, sharp and obstinate Resistance; in which there were about 100 Men killed, of whom 40 were Loyalists: Captain *Monroe* and Captain *Macleod*, with a few of the brave Clans of their Names, fought their Way through the Multitude; but several other Officers and Men were taken Prisoners and carried to *Aberdeen*, from thence they were removed to *Perth*.

Lord *John Drummond* having landed about 500 Men at *Peterhead* and *Montrose*, was very soon joined by the Party which Lord *Lewis Gordon* had been raising in the North, as well as by others of the disaffected Clans, such as the *Mackenzies*, the *Mackintoshes*, the *Farquharsons*, and the *Fraziers*, to the Number of about 3000 Men, with which Force he drew down towards *Perth*, about the Time that the mock Prince was at *Derby*.

*December 21* Lord *John Drummond* set up the *French* Standard at *Dundee*, and read the *French* King's Declaration there, under a treble Discharge of his Artillery; containing in Substance, *That he. Lord John Drummond, Commander in Chief of his Most Christian Majesty's Forces in Scotland, was come to make War against George King of England, Elector of Hanover, in support of the Family of the Stuart; declaring that his Most Christian Majesty and the King of Spain, are the Allies of the above Family, that they are resolved to support them with Men, Arms, Ammunition and Money; that whoever shall join and assist Charles P--- of W---, 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 shew for his present Majesty.*

The villainous and cruel Method this Desperado took to raise Men for his Master's Service, was not only the readiest Way to stagger the most violent Friends of Jacobitism and Arbitrary Power, but to enflame the Indignation of the loyal Part of the *Scots* Nation against him: For he sent his Men thro' the Country, with lighted Faggots in their Hands, who called at Gentlemen and Farmer's Houses, enquiring how many Men Servants they had; and if they

did not immediately send out whatever Number they demanded, they set Fire to their Houses. The Fact will best appear by giving you the Order in full, which was as follows:

By Order of the Right Hon. Lord *Lewis Gordon*, Lord Lieutenant of the Counties, and Governor of the Towns of *Aberdeen* and *Bamff*.

**W**HEREAS I desired and ordered W J. Moir of Stonywood, to intimate to all the Gentlemen and their Doers, within the said Counties of Aberdeen and Bamff, to send into the Town of Aberdeen, a well-bodied Man for each 100l. Scots, their valued Rent, sufficiently cloathed; and in Consequence of my Order he wrote circular Letters to all the Heritors, and the above Counties, desiring them to send in a Man sufficiently cloathed, &c. for each 100l. Scots of their valued Rent, which Desire they have not complied with; therefore I order and command you, to take a sufficient Party of my Men, and go to all the Lands in the above Counties, and require from the Heritors, Factors or Tenants, as you think most proper, an able bodied Man for his M--- K--- J---'s Service, with sufficient Highland Cloaths, plaid and Arms, for each 100l of their valued Rent, or the Sum of 5l. 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 Man 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 Land, and not to leave the said Lands until the above Execution be done, unless they produce Stonywood's Lines, shewing they have delivered him the Man or Money.

Given at Aberdeen, this 12<sup>th</sup> Day of December, 1745.

Subscribed,

*Lewis Gordon.*

The Earl of *Loudon*, who was at the Head of a small Body of Men for the King's Service, in the North, spared no Pains or Diligence in exciting the well affected Clans to join him; and by the Reinforcements he received from the Lords *Sutherland* and *Ray*, the *Macleods* the *Grants*, the *Monroes*, and the *Guns*, he was soon 2000 strong. At *Edinburgh* likewise, and at *Glasgow* they began to raise Men for the Service of the Government, with great Chearfulness and Success; so that two good Regiments were completed, besides Independant Companies.

*December 7.* His Royal Highness got certain Intelligence that the Rebels were marching North, on which he put himself next Morning at the Head of his Horse and Dragoons, with some Volunteers, in order to follow the Rebels and stop them till the Foot came up, which was impossible, for the Rebels Fears were so great that they run Day and Night, until they had got to *Carlisle*, where they had left a Garrison; their Route was as follows:

*December 7.* They marched from *Ashburn* to *Leek*, destroying in their Passage what they judged might be of Use to the King's Troops that were in Pursuit of them, and shewing a warm Spirit of Resentment for the Disappointments they had met with, which provoked the Country People to do them all the Mischief they could; they carried their Train of Artillery with them: The 9<sup>th</sup> about Noon their Van-Guard reached *Manchester*, and that Evening the Mock Prince, with the main of his Army came their, where they were not received as they had been before; nor I have not heard that the new made Officers had the Compliments paid them usual on such Occasions; but on the contrary, the Town's People, or at least the Mob, gave them some pretty Visible Marks of their Dislike, which was punished immediately by an Order, or Precept in the Name of the Mock Prince, and signed and sealed by Mr *Murray* his Secretary, directed to the Constables and Collectors of the Land-Tax for the Towns of *Manchester* and *Salford*, requiring them to levy and collect, by the Next Day at Noon, the Sum of 25001. to be paid to Mr. *Murray*; with a Promise of Repayment, when the Country should be settled under his Government.

---

*Manchester* is situated on the Bank of the River *Irwell*, over which is a stately Stone Bridge, going into *Salford*, which Village is only separated from *Manchester* by this River, as the City of *London* from *Southwark* by the River *Thames*. Tho' this is no City, Corporation, nor so much as a Town strictly speaking; the highest Magistrate being a Constable or Headborough, yet it may be stiled the greatest mere Village in *England*, and is more populous than *York*, or most Cities in this Kingdom. The People here, including *Salford*, are computed to be no less than 30,000. As. this Town is very populous, so the Inhabitants are very industrious, driving an extraordinary Trade in Fustian Manufactures, and that called *Manchester* Cottons for Women's Wear, which it has been famous for above 100 Years, has been very much improved of late, by some Inventions of dying and printing, which with the great Variety of other Manufactures, known by the Name of *Manchester* Goods, as Tickings, Linnens, Checks, Hatts, and all Kinds of what they call Small Wares, as Threads Tapes, Filleting, Qualities, &c. which enrich the Town and render the People industrious, resembling those of *Holland*, the Children here being all employed and earn their Bread: They export vast Quantities of their Goods abroad, as to the *West-Indies*, &c. As an Inland Town, it has the best Trade of any in these North Parts. I have already said, that this Town is the most populous, and the Inhabitants most industrious; to which I may add, that the Buildings are the most sumptuous of any hereabouts Here is a fine *Gothic* Church, which is Collegiate, built in 1742, a very large, beautiful, and stately Edifice, with a Choir remarkable for its neat and curious carved Work; there belongs to it at present, a College consisting of one Warden, four Fellows, two Chaplains, four singing Men,

and four Choiristers. The College was originally founded by *Thomas West*, Brother ther to the Lord *De-la-Ware*, by the Name of *St Mary's*, in Honour of the Virgin *Mary*, to whom the Parish Church was before dedicated. It was founded a-new by Queen *Elizabeth*, in 1578, by the Name of *Christ's College* in *Manchester*, which Foundation was afterwards confirmed by King *Charles* the First, in 1636, and incorporated by the same Name, the Statutes for it being drawn up by Archbishop *Laud*. Here is an Hospital, a School, and a large Library well furnished with Books, founded by *Humphrey Chetham* Esq; about one hundred Years ago, where sixty poor Boys are will maintain'd, cloathed, and instructed in necessary Learning, and then put out Apprentices. As the Inhabitants become more numerous, in Proportion to the Increase of their Trade, a new Parish is erected, and a new Church built in it, dedicated to *St. Ann*, and the Town is very much improved, by the building of a very handsome Street of stately Houses, at the End of which the said Church is erected. Near this Church stands the *Presbyterian* Meeting House, which was pulled down by the *Jacobite* Mob at the Time of the Rebellion in the Year 1715, but was quickly rebuilt, and is now a very stately Structure, not inferior to any in *London*. This Town has a good Market-Place and a modern Exchange, with many other Eligant and magnificent Buildings. Here is likewise a small *Baptist* Meeting House, and a *Jacobite, Nonjuring* Chappel; I don't know of what Body the Congregation consists, they not allowing any to come amongst them but such as are of there own Sort, who (like the more worshipful Society of Free-Masons) are under an Oath not to divulge what is transacted there, except it be to a just and lawful *Jacobite*, as he or they shall appear to be upon Examination.

In this County the Women are generally very handsome, by which they have acquired the Name of *Lancashire Witches*, which Apellation they really deserve, being very agreeable; but some of the pretty *Jacobite Witches*, chuse to distinguish themselves by wearing Plaid Breast-knots, Ribbons, and Garters tied above the Knee, which may be remonstranced as dangerous to the Constitution; for that above a Lady's Knee is of so attracting a Quality, it's not only in Danger of drawing his Majesty's good Subjects in the Civil, but Military Gentlemen off their Duty.

If rightly considered, the Fair Sex should exert all their Charms to oppose this Popish Scheme, as one of them well represents it thus:

Surely we *Women* have the strongest Reason,  
To stop the Progress of this *Popish* Treason;  
When *Female Liberty* is now at Stake,  
*All Women* ought to bustle for its Sake:  
Should these audacious Sons of *Rome* prevail,  
*Vows, Convents*, and that heathen Thing a *Veil*,  
Must come in Fashion; and such Institutions,  
Would suit but oddly with our Constitutions:

What gay Coquet would brook a *Nun's* Profession?  
 And we've some private Reasons against Confession;  
 Besides, our good Men of the *Church*, they say,  
 (Who now, thank Heav'n, may *love* as well *as pray*)  
 Must then be only *wed to Cloister'd Houses*,  
 Slap then were *nick'd* of 20,000 Spouses;  
 And Faith no *bad* ones, as I'm told; then judge ye,  
 Is't fit we lose our *Benefit of Clergy*?  
 In *Freedom's* Cause, ye Patriot Fair arise,  
 Exert the *sacred Influence* of your Eyes;  
 On *Valiant Merit* deign alone to smile,  
 And vindicate the *Glory* of our Isle;  
 To no *base Rebel*, *prostitute* your Charms,  
 In War; *Disband* the Lover who *deserts* his Arms.  
 So shall you *fire* each *Hero* to his *Duty*,  
 And *British Rights* *befav'd* by *British Beauty*.

On the 10<sup>th</sup> they left *Manchester*, and continued their March by *Pendleton-Pole*, towards *Leigh* and *Wigan*, which last Place they reach'd that Evening, and pushed on from thence to *Preston* the next Day, being; extremely apprehensive of finding themselves surrounded in that Neighbourhood.

On the 13<sup>th</sup> in the Morning they quitted *Preston*, and continued their March to *Lancaster*, where they set open the Goal, and releas'd the Rebel Prisoners taken by me, with some others, and behaved in a very rude Manner, as appears by the following Letter transmitted to me by a Friend.

*Lancaster*, December 19.

**T**HE Rebels, in their Passage thro' this Town last Week, behaved like a Parcel of the most consummate Villains: The meaner Part of them pilfer'd and stole every Thing portable for their Purpose; and their Chiefs sent Ruffians to plunder and extort Money, in a most brutal Manner, from Gentlemen who had exerted themselves most against them. From Mr. *Gillison* they got 211. and a Party of the fiercest of them was sent to Dr. *Fenton's*, the Vicar of this Town, who committed all the Outrages there, their Malice suggested. The Doctor was fled; but they presented several Pistols and drawn Swords at a Time to the Breasts and Heads of his Servants, and caused every Room, Chest, Drawer, and Box in the House, to be opened or broke open; out of which they took what they pleased; and then swore most vehemently they would burn the House, unless 20l was paid to redeem it. This so terrified an old Lady in the House, that she advanced that Sum in Behalf of the Doctor. No sooner had they got the Money, but they bid the Doctor's Servants tell him, that they would shoot him thro' the Head whenever they met with him; for they swore they were well informed that he was the greatest Enemy they had in *Lancashire*, by his frequent preaching

against them, and intimidating and restraining their Friends as a Justice of Peace.’

When they were in this Town, a false Report arose and was carried North, viz. that the King’s Troops had come up with and totally defeated the Rebels near *Lancaster*, which caused great Rejoicings Northward, and many Candles and Tar-Barrels were burnt at *Whitehaven* on that Occasion, with some Gun-powder.

On the 14<sup>th</sup>, the Rebels continued their Route from *Lancaster* to *Kendal*, where the Duke of *Perth* with the Advanced Guard, to the Number of about 100 Horsemen enter’d in the Forenoon, where they met with a bad Reception from the Townsmen, who were up in Arms to fall on those who had escaped at the supposed Battle, so that they fired on *Perth’s* Men, and there were some killed on both Sides: I have since seen the Place where one of the Rebels was buried, which is about four Miles from *Kendal*, where he dropp’d and died of his Wounds.

On the 15<sup>th</sup>, *Perth* and his Horsemen got to *Penrith*, where the Townsmen fell on them, on which the Rebels retreated and fled, the Townsmen pursuing for several Miles, so that there was a pretty Sort of a Hunting Match; although the Gentlemen of *Penrith* are not accustomed to hunt on a Sunday, yet they followed the Chase that Day with great Alacrity, until they lost both Sight and Scent of them. When the Rebels got hack to *Shap* which is a little Village in the Road betwixt *Penrith* and *Kendal*, the Beacons were lighted on every Side, and being informed that it was done to raise the Country, and that the People weie disposed to fall on them, they thought proper to retire to *Kendal*, which they accordingly did about two in the Morning, where the *Pretender* with most of his Forces were arrived. This Affair was likely to prove of bad Consequence to the Towns of *Kendal* and *Penrith*, had not his Royal Highness been so nigh.

On the 16<sup>th</sup> by Break of Day, the Rebels began their March for *Penrith*, which they thought to have reached that Night, but finding it impracticable, they thought fit to halt at *Shap*, where I will leave them for the present, that I may the better give my Readers an Account of the Motions of the King’s Forces, in order to overtake them.

*December 8.* His Royal Highness set out from *Meridan* Camp, in Pursuit of the Rebels; and to facilitate his March the Country People, firm and loyal to their King, brought in Horses to mount 1000 Foot Soldiers, draughted out of several Regiments, that was to follow the Duke in order to overtake the Rebels; our Foot Soldiers not being accustomed to riding, I thought they look’d odd on Horseback, with their Muskets and KnapSacks slung over their Shoulders, and their Desire to come up with the Rebels, was visible in every of their Countenances; with so much Pleasure they rode along, and the

Countrymen with fresh Horses coming to remount our Soldiers, running themselves on Foot very chearfully, that it really afforded a most pleasing Prospect.

On the Duke's Arrival at *Cheadle*, in *Staffordshire*, the Country People brought in a Rebel Spy, which they delivered to our Army, when on their March to *Macclesfield*, where he was hang'd on a Gibbet, and order'd to hang untill 8 o'Clock at Night, when about that Time Mr *George Alcock* an Apothecary and Surgeon, in this Town, went to the Centinel, to buy the Body, which he bought for 4s. 6d. the Dragoon who sold it thought it a good Price, and the Doctor was likewise well pleased with his Bargain; intending to Anatomize his Carcase, and expected to have had Leather of the Skin, (worth his Money) which he accordingly gave to a Tanner to dress, but the Miracle Mongers say, that the Hide was of so holy a Nature, that it would not Tan, nor be confin'd to lye under Water, by any Weight that could be put upon it; so that the Tanner after much Labour lost, was obliged to take this Holy Hide and bury it. As the Person dyed a Martyr to a good Cause, as they call it, and inlisted himself under the Banner of Rebellion, with a holy Resolution to murder the King and Royal Family, with all other Hereticks out of the Pail of their Catholick Church; if this Skin had been preserv'd and well manag'd, by a skilful Priest, there might have Been as many Miracles wrought by it, as any Holy Relict brought from *Rome*, tho' bought there at a high Price.

On the 10<sup>th</sup>, the Duke arrived at *Macclesfield*, with two Regiments of Dragoons, having a Body of 1000 Foot at no great Distance; from whence he sent Orders to *Manchester* and other Places, that nothing might be neglected, that would contribute to retard or distress the Enemy.

On the 11<sup>th</sup>, Major; *Wheatley* was detached with an advanced Party of Dragoons to harrass the Rear of the Rebels, and to join the light-armed Troops that were expected from the other Army; the Motions of which shall be next accounted for to this Time; after which the Pursuit was entirely under his Royal Highnesses Direction.

His Excellency Field-Marshal *Wade*, having received certain Intelligence of the Proceedings of the Rebels, and of the Situation of the King's Troops, under the Command of his Royal Highness, held on the 8<sup>th</sup> of *December* a great Council of War at *Ferry-Bridge* to consider of the most effectual Means, for cutting off the Retreat of the Rebels; and in this Council of War it was resolved, to march directly by *Wakefield* and *Halifax* to *Lancashire*, as the most likely Way to intercept the *Highlanders*, but arriving at *Wakefield* on the 10<sup>th</sup>, and having Advice that the main Body of the Rebels were at *Manchester*, and their Van-Guard moving from thence to *Preston*, his Excellency now finding that it was impossible to come up with them, judged it unnecessary to fatigue his Forces with hard Marches, and therefore

detached Major-General *Oglethorpe* on the 10<sup>th</sup>, with the Cavalry under his Command; he began his March with the rest of his Forces for *Newcastle*.

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, a great Body of Horse and Dragoons, that were, as has been said, under the Command of Major-General *Oglethorp*, arrived at *Preston*, having marched 100 Miles in three Days, over Snow and Ice, which was a noble Testimony of Zeal and Spirit, especially in the new-rai'd Forces. His Royal Highness arrived about one at the same Place, and immediately gave his Orders for continuing the Pursuit of the Rebels, with the utmost Diligence; there was a Rebel Spy taken and executed here.

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, General *Oglethorpe* advanced towards *Lancaster*, which Place the Duke reached on the 16<sup>th</sup>. General *Oglethorpe* continued his Pursuit at the Heels of the Rebels, and on the 17<sup>th</sup>, the Major-General and his Royal Highness enter'd *Kendal*, having now more Hopes of coming up with the Enemy than any Time during the March, and the Dispositions which were made by the Duke for that Purpose, were such as shewed the utmost Penetration and Military Skill

On *Wednesday* the 18<sup>th</sup> of *December*, the King's Light-Horse, after ten Hours March, came in Sight of the Rebels, near *Lowther-Hall*, where they surprized the Duke's running Footman and took him Prisoner, from whom they learned, that his Royal Highness with his Cavalry was coming up at a little Distance, on which Information the Rebels threw themselves into the Village of *Clifton*, from whence Lord *George Murray*, who commanded the Rear-Guard, dispatched his Aid-du-Camp to *Penrith*, which is three Miles, to acquaint the *Pretender*, who immediately ordered a Body of Horse and Foot to reinforce Lord *George*, and a Design was formed to surprize the Light-Horse; to which End, a Party marched through Lord *Lonsdale's* Park to get behind them; in the mean Time, the Rebels at *Clifton* had posted themselves in the most advantageous Manner, by lining every Hedge, Orchard, and Out-house, from the South End of *Clifton*, to *Thomas Savage's* a Quaker, at the Foot of the Moor, where a Party of the Rebels were posted, and from whence they made the first Fire at the Duke's Hussars. By this Time his Royal Highness with the Dragoons was come up, and the Rebel's Ambuscade was fully formed, from whence, it is very likely the King's Troops might have received considerable Damage, had not *Jonathan Savage*, who went thro' the Fields acquainted the Duke with the Rebel's Design His Royal Highness having before sent a Party to *Lowther-Hall*, and to the Wood, and a Party under General *Oglethorpe* which mov'd to the Right, drew up his Troops on *Clifton* Moor, and advanc'd, but finding it impossible to come at the Rebels on Horseback, ordered Detachments from *Bland's*, Lord *Mark Kerr's*, and *Cobham's* Dragoons to dismount, and attack the Ambuscades, and the Posts the Rebels were in Possession of, which they regularly did with great Resolution; the Action was very sharp and desperate

while it lasted, but at last ended in our Favour, notwithstanding the Rebels from their Situation had greatly the Advantage of us, we being obliged to go over the Hedges up to the Boot Tops in; Water; not only so, but it being late in the Evening, they could see our Buff Belts and lac'd Hats, when we could not so well discern their blue Bonnets and dark colour'd Plaids, so that we could only Fire at their Fire, which was very hot on both Sides. Notwithstanding these Disadvantages, we push'd them with such Intrepidity, that in about an Hour they quitted the Field and the neighbouring Village, and fled to *Penrith*.

It was so late before the Affair was over, and the Country so covered, that it was impossible to follow them with any Probability of Success, so that his Royal Highness took up his Quarters at *Thomas Savage's* House, who rejoiced much in Spirit, that such a Guest was come under his Roof. There was of the King's Forces eleven kill'd and twenty-nine wounded; of the former there was seven of *Bland's*, three of *Cobham's*, and one of *Mark Kerr's*; amongst the latter were four Officers, viz. Col. *Honeywood*. Capt. *East*, and the Cornets *Owen* and *Hamilton*. On the Side of the Rebels their Loss is not certainly known, we found five dead in the Field, and there was a Countryman who told me, that there was about thirty seen, whom the Rebels had thrown into a River, that the Number of their Slain might not be known: One of the Duke's Hussars took Mr *Hamilton*, Capt. of the Rebel Hussars, who cut the Captain in the Head. I saw him the Night after the Skirmish in a very bloody Condition, and afterwards saw him executed at *York*; of which I shall give you an Account of in its proper Place. One *Ogden* of *Manchester*, was likewise taken by an Hussar, who after he had begg'd his Life, privately drew a Pistol and shot at the Hussar, but missed him; he in Return, cut *Ogden* down the Side of his Head: I have since been informed that he died in *Lancaster* Goal.

The King's Troops continued under Arms all Night, which was very rainy, and in the Morning we had about sixty of the Rebels Prisoners, many of them being picked up by the Country People thereabouts; Whilst the Rear-Guard of the Rebels was engaged with the King's Forces at *Clifton*, the Main Body of the Rebels were at *Penrith*, and so apprehensive of being overtaken, that at ten o'Clock that Night, they ordered their Artillery and Baggage to advance towards *Carlisle*; and on the 19<sup>th</sup> in the Morning they entered that City, excessively fatigued and in much Confusion, where I will leave them at this Time, until I give you an Account of the Means used to recover the City.

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, his Royal Highness entered *Penrith* with his Cavalry, and continued there two Days until his Infantry came up: His Presence at that Time afforded much Satisfaction to the Town's People; for nothing but the Intrepidity of the Pursuit, could have sav'd the Town from the Resentment of the Rebels, as they had threaten'd them, for driving back the advanced Guard

already taken Notice of, and another Affair that I had forgot to mention in its proper Place, which was as follows:

On the 27<sup>th</sup> of *November*, Lord *Kilmarnock's* Son, with 18 other Rebels, came from *Carlisle* to *Penrith*, all on Horseback, with their Swords drawn, and demanded Billets for 1000 Men, whom they pretended were to follow them, but on perceiving that the Town's People were consulting to fall upon them, they rode off in great Haste that Night to *Lowther-Hall*, Lord *Lonsdale's* Seat, where they lock'd fast the Gates, and set three of their Number to watch the Approach of Disturbers; the rest went into the House, where they broke 14 Locks, in order to plunder; they ordered a fine Supper, and got Liquor of all Kinds, expecting to be all well mounted the next Morning; but one of Lord *Lonsdale's* Stewards getting away to *Penrith*, he returned with about 30 brave stout young Men well armed, who were resolved to conquer or die in the Attempt; they got to *Lowther-Hall* about Eleven that Night, when the Guards having alarmed the Gentlemen, who were just sitting down to Supper, they immediately got to Arms, and there was pretty smart firing on both Sides for about Half an Hour, the one Party lying within and the other without; but the *Penrith* Men forced their Way in and took eleven Prisoners, who were sent to Marshal *Wade's*, Army: Three of the Rebels it was thought died of their Wounds: There was but one of the *Penrith* Men that was slightly hurt; and as a Recompence for their Bravery, they got fifteen Horses and some good Arms. Lord *Kilmarnock's* Son, and one *C—v—g* of *Northumberland*, and some others, having been brought up at *Lowther* School, and knowing all the Roads about the House, escaped.

---

*Penrith* is a pretty Market Town, and I believe may be reckon'd the second Town for Wealth and Trade in the County of *Cumberland*, and is commonly called *Perith*; it is pleasantly situated on a good Soil. It was fortified on the the West-Side with a Royal Castle, which in the Reign of *Henry VI* was repaired out of the Ruins of *Maburg*, a *Danish* Temple hard by, but is now in Ruins itself: It is adorned with a handsome Church; and has a large Market-Place, where there is an Edifice of Timber, for the Use of such as resort hither to Market, garnished with Bears climbing up a Ragged Staff, which was the Device of the Earls of *Warwick*. The Town is built of red Stone, from whence it is called *Penrith*, which in *British* signifies a *Red-Hill* or *Head*. In the Church-Yard here, on the North Side are erected two large Pillars of about four Yards in Height each, and about five Yards Distance from each other; it is said they were let up in Memory of one Sir *Ewin Casirius*, in old Times a famous Warrior, of great Strength and Stature, who lived in these Parts, and killed wild Boars in the Forest of *Inglewood*, which much infested the Country. He was buried here they say, and that the rude Figures of Bears, which are in Stone, and erected two on each Side of his Grave, between the Pillars, are in Memory of his great Exploits upon those

Creatures. Upon the North Outside of the Vestry in the Wall, in rude Characters, is this Writing, for a Memorandum to Posterity, *Fuit Pestis, &c. i.e.* There was a Plague A. D. 1598, of which there died at *Kendal* 2500, at *Richmond* 2200, at *Penrith* 2266, and at *Carlisle* 1196.

The Rebels did not continue long at *Carlisle*, for after changing the Garrison, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of *December*, they continued their March Northward, crossing the River *Esk*, tho' very deep, but they chose rather to venture drowning (which was the Fate of some) than stay to give the Duke Battle; so that Day the young Pretender entered *North-Britain*, leaving the Garrison to shift for themselves as well as they could: At his leaving them, he comforted the Garrison with the Promise of a speedy Relief; for as Lord *John Drummond* was landed in *Scotland* with some *French* Forces, he promised to return with them, and desired that they would hold out the Garrison, which they promised they would to the last Extremity; for which Purpose, they having all the Cannon with them, mounted them on the Walls, and carried all the Provisions they could find into the Castle, leaving the Inhabitants very little to support them, and they could get none from the adjacent Country, as knowing that whatever was carried into the Town, would be taken from them by the Rebels: But they they did not continue in this distressed Condition long; for on the 20<sup>th</sup>, the King's Infantry arrived at *Penrith*, and an advanced Party marched to *Hesket* within eight Miles of *Carlisle*, but having no Cannon, that Day I was sent to *Whitehaven*, to order the battering Cannon from thence; the People arose in a Body, and got Horses and Carriages ready with all Expedition: They were ten Pieces of eighteen Pounders, of which four were drawn by forty Horses of Sir *James Lowther's*, Bart, which went along pretty briskly; but I saw 16 or 18 of the Country Horses to a Gun and often set, the Roads being very soft. At my Return, on the 22<sup>nd</sup>, I found that *Carlisle* had been invested on the 21<sup>st</sup> by the King's Troops. Major-General *Bland* with *St. George's* Dragoons, and 300 Men of *Bligh's* Regiment, had taken Post on the *Scotch* Side, with Orders to prevent any Passage over the Bridge upon the River *Eden*, which leads directly to the *Scotch* Gate. Major *Adams* with 200 Foot, was posted at *Butcherby* near the *English* Gate, to prevent any of the Garrison escaping that Way; Major *Meriac*, at *Cawdey*, near the *Irish* Gate, with the same Orders; and Sir *Andrew Agnew*, at the Salley-Port, with 300 Men: All the Horse and Foot Guards were canton'd round the Town at a Mile or two Distance; his Royal Highness had fix'd his Head Quarters at *Blackhall*, and a great many People came out of the Country to assist the King's Army with Clubs and Staves, and such other Weapons as they had, the Game Law forbidding the Use of Fire Arms. The Countrymen being most of them of no Use, and their Number being about 10,000, his Royal Highness ordered them all to return to their Homes, except a few who were employed in cutting Fascines for the Batteries; the Duke's Regular Forces at this Time, were about four thousand.

Field Marshal *Wade* having Intelligence of what had passed at *Clifton*, detached a considerable Body of Foot to reinforce the Duke's Army, and gave such other Orders, as were requisite for hastening thither the Artillery and Ammunition that was wanting to carry on the Siege, but all those Wants were supplied from *Whitehaven*. On the 16<sup>th</sup>, part of the Cannon from thence arrived: The Rebel Garrison, mostly composed of *English* Recruits, and *Gordon* of *Glenbucket's* Men, commanded by one *Hamilton*, formerly Steward to the Duke of *Gordon*, in all about 400 Men; appear'd at first to make a vigorous Defence, firing their Cannon on every Body that appeared.

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, about Eight in the Morning, our Forces began to batter their four and seven Gun Batteries, with six Eighteen Pounders, at which the Rebel Garrison were as much surprized, as if they had felt the Shock of an Earthquake, wondering from whence those roaring Guns came, knowing that the *English* Army brought none with them; thus we continued playing upon them till Mid-Afternoon, by which Time many of the Rebel's Cannon were dismounted and their Batteries put to Silence; then they retreated to their ten Gun Battery which pointed Eastward, and continued firing from that till Morning: In the Night the Rebels were much perplexed with Cohorns that we flung into the Castle; the Sailors from *Whitehaven* assisted in working the Cannon, so that upwards of eleven hundred Shot was fired that Day; we had one Man killed, and the Rebels had sixteen killed and wounded. On the 19<sup>th</sup>, it was found necessary to abate the Firing from the Battery for want of Shot; that Day I was sent to order two thousand Cannon Shot, eighteen Pounders, to be made at a Furness about twenty four Miles Distance from the Garrison: During this Interval, the Rebels had got their Batteries repaired, and began afresh to fire on our Battery, but in the Evening several Horses arriving at our Battery loaden with Shot, his Royal Highness immediately gave Orders to renew the Fire, and that the Guns should be levelled at the Salley-Port, where he intended the Breach should be made, at which they continued battering very briskly for two Hours, which rent the Walls very much; and on the Night of the 20<sup>th</sup>, his Royal Highness ordered *Belford*, Major of the Train, to raise a new Battery of three eighteen Pounders, about fifty Yards to the Northwards of the former, which was compleated by the Morning, but on the the first Platoon of the old Battery firing, the Rebels hung out a 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, which is on the opposite Side of the Town. About this Time there was a Man taken and brought to the Duke, who produced two Letters, one directed to his Royal Highness, and the other to the Commander of the *Dutch* Troops, supposed to be with his Army. They were from a Person stiling himself the Commander of the *French* Artillery, and the *French* Garrison that was at, or might come to *Carlisle*, and who subscribes his Name *De Geognegan*, for the Defence of the Town and Citadel; the Contents of them were, to summon the

Commander of the *Dutch*, to retire with his Troops from the *English Army*, under the Pretence of the Capitulation of *Tournay*.

---

*His Royal Highness's Message to the Rebels at Carlisle, on their hanging out a White Flag, on Monday Morning, Dec. 30, 1745.*

**H**IS Royal Highness will make no Exchange of Hostages with Rebels and desires they will let him know by me, what they mean by hanging out the White Flag.

*To let the French Officer know., if there is one in Town, that there are no Dutch Troops here, but enough of the King's Troops to chastise the Rebels, and those who dare give them any Assistance.*

Sign'd Col. CONWAY, Aid de  
Camp to his Royal Highness.

*The Answer of John Hamilton, to his Royal Highness the Duke's Message to the Rebels in Carlisle, Dec. 30, 1745.*

**I**N Answer to the short Note sent by his Royal Highness Prince William Duke of Cumberland, the Governor, in Name of himself, and all the Officers and Soldiers, Gunners, and others, belonging to the Garrison, desire to know what Terms his Royal Highness will be pleased to give them, upon Surrender of the City and Castle of Carlisle; and which known, his Royal Highness, shall be duly acquainted with the Governor and Garrison's last, or ultimate Resolution, the White flag being hung out on Purpose to obtain a Cessation of Arms for concluding such a Capitulation.

JOHN HAMILTON.

This was given to the Duke's Aid de Camp.

*His Royal Highness's Declaration to the Rebels, sent by the Colonels Conway and Lord Bury, Aids de Camp to his Royal Highness on receiving John Hamilton's Letter, December 30, 1745.*

**A**ll the Terms his Royal Highness will, or can grant to the Rebel Garrison at Carlisle, are, That they shall not be put to the Sword, but be reserved for the King's Pleasure.

*If they consent to these Conditions, the Governor and principal Officers are to deliver themselves up immediately, and the Castle Citadel and all the Gates of the Town are to be taken Possession of forthwith by the King's Troop, all the small Arms are to be lodged in the Town Guard Room, and the rest of the Garrison are to retire to the Cathedral, where a Guard is to be placed over them. No Damage is to be done to the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition,*

By his Royal Highness's Gommand,  
RICHMOND, LENOX, AUBIGNY,

*Lieutenant General of the King's Forces.*

Head Quarters at *Blackhall*,  
Dec. 30, half an Hour past  
Two in the Afternoon.

---

The *Rebels Answer to the Terms* offered them by his Royal Highness the  
Duke of Cumberland, *December 30, 1745*

**T**HE Governor of Carlisle, and all the Officers composing the Garrison, agree to the Terms of Capitulation given in, and subscribed by Order of his Royal Highness, by his Grace the Duke of Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces, recommending themselves to his Royal Highness's Clemency, and that his Royal Highness will be pleased to interpose for them with his Majesty; and that the Officers Cloaths and Baggage may be safe, with a competent Time to be allowed to the Citizens of Carlisle, to remove their Beds, and Bed Cloaths, and other Household Furniture impressed from them for the Use of the Garrison in the Castle.

*December 30, 1745, at Three o'Clock in the Afternoon.*

After the Capitulation was agreed upon, Brigadier *Bligh* immediately took Possession of the Town with a Detachment of 400 Guards, 700 Foot, and 120 Horse. The Officers yielded themselves Prisoners immediately, and their Men laid down their Arms in the Market-Place, and retired into the Cathedral; so that they defiled the Temple, which used to be the House of Prayer, but was now become a Den of Thieves, where there was a Guard set over them, till his Royal Highness could otherwise dispose of them: Such was the Issue of this wild -UnderU 2 taking; taking; and so soon were those who pretended to defend the Place to the last Extremity', reduced to surrender it and themselves Prisoners at Discretion.

*A LIST of the Rebel Officers, &c. taken at Carlisle.*

<i>English.</i>	<i>Scotch</i>	<i>French</i>
Colonel 1	Governor 1	Officers 3
Captains 5	Surgeon 1	Serjeant 1
Lieutenants 6	Captains 6	Private Men 4
Ensigns 7	Lieutenants 7	Total 8
Chaplain 1	Ensigns 3	
Adjutant 1		English 114

Non-Commission Officers & private Men 93	Non-Commission Officers & private Men 256	Scotch 274 French 8
Total 114	Total 274	In all 396

*Artillery.* Brass one and half pounders with Carriages 6, Brass Octagon with Carriage 1, Brass four Pounders with Carriages 3, Brass Coehorns 4, Royals 2. In all 16.

Of the before-mentioned Prisoners, there were seven that had deserted from the King's Army at *Preston-Pans* and joined the Rebels; who, with four others of the same Sort, were hanged at *Harriby*.

At the entering of *Carlisle*, I got a Basket-hilted Back-Sword, of curious Workmanship; I suppose made in *France* for some of the Rebel Chiefs: The Basket-Hilt was close and well wrought, fit only for a small Hand; the Blade in Proportion was light, well mounted, and gilt, with the Pretender's Effigy engraven on it, holding a Globe in one Hand, and a Scepter in the other, with this Inscription,

Long live King JAMES the Third of *Great Britain*.

And on the other Side was,

With this good Sword thy Cause I will maintain;  
And for thy Sake, O James, will breathe each Vein.

Although the whole was a Piece of neat Work, yet I had no Fancy to wear it on Account of its Motto.

On the first of *January*, his Royal Highness entered *Carlisle* with all his Army, which filled the Town very full, but did not continue so long, for the next Day the *Liverpool* Blues and some other Regiments began to march off: I had very good Quarters at the *George*, which I had much wanted for some time past, not having been in Bed, nor had my Boots off all the Time that we lay before *Carlisle*, and we had very bad Weather; so that the Army in General was very much fatigued with following those lousy Rebels.

It may be expected that I should give the Names of the Officers taken at *Carlisle*.

---

*English Rebel Officers of the Manchester Regiment.*

Colonel. *Francis Townley*, of *Lancashire*.

Captains. *Peter Moss*, *James Dawson*, and *George Fletcher*, of *Lancashire*; *John Saunderson*, of *Northumberland*; and *Andrew Blood*, of

*Yorkshire.*

Lieutenants. *Thomas Deacon, Robert Deacon, John Berwick, John Holker, and Thomas Chadwick, of Lancashire; and Thomas Furnival, of Cheshire.*

Ensigns. *Charles Deacon, Charles Taylor, James Wielding, John Betts, and William Bradshaw, of Northumberland; and Samuel Maddox, of Cheshire.*

*Thomas Coppock, of Lancashire, made by the Pretender Bishop of Carlisle; but he did not continue long in his Bishoprick, and was the first of his Function that I ever knew to be hanged.*

Adjutant. *Thomas Sydall, of Lancashire, Son to the famous Tom Sydall, a Mob Captain, who was Prisoner in Lancaster Goal, for the Riot at Manchester, when the Meeting House was pulled down at the Time of the Rebellion in the Year 1715, and let at Liberty by the Rebels; he was afterwards taken at Preston, and his Head became an Ornament for the Top of a Gibbet at Manchester as that of his Son Tom Sydall (with Thomas Deacon's) is now to the Exchange, for being concerned in the late Rebellion, at which, it is said, his Wife can look up with seeming Satisfaction, and say, she has another Tom Sydall growing up against the next Rebellion.*

*Scots R E B E L Officers.*

Governor. *John Hamilton.*

Captains. *Robert Forbes, in Gordon's Regiment, and John Burnet, in Grant's of Aberdeenshire; George Abernethy, in Ogilvie's, of Bamffshire; Donald McDonald, in Keppock's, of Inverness-shire; John Comer, in Athol's, of the Braes of Athol.*

Lieutenants. *Charles Gordon, in Ogilvie's, James Gordon, of Grant's, of Aberdeenshire, Walter Ogilvie, in Gordon's, William Stewart, in Roy Stewart's, of Bamffshire; Alexander M'Grouther, Alexander M'Grouther, James Nicholson, in Perth's, of Perthshire.*

Ensigns. *Walter Mitchell, George Ramsey, in Perth's, of Aberdeenshire; James Menzie, of St. Germain's in France, in Roy Stewart's.*

*James Stratton, of Berwickshire, Surgeon to the Garrison.*

Doctor *Abernethy, near Bamff.* I was at his House, when on our March to the Highlands, of whom I will give an Account in its proper Place.

*French O F F I C E R S .*

*Sir Francis Geognegan, of Tholouse, Captain in Lally's Regiment.*

*Sir John Arbuthnot, of ditto, Captain in Drummond's.*

— *Strickland, of ditto, Colonel, in no Regiment.*

*Pierre La Locke, of Dieppe, Serjeant in Lally's.*

*Francis Carpentier, of ditto.*

*Jean Poussin, of ditto.*

*Pierre Vickman, of ditto.*

*Pierre Bourgogne, of Tourrant.*

After his Royal Highness had given such Orders, and disposed of all Things as he judg'd most proper, leaving the Command to General *Hawley*, he set out from *Carlisle*, On *Thursday* the third, and was at *London* on *Sunday* following. On the third, there was an Accident happened at the House of Mr *Himor*, in *Carlisle*, which was as follows. A Box, in. which was some Gunpowder, being laid in a low Room Window, in the same Place there were some Granado Shells ready fill'd, and by them lay a Case of Pistols, likewise in the Corner of the Room stood some Musquets. It being in the House where the Recorder kept his Office, there was a great Resort of People to it, getting their Passports signed; where a Boy happening to snap one of the Pistols it went off and fired .the Granado Shells, and the Powder Box, Pistols and Musquets all flew off together; the Window was blown quite away, out of which a Man was blown into the Street: This caus'd a great Surprize and Confusion, the Occasion not being known; the Guards stood to their Arms, and the House being all in a Smoak, such as could find the Way to the Door came out with their Hair singed, yet it is very remarkable there was no body killed.

Before I follow the Rebels into *Scotland*, I think it proper to return to *London*, having shewn you what has been done for the Defence of the Government, in several different Towns and Places, you are likewise to observe at the same Time, that our Coasts were well secured against the threatened Invasion from *France*, by the vigilance and Activity of our Sea Commanders, I will next proceed to shew you what was doing in our great Metropolis.

His Majesty having resolved to form an Army near *London*, to be ready upon any Emergency that might happen; Orders were issued *December* the fourth, for the Regiment of *Scots* Highlanders, and some other Regiments of Horse and Foot, that were quartered about *Deptford*, in *Kent*, to march to *Finchley* Common, to encamp there. A few Days after, a Train of 32 Pieces of Cannon, with Carriages, Powder. Waggons, &c. were drawn out of the Tower, and twenty-four Chests of Arms were sent from the same Place for the Use of the Army, which his Majesty was determined to command in Person, but upon Advice that the Rebels were retreated out of *England*, and that there were Grounds to apprehend an Invasion in the South and South-East Part of the Kingdom, the forming a Camp on *Finchley* Common was countermanded, the Artillery carried back into the Tower, and the Forces which were cantoned at *Barnet*, and in the neighbouring Towns and

Villages, were ordered into *Kent* and *Sussex*.

On the 7<sup>th</sup>, a great Number of Sailors attended at the Admiralty, in Consequence of the Intimation that they had that Day received, that their Country stood in Need of their immediate Service, and entered themselves with remarkable Chearfulness and Alacrity; they were ordered on board several Privateers and small Vessels lying in the River, which were taken into the Service of the Government, and were to sail directly to prevent the Landing of the *French* Troops, said to be actually embarked at *Ostend* and *Dunkirk*. Signals were ordered to be placed on the *Sussex*, *Kentish*, and *Essex* Coasts, by hoisting Flags in the Day, and firing Guns in the Night, by which Means Notice of an Invasion would be at the *Tower* and *St. James's Park* in a few Hours. All the Life-Guards and Horse-Grenadiers were ordered to be ready at the firing of some Guns, which were to be as a Signal. Orders were sent by the Lords of the Admiralty, to all Commanders of Ships .in the River, not to fire a Gun upon any Account, that the Signal Guns might be the more plainly heard, in Case of any Invasion or Insurrection. Three Thousand Foot and 1000 Horse, were ordered for the Coasts of *Essex* and *Suffolk*, and 4000 Foot and 1500 Horse for the Coasts of *Kent* and *Sussex*, in order to be ready to oppose any Foreign Invasion. All the Forts and Castles in the Kingdom, were ordered to be doubly garrison'd, and a Magazine of Arms to be established in each of the Forts or Castles, in order to obviate the Inconveniency and Danger of waiting for Arms from the *Tower of London* upon any sudden Emergency.

The Lord Mayor and Court of Lieutenancy of *London* ordered, that (whereas his Majesty had been pleased to direct that Alarm Posts should be appointed, and proper Signals to give Notice to the Guards to march on the first Notice of any Tumult or Insurrection in the Cities of *London* or *Westminster*; and that the said Signals should be seven Cannon, one fired every half Minute from the Tower, to be answered from *St. James's Park*, and *vice versa*) every Officer and Soldier in the six Regiments of Militia, without waiting for beat of Drum, or any other Notice, do immediately, on hearing the said Signals, repair with their Arms, and the usual Quantity of Powder and Ball, to their respective Rendezvouses; the Red Regiment upon *Tower-Hill*, the Green in *Guildhall-Yard*, the Yellow in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, the White at the *Royal Exchange*, the Blue in old *Fish-street*, and the Orange Regiment in *West-Smithfield*. The two Regiments of *Tower-Hamlets* had also the like Orders; the first to meet on *Tower-Hill*, and the second in *Sun-Tavern Fields Shadwell*.

The Veteran Scheme was now in high Esteem, as well for the Benevolence and Humanity in the Design of it, as for the actual Service it did the Common Cause, by animating and encouraging the Soldiers to fight bravely for their Country, that large Sums were daily entered into the Subscription-Books,

which were opened the 27<sup>th</sup> of *November*, in the Chamberlain's Office at *Guildhall*. His Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* sent the Gentlemen who were the Managers, a Bank Note of 500l. the Lord Chief Justice *Lee*, the Master of the Rolls, and the Judges subscribed 1200l. the Chamber of *London* 1000l. the Gentlemen of the City of *London* paid in 5231. 19s. the Body of Civilians in *Doctors Commons* 500l. the *Drapers* Company 300l. the *Fishmongers* Company 300l. and several other Companies 100l. each, besides Abundance of other Donations both publick and private, that were continually sending in, and subscribed to the said Scheme; so that the Managers were enabled to furnish the Soldiers with all the Necessaries they had Occasion for, to defend them against the Hardships and Inconveniences of a Winter Campaign, and the Severities of the Northern Climate.

The 10<sup>th</sup> of *December*, at a general Meeting of the Subscribers to the Subscription raised for the better Support and Encouragement of the Soldiers during the Winter Season, towards the Suppression of the Rebellion, a Committee or the principal Subscribers was chosen, for the Disposal of the Money arising from such Subscription; the Proceedings being communicated to his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* and Marshal *Wade*, desiring their Opinions how the Money should be best applied, who unanimously resolved that they should contract for 10,000 Pair of Breeches, 12,000 Shirts, 10,000 Woollen Caps, 10,000 Pair of Woollen Stockings, 10,000 Pair of knit Woollen Gloves, 9000 Pair of Woollen Spatterdashes, and 1000 Blankets, to be immediately provided and sent to the Army; and likewise resolved, that the Sum of 5000l Part of the said Subscription Money already raised, be set a-part for the rewarding of such Soldiers who should be maim'd or wounded in the Service, and that the further Sum of 300l. be applied as Marshal *Wade* should direct, for the more speedy Recovery of the sick Soldiers under his Command, in Augmentation of the Allowance granted by the Crown on that Behalf.

At this Time the Stage-Players were not wanting in their Contribution towards the Soldiers; the whole Amount of three Nights acting the *Beggars Opera*, proposed by Mrs *Cibber*, who acted *Polly* gratis, making 600l. was, on the tenth of *December*, paid into the Chamber of *London*, by Mr *Rich*, for the Encouragement of the Soldiers: Every Comedian played gratis, and the Tallow-Chandlers gave the Candles.

At which Time the following  
P R O L O G U E was spoke.

Methinks I see *Britannia's* Genius here,  
Who smiles to find her Guardian Sons your Case;  
Whilst ev'ry Heart with Indignation glows,  
Warm'd with the Sense of injur'd *Britain's* Woes.  
If aught be glorious in a Soldier's Name,

To your Affections now, how just his Claim!  
For you his unremitted Zeal defies  
The changeful Seasons, and the inclement Skies,  
With painful Steps the tedious March endures.  
And gives his own Repose to purchase yours.  
Conscious how much we to their Valour owe,  
Let us with usual Warmth united shew  
Ingratitude's a Crime we dare not know.  
Flush'd with Success these lawless Vagrants come,  
From *France* their Maxims, and their Gods from *Rome*.  
Ruffians who fight not in fair Honour's Cause,  
For injur'd Rights, or violated Laws;  
But like the savage Race they roam for Prey,  
And where they pass Destruction marks their *Way*.

Of thou who dost o'er human Acts preside,  
If *Britain* is thy Care, be William's Guide;  
The noble Youth, whom ev'ry Eye approves,  
Each Tongue applauds and ev'ry Soldier loves;  
In the dire Conflict may thy Power afford  
Strength to his Arm, and Vict'ry to his Sword;  
On Freedom's Basis may he fix the Throne,  
And add new Lustre to his Father's Crown.

Whilst the Rebels were doing the Business of the *French* in the North, vast Preparations were still making on the Coasts of *France* and *French Flanders*, for invading this Kingdom; and the Informations which the Government received of their Embarkations, particularly at *Dunkirk*, induced his Majesty to give such Directions as were necessary for appointing proper Alarm-Posts, at which the Troops were to assemble, and such Signals as I have already observed: And at the same Time a Proclamation was issued, commanding all Officers, Civil and Military, to cause the Coasts to be carefully watched; and upon the first Approach of the Enemy to direct all Horses, Oxen, Cattle, and other Provisions to be driven and removed twenty Miles from the Place where the Enemy should attempt to land; and such Regiments of regular Troops as were at that Time quartered, as I have said, in and about *London*, were ordered down to the Coasts of *Kent*, *Sussex*, &c. There timely Precautions, joined to the Zeal and Spirit shewn by the Gentlemen, Clergy, and other Inhabitants of the Maritime Counties, had so good an Effect, together with the Officers of his Majesty's Navy, who served on board the Squadron then in the Channel, that the Designs of the *French* were totally defeated, notwithstanding they frequently changed their Schemes, which served only to fatigue their Troops and to distress their Subjects to the last Degree, by ruining the little Trade still left in that Kingdom.

As Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, and the rest of the Rebel

Chiefs in *Scotland*, were all this Time labouring with great Diligence, as well as much Violence, to draw together a considerable Force, in order to join the Pretender on his Return into that Country. The King's loyal Subjects there shewed the greatest Zeal and Spirit, in exerting their utmost Force, in order to oppose them. The City of *Glasgow* particularly distinguished itself upon this Occasion, by levying fifteen Companies of 60 Men each at their own Expence; and having compleated them about the first of *December*, they marched from thence, under the Command of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Hume*, for *Stirling*. The City of *Edinburgh* also having receiv'd his Majesty's License for that Purpose, raised 1000 Men for the King's Service; and the Earl of *Loudon*, with the Forces under his Command, by marching from *Inverness*, obliged a Body of Rebels to raise the Blockade of *Fort-Augustus*, which they had formed under the Command of the Son of Lord *Lovat*; and at the same Time the *Macleods* and *Monroes* scoured all the North of the Rebels as far as to within 12 Miles of *Aberdeen*. Such were the Transactions in *South* and *North Britain* to the Close of the Year. But I proceed to give you an Account of the Rebels from their Retreat out of *England* to their besieging *Stirling-Castle*.

On the 20<sup>th</sup> of *December*, after the Rebels had passed the *Esk*, they divided into two Bodies; the lesser, consisting of about 2000 Men, march'd to *Ecclefeckon*, where they stay'd all Night, and the next Day march'd to *Moffat*; the larger Body of about 4000, proceeded to *Annan*, where they stay'd all Night, except 500 who continued their March towards *Dumfries*: The Report having reached thither of the Defeat of the Rebels near *Lancaster*, the Inhabitants of *Dumfries* being mostly very loyal People, were preparing to fall upon the dispersed Rebels, as they had done at *Kendal* and *Penrith*; but to their Loss, they found that instead of a few Stragglers which they expected, on the 21<sup>st</sup> the Body of 4000 marched into *Dumfries*, where they stayed till *Monday* the 23<sup>rd</sup>, and imposed a Contribution on the Town of 2000*l*. Sterling to be paid directly; although this was remonstrated against, as a thing not only hard, but impracticable, yet it was peremptorily insisted on, but at last, 1100*l*. was accepted in Ready Money; they took Mr *Riddel* and Mr *Crosby*, as Hostages for the Payment of the Remainder. The Rebels also insisted on 1000 Pair of Shoes, paid nothing for there Quarters; and at their marching off, ordered their Baggage to be sent after them; and if any Person durst presume to molest any of their Stragglers, the Hostages should suffer for the Fault.

They continued their March from *Drumlanerig* to *Glasgow*, at which City they arrived on the 15<sup>th</sup>, they being but a very indifferent *Christmass-Box* to the Inhabitants, and many of them got it on the Side of the Head: In the mean Time, the Northern Rebels were moving towards *Perth*, under Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Lovat*, and some other

Chiefs; so that now it appeared plainly their Design was to collect all their Strength upon the *Forth*, in order to besiege *Stirling-Castle*. This Body of the Rebels had some Artillery, Ammunition and Money with them, which had been landed from on board some *Spanish* Privateers and brought from the West Coast to *Perth*, which they had fortified for a Place of Arms; they fitted out an arm'd Sloop there, as they did the *Hazard*, which they had taken, and a stout Privateer at *Montross*.

The main Body of the Rebels continued several Days at *Glasgow*, to the Sorrow of the Inhabitants of that City: It is natural to imagine that the Condition of these People must be remarkably unhappy, as having the Enemy within their Walls, and many Circumstances attending their Situation, capable of filling them with very unhappy Apprehensions; for in the first Place, this City had been always considered as the Head-Quarters of the Whigs in the Reigns of *Charles* and *James II* and was thereby exposed to very indifferent Treatment; in the next, it has been always, since the Revolution, and more especially since the Union, the best-affected Place in *North Britain*, to our Establishment; and lastly, even since the breaking out of the late Rebellion, they had not only shewn the greatest Loyalty to the Government, in raising a Regiment for its Service, but had also marched them to *Edinburgh*, (and thereby left themselves defenceless) for Fear that the Rebels should force them to disband it: Such was the State of this Place at this critical Juncture, when the Mock Prince enter'd it at the Head of his Forces, and thereby had the Inhabitants at his Mercy. But, no Doubt, they were sensible of their Danger; yet they did nothing contrary to their Duty to deliver themselves: On the contrary, they shewed very visible Signs of Sorrow and Sadness; and the Chevalier, though he often appeared in Publick, was scarce attended so much as by the Mob; it is not at all strange, that the Behaviour of the Rebels, all Things conconsidered, should be worse at *Glasgow* than at other Places; and so it was; they found themselves in a very rich City, abounding in whatever they wanted; and therefore, they considered it as a Magazine, and began to furnish themselves with Broad-Cloath, Tartan, Shoes Stockings, and Bonnets, to the Amount of 10,000l. Sterling; so that by this Means the Pretender in a Manner new-cloathed his Army, which proved a great Means of keeping them together; otherwise it is to be supposed, many of them would have deserted.

On the 3<sup>rd</sup> of *January*, having finished their Business at *Glasgow*, glean'd up what they could, and enlisted about 60 Recruits, then it was judg'd Time to remove, and accordingly they marched that Day to *Kilsyth*. The Pretender's Son lay at Mr *Cambel's*, of *Shawfield*, near *Kilsyth*, ordered his Steward to provide every Thing, and promised Payment; but next Morning told him, that the Bill should be allowed to his Master at accounting for the Rents of *Kilsyth*, it being a forfeited Estate. The next Day they proceeded to

*Bannockburn*, and on the 5<sup>th</sup>, having most part of their Forces together, they summon'd the Town and Castle of *Stirling* to surrender; but General *Blakeney* answered, that he would defend the Place to the last Extremity, for as he had lived, he was determin'd to die a Man of Honour. Thus I have given you a Journal of the Rebels Proceedings, from their leaving *North-Britain* to *Derby*, and back again; only it is to be observed in general, that the *Roman* Catholicks and Jacobites, were very officious in throwing themselves in their Way, in the Towns and Villages as they marched through, making low Bows, but the Rebels quite out-did them in Complaisance, for they stooped even to their Feet, and stripp'd them of their Shoes, so that they left many of their Friends and others Barefoot; and if Complaint was made to their Officers, their Answer was, if the Men want Shoon, i.e. Shoes, they must have them. The Town of *Stirling* is of no great Strength for after some Time spent in Treaty, it surrendered, and the Rebels entered it on the 8<sup>th</sup>; when having again summoned the Castle as to little Purpose as before, when they took a final Resolution of besieging it in Form, with what Artillery they had, and accordingly put it in Execution.

His Majesty having thought fit to appoint Lieutenant-General *Hawley*, Commander in Chief of his Forces in *North-Britain*, and Major General *Huske* to command under him, the Troops that formed the Army in the Neighbourhood of *Edinburgh*, marched from *Newcastle* with great Expedition, and whatever was requisite for their Use, or could contribute to facilitate their Motions, was so readily supplied them on their Route, that by the 10<sup>th</sup>, it was judg'd expedient to disposed Things for advancing towards the Relief of *Stirling* Castle. In the mean Time, the Rebels were very busy in preparing to carry on the Siege.

Lord *George Murray*, and Lord *John Drummond*, had been at *Alloway*, concerting how to bring over the Cannon, brought from *Perth* in Floats, and afterwards survey'd the Passage at *Cambes* to see if it could be done more conveniently there; they also went to *Dumblain*, leaving 100 Men at *Alloway*.

Before the Rebels entered the Town of *Stirling*, the Militia Officers with all their Arms, went into the Castle, their Men by small Parties making their Escape. Major-General *Blakeney* was well provided with Men and Provisions, resolving to hold out the Garrison. The Rebels having got all the Cannon over the Firth, broke Ground on the 12<sup>th</sup> between the Church of *Stirling* and a large House call'd *Marr's Work*, and was for erecting a Battery there against the Castle: For this Purpole, 5 large Pieces of Cannon were lying ready in the Marketplace, and 3 small ones were coming from *Airth*; they also sent several Expresses to their Troops in *Perthshire*, to hasten their March towards *Stirling*, where they shut up their Ports, and planted Guards at all the Out-lets of the Town, to prevent the People from

coming in for, or going out with Intelligence to the King's Troops. The main Body of the Rebels being about *Falkirk*, had Orders to march upon the 13<sup>th</sup> towards *Linlithgow*, with all the Waggon and Carts they could get together, for carrying off all the Provisions they could meet with.

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, Major-General *Huske* marched with eight Regiments from *Edinburgh* to *Linlithgow*: On his Arrival there, the Rebels on the 14<sup>th</sup>, marched towards *Stirling*, to their main Body, who had got most of their Friends to the South Side of the *Forth*, and were endeavouring to spirit up their Men to Action; the same Day they got together two Pieces of Cannon of 16 Pounders, two of eight, and three of three Pounders, and expected four more by Water, for their Battery in the Town: They had also a great Number of Fascines, but had not been able to plant their Cannon, General *Blakeney* having fired several Times upon them from the Castle, and demolished their Works. Major General *Huske*, with the Forces under him, and the Remains of *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons, on the 16<sup>th</sup> took Possession of *Falkirk*, and were joined there by 1000 *Arglyshire* Men, under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Campbell*, and were followed soon after by General *Hawley*, with the rest of the Army and the Artillery; early in the Morning of the 17<sup>th</sup>, *Cobham's* Dragoons came up, when it was resolved to march the next Morning to attack the Rebels, who, by all Accounts, lay in the Enclosures near *Torwood*; but, by the Reports of several People who were sent out to reconnoitre, they were observ'd to be in Motion early in the Morning, as they had also been on the 16<sup>th</sup>; some reported that they had been entrenching themselves in *Torwood*, others that they seem'd inclinable to raise the Siege of *Stirling* Castle; but many affirm'd that they meant to advance and meet the King's Troops, who lay encamped on a Spot of low Ground, a Quarter of a Mile South West of *Falkirk*. The Rebel Army had been encamped on *Plene-Moor*, to the Westward of *Torwood*, about three Miles Distance from one another: They decamp'd in the Morning marching Eastward, because the Wind was South-West, they then marched to the South of *Torwood*, in order to get the Windward. At this Distance it is easy to say, Care should have been taken to obtain better Intelligence; but let us remember, that if an Enemy be irresolute (as was the Case) no certain Intelligence can be obtained.

Lieutenant General *Hawley*, having considered the Situation of Affairs, and the several Accounts received, resolv'd to defer attacking the Rebels till the next Day, as well in regard to the foulness of the Weather, as because he was desirous of obtaining such Intelligence as might enable him to make the most advantageous Dispositions for acting against them with his Cavalry and Artillery: Some Dragoons that had been sent to reconnoitre, returned about Noon with Intelligence that the Rebels were actually in Motion, in order to attack the King's Forces; and by one in the Afternoon, they were seen about

three Miles Distance marching in two Columns towards some rising Ground to the Southward, 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 they saw the Rebels moving up, their Right extending Southwards; but as there was a Morass, or boggy Ground, upon our Left, we could not stretch so far as they; so that their Left was almost opposite to our Center: Our Foot were formed in two Lines, Part upon plain Ground, and the rest declining; our Dragoons were on the Left Flank with General *Hawley*; Major General *Huske* commanded on the Right: In this Disposition we moved forwards, having the Morass on our Left; the Dragoons were ordered to advance about fifty Paces before the Front Line and attack the Rebels Sword in Hand, to give the Left Time to form, and the Lines to advance. The Dragoons attacked most gallantly, and received the Rebels Fire, which disordered some of the Horse, who broke upon our Foot, who fired too soon, by which some of the Dragoons were unsaddled; on this Confusion, some of the Dragoons rode quite off from the Field of Battle, and did not stop till they had got near *Lintlithgow*, on which it was reported that they were all that had escap'd from the Battle: This Disorder occasioned our two Lines of Foot to give Way, and many of them went off: This Misfortune which at first looked like a lost Battle, was quickly recovered; the Dragoons bravely returned to the Charge, and retrieved their Honour; *Barrel's* and *Ligonier's* were immediately rallied by Brigadier *Cholmondley*, and being afterwards attacked by a Body of Rebels twenty deep, fairly drove them back, and put them to Flight: At this Time, a Body of Foot, by the Care of Major General *Huske*, formed in the Rear of these two Regiments, which the Rebels seeing, durst not advance; and about the same Time Brigadier *Mordaunt* rallied the Remains of the scattered Battalions into their several Corps, in which he was assisted by the Officers it was then four o'Clock in the Afternoon, when it rained heavily, and blew hard, which, in a great Measure, was the Cause of our Misfortunes, for our Men could not see before them, and consequently the Rebels had the Advantage of us greatly in that Particular: Besides, as it rained so before, many of the Firelocks were so wet, that it is believed not above one in five that were attempted to be fired went off. Our Loss was but small, not exceeding 300 Men; and it was believed the Rebels lost three Times that Number. It was a Misfortune that we could not get up our Artillery to us for it rain'd heavily in the Night, and having a steep Hill to ascend, and the Horse's but bad, they could not get forward; and, when, we returned to our Camp we found the Captain of the Train had abandoned it, and the Drivers had run off with their Horses, which obliged us to leave some Pieces of Cannon behind us: The Grenadiers of *Barrel's* Regiment drew down one to the Camp, and Horses were got at *Falkirk* to

bring away three others. 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 Brigadier *Mordaunt* was ordered to take Post there. When we came to strike our Tents, we found that many of the Drivers had run off with their Horses; upon which the General gave Orders that what Tents were left should be burnt, which was accordingly done.

During the Time the Army was on its March to meet the Rebels, a Body of them with some Colours, passed the River *Carran*, towards the Right of the Camp, with a Design, I suppose, to attack it, but the *Argyleshire* Men being posted in the Front of it, kept them in Awe; so that they frustrated their Intention. The *Glasgow* Regiment was posted at some Farm-Houses, where it was thought they might be of Use, when the Action began, and remained formed there, notwithstanding they saw that the Dragoons, and Part of the Foot, had given Way.

I have also to add, that it had been resolved that the Army should remain at *Linlithgow*, whither it had retired on the 17<sup>th</sup> at Night; and upon Examination it was found that the Troops had no Powder that would take Fire, from the excessive Rain for 24 Hours before; and therefore a Resolution was taken upon the 19<sup>th</sup> in the Morning, to march to *Edinburgh*, and the Places adjacent, where the whole Army arrived that Afternoon, about Four o'Clock.

The abandoning the Camp and the loss of the Cannon looks so like a Defeat, that it gives the *Jacobites* a Handle to vaunt, as if the Rebels had got the Victory, whereas they were indeed beat by a Handful of Men and fled shamefully. The Facts are true, the Camp was abandoned and the Cannon lost; but the first was done with Judgment and preserved the Men, who must have lain upon their Arms all Night, which was so rainy and stormy that they were wet to the Skin, had no Provisions, and would have been subject to continual Alarms all Night; and the last was occasioned by the Misbehaviour of the Officer who had the Charge of the Train, who finding that he was to be tried by a Court-Martial, cut an Artery in his Arm, and made his escape, by going out of the World. On the Whole, the Rebels have neither gained Honour nor Advantage by an Action, in which two Regiments with Part of the Old Buffs and some others rallied by Major-General *Huske*, in the Whole not above four Regiments, the Dragoons excepted, fairly drove them of the field, which they entered with so promising a Prospect; and in the End General *Hawley* drew off his Men, and retreated in good Order to his Camp at *Falkirk*; the Enemy did not venture to pursue them, which was greatly owing to the gallant Behaviour of two Squadrons of *Cobham's* Dragoons, and four Battalions of the Right Wing, which composed the Rear-Guard under the Command of Major-General *Husk*.

Sir *Robert Monroe* was wounded and afterwards taken Prisoner, together

with his Brother who was a Surgeon and an eminent Man in his Profession, and who attended him to the Field, merely out of fraternal Affection, both of which at the same Time the Rebels murdered in cold Blood. There was no Account of the Killed and Wounded published by Authority: The Officers in general distinguished themselves extremely, and some very particularly, such as Brigadier-General *Cholmondely*, who was dangerously wounded, and contracted a Palsy from the Cold he caught in the Field; Major-General *Huske*, by his great Vigilance and Presence of Mind shewn on this Occasion, acquired the highest Reputation, and Brigadier *Mordaunt* was allowed to have done all that could be expected from the most knowing and active Officer; it is but just to the Memory of Colonel *Ligonier*, to mention, that although he was in a bad State of Health, for which he was blooded and blister'd, yet he could not be restrain'd from leading his Men to the Field of Battle, where he was wet to the Skin, which threw him into a Quinsey, of which he died; nay, even in the Battalions, where the Men did not behave so well as might be expected, their Officers shewed themselves to the greatest Advantage, and gave glorious Examples of Intrepidity, tho' they were but ill copied; this made the Loss fall heavier amongst them, in Proportion, than has been on the like Occasions. I have endeavoured to calculate the following List of Officers kill'd, from the best Accounts I could then procure.

---

A LIST of the OFFICERS, *kill'd, wounded, and taken Prisoners, at the Battle of Falkirk, Jan. 17, 1745-6.*

DRAGOONS.

Ligonier's.

Lieut. Col Whitney

Cornets. Monk & Crow.

Hamilton's.

Cornet Smith.

F O O T.

Blakeney's.

Captains. Tod, Kellet, Dalrymple, and Edmondson.

Lieut. Fairfield.

Monroe's. Colonel Sir Robert Monroe.

Lieut. Col. Biggar.

Captains Hall, Fitzgerald, Witherall, and Mr. Monroe, Sir Robert's Brother.

Wolfe's.

Captains. Dallons, Garing, Hamilton, Launder, and Hele.

Lieut. Kirkston.

Howard's.

Captains. Ofrepo, and Hacker.

Cholmondeley's. Lieut Col. Powell

Major *Lockhart* was made Prisoner, and carried away to the Highlands, and joined the King's Army at *Aberdeen*, after having made his Escape, and brought off Prisoner the Rebel Officer that guarded him.

*William Thornton*, Esq; of *Cattal*, in *Yorkshire*, maintained a Company at his own Expence, marched them to the Battle of *Falkirk*, where he distinguished himself very gallantly. I wish I could say that he met with that Respect due to his great Merit. An Officer in the Establishment is Praise-worthy, yet he only does his Duty: But a Volunteer that ventures his Life and Fortune in Defence of the Government, in Times of the most imminent Danger and Difficulty, deserves to be had in the highest Esteem, by all true Lovers of our happy Constitution. Capt. *Thornton* and his Men suffered much at the Battle of *Falkirk*, many of them being taken Prisoners; of twenty that was in Jeopardy, he only, with Difficulty, escaped, being concealed in the House where Lord *George Murray* lodged. It happened very luckily, for as this Action proved fatal to so many Officers, it proved as fortunate to a great many others, for the Rebels having sent most of the Officers that were taken Prisoners at *Preston-Pans*, to *Glames*, *Coupar*, and *Lislie*; when they were drawing together their Forces about *Stirling*, the loyal Inhabitants of *Dundee*, and other Places, formed a Design of rescuing them, and conducting them back to *Edinburgh*, which they executed with great Spirit and Diligence, and they accordingly arrived at that City on the 19<sup>th</sup> the very Day after the Army returned thither from *Linlithgow*. The releasing of these Officers at this Juncture, was a very seasonable Service, as it visibly preserved them from being hurried by the Rebels into the North, as would undoubtedly have been the Case, if they had remained Prisoners but a few Days longer: It was likewise a full Proof of the steady Loyalty and sincere Attachment to the Government, of those who undertook to rescue them, since they did it at a Time, when the Rebels were flushed with their late Advantage; but the Consequence of the Thing will best appear, by giving the Reader an Account of the Persons that were thus set at Liberty.

LIST of the OFFICERS retaken from the Rebels, by the Militia of the Shire of Angus.

Ligonier's Dragoons

Quarter-Masters. Wist, and Young.

Cockran's Marines.

Lt. Col. Whiteford.

Guise's Foot.  
Lieut. Patton.  
Ensign Wakeman.

Lee's Foot.  
Captain-Lieutenant Kennedy.  
Ensign Archer.

Murray's Foot.  
Major Talbot.  
Capt. Leislie.  
Lieutenants. Wall and Rae.  
Ensigns. Sutherland, Lush and Bruce.

Lascelle's Foot.  
Major Severn.  
Captains. Collier, Barlow, Anderson, Corbet, and Forrester.  
Lieutenant Swiney.  
Ensigns. Cox, and Goulton.

Loudon's Foot.  
Capt. Monroe.  
Capt. Lieut. M'Nab  
Lieut. Read.  
Ensigns. Grant, M'Lagan, M'Ray, and Campbell.

When the News of the Battle reached *London*, it made it necessary to provide for the immediate Extinction of so dangerous a Flame, by sending down a sufficient Number of Forces, not only to render the Army in *Scotland* more formidable then before, but to encrease its Strength to such a Degree, as to free the Nation from any Apprehensions of its Consequences, in Case the Enemy should grow more numerous, or the *French* and *Spaniards* persist in their Design of attempting an Invasion for their Support, in any Part of his Majesty's Dominions. It was with this View that a Resolution was taken for embarking the *Hessian* Troops in *British* Pay, then in the Neighbourhood of *Antwerp*, for *Scotland*, it was also thought convenient, that to restore the Spirit of the Soldiers, to extinguish all Animosities, and encourage the well-affected in *North-Britain*, his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* should immediately go down thither: It is true, the embarking the *Hessians* at that Time, was in some Respects inconvenient, as the *French* had just discovered their Design of attacking *Brussels*; but the Necessity of restoring our internal Tranquility, was confess'd both at Home and Abroad, of such high Importance to the Common Cause, as well as of so great Consequence to ourselves, that it was generally approved, as the Consequences which have attended it shews, that it was undertaken upon right Motives. I might here mention some other Methods that were taken to frustrate the Designs of our

Enemies, which I will omit for the present, in order to return to the Progress of the Rebels, in the Siege of *Stirling* Castle.

Soon after the Battle, the *Pretender's* Son returned with his Forces to *Stirling*, when the Rebels summoned the Castle to surrender in the Morning, and again in the Afternoon, but General *Blakeney* answered as before, that as he had always been looked upon as a Man of Honour, the Rebels should find he would die so, which they found too true in the End.

*January* the 24<sup>th</sup>, the Siege proceeded but very slowly the Castle had fired so often on the Men at Work upon the Batteries, and with so much exactness, that the Rebels could not get any of their own People to go near them; for which Reason, the *Irish* Brigade, and *Drumtond's* Regiment from *France*, were ordered to do that Service.

On the 17<sup>th</sup>, the Rebels had got two Batteries erected, the one on *Gawan-Hill*, within; forty Yards of the Castle, and the other on *Lady's-Hill*. On the 18<sup>th</sup>, they got Cannon mounted on them, consisting of two Pieces of 18 Pounders, two of 16, and three of 12 Pounders; and whilst this was doing, they continued to fire upon the Castle with Small Arms, which did little or no Mischief, tho' at the same Time it exposed their Men extremely, and they suffered by the Fire of the Castle very severely, which put them more and more out of Humour with the Siege; and what contributed to encrease their Uneasiness, was the great Want of Provisions, which obliged them to send out Parties, in order to carry off what Meal they could find on all Sides of the Country: The greatest Part of their Army returned into the Neighbourhood of *Falkirk*; they sent away the Prisoners to *Down* Castle on the 24<sup>th</sup>, except the Officers; and the *Hazard* Sloop, to which they gave Name of *Prince Charles* Snow, was refitted and sent to *France*, with the News of their Success, which no Doubt they magnified extremely, as appeared by the Accounts of it that were printed at *Paris*. The Rebels begun to be heartily tired of the Siege, they, not liking to fight against Stone Walls; although it must be owned, they spared no Labour in getting thither their Cannon, though harrassed all the Time by the *Vulture* Sloop, and by Small Craft fill'd with Soldiers, which did them considerable Damage; neither when it was brought thither and planted could they do much, their Batteries being injudiciously erected, and the Highland Men shewing a great Aversion for that Kind of Service, for which they are naturally unfit, and the Garrison doing them a great deal of Mischief, tho' they were able to do little or none to the Garrison. As it had been customary for the Rebels to deny their Mortality, General *Blakeney* would not permit them to bury their Dead, in order to convince them, that their Men were not invulnerable; after . that, about 60 of the Rebels were killed in one Day, and exposed to View; then they were convinced of their Frailty: A Drum had been sent about the Town, with Notice, that every Person that was taken near the Castle should be shot, and that if any of the Town's People

entertained any Wives or Children of the Soldiers who were in the Castle, should be punished with Military Execution.

Notwithstanding all the Pains the Rebels had taken in order to carry on the Seige, yet it could scarce be said to advance all the Time they lay before it; but whether they might or not have succeeded, 'tis requisite to mention what Advantages they proposed to themselves by becoming Masters of this Place, and these (though they were many) might be reduced under these three: First, it would have given them Reputation at Home and Abroad, as *Stirling* Castle is famous, and reputed a Place of greater Importance than it really is: Secondly, if they could have got this Place, and fortified *Perth*, they might have secured the Country behind them for the Winter: Thirdly, it would have afforded them means of maintaining themselves along the Coasts, on both Sides of the Island, which would have facilitated their receiving Supplies from Abroad: But the gallant General *Blakeney*, who still defended the Castle with so much Constancy and Courage, as made the *Scots* Rebels quite sick of the Siege, so that their Commanders found it necessary to entrust their Works entirely to the *Irish* and *French*, who by this Means were excessively weakened and fatigued, having seven *French* Officers kill'd in one Day, which put them into great Confusion, where I shall leave them for the present, and reassume the Progress of our Army, after the necessary Preparations were made for taking the Field again, and marching a second Time to the Reliefs of General *Blakeney*. The Troops seem'd to be extremely mortified at this Miscarriage, and shew'd an earnest Desire to repair it, by marching again to attack the Rebels, for which the necessary Preparations were made, and the Army in a few Days, were in every Respect in a better Condition, and better provided than before.

On the 30<sup>th</sup> in the Morning, to the great Surprise and Joy of the Army, his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* arrived at *Edinburgh*, after a Journey amazingly expeditious, Considering the Rigour of the Season. He was receiv'd with all the Testimonies of Loyalty and Affection that could possibly be express'd, the Army looking upon his Presence as a sure Omen of Victory, and all Ranks and Degrees of People being delighted, at beholding a Prince, with whose Reputation they were so well acquainted, and by whom they had just Reason to expect being restor'd to the peaceable Possession of those Blessings, which, under the mild Government of the King his Father, they had, till the breaking out of this Rebellion, constantly enjoy'd. The Sight of the Duke banish'd all Remembrances of the late untoward Accident, and the Troops shew'd uncommon Ardour to be led (bad as the Weather was) into the Field again.

His Royal Highness review'd the Forces next Day, and march'd them in two Columns, consisting of 14 Battalions, the *Argyleshire* Men, together with *Cobham's* Dragoons, leading the Van. He quartered that Night at

*Linlithgow* with eight Battalions, Brigadier *Mordaunt* was at *Burrowstouness*, the Dragoons lay in the adjacent Villages, and Colonel *Campbell* with his brave loyal Highland Men, took Post in the Front of the Army, towards the *Avon*. There was at this Time a considerable Body of the Rebels at *Falkirk*, who immediately retired towards *Torwood*, where it was given out that they were to be join'd by the rest of their Forces from *Stirling* though it was afterwards known there never was any such Intention.

The next Morning his Royal Highness made the necessary Dispositions for continuing his March, at which Time all the Officers and Soldiers shewed the greatest Alacrity imaginable. The March was not long begun, before Advice was brought, that the Rebels, instead of preparing for an Engagement, were actually repassing the *Forth*, with all the Diligence imaginable; and what gave Credit to this, was their advanced Guards retiring every where with the utmost Precipitation. This News was soon after put out of Dispute, by the Noise they heard of two great Reports, like All the blowing up of Magazines, upon which, Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detached with the Dragoons and the *Argyleshire* Men, to harrass the Rebels in their Retreat. The Brigadier with the Troops under his Command, arrived at *Stirling* late that Evening, where they found the Rebels had abandon'd their Camp, with all their Artillery, and had blown up their Magazine of about 6000 Weight of Powder, which they kept in the Church of *St. Ninians*, a small Village just at the Entrance of *Stirling*, they set fire to it by discharging a Musket into the Powder; there was three Men ordered to perform this Operation, but the first firing served; the Church gave a terrible Shock, and destroyed several of the Rebels who were the Actors of this Tragedy, and nine of the Townsmen were also buried in the Ruins, which some of our Soldiers dug out for their Cloaths, whilst we halted at *Stirling*: It's great Shock also broke all the Windows in the Village, so that they appeared like to so many Bawdy-Houses: The Rebels likewise left behind them all the wounded Men they had made *Prisoners* in the late Action, and about twenty of their own sick Men; but it was so late when the King's Forces arrived, that it was judged needless to continue the Pursuit that Night.

The Rebels having passed the *Forth*, at a Ford about four Miles above the Town, (for one Arch of the Bridge was blown up by General *Blakeney's* Order, so that they could not pass over it.

*February* the 2<sup>nd</sup>, about One in the Afternoon, his Royal Highness enter'd *Stirling*, and receiv'd the Compliments of General *Blakeney*, and the Officers of his Garrison, on that memorable Occasion: At the same Time, his Royal Highness was pleased to testify his entire Satisfaction, with Respect to the gallant Defence. the General; had made, by which a Place of so much Importance had been preserved, and the Designs of the Enemy defeated. *Stirling* is much like *Edinburgh*, all up Hill, the Castle making the Top of the

Town: The great Street in this Town looks very grand, the Houses are exceeding high, and there are several very Antique Buildings in the highest Part of the Town, but greatly decayed by being neglected. The Castle is not so very difficult of Access as that of *Edinburgh*, but is esteemed equally strong, being built on a very high Rock: The Works are capable of mounting more Cannon; there is also a Battery that commands the Bridge, which is of great Importance, and seems to be the main End for which it was built: The Walls, with variety of Casemats, and all the Outworks, are very firm, and in good Condition: The River *Forth* runs very near the Castle, having a great many winding turns, which begins a little below the Bridge at *Stirling*, and continues to *Alloway*, the Seat of the Earl of *Mar*, which is 24 Miles by Water, and only four by Land; The Bridge of *Stirling* is, a very noble Structure, consisting of four very large Archies, with Watch Towers on each Side, one of which being blown up, the King's Forces were obliged to stay until it was built up with Boards, which was done in two Days, during which Time there was a great Number of the Rebels brought in to the Duke, who had hid themselves in Holes and Corners, and had not timely Notice of their Brethren leaving there Quarters: A whole Company of the *Irish* Brigades that had deserted from the Rebels, came and delivered themselves up to his Royal Highness. From hence the Mock Prince fled with so much Precipitation, that he neglected to carry off his Female Colonel *Cameron*, who was taken, and some Time after sent to *Edinburgh* Castle. In the mean Time, the Rebels were making what Dispatch they could to get out of the Way, whilst the Bridge was repairing, part of them taking the Road by *Tay-Bridge*, toward the Hills; the rest, consisting of Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Men, the Remains of the *French*, those commanded by Lord *Ogilvie*, and the few Horse they had, got into *Perth* that very Night that Brigadier *Mordaunt* arrived at *Stirling*; and though they had taken a great deal of Pains in throwing up several Works for the Security of that Place, yet they began to abandon it, and continued their March Northwards the next Morning; Lord *John Drummond*, with the Remains of the *Scotch* and *Irish* that came from *France*, made the best of their Way towards *Montross*; and on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of *February* the Town of *Perth* was totally evacuated: They left behind them 15 Pieces of Iron Cannon, of eight and twelve Pounders nailed up, and threw a great Quantity of Ammunition into the River, together with 14 Swivel Guns that had been taken out of the, *Hazard* Sloop, and set at liberty the Sailors that had been confined there from the Time that the Vessel was taken; but they thought fit to carry off Captain *Hill* who commanded her, and some other Prisoners of the better sort.

Notwithstanding their Retreat was made in so much Haste, yet; it was but just in Time; for on 4<sup>th</sup> the Bridge of *Stirling* was repaired, so that the Army passed over it at six in the Morning, and the advanc'd Guard, consisting of the *Argyleshire* Men and the Dragoon's marched that Day to *Crief*, but the

Foot were canton'd in and about *Dumblain*, where the Duke took up his Quarters that Evening, and the next Day the advanc'd Guard took Possession or *Perth*.

It is here to be observed, what I believe no History can shew a more illustrious Instance of the Effects of a General's Reputation, than this I have given you; since in the Space of one single Week, his Royal Highness quitted the Court of the King his Father, put himself at the Head of his Troops in *Scotland*, and so the Enemy flying with Precipitation before him; saw that it may be said, that his Progress was as Lightning, the Rebels fled at the Flash, fearing the Thunder that was to follow.

On the 6<sup>th</sup>, the main Body of our; Army got to *Perth*. This Town lies in a Hollow, and has formerly been called *St John's Town*, in Honour of an antient Church dedicated to *St John*: The *English* in Time of the War between tween the *Bruce's* and the *Baliol's*, fortified it with large Bulwarks, the greatest Part of which, the *Scots* demolished. It is notwithstanding a pretty little City, pleasantly situated between the *Inches*, which are two Greens so called, where they bleach their Linen-Cloth, of which they have a great Manufacture here; it has three long Streets and many cross ones, with an old Wall in Ruins, surrounding every Side, excepting that which is bordered by the famous River *Tay*, the largest in all *Scotland*, by which it is supply'd every Tide with Commodities from the Sea in their light Vessels, which come up to a handsome Key joining to the Town *Perth* is the second Town in *Scotland* for Dignity; near this formerly stood the Town of *Perth*, which being overflowed by an Innundation of the *Tay*, occasioned the Building of this where it now stands; this River produceth a great Quantity of Salmon for Exportation: About a Mile from this Town stands the famous Palace of *Scome*, extending 200 Feet in front, and has been honoured with the Coronation of all the Kings of *Scotland*, ever since *Kenneth*; who having hard by made a general Slaughter of the *Picts*, placed a Stone here inclosed in a wooden Chair for the Inauguration of the Kings:cf *Scotland*; it was brought out of *Ireland* into *Argyleshire*, and from thence hither, but was carried away by the victorious King *Edward* the First, and planted in *Westminster Abbey*, where it now

On the 7<sup>th</sup>, the fourteen Swivel Guns that had been thrown into the River by the Rebels were taken up; and on the 6<sup>th</sup>, two Detachments of 500 Foot each were ordered forwards, one to *Dunkeld*, under the Command of Sir *Andrew Agnew*, with the Addition of 150 *Argyleshire* Men; the other under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel *Leighton*, to Castle *Menzie*, a Mile on the other Side of *Tay* Bridge; the rest of the Army remained at *Perth* four Days longer, in order to rest the Regiments of Foot; as the Rebels had fled quite off, and dispersed into small Parties, it was to no Purpose to fatigue our Men with forced Marches: After some little Rest at *Perth*, his Royal

Highness continued his March to *Aberdeen*, where the Van of the Army arrived on *Wednesday Feb. the 25<sup>th</sup>*.

His Royal Highness the Duke having Intelligence of a Magazine of the Rebels, at an old Castle call'd *Cargaaf*, situated in a Desert amongst the Mountains, near the Head of the River *Don*, (about fifty Miles from *Aberdeen*, detach'd 500 Foot under the Command of Major *Morris*, of *Ligonier's* lite Regiment, now *Conway's*, and one hundred Dragoons under the Command of Captain *Stuart* of Lord *Mark Kerr's*, the whole commanded by Lord *Ancram*, with Orders to take and destroy it, which they effectually did, bringing away 367 Firelocks, 370 Bayonets, 12,000 Musquet Balls, which they scattered about the Country amongst the Snow and Heather, and stav'd and threw into the River *Don*, 64 single Barrels of fine *Spanish Powder*, and returned to *Aberdeen* on *Thursday, March the 5<sup>th</sup>*, with the Loss only of one Horse, and a Man left behind at *Tarland*, ill of the Small Pox, who afterwards died, tho' they had endured great Fatigue from the Badness of the Roads thro' the Mountains cover'd with Snow, and the Severity of the Weather, neither Officer nor Soldier having had his Cloaths off for seven Days, from their setting out till their Return to *Aberdeen*.

As I had sallen sick with the Cold I had got whilst our Army lay before *Carlisle*, and the excessive Fatigue I had endured before and after, made me not in a Condition to go this March with the Army, but followed them as soon as I grew better, by the Way of *Edinburgh*, crossing by Water from *Leith* to *Kinghorn*. When I was at *Edinburgh*, the 6000 *Hessians* in *British Pay* were arrived there; they made a fine Appearance and observed a good Discipline, and the Men in general were very handsome, but their Women are quite the Reverse, so that I thought they were given them for a Curse as ours are for a Blessing, at least, theirs might be reckoned as an Antidote agamst that Love and Respect which ours justly merit. Their Horses were pretty neat Things, with long Tails and Manes, it being customary to indulge all the Hair that grow on those Parts. The Troops marched to *Perthshire*, where they were joined by some *British*, in order to stop the *Western Passage*, in Case the Rebels should attempt to return to *England* again.

*Edinburgh*, although built on a Hill, may be said to lie in a Valley, by reason of two Hills which cover it, so that it is not seen 'till you just enter the City; one is called *Salisbury Craigs*, i.e. Rocks; the other makes the Foundation of the Castle. By the *Highlanders*, this Town has been called *Dun Eaden*, i.e. *Eaden Town*, and by the *Romans* *Castra alata*, that is the *winged Camp* for, as *Camben* observes, *Adian*, in the *British Tongue* signifies a Wing, and so *Edinburgh* (from a Word compounded of the *British* and *Saxon Tongue*) is nothing else but the *winged Borough*. This City, in regard of its high Situation, the Goodness of the Air, and Fertility of the Soil, so many Seats of the Nobility lying round it, its being watered with excellent

Springs, and reaching from East to West a Mile in Length, and half a Mile in Breadth; is, upon this Account, justly esteemed the Metropolis of *Scotland*; it is strongly walled, and adorned with publick and private Buildings, well peopled and frequented, for the Advantage of the Sea, which the neighbouring Port of *Leith* affords; and as it was formerly honoured with the King's Residence, so is it now the sacred Repository of the Records, and the chief Tribunal of Justice. At the Extremity of the East End of the City, stands the Palace of *Holyrood-House*; leaving of which, a little to the Left, you come through a populous Suburb, to the Entrance called the Water-Port; from hence turning West, the Street goes on in a straight Line through the whole City to the Castle, which is above a Mile in Length, and said by the *Scots*, to be the largest, longest and finest Street in the Building and Number of Inhabitants in *Europe*: From the Palace Door, which stands on the Level with the lowest of the plain Country, this Street begins to ascend very gradually, being no where steep; but this Ascent being continued for so long a Way, it is easy to understand, that the farthest Part must necessarily be very high, for the Castle which stands as it were at the Extremity West as the Palace does East, makes on all Sides (that only excepted which joins it to the City) a frightful and inaccessible Precipice. Besides the continual Ascent of this great Street, you are to suppose it running along the Top of a Ridge so narrow, that the Street and the Row of Houses on each Side takes up the whole Breadth, so that whether you turn to the Right or Left you go down Hill immediately, which is so steep that it is very troublesome to those who have bad Lungs, to walk in those side Lanes, which they call Wynds. By this Description you will perceive, the City stands upon a narrow Ridge of a long ascending Mountain: The Castle is situated on so high: a Rock, strongly fortified with a great Number of Towers that it is looked upon as impregnable; this the *Britains* called *Myned Agned*; the *Scots* the *Maiden Castle* and the *Virgin Castle*, because the Maiden Princesses of the Blood-Royal of the *Picts* were kept here in old Time. The Ascent upon which the City stands, has on the North Side a Pool, called the North Loch, and was formerly guarded by another on the South, called the South Loch, but this was drained many Years ago and upon the Banks of it are built two several Tracts of Houses; the Magistrates have also with great Expencc, brought one of the best Springs in *Scotland* into the City, which they did by leaden Pipes, from a Hill at about three Miles Distance, and to make it more convenient, they have erected several stately Conduits in the middle of the *High-street*, to serve the Town with Water. From the Palace-Gate Westward, this Street is called the *Canon-gate*, as belonging to the Canons of the *Abbey*, which is a Kind of Suburb by itself; in this Street are several very magnificent Houses of the Nobility, built for their Residence when the Court was here; besides these, there are a great Number of Bawdy-houses in the Street, which amongst the Frequenters of them, it is a common Question to ask if they have

got a Pair of *Canon-gate* Breekes, meaning the Veneral Disease, which rages here as well as in other Places of Note, and had made its Appearance here about 200 Years ago, so early did they fall into the *French* Fashion: At the Upper or West-End of this Sreet, where it joins to the City, is a Gate, which like *Ludgate*, parts the City from the Suburb, but does not discontinue the Street, which rather widens and is more spacious when you are through the Gate than before; this is the samous *Netherbow-Port*, whose Doors were like to have been taken away by the Parliament, when the Affair of Captain *Porteus* was under their Consideration. Just at the Gate, on the outside are two Streets, one of which is called *St Mary's Wynd*, and the other the *Leith Wynd*; the first leads out of the City South, into the great Road of *England*, by the Way of *Kelso*, and at the Foot of it a Gate called the *Cow-gate*, which turns West to the Low-Street, because the Cattle are driven to and fro from the great Marketplace; the other leads North into the Suburb called the *Calton*, from, whence there is a very handsome Gravel-Walk continued to the Town of *Leith*, which is kept in Repair at the Publick Charge; we now enter the City at the *Netherbow-Port*, and have an open View up the *High-street*, where stands the *Tron* Kirk, and near it in the middle of the Street stands the Guard-house, where two Companies of Soldiers, at the Charge of the Town, do Duty every Night, and keep the Publick Peace of the City: About the Midway between the *Netherbow* and the Castle, stands the great Church, which before the *Reformation* was Collegiate, and dedicated to *St. Giles*, but it was afterwards divided into several preaching Places, and Districts of the City were allotted to them, so as to be Parochial. When King *Charles* the First, erected a new Bishoprick at *Edinburgh*, which before that Time was in the Diocese of *St. Andrews*, it was made a Cathedral, and the Dean was Forenoon Minister of that Part of it called the new Kirk, which is the Choir, Chancel, or Eastern Part; the great Cross under the Tower is called the old Kirk, and the Front or West Part of the great Church is divided into two Parts, that on the South is called the *Tolbooth* Kirk, and that on the North *Haddo's Hole*, from the Lord of *Haddo*, who being a great Loyalist and Anti Covenanter, was kept Prisoner in a Vault there till he was beheaded; in the Steeple, which is very high, is a Set of Musical Bells, and the Town gives a Man a yearly Salary for playing on them, from half an Hour after eleven, till half an Hour after twelve every Day, Sunday and Holidays excepted. On the South Side of the Church, formerly the Church-yard, is a Square of very fine Buildings, called the *Parliament-Close*, the West and South Sides of which, are mostly taken up with the Parliament-House, the several Courts of Justice, the Council-Chamber, the Exchequer, the Publick Registers, the Lawyer's Library, the Post-Office, &c. The great Church makes up the North Side of the Square; the East and part of the South Side is built into private Dwellings, which are very stately, lofty and strong, being seven Stories high in the Front of the Square, and the Hill they stand on having a very steep Descent, some

of them are no less than fourteen Stories high backwards; in the middle of the Square or Court, is the Statue of King *Charles* the Second in Brass, erected upon a stately Pedestal at the Charge of the City; the great Opening into the *High-street*, being the only Passage into it for Coaches, is at the North-East Corner, a little from which is the Market-Cross, where all the Proclamations and Publick Acts are read and published by Heralds and found of Trumpet. Here is the great Parade where Gentlemen meet for Business or News, and serves as an Exchange every Day from eleven to one: Near the .East End of the great Church stands the *Tolbooth*, or common Prison, as well for Criminals as Debtors; the great Church and the Prison standing in the middle of this Street, obstruct its Breadth and Beauty for some Space, but beyond these Buildings, and the middle Row called the *Lucken-Booths*, the Street opens again to its former Breadth, and is now called the Lawn Market, from the Linnen Market, being kept here; this Street extends West, to a narrow Part which leads to the Castle Hill; here the Street parts in two, one of which leads directly to the Castle Hill as already noticed, and the other stands South-West, which descending gradually, leads to the Grass-Market, a Place like *Smithfield*, on Account of a weekly Market for black Cattle, Sheep, Horses, etc. Without this, is a Street called the *West-Bow*, inhabited mostly by Wholesale Dealers, in Iron, Pitch, Tar, Oil, Hemp, Flax, Linseed, Druggs, Woods, and such like heavy Goods.

The next remarkable Buildings, are, first, *Heriot's Work*, which is a large stately Building, adorned with a consecrated Chapel, and pleasant Gardens: It was built by the Rev. Dr. *Balcanguhal*, to whom *George Heriot*, Jeweller to King *James VI* left near 1700l. to be disposed of in pious Uses; which this worthy Dean did, by building and endowing this House, and giving Statutes to it, which he ordered should be unalterable. It is a Nursery for an infinite Number of the Sons of Freemen, who are maintained, cloathed, and educated in useful Learning, till they are fit for Apprenticeships, or to go to the University, where they are allowed handsome Salaries and Exhibitions. The next most remarkable is the Royal Infirmary, lately erected, but not quite finished or filled, but by our sick and wounded Soldiers, it was pretty full of them, where they had very good Care taken of them: It is a large beautiful Building, and has a great many Conveniences. The Amphitheatre for Operations, is said to be the grandest and best designed of any. It was built by the liberal Contributions of many well disposed Persons; and there was so general a good Will to the Work, that the like has not been known any where (except that of the Temple) I am told that the Proprietors of several Stone Quarries made Presents of Stone to it, others of Lime; Merchants contributed Timber, and the Wrights and Masons were not wanted in gratis Work; the neighbouring Farmers likewise agreed to carry Materials gratis; His Majesty was also pleased to give 100l. towards it. The following is the Inscription on the first Stone, *The Royal Infirmary* of Edinburgh, *founded* August 2, 1738,

*Earl Cromartie, G. M.* Next is the Royal Palace, a very handsome Building, rather convenient than large; it was formerly both a Royal Palace and an Abbey, founded by King *David I* for the Canons Regular of *St. Austin*, who named it *Holyrood-House* or the House of the *.Holy-Cross*: It was burnt down by *Oliver Cromwell*, but re-edified by King *Charles the Second*, and of which his Grace the Duke of *Hamilton* is hereditary Keeper. It is now almost neglected. The long Gallery is adorned with the Pictures of all the *Scots Kings* from *Fergus I*. This served for a Lodging-Room for our Soldiers upon Straw, as were most of the other Rooms.

The adjoining Park belonging to this Abbey, is about four Miles in Circumference, but there is neither Deer nor Tree in it; there is a craggy Rock in it about half a Mile high, called *Arthur's Seat*, for *Arthur the British King* I was told, used to view the adjacent Country from thence; This Palace or Abbey and the Park, are a Sanctuary for debtors. Close to this Abbey is a neat Physick Garden, abounding with great Variety of curious Plants, with Stoves, under the Direction of Doctor *Charles Alston*, the present Botanical Professor: Next and lastly, is the College or University, which stands near the *Potter-row-Port*; it consists of three Courts, those Courts are encompassed with neat Buildings, for the Use of such Students as please to lodge in them, for they do not live in common as in the College of *Dublin*, nor are they obliged to reside, but only to attend their Classes at certain Hours.

This City has in former Ages, been very variable and inconstant; sometimes, it was subject to the *Scots* and sometimes to the *English*, who inhabited the East Part of *Scotland*, until it became wholly under the *Scots* Dominion, about the Year 960, when the *English* being overpowered, and quite oppressed by the *Danes*, were enforced to quit all their Interest here, as unable to grapple with two such potent Enemies. *Edinburgh* is certainly a fine City, and I believe can boast of the highest Houses in *Europe*; notwithstanding it has its Faults, for the City being very close built, and the Want of common Shores to carry off, occasions the Town to be very nasty, and about Seven o'Clock in the Morning it stinks intollerably, before the Excrements are swept away from the Doors, which they throw out of the Windows in the Night; for after Ten o'Clock, it is Fortune savours you, if a Chamber Pot with Excrements, &c, is not thrown on your Head; if you are walking in the Streets, it is then diverting to Strangers, to hear all Passers by cry out with a loud Voice, sufficient to reach the Tops of the Houses, (which are generally six or seven Stories high in the Front of the *High-street hoad yare Hand*, i. e. *hold your Hand*, and means do not throw till I am past. Every Stair-case is called a Turnpike or Land, with the Addition of some Name to distinguish it from another; as for Example, hold your Hand in *Bell's-Land*, this with Variation is the common Cry all over the Streets, at Ten o'Clock at Night and after: It is very rare to see a single House inhabited by a single

Family in the *High-street*, for generally People of the best Rank have but one Floor, which is the first and second, the poorer Sort ascend higher. They keep Close-stools in their Bed Rooms, which they call Boxes, and are emptied out of the Windows at Night, so shitten Luck often lights on the Person who walks at late Hours in the Streets.

The Ladies of *Edinburgh* are very handsome, they use the *Scots* Plaids about their Heads and Shoulders, and at Church they almost cover their Faces, by which they obscure those Charm, which the strictest Modesty might allow them to expose; I thought they look'd so demure and hypocritical, although in an Undress (I mean, without their Plaid) they are very agreeable: They are also very industrious, and take great Pride in having most Part of their Cloaths the Product of their own working: They are great Admirers of white Thread Stockings, and need not be ashamed of shewing them upon their Legs, they being of their own Making; for it is not common to see a *Scots* Woman sit idle. Over the Tea-Table they are generally at Work, either upon their Thread to make them Linnen or Plaids, or else knitting themselves Stockings or Gloves, most curious and fine, a Piece of Industry not common to Ladies in other Parts, but more the Pity; their Men on the contrary live as idle, as appears by so many of them having spent their Fortunes and enter'd into the Rebellion.

I set out from *Edinburgh* the 10<sup>th</sup> of *March*, for our Army at *Aberdeen*, having received proper Instructions from Lord Chief Justice *Clerk*, but the Weather being very stormy, so that no Passage Boat could cross to *Kinghorn*, I was detained twenty-four Hours at *Leith*, during which Time I had very good Quarters and kind Usage at Mr *Andrew Carr's*, near the End of the Gravel Walk.

*Leith* is a large Sea-port Town, a Mile from *Edinburgh*, built on both Sides the River *Leith*, over which is a stately Stone Bridge, to which Ships of Burthen may come, and at High Water lay their Sides close to the Shore: Here is a fine Quay well warled up with Stone and fenced with Piles; the *Firth* is here seven Miles across to *Kinghorn* on the other Side, where are Ferry Boats for Men and Horses passing every Tide: Formerly this Town was strongly fortified by one *Dessy*, a *Frenchman*, for the Security of *Edinburgh*, after which, great Numbers of People stocked thither, and in a short Time from a mean Village it grew to a large Town: In the Reign of our King *Henry VIII* the Sufferings and Calimities both of it and its Neighbours were grievous and inexpressible, being both burnt and plundered by Sir *John Dudley*, Viscount *Leslie*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, who came with a powerful Army, and broke down the Pier, burning every Stick thereof, and took away all the Ships that were fit to serve him, which Kind of Execution was done likewise at *Dunbar*: Afterwards, when *Francis* King of *France*, had taken to Wife *Mary Queen of Scots*, the *French-men* in Hopes and

Conceit had devoured all *Scotland*, and began to gape for *England*, A. D. 1560, strengthened it again with new Fortifications, but Queen *Elizabeth* being solicited by the Nobles who had embraced the Protestant Religion to side with them by her Wisdom and Management so effected the Matter, that the *French* were enforced to return into their own Country, and all their Fortifications were laid level with the Ground, and *Scotland* hath ever since been freed from the *French*, and *Leith* is become a very fine flourishing Town, and Port for *Edinburgh*.

On the 11<sup>th</sup> I crossed the *Forth*, from *Leith* to *Kinghorn*, which is a stragglng, dirty Town; as I did not stay in it all Night, I made no further Observations, only in general, that the *Kinghorn* Horses-hirers and Boatmen, of which the Town chiefly consists, are noted all *Scotland* over for their Impudence and Impositions: I rode that Evening along the Shore five or six Miles, to *Kirkaldy*, which is composed only of one very long Street, built close on the Beach by the Sea Side, inhabited mostly by Fishermen and Coalminers; they raise great Quantities of Coal hereabouts; they have likewise several Salt Pans hereabouts for boiling and making of Salt.

My next Stage was to *Cooper* in *Fife*, the Shire Town, pleasantly situated upon the Banks of the River *Eaden*, surrounded with tall Trees, which is a great Rariety in that Country: I bated at the Widow *Cooper's*, at the *Cooper's* Arms, who keeps good Entertainment: About twelve Miles further, over a good pleasant Country, I arrived at the *Firth* of *Tay*, (here I hired a Boat to ferry over to *Dundee*,) which is three Miles broad; it being a ruff Tide and the Wind not very fair, that Evening I was obliged to stay at what they call the *West-port*) untill Morning.

*Dundee* is situated near the *Tay's* Mouth, to which from the Ferry is joined by a Causeway or Walk, well paved with flat Free-Stone, and Rows of Trees are planted on either Side of the Walk, which makes it very agreeable. The Name seems to be derived from *Dun*, a Hill, and the River *Tay* (on the North Side whereof it is situated:) It is a Town of Note, good Trade, and well built; it has two very long and large Streets, with a large Market-Place in the middle, said to be the largest and fairest in *Scotland*, except that at *Aberdeen*. This Town stands in a pleasant Plain, and besides the Advantages just now mentioned, hath two Churches, and a Harbour for Ships of Burthen. The Inhabitants are generally rich, and those that fall to Decay have a large Hospital provided for them. The Great Church was formerly Collegiate, and a very large Building; but part of it was demolished in the Civil War, when this Town was stormed by *Cromwell*. The Tower upon the Church, is a handsome square Building, large, antient, and very high, and is a good Ornament to the Town.

From *Dundee*, it is twelve Miles through the Shire of *Angus* and good Road, which is mostly by the Sea-side, to *Aberbrothock*, commonly called

*Arbroth*. It is a Royal Borough; here stands the stately Ruins of the greatest Abbey in *Scotland*, the Walls being mostly standing, it yet looks very grand at a Distance; it was a Place of old dedicated to Religion, by King *William Rufus*, in Honour of St. *Thomas of Canterbury*, and endowed by him with large Revenues; here he lies interr'd and has a stately Monument. Here is a Mineral Water much frequented for many Diseases: It is a pretty little Town pleasantly situated, with a Harbour. The chief Manufacture here is Thread, which passes for *Dundee* Thread, the most noted in *Scotland*.

After leaving *Arbroth*, and travelling eight Miles of very bad Road, I came to *Montrose*, where is a Ferry to cross over the River *South-Esk*, where I saw the *French* Man of War that was wreck'd, which brought over Lord *John Drummond*. This Town is well situated for Trade, having a good Harbour. *Montrose* makes a very fine Appearance from the Ferry, and lies near the Sea; it consists only of one very fine Street, and another short one going off at the End of it: Here is a very pretty Kirk and a Town House; the Street is very broad and well pav'd, the People very genteel but very disaffected. I quartered in going North at the best Inn, I forgot what Sign they kept; however they did not forget to make an extravagant Charge; I suppose they had used the Rebels more kindly, who had been there a little before me; but in my Return from the *Highlands* I had very agreeable Quarters at *Montrose*; there were four Troops of Lord *Cobham's* Dragoons at this Time in Town, and when on the March with the Army, I being a Volunteer, was always put to Gentlemen's Houses to quarter; so at this Time I was billeted on a most agreeable young Lady, whose Parents were lately dead, but she had a great Regard for *Charley*, and at Breakfast, there being no other Company, she with a pretty innocent Freedom ask'd me, *If I did not think that P--- C--- was the Right Heir to the Crown*; to which I answered, *Madam, you cannot think that I am of that Opinion, when you consider how far I have gone to bear Arms against him, and in the Station of a Volunteer*; pretty Miss replied, *That that was the only convincing Reason that could be given; for had you bore a Commission* continued she, *I should have doubted your Sincerity, and think it strange you should be so much biass'd in your Judgment*. Had this Discourse proceeded from another Sex, I should have been out of Humour, but from her so agreeable, nothing could come amiss. I told her, *That I had endured a great deal of Fatigue in the Government's Service, during the Time of the Rebellion, received no Pay, nor got no Plunder, so that if I could get so pretty a Rebel Lady as she was, to carry with me to England, I should be fully recompenced for all my Trouble*; to which Miss replied, *That Gentlemen on their Travels don't like to be troubled with Ladies, and that she thought she might rather seem to be a Plague, to torment me, for the Sins I had committed, in rebelling against a lawful Prince*; in this Manner we sat about two Hours at the Tea-Table, at which Time I was as much in Love with her agreeable Company, as she was with her mock Prince.

It is remarkable, many of the prettiest Ladies in *Scotland* are *Jacobites*, and Members of *Nonjuring* Meeting-Houses, although I could wish that all such as my pretty Hostess were married to Men well affected to the present Government, who by kind indulgent Methods, might bring over the valuable Fair to a better Way of Thinking; many of the *Scots* Ladies being very handsome, so that I am very sure, that if their Bodies and Minds bear a just Resemblance, by good Usage they may be reclaimed; so that in those Cases the Husband should be answerable for the Wife's Default.

After leaving *Montrose* about a Mile, I came to the *North-Esk*, where there is a small Ferry for Foot Passengers, but the Horse fords it when there is no Fresh in the River, which runs with a very strong Current; however my Horse being heavy, I got very well over, by keeping up against the Stream; after which I cross'd over eight Miles of a most wretched bad Country, to *Bervie*, the Road being excessive bad, I lost a Shoe off my Horse; it likewise rain'd and blew hard, by which I was pretty much fatigued: At the going into the End of this Town which had a miserable bad Appearance, I met with a discreet like Man, considering the Place, of whom I asked the Question, if there was ever an honest Smith in the Town, that would not take Pleasure in laming the King's Horse, (although the Horse was my own, given me by his Royal Highness after the Siege of *Carlisle*, where my own had failed me; but as I and my Horse were in the King's Service, might properly be called his) to which the Gentleman answered, that their Smiths were not accustomed to shoe such Horses, but desir'd me to alight, and he would order his Servant to take Care of my Horse: In this bad Country I was desirous to know who I had met with so civil to one in the Government's Service, whom I afterwards understood to be the Minister of the established Church, who were always zealous Friends to the Government; he took me to his House, and whilst my Horse was shoeing, had Dinner dress'd and brought to the Table in a very neat Manner, by a Man Servant; as the Minister was a Batchelor, he kept no other but Men Servants, who brewed his Ale, dress'd his Victuals, and did the other Business about the House, with as much Decency as any Maid-Servant I had seen in the Country: At and after Dinner we had extraordinary good Ale of their own brewing, and as a Fence against the Inclemency of the Weather, was advis'd to drink some very good Brandy, I suppose of the Produce of *France*, and perhaps never paid Duty, for this and all other little Towns along the Shore, appear to live mostly by Smuggling and Fishing.

From *Bervie*, I got to *Stonehive* that Evening, eight Miles further: The little Town is built close under a Hill, by the Sea-side, so that there is no House to be seen till you come directly to the Town. I put up at an Inn kept by one Doctor *Lawson*, which is the best in the Town; in the Morning I met with Capt *Hayes*, whom I was glad to see, as I was travelling alone in that wild

Country; he with some other Officers were on there March to the Army, with about the Number of two Companies of recovered Soldiers, that had been left sick at *Blair* Castle, and other Places. At this Town there is a pretty little Harbour for small Ships, it being mostly an Inlet betwixt great Rocks. From *Stonehaven* it is 12 Miles to *Aberdeen*; the latter half Way is the most wretched bad Country that I ever saw before; but had the Pleasure, such as it was, to see a great deal more of the same Sort afterwards, producing nothing but Peat, being so barren, that Hether won't grow and lying thick with Coble Stones, by which Means the Road here is pretty hard; but I at that Time having good Company made it more agreeable.

About a Mile before you come to the City, there is a stately Stone Bridge, consisting of seven Arches with Watch Towers (built by *Gawin Dunbar*, then Bishop at *Aberdeen*) a-cross the River *Dee*, you then travel along the Bank of this River, and have a most pleasant Prospect of *New Aberdeen*. This City is situated near the Sea 57 Degrees 25 Minutes North Latitude, is the Capital of the Sherifffdom of *Aberdeen*, the Seat of the Sheriff for trying Causes, and much exceeds the rest of the Cities in the North of *Scotland*, in Bigness, Trade and Beauty: The Air is very wholesome, and the Inhabitants well bred: The River *Dee* runs along the Back of the Town, and is pretty broad, but hath many Sands, which are almost dry at low Tide. About Half a Mile from the Town, Ships of the largest Burthen may come up, and smaller Craft come even with the middle of the Town: There are also great Quantities of Salmon caught here, which the Proprietors Pickle, and Export to *London*: There is likewise great Plenty of all Sorts of White Fish here: The Streets are well paved, and the Houses built with Stone and Slate, and are generally four Stories high: The Town consists of three or four good Streets, that called the Broad-street, is the principal, and is really a fine Street of stately Houses. Here is likewise a fine Market-Place called Castle-street, which is very spacious; in the Middle of which stands an ancient and curious Cross, with many Antique Figures, round the Upper Part of it; and below is two or three little Shops, where People sell Things on Market-Days, and a little higher there is a very useful Conduit, (with a Spout on each Side,) as there is in every Street, where there is a constant Resort of People for Water at them. Opposite to the Market Cross, is the *Tolbooth*, which serves for a Prison and Stadthouse; near the same Place is the Guard-House; I had Occasion to be at all the three different Places one Day, with a Rebel Prisoner that I had taken. Here is three Churches, viz the College Church, an ancient Building; likewise the Old and New Churches, adjoining each other, both large Buildings. The New Church is in very good Order; but that Part called the Old Church the Roof was fallen from some Part of it, and out of Repair; however it served for a Magazine, to keep our Straw and unthreshed Corn in: In the Churchyard along the Walls, stood about 300 Horses (that belong'd to our Train of Artillery) Picqueted, where they stood out Night and Day,

notwithstanding the Severity of the Weather. There is two Episcopal Meeting-Houses, one of which is very handsome, having a neat Organ, and many other Ornaments; the other was likely to be attainted of Treason; I don't know how it far'd, but there were two other Episcopal Nonjuring Meeting-Houses in Town, whom our Soldiers burnt, but with good Husbandry and Frugality, not consuming the Pile at once, as was often the Case; the Wood being industriously reserved to heat our Baker's Ovens: What gave me the most Concern was, that so many of the handsomest of the *Scots Ladies*, were Attendants of those Meeting-Houses; but their agreeable Accomplishments were a sufficient Protection, from the Resentment of well-bred Men; as for their pretty Gentlemen, we could manage well enough when we met with them.

The greatest Ornament of this City is its College, called the *Marshallian Academy*, being founded by *George Keith* Earl Marshal, in the Year 1554. The City of *Aberdeen* hath been very much adorned with several additional Buildings, besides a Primary Professor, who is called Principal: It has four Professors of Philosophy, one of Divinity, and one of Mathematicks, and there is lately added a Professor of Physick: It has also a very good Library, founded by the City, enlarged by the Gifts of several learned Men, and well furnished with Mathematical Instruments. This College, with that of the Old Town, make up one University, called the University of King *Charles II*. I happened to fall acquainted with the Keeper of the Library, who gave me *this* Account of it. This City is built upon three Hills, but the greatest Part is upon the highest, and at the Head of which stands an old Castle, mostly in Ruins, but it likewise served for a Magazine to keep our Hay and Corn in: The other Part of the Town is spread out upon the Plain, from whence there is an easy Access by an Ascent every Way, except that Side next the River, whose Banks is steep: There had formerly been a Mint here, as appears by Silver Coins stamped here, with this Inscription, *Urbus Aberdenæ*, which are still preserved in the Closets of the Curious.

At the West End of this City is a little round Hill, at the Foot of which there rises a Fountain of clear Water, and in the middle another Spring bubbles up, called the *Aberdonian Spaw*; 'tis said to come near the Spaw Water in the Bishoprick of *Liege*, both in Taste and Quality, particularly concerning which *Dr. William Barclay* wrote a Treatise. The Manufacture here is chiefly Stockings, of which they make vast Quantities all round the adjacent Country; and every Morning the Women bring in Loads to sell about the Town to Merchants, who have them scoured for Exportation to *London*, *Hamburgh*, and *Holland*; they are generally all White from the Maker, and knit mostly plain, some ribbed, and a great many with Squares, which greatly please the *Dutch*. They make Stockings here in common, from one Shilling per Pair to a Guinea and Half; and some .are so fine as to sell for five Guineas

the Pair. They have an Exportation of Pork, which they pickle and pack up in Barrels and sell to the *Dutch*, for victualling their *East-India* Ships and their Men of War: The *Aberdeen* Pork has the Reputation of being the best cured in *Europe*, for keeping on long Voyages.

On the 15<sup>th</sup> of *March* I arrived here; at which Time his Royal Highness had ordered the Army to be divided into three Cantonments, and the Battalions were daily marching off; the whole first Line consisting of six Battalions, the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse and Lord *Cobham's* Dragoons were ordered to *Strathbogie*, within twelve Miles of the *Spey*, under the Command of Lord *Albemarle* and Major-General *Bland.*, the Reserve consisting of three Battalions, with four Pieces of Cannon, under the Command of Brigadier *Mordaunt* at *Old Meldrum*, half Way betwixt *Strathbogie* and this Place; and the whole second Line, consisting of six Battalions, and Lord *Mark Kerr's* Dragoons were here.

On the 21<sup>st</sup> an Advanced Party, consisting of a Captain, with 50 Highlanders and 30 of *Kingston's* Light Horse, had been detached by General *Bland* to *Keith*, where a Party of Rebels were then just preparing to sit down to Dinner; but on the Approach of the King's Men the Rebels fled, and left their Dinner to be eaten by whom it was not intended for; but they being informed of the Number of our Men, resolved to return and fall upon them in the Night; our loyal Highland Men, who, to do them Justice, were always willing and ready to do the hardest Duty, had desired *Kingston's* Men to go to Bed, expecting that all was safe, and that they would do the Duty for that Night; accordingly they fixed their Guard in the Church-Yard: The Rebels, in Number about 500, marched back from *Fochabers*, where they had fled to, and entered the Town at both Ends, falling upon the *Campbells*, who bravely defended themselves for *half* an Hour, during which Time there was a brisk Fire on both Sides; but being over-powered by Numbers were obliged to submit, and the whole Party was lost, except a Cornet and five of *Kingston's* Men, two Horses, and one Highlander, who made their Escape; one of Troopers that escaped was shot in the Arm, and was obliged to have it cut off at *Strathbogie*: I happened to be at the Duke's Quarters when the above Account came by one of *Kingston's* Troopers, who was a Man of no very good Conduct, he being subject to drink, and had like to have quarrelled with one of; Lord *Mark Kerr's* Dragoons: I out of Regard to the Cohort he belonged to, took my Horse; and convoyed him safe out of the Town, likewise through *Old Aberdeen*, and over the Bridge of *Don*, about three Miles in his Way. The River *Don* is remarkable for the Abundance of Salmon and Trout taken in it: The Bridge is famous. for its Extent, being only one Arch over that large River and is reckoned a curious Piece of Workmanship; this immense Arch of Stone is sprung from two Rocks, one on each Side, which serve as a Butment to the Arch, so that it may, be said to have a

foundation co-equal with Nature, and will last as long; this Bridge has been remarkable to Travellers, but more so at this Time, for we had taken a Rebel Spy, who was hanged on a Tree close to this Bridge, with this Writing fixed upon his Breast, *A Rebel Spy*, which of Consequence Would hinder Crows from building Nests in. that Tree for a Season.

*Old Aberdeen*, which is a Mile from the City, and consists of one long Street, has one Church, and a College more noted than that of the new Town; this old Town was formerly the Bishop's seat, and has a Cathedral, commonly raised St. Machar's, a large stately Structure, which was antiently much more Magnificent: It suffered greatly at the Time of the Reformation, but more since the Revolution. The Windows of this Church were formerly very remarkable for their stained Glass; .and something of their antient Splendour still remains: The steeple, besides other Bells, has two of a very extraordinary Bigness. The chief Ornament of this Town is the College, consisting Of a fine Square, with a good Pump.in the Middle of it; and makes a grand Appearance at a Distance: It was founded by Bishop *Elphinstone*, in the Year 1500, and the greatest Part built by him; but King *James IV* taking the Patronage upon himself, it was call'd the King's College. The Bull was procured from Pope *Alexander VI* in 1510, endowing it with as ample Privileges as those of *Paris* and *Bononia*. There is in this College a Principal, a Sub-principal, three Regents or Professors of Philosophy, a Professor of Humanity, a Professor of Divinity, a Doctor of Physics, a Professor of the Oriental Tongues, a Professor of the Civil Law, and a Professor of the Mathematics. This Town being pleasantly situated, I used to ride but here often, taking a Turn to the Sea Side, over the *Links*, being green Fields so called, running along the Shore to the *Blockhouse*, a Fort planted with Cannon at the Mouth of the River *Dee*, which commands the Entrance of that River along the Banks of which it is very pleasant and much frequented by People walking or riding, to observe the Ships in the River, being about a Mile from *New Aberdeen* to the Block-House, there being several Houses all the Way inhabited by Fishermen, Alesellers, &c.

Although the continued bad Weather that we had had for some Time past had raised the Waters, and retarded the Proceedings of the Army against the Rebels, yet there was always something doing, that help'd to lessen their Interest, and put a Check to any further Risings oft them.

About the 20<sup>th</sup>, his Royal Highness the Duke, got certain Intelligence, that the Earl of *Airly*, Father to the Lord *Ogilvie*, was raising his Men to join the Rebels; and he not having complied with the Order to desist from such treasonable Practices, his Royal Highness ordered Capt. *Hewett*, with 100 recovered Men, who were coming up to the Army, to take Possession of his House, and to take him Prisoner in it, until his People should bring in their Arms, and behave in such a Manner as became good Subjects; which had so

good an Effect,. that a Number brought in their Arms, and desisted from their Intention of joining the Rebels: His Royal Highness likewise ordered Major *La Fausille* with 300 Men, to go to *Glen-Esk*, which is one of the most rebellious Parts, to attack all whom he might find in Arms against the Government, and to burn the Habitations of such as had left them and were with the Rebels: Accordingly the Major disarmed all the Rebels in *Clova* and *Glen-Esk*, and joined the Army with near 500 recovered Men: Two. Hundred of *Stoneywood's* Men (belonging to the Rebels) which they attempted to embark at *Findorn*, deserted from them, and several of the. Deserters said, that the Rebel Army were in great Want of Money, having received no Pay for seven Days, but the *Hazard* Sloop was expected with a Supply.

Lord *Loudon* for very good Reasons, abandon'd Fort St. *George*, at *Inverness*, and drew off his Men, leaving only a small Garrison in it under the Command of Major *Grant*, with Orders to defend it, which afterwards fell into the Hands of the Rebels without much Resistance; for which, Major *Grant* was try'd by a Court-Martial and broke: The Rebels. likewise made themselves Masters of Fort *Augustus*, and the Old Barracks, and made the Garrison, consisting of three Companies of *Guise's* Regiment, Prisoners: The Advantages the Rebels expected by the taking Fort *George* and Fort *Augustus*, and the Retreat of Lord *Loudon*, was to draw the Seat of the War amongst the Hills, and protract it a little longer; for the only Junction they gained there, was some few of the *Mackenzies*, headed by the Lady *Seafarth*, but the Lord of that Name was with Lord *Loudon*, as was Mr. *Mackintosh*, whose Lady likewise join'd the Rebels at *Inverness*, and was reckon'd the Beauty there. She got together all her Clan, and marched at their Head (with a white Cockade, etc ) and presented them, to the Mock Prince; for which (without Doubt) she was most kindly received by him; and as he had abandoned his Female Colonel *Cameron*; in his Flight from *Stirling*, the Loss of her might now be made up by this Lady.

The Siege of Fort *William* by the Rebels (of all their Undertakings.) was the most regularly carried on from the 14<sup>th</sup> of *March* to the 3<sup>rd</sup> of *April*, with 1500 Men, 8 Pieces of Cannon, and 7 Mortars, under the Command of Brigadier *Stapleton*, and under him, *Cameron* of *Lochiel*, and *Clanronald*, with three or four more Chiefs of the *Macdonalds*, *Stewarts*, and *Camerons*: The Garrison being bravely defended by Capt *Scott*, having several Reinforcements sent him and it being not in the Power of the Rebels to cut off the Communication to by Sea, on the 14<sup>th</sup> they raised the Siege, and left the Garrison in Possession of all their Artillery. At this Time the Castle of *Blair* had been attack'd by a Party of the Rebels under the Command of the Lord *George Murray*, and another Body of them had proceeded to Castle *Menzies*, another Seat of the Duke of *Athol's*; Sir *Andrew Agnew* who defended *Blair* Castle, although he was much distressed for want of

Provisions, bravely held out until the 3<sup>rd</sup> of *April*, at five o'Clock in the Morning, when the Earl of *Crawford*, with a Party of Dragoons arrived there, and was followed by the Duke of *Athol*, upon whose Approach the Rebels raised the Siege, and retired to *Ruthven*; as did likewise those from Castle *Menzies*: The Prince of *Hesse* likewise marched from *Perth* for the Relief of *Blair* and on the 4<sup>th</sup>, his Royal Highness the Prince set out from *Dunkeld* for the Castle, with all the Cavalry and Hussars, and was followed by 1000 Foot: This Relief was very seasonable, the Garrison in the Castle having been, (as I was informed, which is highly to the Honour of Sir *Andrew Agnew*) obliged to eat Horse Flesh for several Days.

There is at the End of *Aberdeen*, a stately large House with Gardens, etc. called *Silerton's Works*, built by one of that name; and after his Decease, the Town bought it, intending it for an Hospital, but it never came to any Perfection in that Way. This House his Royal Highness the Duke fortified with a deep Trench, Pallisadoes Horn-Works, &c. for the Use of a Magazine and Hospital for our sick and wounded Soldiers; and at the same Time test a sufficient Force in it, under the Command of Major *Crosby*, to secure the Town and it from any Insults from *Glenbucket's* People or any other. For some Days before we march'd, there were scandalous written Libels dropp'd about the Town by the Rebel Party: I happens to find one of them in the Lane, agoing out of *Broad-street* to the Duke's Quarters, where I carried it, the Substance of which was to admonish our Soldiers of the Danger that attended us in the Pursuit of the Rebels; and that there were several Mines about the *Spey* ready for blowing us up on our Approach. In order to find the Authors of which, several of the inhabitants were obliged to shew their Hand-Writing to People appointed for that Purpose, which, by comparing with the Libels, was hoped would be found out, but it proved ineffectual.

His Royal Highness had spared no Pains or trouble to put every Thing in steadiness to have been in Motion sooner, but bad Weather and contrary Winds have hitherto prevented him; but now a few Days of dry South Wind have brought up our Transports with *Bligh's* Regiment, our Firing and Provisions: His Royal Highness having sent two Officers to reconnoitre the *Spey*, returned with an Account that the Waters were much abated. The Duke on the 6<sup>th</sup> of *April* gave Orders for the Army to march next Day, but before it began, Captain. *Mackay*, Lord *Rea's* Son, and Sir *Henry Monroe*, Son of the late Sir *Robert*, both Captains in Lord *Loudon's* Regiment, arrived here with the agreeable News that Capt. *O'Brien*, of the *Sheerness* Man of War now at this Place, after chasing the *Hazard* Sloop above fifty Leagues, had drove her ashore, and obliged the *French* and *Spaniards* who were in her, to quit her and they landed five Chests of Money, to the Value of 12,000l and upwards, in order to join the Rebels. Had this Landing been in a rebellious Country they had been safe, but the Lord *Rea*, in whose Country they landed, being

well-affected, and at whose House Capt. *Mackay*, Sir *Henry Monroe*, Lord *Charles Gordon*, and Capt. *Macleod*, with some other Officers and about eighty Men of Lord *Loudon's* Regiment (who had been driven thither by the Rebels) being now join'd by some of Lord *Rea's* People, march'd out and attack'd them, and after killing four, and dangerously wounding eight, took the remaining 156 Prisoners, amongst whom were forty experienced *French* Officers, who were immediately embarked on board the *Sheerness*, and the Prize, in which were a great deal of *Arms*, Broad Swords, etc. with the Officers and Men, who made this Capture, who all arrived at *Aberdeen*, which put a stop to our March untill the next Day. Thus the Rebels long expected Succours happily fell into our Hands, which undoubtedly must be a great Disappointment to them.

On *Tuesday* the 8<sup>th</sup> of *April*, his Royal Highness marched from *Aberdeen*, with six Battalions of Foot, and Lord *Mark Kerr's* Dragoons, in order to seek the Rebels: It being fine Weather, our Transports, at the same Time, moved along Shore, with a gentle Breeze and fair Wind. We marched through *Old Aberdeen*, which I have already describ'd, from thence passed through several small Villages of no Fame (except *New Macher*, noted for a famous Bawdy-House, kept by an old Woman and her two Daughters) to *Old Meldrum*, a poor old dirty Town, where the Army quarter'd, the first Night, after 12 Miles March.

Our next March was to *Bamff*, in our Way thither we came to *Turreff*, a poor little Town, built irregularly on a Hillside, which made a much better Prospect at a Distance. The chief Manufactory here, as well as at *Old Meldrum* is Stockings. From hence I passed with the Advance Guard over a fine hilly Country. till I came to *Bamff*, where his Royal Highness gave the Army a Day's Rest.

*Bamff* is a Royal Borough, the first Sea-Port Town we came to after we left *Aberdeen*, and situated at the Mouth of the River *Deveron* in the *Boine*, 58 Degrees North Latitude, which divides the Shire of *Bamff* from that of *Buchan*. Before we could enter *Bamff* we were obliged to ford this broad River.

Here were two Rebel Spies taken, the one was knotching on a Stick the Number of our Forces, for which he was hanged on a Tree in the Town; and the other a little out of Town, and for want of a Tree, was hanged on what they call the Ridging-Tree of a House, which projected out from the End, and on his Breast was fixt in Writing, *A Rebel Spy*; which, with the Addition of *good Entertainment*, might have been a very famous Sign.

That Morning the Army marched from *Bamff*, as I quartered two Miles behind it, the Gentleman's Servant where I quartered was sent with me, to conduct me over the Water, and a nigher Way than that of the common Road

and riding along a Path-Way through the Fields, I past by Dr. *Abernethy's* House, who was made a Prisoner at *Carlisle*, and as I have been informed since, was condemned to die at *London*, but was reprieved for a Time, during which he fell sick and died at a Messenger's House.

I was but just come up with the Army and taken my Station at the Head of the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, who compos'd the Van-Guard, when we saw a great Fire, burning Vehemently, at about a Mile and a half Distance on our Left, the Officers not knowing what it was, I propos'd to go and see; when I came there, I found it to be a *Nonjuring* Meeting-House, set on Fire by a Party of *Kingston's*, that were reconnoitring the Hills. After about six Miles marching, in our Way to *Cullen*, we came to *Portsoy*, a pretty small Village, with the Sea coming full up to the Town: Here we were joined by the whole Army, which was too large to get Quarters, so that the Foot encamped that Night, and during the Campaign, and the Horse lay in the Towns; from *Portsoy* to *Cullen*<sup>7</sup> is three Miles, where our Army encamped on some plowed Ground, to the Right of the Town.

From *Cullen*, our next Day's March was to *Fochabers*, eight Miles: In the Way thither, we pass'd by large barren Mountains on our Left, and then come to some better Land, where we had a pleasant Prospect of our Transports and Men of War, standing in close to the Shore, who discharged some Shot at a Party of Rebel Hussars on the other Side of the *Spey*, which when we came in sight of, we observed the Rebel Army were assembled with their White Flags displayed, making a formidable Appearance: Our Army continued their March to within Half a Mile of the River, when the Duke of *Kingston's* which was the Advance-Guard stopp'd for Orders at the Head of a plowed Field, above the Town of *Fochabers*. It was a general Rule that I observ'd during the Campaign, always when an Engagement was expected, that I fed my Horse, by which he was enabled to go through any hard Service; during the Time we halted here, I rode down the Field to a Man that was sowing Corn, who was Servant to the Duke of *Gordon*, and he fed my Horse, By this Time the Foot with the Cannon came up, when the Rebels set Fire to the Barracks, likewise to their Guard-House, which looked as if they did not intend to stand an Engagement; at this Time his Royal Highness gave Orders for the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse to advance. Accordingly we marched through the Town of *Fochabers*, which consists mostly of one very long Street, where I observed several good Houses, and People of Fashion standing looking at us, but not one Person to wish us good Success.

---

<sup>7</sup> *Cullen* is a small Town, consisting of one Street, at the Entrance of which is a fine Seat belonging to the Earl of *Findlater*, but had been plundered by the Rebels: His Royal Highness quartered here, and the Lord and Lady *Findlater* accompanied the Duke, in all the March from *Aberdeen* to *Inverness*; here the People are well affected to the Government.

We again halted by the River Side (about 500 Yards above the Ford) for further Orders, (at this Time the Foot were moving down to the Right of *Fochabers*) which we received from the Lord *Ancram*, to continue our March and cross the River. I was then in my Station at the Head of the Regiment, where I very narrowly escaped being shot, for some of the Rebels fired at us across the River, kneeling and taking Sight as at a Black-Bird: We entered the River with a Guide wading on Foot, to shew where the Ford lay, which was bad enough, having loose Stones at the Bottom, which made it difficult for Man or Horse to step without falling; the Water Belly deep and very rapid; the Ford not lying right across, we were obliged to go Midway into the River, then turn to the Right and go down it for about sixty Yards, then turn to the Left inclining upwards to the landing Place: In this Situation had the Rebels stood us here, it might have been of bad Consequence to our Army, they having a great Advantage over us, and might have defended this important Pass a long Time, to our great loss; but they wanted to draw our Army over, and further into their Country, from whence (in their Imagination) we were never to return: When we got up the Banks on the other Side of the River, the Rebels were all fled and appeared on a Hill about Half a Mile's Distance, from which they retreated out of Sight as we advanced: The *Campbells* were the next that followed us, and one of them chanced to get a Shot at a Rebel, and killed his long tail'd White Horse, on which he had rode about very briskly. Our Army sustained no Loss in crossing; the River *Spey*, excepting a Dragoon and a Woman, who fell from a Horse and were drowned: After the Rebels, were fled out of Sight, our Foot encamped on the North Side of the *Spey*, and Straw being wanting to bed the Tents, they were obliged to use Barley unthresh'd, which was very bad to lye upon; the Horse were ordered to repass the River and quarter in the Town of *Fochabers*, (where I had very bad Quarters) and the utmost Precaution was taken to prevent any Surprise.

This Vigilance of his Royal Highness was not without good Effects, as the Rebel's then and since have experienced; for tho' there and at *Nairn*, they made attempts to steal an Advantage, yet his Royal Highness prevented their Designs. After that his Royal Highness had fortified the necessary Dispositions, he took up his Quarters at the Ministers House on the North Side of the *Spey*, which had been Lord *John Drummond's* Quarters. After we had done scowering the Hills, I drank a Bottle of very good Ale there, provided at that Rebels Expence; the Gentleman of the House being overjoy'd that he had an Opportunity of disposing of it in another Manner than what it was intended for. The Chief and only Ornament in *Fochabers*, is *Gordon Castle*, situated nigh *Spey* Side, and was formerly called the Bog of *Gicht*, the noblest Palace in this Part of the North, being the Duke of *Gordon's* chief Seat, and is adorned with pleasant Gardens, Park, and fine Canal, with a most agreeable Fountain and Statues, which the Rebels had

defaced, by shooting at them for their Diversion.

The River *Spey* produces vast Quantities of Salmon: It is customary for the Highlanders, who live nigh these great Rivers, to make little Boats of Willows, in the Nature of a Basket, which they cover over with a Hide, in which they go a fishing, which a Poet Remarks thus,

Great SPEY drives forward with impetuous Force,  
Huge Banks of Sand, and knows no certain Course:  
Here for a Boat, an Osier Pannier row'd.  
By some bold Peasant, glides along the Flood:

Sunday *April* 13, about Six in the Morning our Troops left *Fochabers*, crossing the *Spey* again, which divides the Shire of *Murray*, from that of *Bamff*; here I had an Opportunity of observing the Rebel's Barracks, which were very long, so that .about 2000 Men might sleep in it, built close to a Bank above the River, of Sods, Earth and Stick, according to their Highland Architect: Our Army continued their March, the Rebels fleeing before us; we had a pretty good Road over a level Country to *Elgin*, and encamped in the Parish of *Alvis*, four Miles on the other Side, which was more hilly, from whence we had a pleasant Prospect of the Sea, it being fine Weather and good hard Road; I rode part of it twice over that Day, for as I had not been in Bed the Night before, I expected better repose that Night and accordingly returned from the Camp; to the Town of *Elgin*.<sup>8</sup>

Late in the Evening a Report was spread in the Town, that 200 Rebels were coming from the *Spey* Side; on which the Lord and Lady *Finlater*, Mr. *Gomez*, Commissary of the Bread, and some Volunteers rode directly to the Camp, which gave some small Alarm thereabout twelve at Night. I being unwilling to be beat out of my Quarters by Hearsay Stories, went through the Town to see what Soldiers I could muster, to make a Defence if the Rebels came; but could only meet with ten of the *Campbells*, who quartered at Sir *Henry Innes's*, the Commander of them went with me to enquire into the Particulars of the Story, and we found that it was not without some Foundation; for two Men had made Oath of it, but did not agree in Circumstances, on which we went to Bed.

On *Monday* the 14<sup>th</sup>, the Army decamped early; as I was four Miles behind them, and having a wild Sort of a hilly Country to ride over, I should have been glad of Company, but the *Campbells* who were to wait for some Baggage not then come up, were not ready to march, so that I set out alone, and had not rode far before I was told that three armed Highland Men were

---

<sup>8</sup> *Elgin* in *Murray*, is a Royal Borough, pretty large, consisting of one very long Street, and others shorter, and hath a neat Kirk. It is noted for the Ruins of one of the most stately Cathedral Churches in *Scotland*, most of the Ends and some of the Side Walls are still standing, and many noble Pillars, which shew its former Greatness.

on the Road before me; by this, and what had been reported the Night before, it appeared that there might be some stragling Parties of the Rebels sculking in Corners; and as I had picked up several of their Stragglers, was now in Danger of being served in kind.

At this Time there was a tired Soldier in the Road, whom I took up behind me; we had not rode a Quarter of a Mile, when the three Highlanders I had been told of, appeared, on which I bid the Soldier alight and make ready his Firelock, I likewise primed my Pistols a-fresh, and when we came close up desired to know who they were; they told me that they were Deserters from the Rebels and shewing me their Pass, given them by Order of his Royal Highness, and that they were going to *Aberdeen*. About this Time, a great many of the Rebels deserted, and went to his Royal Highness with their Arms, who order'd them Protections to go to their Places of Abode: A little further I overtook another tired Soldier, and as I could not carry them both, being unwilling to leave him behind, I ordered them to press two Horses at the first House we came at. We overtook the Army before they were got to *Forress*, which is eight Miles distant from *Elgin*; here is good Road over a hilly Country, from whence we had a Prospect of the Sea and the Ships in *Findorn* Harbour, a small Sea-port, four Miles distant from *Forress*. This Borough of *Forress*, is pleasantly situated at the End of several Ridges of Mountains, and is made up of one long Street, with a Kirk and Tolbooth, and the Ruins of an old Castle, which it's said, the Kings of *Scotland* used to reside in: Just before we entered this Town on the Right Hand, we were presented with an Obelisk a flat square Pillar of Stone, which rises about 43 Foot above Ground, and is said to be no less than 12 or 14 Foot below, and its Breadth near five; it is all one entire Stone; great Variety of Figures are carved thereon, some of which are distinct and visible, but the Injury of the Weather has obscured those towards the Upper Part; what the Import or Signification of it is, I could not be informed: *Cambden* says, it was erected as a Monument of the Fight between King *Malcom*, Son of *Keneth*, and *Sueno* the *Dane*.

From *Forress* to *Nairn* is eight Miles. When we had marched about a Mile of the Road, we were obliged to ford a broad and deep River, that disembogues itself into the Sea at *Findorn*, and therefore is called *Findorn* River: I saw in crossing here, an Officer's Horse with Baggage carried down the Stream; on this River is likewise carried on a great Salmon-Fishery. From this to *Nairn*, is a very moorish Country, to the Left of which we perceived a Body of the Rebels at a Mile's Distance, on which we drew up; but perceiving they did not advance, we fell into marching Order until we came within half a Mile of them, and then observing they did not form but kept in a moving Posture, the Duke of *Kingston*'s Horse, with four Companies of the *Campbells* were ordered to advance, on which the Rebels fled, and being

pursued by some Volunteers, we had a fine hunting Match after them; we took some Prisoners, of which I had the good Fortune to get two, the one a *Fraser* who could speak no *English*, and had not the Sense to stand when he was shot at, until he was cut twice in the Head; the other was a *Montross* Man, called *Sanders Stewart*, (I heard of him in my Return, that he served an Apprenticeship to a Barber there,) he told me, that the Rebels were 4000 the Day we crossed the *Spey*, under the Command of Lord *John Drummond*, and were 5000 that Day, and that the *Chevalier* and the rest of his Army were then at *Inverness*: After I had got these two tied together with my Horse Collar, they proved very troublesome to drive, and I had above two Miles over a Moor to go with them to our Army, who were then encamping at *Nairn*, which before I entered, I had occasion to go through that Wing of our Army where the *Old Buffs* were pitching, where my Prisoners were condemned to various Deaths by the *Old Buff's* Wives. I delivered my Prisoners to the Provo, and in the Evening went and dress'd the Wounds of the Highlander; by this Time the Quarters were all taken up, so that I did not get to Bed the two Nights the Army lay here.

*Nairn* is a Royal Borough, and hereditary Sheriffdom of the *Campbells* of *Lorn*, and a small Sea-Port Town.

On *Tuesday* the 15<sup>th</sup> of *April*, 1746, being his Royal Highness the Duke's Birth-Day, the Rebels to make a Bonfire on that Occasion, set Fire to and burnt Fort *Augustus*; and expecting to find us merry, they marched in two Columns to attack us in our Camp, the one under the Command of the Lord *George Murray*, the other under Lord *Lewis Gordon*, but they not arriving in due Time, (our Men being got under Arms) they returned without making us a Visit.

On the 16<sup>th</sup>, we marched from *Nairn*, betwixt Four and Five in the Morning, with our Foot divided into three Columns, of five Battalions each; the Artillery and Baggage followed the first Column on the Right, our Cavalry covered the Left Wing and composed the fourth Column: After we had marched about eight Miles, our Advance Guard perceived the Rebels at some Distance, making a Motion towards us on the Left; (which was a Point we imagined the Rebels would strive to gain, as we had the Sea on our Right



that the Horse covered the Left Wing) on which we immediately formed; but finding the Rebels were yet a good Way off, and that their whole Body did not move forwards, we put ourselves into marching Orders as before, and continued it till within half a Mile of them, where we made a Stand to reconnoitre their Situation and form our Army; we having a Morass on our Right, which secured our Right Flank, the two Regiments of Dragoons covered our Left in order to fall upon the Rebel's Right; *Kingston's* Horse were ordered to the Reserve; four Companies of our Highlanders were on the Left with the Dragoons, the other eight were ordered to guard the Baggage; the ten Pieces of Cannon were disposed two in each of the Intervals of the first Line, and in this Disposition we continued for about half an Hour; as I had the Honour of being a Volunteer under his Royal Highness, and of Consequence at Liberty to chuse my own Station, I had taken Post in the Front of Lord *Cobham's* Dragoons; when the Lord *Ancram* was pleased to ask me, if I charged there to Day, (as knowing that I had at sometimes before joined the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse,) I told his Lordship, that I intended to take my Chance with that Regiment to Day, his lordship, wished me good Success: During the Time we remained in this Position I observed a Man standing by the End of a House, about half Way between the Rebel Army and ours, whom I supposed to be a Rebel reconnoitring us, on which I drew one of my Pistols, and was riding off towards him, but being called back by Major *Sheban*, to know where I was going, I turn'd and told him, pointing to the Man; he desired me to take Care how I came up to that House, for as I did not know what Number of Rebels might be in it, I was in Danger of being shot, but as I was a Volunteer, he said he would not hinder me to proceed, but desired I would not go beyond it, for that I might be in Danger of being taken Prisoner. I humbly thanked him for the Care he took of me, and galloped off; but when, I came to the House, I found none there but the Man who lived in it, who appeared to be a Friend, and gave me what Information he could. Between our Lines and that House, I could gallop my Horse all the Way, but from that forward; appeared to be soft and marshy, I had there a good View of the Rebels, who had formed into a line, with *Culloden* House on their Left, and their Right extended to a Park Wall, (within which appeared to be good hard Ground) I saw them close to the Right, as if they intended to bring their greatest Strength there, on which I returned to my Station, and gave an Account of what Observations I had made: At which Time his Royal Highness was pleased to address the Officers and Soldiers who where nearest to him (and ordered it to be published through the Battalions,) in the following Manner:

Gentlemen and Fellow Soldiers,

**I** Have but little Time to address myself to you, but I think proper to acquaint you, that you are instantly to engage in the Defence of your King and Country, your Religion, your Liberties and Properties, and through the Justice of our Cause, I make no Doubt of leading you on to certain Victory. Stand but firm, and your Enemies will soon flee before you. But if there be 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 further 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 on an Army under my Command.

At this Time our Army being formed, we moved to the House at which I had been, near which was the Place of Action; and finding, that the Morass on our Right was ended, which left that Flank uncovered, the Rebels outstretching us, his Royal Highness immediately ordered *Pulteney's* Regiment from the Reserve to the Right of the *Royals*, and *Kingston's* Horse with about sixty of *Cobham's*, who had been a patrolling to cover the Right Flank, commanded by Major-General *Bland*, the Left Flank was commanded by the Lord *Ancram*; the Center by the Earl of *Albemarle*; the second Line by Major-General *Huske*; the Reserve by Brigadier *Mordaunt*; and his Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland*, by whose Direction our Army was formed, was on the Right, and Lieutenant-General *Hawley* on the Left. In this Disposition, some time was spent in striving who should gain the Flank; at which Time a heavy Shower of Rain came on which, was very discouraging, remembering the *Falkirk* Affair, but at this Time we had the Wind which was some Comfort.

His Royal Highness having sent Lord *Bury* forward, within a hundred Paces of the Rebels, to reconnoitre something that appeared like a Battery, and found it to be some old Walls they were posted behind, from whence they began about One o'clock to fire their Cannon upon us, (at which Time it grew fair Weather) which being ill served and as badly pointed, did us little or no Damage; ours joined in the Concert, which made a Slaughter-House of the Rebel's Battery, and began their Confusion; they not liking that Way of Fighting, came running forward in their wild Way on our Right, where his Royal Highness had placed himself to receive them, 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 there Swords, but our Men appeared to take no Notice of them, so that after those feint Attempts, they made off, and immediately their whole first Line came down upon our

Left. Their Right somewhat out-flanked *Barrell's* which was our Left, but *Bligh's* and *Semple's* Regiments, from the second Line, gave a Fire upon those that had out-flanked *Barrell's* and soon repulsed them: Then they threw away their Muskets, and engaged *Barrell's* Sword in Hand, in a confus'd, tumultuous Manner, and pressed so hard, that they made a small Breach; in *Barrell's* first Line, which was soon made up. They killed Lord *Robert Kerr*, and seventeen of our Men there, the Rebels paid dear for this rash Attack, for of about 500 of them who entered this Breach, I believe there was not a Man of them that escaped: At this Time General *Hawley*, with four Companies of the brave *Campbells*, had broke down the Walls of a Park Dike, (at which Place we lost two Captains and five private Men of the *Campbells*;) through which our Dragoons passed, under the Command of Lord *Ancram*; at this Time an Officer with a Party of Lord *Mark Kerr's* Dragoons, was sent to dislodge a Party of the Rebels, who lay under the Wall firing at us, where three Dragoons were killed; we lost but one Man of Lord *Cobham's* who was shot close by me at the rising of the Hill, where we fell upon the Right Flank of the Rebel's second Line, while *Kingston's* Horse, who behaved well in the Action, with sixty of *Cobham's* Dragoons wheel'd on their Left, being led by Major-General *Bland*; then we soon knocked off many of their Bonnets, at the Sight which, their Mock Prince wheel'd and fled, and his Clans followed him; so that then he had the Honour of being in the Front, which he led on with so much Courage, (crossing the River at the nearest Place at the hazard of drowning) that he never stopp'd nor looked behind him, until he got to *Aird*, Lord *Lovat's* House, where he staid all Night. His Royal Highness gave Orders for Lord *Ancram* to pursue with the Horse, (and there was much knapping of Noddles;) which he did with so good Effect, that above 500 were killed in the Pursuit, and a great many Officers and Soldiers were taken Prisoners. In the Pursuit I came up with a pretty young Highlander, who called out to me, hold your Hand, I'm a *Campbell*. On which I asked him where was his Bonnet; he reply'd that somebody snatched it off his Head. I only mention this, to shew how we distinguished our loyal Clans from the Rebels, they being dress'd and equipped all in one Way, except the Bonnet, ours having a red or yellow Cross of Cloath or Ribbon; theirs a white Cockade: He having neither of these Distinctions, I desired him if he was a *Campbell* to follow me, and I would have him taken Care of, being slightly wounded, which he promised, but on the first Opportunity gave me the Slip.

This Days Action was crowned with a most gloricus Victory, which I think would have been more compleat, had their Mock Prince with all his Clans engaged us; (it also would have saved the Trouble of much hanging afterwards, and of Consequence been a Loss to the Hempen Manufacture,) For as there were but two of our Foot Regiments on the Left of our Front Line engaged, all the Rest of the Officers and Soldiers had very little Share in

the Action, who desired nothing more than a general Engagement, every one of them being in high Spirits, and willing to exert themselves in their several Stations, being animated by the Presence of our brave Commander, who ordered all the Disposition, perhaps, as just as the Mind of Man could conceive; whilst the Rebels minded very little Order or Discipline, throwing down their Firelocks, and engaging with their broad Swords, in a wild, confns'd Manner, against our Soldiers Bayonets, who were also supported by a quick and well-timed Fire playing upon the Rebels, so that our Firelock and Bayoneat, so far exceeded their Broad Sword and Target, that there were killed of the Rebels that Day in the Field of Battle and in the Pursuit, above 2000, whilst our Loss in the Whole did not exceed fifty killed. We likewise took all there Artillery and Baggage, consisting of 22 Pieces of Cannon and 8 Swivels, 190 Broad Swords, 2500 Muskets, 1500 Musket Cartridges, 1019 Cannon Shot, 500 Weight of Musket Shot, 27 Barrels of Gunpowder, with 22 Ammunition Carts, &c. We also took 350 Prisoners, but if we had known that they had Orders before the Battle to give the Duke's Troops no Quarter, we should not have troubled ourielves with making so many Prisoners. The Prisoner of the greatest Note taken that Day, was the unhappy Lord *Kilmarnock*. Four of their principal Ladies were likewise taken, viz. Lady *Ogilvie*, Lady *Gordon*, Lady *Kinloch*, and Lady *Mackintosh*, who was the Head of the Clan of that Name. The Ladies after Tea, were preparing to dress for a Ball in the Evening, after the Rebels had gain'd the Victory; but the King's Red-Coats were so rude as to interrupt them, and lead them up a Dance they did not expect.

The Rebels had ordered the Inhabitants of *Inverness*, to provide all the Oatmeal they could spare, and with it bake Bannocks for their Suppers, against their Return from the Victory; but their Disappointment was very pleasing to us, who came to eat it in their Stead, many of them having lost their Stomachs, and gone to Bed Supperless: After the Pursuit was mostly over, and we were on our March to *Inverness*, Major General *Bland* received a Letter from a *French* Officer to this Effect:

Inverness, April 16, 1746

SIR

**T**HE French Officers and Soldiers, who were at *Inverness*, surrender themselves Prisoners to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and hope for every Thing which is to be expected from the English Generosity.

Sign'd,  
Cusack  
Murphy,

Le Marquis de Giles,  
Dehan,  
D'Obrian  
Macdonald.

*To the Commanding Officer of the Troops under his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.*

Translation of the Parole of Honour, sign'd by the Officers in the *French King's Service.*

**W***E the under-written, in the Service of his Most Christian Majesty; acknowledge ourselves Prisoners of War of his Britannick Majesty; and we engage ourselves, upon our Parole of Honour, not to go out of the Town of Inverness, without a Permission from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. In Witness whereof, we have sign'd this, and have hereunto set the Seal of our Arms.*

Done at the Head Quarters at *Inverness*, the 17<sup>th</sup> of *April*, 1746.

The above was sign'd by about forty of the principal Officers.

A Copy of the Rebels Orders before the Battle of *Culloden*, found in the Pocket of one of the Prisoners.

PAROLE. ROY JAQUES.

**I***T is his Royal Highness'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 any 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 Squaaron. It is required and 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*

GEORGE MURRAY,  
*Lieutenant General.*



<i>RETURN of the Number of Officers and Men in each Battalion of the King's Arms, the Day of the Battle of Culloden.</i>	FIELD OFFICERS	CAPTAINS	SUBALTERNS	SERJEANTS	DRUMMERS	RANK AND FILE
Royal Scots	2	5	19	29	25	410
Lieut. Gen. Howard's	2	4	10	21	14	413
Lieut. Gen Barrel's	2	5	13	18	10	325
Maj. Gen. Wolfe's	1	7	14	17	11	324
Maj. Gen. Pulteney's	2	6	14	23	19	410
Brig. Gen. Price's	2	7	14	21	11	304
Brig. Gen. Bligh's	2	5	13	22	13	412
Maj. Gen. Campbell's	1	5	13	21	14	358
Brig Gen. Semple's	3	5	15	20	14	420
Brig. Gen. Blakeney's	2	4	14	24	12	300
Brig. Gen. Cholmondely's	2	7	15	21	15	399
Brig. Geo Fleming's	2	6	18	25	14	350
G. Dejean's (late Monroe's)	2	6	15	23	19	426
C. Conway's (late Ligonier's)	3	5	16	21	16	425
Col. Batterseau's	1	7	19	24	18	454
Total	19	84	228	330	225	5521

*RETURN of the killed and wounded, at the Battle of Culloden, April 16, 1746.*

*Barrel's.*

Capt. Lord Robert Kerr, killed; Lieut. Col. Rich, Capt. Romers, Lieut. Edmondson, Ensigns Campbell and Brown, wounded.

*Wolfe's.*

Ensign Bruce, wounded.

*Price's.*

Capt. Grossette killed; Capt. Simpson wounded.

*Bligh's.*

Lieut. Trapaud, wounded.

*Dejean's.*

Capt. Kinneer, Lieuts. King and Lort, Ensigns Dally and Mundock, wounded.

*Conway's.*

Capt. Carter, wounded.

*Loudon's.*

Capt. John Campbell, wounded, and since dead.

*Militia.*

Capt. Colin Campbell, wounded, and since dead.

*Rank and File, Officers included*    KILLED    WOUNDED

Royal Scots	0	4	
Lieut. Gen. Howard's	1	2	
Lieut. Gen Barrel's	17	102	
Maj. Gen. Wolfe's	0	1	
Maj. Gen. Pulteney's	0	0	
Brig. Gen. Price's	1	9	
Brig. Gen. Bligh's	4	17	
Maj. Gen. Campbell's	0	7	
Brig Gen. Semple's	1	13	
Brig. Gen. Blakeney's	0	0	
Brig. Gen. Cholmondely's	1	2	
Brig. Geo Fleming's	0	6	
G. Dejean's (late Monroe's)	14	68	
C.Conway's (late Ligonier's)	1	5	
Col. Battereau's	0	3	
Total	40	245	
Artillery	0	1	Gunner
	0	5	Men
Lord Loudon's	6	3	

Argyleshire Militia	0	1	
Kingston's Horse	0	1	
Lord Cobham's Dragoons	1	0	
Lord Mark Kerr's Dragoons	3	3	
Total	50	259	<i>Missing 1</i>

**H O R S E S**      Killed      Wounded

Kingston's	2	1
Cobhams's	4	5
Lord Mark Kerr's	4	15

The Day after the Battle, we were amused with a Report that the Rebels would Stand another Battle, having 1000 Men at *Badenoch*, who had not joined them at the Engagement; but we were afterwards informed, that on holding a Council of War, it was agreed as they had neither Money, Arms, nor Ammunition, each of them was to shift for themselves Brigadier *Mordaunt* was detached into the *Fraser's* Country, with about 900 Foot, where he got great Numbers of Cattle, and a Quantity of Oatmeal, that was design'd for the Use of the Rebels: He went likewise to Lord *Lovat's* House, that Nest and Cage of unclean Birds, where much Treason and Rebellion had been hatch'd; he only found the Nest, for the Birds were flown: However he thought proper to purge it from all Pollutions by Fire.

The Rebels being now dispersed all over the Highlands, and skulking in secret Corners, Detachments were sent from the Duke's Army, and encamped at different Places for the greater Safety of the Country, and Conveniency of apprehending the Rebels, of which they sent in great Numbers, so that all the Goals were full of Prisoners, notwithstanding the great Number that was shipp'd off for *Newcastle* His Royal Highness the Duke of *Cumberland* was pleas'd to give his Protection to as many as return'd to their Obedience, by coming in and delivering their Arms, who were at Liberty to go to their Place of Abode.

I will next proceed to give an Account of another memorable Defeat, which on the 15<sup>th</sup>, one of their Chiefs, the Earl of *Cromarty*, receiv'd by some of the loyal Clans, Vengeance being pronounced against Lord *Ray* and his People, on Account of the Hazard already taken Notice of. The Earl of *Cromarty* was sent with a Detachment to destroy his Country with Fire and Sword, but he was himself surpriz'd and made Prisoner at *Dunrobin* Castle, as follows; after Lord *Ray's* People had surprised the Crew of the *Hazard* Sloop, was reinforced by some of the *Monroes*, and the Lord *Sutherland's* Militia, they engag'd the Earl at *Golspy*, and took him and his Son the Lord *Macleod*, &c. Prisoners.

Ensign *Join Mackay* of the Earl of *Sutherland's* Militia, having kept a private Intelligence with some Person in his Lordship's House at *Dun-Robin*, who gave an Account of their setting out for the intended Destruction, on which *Mackay* informed the loyal Clans, who assembled, posted themselves in private Places the Rebels marching, past them undiscovered, and was followed by the Earl and some other Chiefs. *Mackay* having received the proper Signal from the Top of the Tower of that House, ran with 26 Men down to the Water of *Golspy*; as the Body of the Rebels, consisting of about 400, had march'd some Distance before Lord *Cromarty*, &c. *Mackay* with his Men got betwixt the Officers and the Main Body, and by firing briskly on them, drove the Officers back to *Dun-Robin*, who secured the Gates, and by ringing a Bell on the Tower, and displaying a white Flag, gave the Alarm to

their Men to return to their Relief. In the mean Time, *Mackay* had dispatched five Men to call the loyal Clans from the different Stations to his Assistance, who fell upon the Rebels in their Return to *Dunrobin*, who perceived the Militia coming down from the Hills in such Numbers, that they despaired of Success, directly made the best of their Way to the little Ferry; but Lord *Sutherland's* Men pursued them so close, that by Water and Firing they killed about fifty of them, and took 164 Prisoners, after which, they returned to *Dunrobin*, where *Mackay* directly asked 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; on which Lord *Cromarty* asked half an Hour to consider of it, but on finding that his Men were mostly killed or taken, and that it was impossible for him and his small Party to hold out, the Gate was opened, and Lord *Sutherland's* Men took Possession of the House, disarmed and made Prisoners the Earl, and those with him, and immediately sent a Letter of Advice to Capt. *Dove*, of the *Hound* Man of War, who received all the Prisoners, and brought them to the Camp at *Inverness*.

*List of the Names of the principal Prisoners taken in Sutherland, on April 15, who were embark'd on board his Majesty's sloop the Hound, Capt.*

*Dove.*

The Earl of *Cromarty*. Lord *Macleod*, Son to the Earl of *Cromarty*.

Lieut. Col *Kendal* in the *Spanish* Service

Capt. *Mackenzie*, Brother to *Balion*.

Capt. *Roderick Mackulloch* of *Glasnish*.

Lieut. *Alexander Mackenzie*, Brother to *Dundonald*.

Lieut. *Alexander Mackenzie*, of *Gowry*.

*Geerge St. Clair*, of *Gees*.

*Hector Campbell*, in *Caithness*.

*Hector Mackenzie*.

Lieut. *James Macrae*, in the *Spanish* Service, and 153 private Men.

Thus I have given a just, impartial, and I hope a satisfactory Account of the Rebellion, from it's first Rise, until the decisive Battle at *Culloden* Moor: After which, our Foot encamped near *Inverness*, and the Horse quartered in the Town and adjacent Villages, which we found generally very ill provided; the Rebel Army being there so long, had occasioned a Consumption in the Victuals, neither was there any drink to be had but Water; that in the River *Ness* coming off a Brimstone Mineral, and not agreeing with those that are not accustomed to it, threw many of our *Men* into a Flux; Proclamation was made for any that had Malt to get it brewed; but at that Time there was none

to be found, neither were there any Markets; but it was not long before there was an Alteration for the better: The Weekly Market being now supply'd with Flesh, fresh or salted, in the Hide of the Beast, and extream bad Goats Milk Cheese: Here you may have Butter of several Colours, which is brought to the Market in the Membranes that hold the Calves: Further in the Country, when Cow-cleaning is scarce they have an artful Way of making it up in Rolls or Balls, bound in Straw Ropes: For the Quality it is salted up in little Dishes that hold about two or three Pounds; if fresh it is entirely so, and called sweet Butter; then the Salt is brought with it to the Table, where you may Season it to your Pallate; you may likewise have fresh hung Beef, for it is customary in the Highlands, when the Cattle die, to hang the Hinder Quarters, (I cannot say in the Chimney because there is none) in the Smoak nigh the Fire, without Salt. As the Weather became more warm, it brought still greater Plenty, for you might see the Highland men coming over the Hills, with Milk of several Sorts, as Sheep, Goats, Cows, &c. which they carry on their Backs in a Goat-skin, with the hinder Foot over each Shoulder held in their Hands, and a small Wood Piggen, which floats in the Milk, with which they Measure it out to their Customers. The nicer of them has a more ingenious Way of carrying the Goat skin, by the two fore Legs; and as there is naturally a Hole at the other End in which they affix a Tap, it is followed by a *Caudy*, i.e. a Boy with has Piggen, who draws the Milk off as Occasion requires.

I shall only at present mention one other Piece of their Ingenuity, which is, that they can boil a Quarter of Flesh, whether Mutton, Veal, Goat, or Deer, in the Paunch of the Beast, which is prepared by cutting open, and turning outside in, by which it is made clean; then they affix it with Scuars on a Hoop to which they tie a String or a Thong, from the Skin of the Beast, by which they hang it over the Fire.

The Highlanders have been reckoned an indolent People; although, by what I have said, it may appear that they are ingenious and industrious; for the Truth of which; appeal to any of our Military Gentlemen, who have had the Honour to serve the Government in that Part of the World. But as these are Secrets that have not been known in *England*, I should; not have divulged them without a Patent, or at least some valuable Consideration; and especially, since the Rebels have failed in their Scheme of establishing the Pretender, for had they succeeded, in all Probability, there would have been a Colony of those *Norweigans*, planted in the South, who might have taught our good Women their Way of Housewifry and Cookery. Our Mechanicks might likewise have been instructed in their Arts as to Building, &c. The Highland Houses are very oddly erected, and the Inhabitants are generally their own Architects, which they perform with very few Materials, being chiefly composed of Clods of Peat, Stones, Sticks, Broom, or Ling. They

have generally two Apartments in their Houses (I mean the common People) by Means of a slight Partition; one End they lie in themselves, having a Fire in the Middle; as to Chimneys, as I have already said they have none: There is sometimes a little Hole left open in the Top of the House for the Smoke's Exit; other Times it is in the End, but most frequently the Door performs this Office. The other Apartment is the Cow-Parlour for their Oxen, Calves, &c. and is seldom used otherwise, except at Weddings or Christenings, when they can very readily remove the Partition, and lay Boards propt up with Butments of Clods for a Table, which they cover with green Rushes or Hether Tobs, and Straw the Floor with the same.

Their Cattle are exceeding small, but very sweet Meat when in good Order: A full grown Ox is not much bigger than one of our Calves of a Year old. The Smell of the Cattle's Dung, (which is generally very thick about the Houle) and their Peat Fire, I suppose contributes not a little to keep them in Health, but not free from the Itch, which is very common here although not regarded, for they seldom mind to cure it any other Way than by their dumb Musick (being always provided with that Instrument; which they have a very good Knack of playing, and would be much more diverting to Strangers, if it was not for Fear of being presented with the Fiddle.

The Highlanders, in all Reigns. have been remarkable for disturbing the established Government of *Scotland*, by taking up Arms on every Invasion for the Invaders; had they been employed at such Times in Defence of their Country, it would have shewn a noble Spirit; on the contrary, they have been the Ringleaders and chief Promoters of all Rebellions, and of bringing Ruin and Destruction upon the Place of their Nativity.

As I proposed to give a particular Account of the Highlanders, what is wanting from my own Observation, I may venture to supply from so worthy an Author as Mr *Buchanan*, who has formerly well described them as follows:

In their Diet, Apparel, and Houshold Furniture, they follow the Parsimony of the Antients; they provide their Diet by fishing and hunting, and boil their Flesh, as I have already said, in the Paunch or Skin of the Beast: While they hunt they eat it raw, after squeezing out the Blood; and when they bleed their Cattle, which is generally twice a Year, they with great Care preserve the Blood, which they mix with Oat Meal to eat, which is esteemed by them a most nourishing Dish. Their Drink is Meat Broth, or Whey, of which they have Plenty at their Entertainments; but most of them drink Water. They also brew Ale, which is generally drank (in the Lowlands as well as here,) the same Day 'tis brew'd. Their Bread is a Composition of Oats and Barley, the only Grain which their Country produces, which they likewise prepare after various Forms with Water, sometimes boiled, but mostly raw; they eat a little of this in the Morning, and contenting themselves with that through

Necessity, hunt, or go about their Business, without eating any more till Night; when they travel further from home, they carry a Bag of Oat Meal, and a little Dish, with which when they are hungry, they take up some Water at the first Brook they come to, with their Finger stir in some Meal, and sup it up, by the Help of which they can out-travel many Horses. They delight most in Cloaths of several Colours, especially stripped: And the Colours they are fondest of are Purple and Blue Their Ancestors, as many of them do still, made Use of Plaids, very much variegated; but now they make them rather of dark Colours, more like the Crops of Heath, that they may not be discovered while they lie in Heaths waiting for Game. Being rather wrapped up, than covered with these Plaids, they endure all the Rigours of the Season; and sometimes sleep cover'd all over with Snow. At home they lie upon the Ground, having under them Fern or Heath, covered with a Sheet or Blanket, the latter laid with the Roots undermost, so that it is almost as soft as Feathers, and much more healthful; for the Quality of Heath being to draw out superfluous Humours, when they lie down Weary and Faint upon it at Night, they rise fresh and vigorous in the Morning. They affect this hard Way of sleeping, and whenever they happen to come into any Place where there is better Accommodations, they pull the Covering of the Bed, and lie down upon them wrapped in their Plaids, lest they should be spoiled, by what they call a barbarous Effiminacy. They go Naked from below the Knee, to the Mid-Thigh, wearing a broad Sword, Dirk, and Pistol at their Girdle; and a Target at their Shoulder. They are desperate in Fight, fierce in Conversation, apt to Quarrel, Mischievous, and even Murderers in their Passion. The old *Scots* Language, called *Erse*, has lost so much Ground by the spreading of the *English* in *Scotland*, ever since the *Norman* Conquest, that 'tis now confined to the Highlands and the Isles, where most of the People of note do also understand and speak *English*. Mr. *Mackay*, tells us that the Highlanders differ as much from the Lowlanders, in their Dress, Manner and Language, as the *Indians* in *Mexico* do from the *Spaniards*; that the old *Scots* Language is here spoken in its Native Purity, and written in the genuine Characters, which is more like the *Greek*, or *Hebrew*, than the *Roman*: Whereas the *Welch*, though they have preserved their Language, yet have entirely lost their old Character, and write in the *Romans*.

April 21, Mr. *Grant*, with 800 of his Followers, join'd the Duke at *Inverness*,<sup>9</sup> who order'd them to be quartered in the *Mackintoshes* Country.

---

<sup>9</sup> *Inverness* or *Inerness*, is but a small dirty poor Place, although the Capital of the Highlands, built close along the Banks of the River *Ness* from *Lochness*. From that River, and from *Enner*, which, in the old *Scots* Language, signifies an *Harbour*, the Town and County derives its Name. It lies in a great Hollow, which joins the *Murray Firth*. At the Key, where there is a very commodious Harbour for small Shipping, and those of the largest Burthen, at a little Distance, may ride in safely, and lies convenient for Trade. It is a Royal Burgh, and a Seat of the Sheriff, and of a Presbytery, containing thirteen Parishes. It stands on the South Side of the *Ness*, over which is a Bridge of hewn Stone, with

At the same Time, they delivered 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.

On the 28<sup>th</sup>, all the *French* Prisoners were ship'd for *Newcastle*. Almost all the Pretender's Servants came and submitted to the Duke; and as they were *French*, and had not been with him before he came to *France*, his Royal Highness gave them Passports to go Home. Lord *Sutherland* remained with 900 of his People in the Head of the *Frazers* Country. Lord *Loudon*, with 1300 Men, were in the Isle of *Sky*, and ordered by his Royal Highness to land in the Country of the *Clanranolds*, and to march up towards Fort *Augustus*. It lies amongst the Mountains half Way between *Inverness* and Fort *William*, which is on the Sea Shore in the West Highlands as *Inverness* is on the East, and about sixty Miles Distance. Fort *Augustus* is situated in a Valley at the Head of *Lockness*, it was a fine old Building, about 200 yards distance, on a more rising Ground is another large Building, which is called the old Barracks, both which was burnt by the Rebels. The Town of *Kilwhumen*, is only a few Earthen miserable Hutts, thatched with Heath or Heather, and is

---

seven Arches, in the Butment of one of which is a Goal, or Place of Confinement, with an Iron Trap Door going down into it. It has two tolerable good Streets, and two Churches, one for the *English*, the other for *Irish* or what they call *Erse*; for, in this Town, both Languages are spoken indifferently among the Rich as well as Poor. Near to the Bridge, upon a pleasant Hill, is the Ruins of a Castle, which was formerly the Residence of the Kings of *Scotland*, and from whence there is a fine Prospect of the Town, the Ships in the Harbour, and the adjacent Countries. The Duke of *Gordon* was hereditary Constable both of the Castle and of its Superiorities; it has of late been rebuilt and call'd Fort *George*, which was a great Ornament to the Town, before the Rebels blew it up; it was not a Place of Force, but a beautiful Barrack. Their chief Engineer, who laid the Plan for blowing up this Fort, was mounted up into the Air by one of the Blasts, and was kill'd; whose Dog fared better than his Master, for although he was also blown up at the same Time, a great Height, and thrown near to the other Side of the River, yet liv'd, but is sadly lamed. The Manufacture here is chiefly in Linen and Plaids. This Town, above all others in *Scotland*, is noted for handsome Women. They are generally of a fair Complexion, reddish Hair is also common amongst them; many of them are taught to Musick, (as the Spinet) and Dancing: They also speak the best *English* here as any Place in *Scotland*, which 'tis thought they formerly learnt from *Oliver Cromwell's* forces, who along Time garrison'd here in a large Pentagon Fort built by him close to the Entrance of the River *Ness*, into the *Murray Firth*, but is now entirely in Ruins, nothing remaining but Earthen Banks, or Bastion and Ditches. Here I had very good Quarters at a Jacobite Nonjuring Minister's. Setting aside their Principles, his Wife and he were very agreeable People; on Enquiry, I was informed by the Minister of the Established Church, that during the Time that Town had been possess'd by the Rebels, Mr. *Hayes*, who was my Landlord, had made it his constant Practice to go about amongst the Rebel Officers, making Interest for his Neighbours, that was well affected to the Government, which was now returned at their Request; for I protected him from any Injury he might have receiv'd from our Soldiers, when they came in as usual on such Occasions, with Pretence to search for Arms. I gave them for Answer (being well assur'd) that there was no Arms there but what belong'd to me; and, as 'twas my Quarters, would not suffer it to be abus'd, which they always took as a satisfactory Answer, and went off; so that my Landlord suffered no Damage. I have heard since that he has conformed. This Town is pretty well affected to the Government, perhaps from the good Example (or some of the Breed) of *Oliver Cromwell's* Soldiers.

situated just by the old Barracks. *Fort-Augustus* is since rebuilt, and is now a very strong Fortress, as well as a most commodious Barracks, both in one, and surrounded by two Trenches filled with Water, with Draw-Bridges, Strong Walls and Bastions. In coming to which from *Inverness* you travel along the Banks of the River *Ness*, four Scots Miles (which is generally very Long) till you come to the *Lochnefs*, from whence the River runs and discharges itself into the *Murray Firth* at *Inverness*. In this River is a great Fishery, in which they catch vast Quantities of *Salmon*.

*Lochness*, is a most remarkable and beautiful *Loch*; 24 Miles long, and 2 broad, on each side of this *Loch* a Ridge of most terrible barren Woody Mountain; you Travel along the Banks, which makes the Foot of these Mountains, for about 12 Miles, and through a Road made with the greatest Difficulty, by blowing up Monstrous Rocks, which in many Places hang stooping over Passengers, and higher than Houses, so that 'tis frightful to pass by them, you then come to a poor small House of Entertainment (yet the only one on the Road) called the General's Hut, from General *Wade*, who once lived their when he commanded the Forces, in making those most surprizing and useful Roads through the Highlands of *Scotland*; before you come to this Place on the other side of the *Loch*, is the Ruins of the famous Castle of *Urquhart*, formerly consisting of seven great Towers, said to be built by the *Cumins*, and overthrown by King *Edward*, about four Miles to the Westward of which Castle on the Top is a very high Hill, two Miles perpendicular, is a Lake of cold fresh Water, about 30 Fathom in length and 6 in breadth, no Stream running to it or from it, its depth could never yet be fathomed, and at all Seasons of the Year it is equally full, and never Freezes: a little way after you leave this Hut, you are presented on your Right, with a most remarkable Cataract or Fall of Water, more then 20 yards high, it being a small River obstructed by vast Rocks on the Edge of a Mountain, from whence it falls into the *Loch* at the Foot of this Mountain; here the Rocks and Mountains being inaccessible, which inviron this *Loch*, you leave it on your Right, and travel over continued barren Mountains, and see *Lochness* no more till you come to *Fort Augustus*, from hence to *Fort William* is 30 Miles quite in a Valley, as it is from *Inverness* to this Place, and full of Locks all the Way from Sea to Sea, East and West. This Valley is supposed to be twenty Foot lower then the Sea, and there is not above eight Miles of the Way from *Inverness* to *Fort William*, but what is either Locks or Rivers. This Fort was erected in Honour of King *William III* as the Village is called *Maryburgh*, in Honour of his Queen *Mary*, to curb the Highlanders, who, upon all Revolutions used to be very unrully. This Garrison over-awed the Neighbouring Highlanders, when they armed for the Pretender in 1715. It is so situated, that if it be ever so much straitned by a Blockade or Siege by Land, 'tis open to the Sea, and may thereby receive constant Supplies. The Water in *Lochness* is of a brown Colour, and said to abound much in

Sulphur, and is the lightest Water in *Scotland*; amongst the Natives it is accounted the best of Water, as is that of the River *Ness*, at *Inverness*, and never Freezes; But our Soldies complained of it giving them the flux, as already taken Notice of. Upon *Locknefs* is built a very handsome Sloop, which serves the Garrison with Necessaries from *Inverness*, and at this Time was of great Use in bringing up Forage and Provisions for the Army, &c and carrying Sick from hence to *Inverness*, of which there was but too great Plenty, after the excessive fatiguing Marches, Inclement Weather, and now invironed with black barren Mountains (if not covered with Snow) with Streams of Water rolling down, the Sight of which being sufficient to give a well bred dog the Vapours, and which occasioned great Numbers to fall Sick daily, as well in their Minds as Bodies, which might have been still worse, had it not been for the Duke's Presence, which afforded Pleasure to every Soldier as often as they beheld him; and to divert their Melancholy, his Royal Highness and Officers, gave frequent Sums to be Run for by Highland Horses, sometimes without Saddles or Bridles, Men and Women riding: Here was also many Foot Races perform'd by both Sexes, which afforded many droll Scenes. It was necessary to entertain Life in this Manner, otherwise the People was in danger of being affected with Hypochondriacal Melancholy. At this Time most of the Soldiers had Horses, which they bought and sold with one another at a low Price, and on which they rode about neglecting their Duty; which made it necessary to publish an Order to part with them, otherwise they were all to be shot. I saw a Soldier riding on one of these Horses, when, being met by a Comrade, who asked him, Tom, *what has thou given for the Galloway*, Tom answered, *Half a Crown*, to which the other replied, with an Oath, *He is too dear, I saw a better bought for Eighteen-pence*. Notwithstanding the low Price, the vast quantity of Cattle, such as Oxen, Horses, Sheep and Goats, taken from the Rebels, and bought up by the Lump, by the Jockeys and Farmers, from *Yorkshire* and the South of *Scotland*, came to a great deal of Money, which was divided amongst the Men that brought them in; being sent out in Parties, in search of the Pretender, and where they frequently came to Rebel's Houses, they having left them and would not be reduced to Obediance; those Sort our Soldiers frequently plunder'd and burnt, so that many of them grew Rich by their Share of the Spoil.

Notwithstanding many of the Rebels after their defeat at *Culloden*, had dispers'd themselves over the Country, and retir'd to their respective Homes, still keeping their Arms, without giving the least Marks of quitting their traitorous Disposition, although the Duke's Clemency in granting Protections to those who brought in their Arms (which a great many did) might have induced those harden'd Wretches to desist.

His Royal 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; to seize and secure their Arms, and to take Informations from the Ministers of the Established Church of *Scotland*, touching the Behaviour of the Inhabitants within their respective Parishes, and of the Haunts and Places of Abode of such Rebels as may be lurking in their several Neighbourhoods, &c. Notwithstanding the Prisoners that was shipped off from *Inverness*, yet the Prisons continued full with others that was daily sending in. The Prisons at *Aberdeen*, *Montross*, *Stirling* and *Perth*, was likewise filled.

The Marquis of *Tullibardine* and an *Italian*, who calld himself *Machell*, and said he had been 30 Years in the Service of the Pretender, fled thro' *Rosshire*, 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 bad State of Health, they went, *April 27*, to the Seat of *William Buchanan*, Esq; Justice of the Peace, and surrender'd to him, who committed them to the Castle of *Dumbarton*: The Marquis was afterwards transmitted to the Tower of *London*, where he died. *William Murray* Esq; Brother to the Earl of *Dunmore*, surrender'd himself to a Justice of the Peace in the Shire of *Mearns*. The Lord *Pitsligo*, with some of his Followers, lurk'd about the Coast of *Buchan*, in hopes of making their Escape to *France*. The Misery and Distress of the fugitive Rebels was inexpressible, hundreds being found dead of their Wounds, and thro' Hunger, at the Distance of 12, 14 or 20 Miles from the Field of Battle. General *Campbell* marches towards *Lochabar*, in order to clear that Country of the Rebels, who were dispersed all over it, and had begun to rob and plunder. Lord *Cobham's* Dragoons marched to *Montross*, *Barvey* and *Stonehaven*; Lord *Mark Kerrs* to *Bamff*, *Elgan*, *Peterhead*,<sup>10</sup> &c to guard the Sea Coast on the Eastearn Shore.

As I have stedfastly adhered to Truth and Justice, through the whole of my History, I beg Leave to make this general Remark: That though the Flame of Rebellion was kindled and raised in *Scotland* to a high Pitch, yet it is very unjust (as some ignorant People are apt) to brand the Country in general with the infamous Name of Rebels, since from what I have already said, it plainly appears, that there is no People better attach'd to his Majesty's Person and Government, then many of the *Scotch* are; for the Conformation of which, I refer you to his Royal Highness the *Duke of Cumberland's* Letter to the

---

<sup>10</sup> *Peterhead* is a Market Town and Sea Port of considerable Trade, on the South Side of the Water of *Vgie*, upon the Promontory called *Buchanness* about 20 Miles from *Aberdeen* and 12 from *Old Meldrum*, which lies inland from it almost in a Line. Here the Pretender landed in the late Rebellion in 1715. It lies within a small Island called *Calk Inch* i.e. *Calk Island*, where there are two little Piers to receive small Vessels only at Highwater; but on the South Side of it is a Bay, or Road that will contain 100 Sail of Ships, with good Riding in 8 or 9 Fathom, securing from the North and West Winds by the Head, and from the Easterly by the Inch or Island.

Right Hon. the Earl of *Leven*, his Majesty's High Commissioner to the general Assembly of the Church of *Scotland*.

My Lord Commissioner,

**T**HE Meeting of the venerable the general Assembly of the Church of Scotland, furnishes an Occasion I have wished for, of expressing publickly the just Sense I have of the very steady and laudable Conduct of the Clergy of that Church, through the whole course of this most wicked, unnatural, and unprovok'd Rebellion.

*I owe it to them in Justice to testify, that upon all Occasions I have receiv'd from them Professions of the most inviolable Attachment to his Majesty's Person and Government; of the warmest Zeal for the Religion and Liberties of their Country, and of the firmest Persuasion, that those Blessings could not be preserved to the Nation, but by the Support of his Majesty's Throne, and of the Succession in his Royal Family, and in the Support of the Sincerity of their Professions, I have always found them ready and forward to act, in their several Stations, in all such affairs as they could be useful in, though often to their own great Hazard; and of this I have not been wanting to give due Notice from Time to Time to his Majesty.*

*I must desire your Grace to assure the venerable the general Assembly, of the very sincere Acknowledgment I shall always feel, for the particular Marks of Good Will and Affection I have received every where from the Clergy; of my Regard and Esteem for their Body, and of my good Wishes for all its Members.*

*I heartily wish Success to the good Work you are upon for the Service of his Majesty, and the true Benefit of his faithful Subjects. I am, my Lord Commissioner, your Grace's most affectionate Friend,*

WILLIAM.

The Work in the Highlands being mostly over, and I having had the Pleasure of seeing and lending a Hand in reducing the Enemies of my King and Country to an unwilling Obedience, had a Desire to leave these Parts (so long harassed by this Highland Banditti, that it more resembled the Habitation of Savages than the Residence of a civilized Society) and return to *England*. My Horse being wounded at the Battle of *Culloden*, and not fit for so long a Journey, the Adjutant-General gave me an Order to the Commissary, for to receive another Horse, so that I soon alter turn'd my Back upon these Mountains, covered with Snow, or black barren Rocks, with streams of Water running down with great Rapidity, which is the Winter Appearance, to a more agreeable Prospect, the Weather being now pretty good, and the Country and the adjacent Hills covered with Ling or Heath, look'd most beautiful. Although this Country is not very fertile, yet it produces pretty Ladies; for as a Star shines with the most Lustre in the

darkest Night, so those pretty *Caledonian* Comets appear the more agreeable in this recluse Part of the World; who for erect Deportment, genteel Air, and a becoming, courteous, frank Behaviour, none can excell. It perhaps may be thought mean, and beneath the Character of a Soldier in Time of War, to regard so trifling a Thing as Women; which I deny; they of all Things here deserve our highest Regard; for whilst we endure the Fatigue of a Winter's Campaign, it affords some Pleasure to think, that we not only serve our King and Country in general, but particularly the Ladies; in protecting their Innocence, preserving them from all Affronts or Attempts on their Virtue, in the lawful Enjoyment of their Lovers: All this we do, nor is it more than our Duty, seeing that the Soldiers Monitor does not forbid to reverence their sweet and comely Graces in Chastity and Modesty. This inspires a Soldier in the Day of Battle with true Courage and Fortitude, being not only engaged in the Service of the Government, but that of the Ladies, our Mistresses, or our Wives, which are the better Part of ourselves: He that does not act under these Principles, is divested of that Honour due to the Dignity of a Voluntier, so it may justly be said that our whole Life is dedicated to the Service of the Ladies; and if in Return we have their Thanks with a smile, a kind Look, their Hand, or perhaps their Heart, 'tis more than sufficient Recompence.

The valiant Soldier who Delights in Arms,  
Gives up his Life t' resistless Beauty's Charms;  
In Winter Quarters, and in long Campaigns,  
Bacchus and Venus warm his amorous Veins:  
Where e'er he Travels he must bless his Life,  
With a kind Mistress, or a kinder Wife;  
That while he lives, he may his Hours improve,  
With charming Beauty, and the Sweets of Love .

Some Time after there was a most malignant kind of Fever, introduc'd amongst the Army, by Brigadier *Houghton's* Regiment coming from Sea, in Ships that had before carried Rebel Prisoners to *London*, amongst which was the Goal Distemper: This Malady not only made Havock amongst our Soldiers, but even the Towns-People of *Inverness*, great Numbers of whom, both young and old, died daily.

Detachments being sent out from the Duke's Army (as I have already said) for apprehending the Rebels, the Earl of *Cromarty*, and his Son Lord *Macleod*, Lord *Kilmarnock*, Marquis of *Tullibarden*, Lord *Lovat*, Lord *Balmerino*, Lord *Mordington*, Sir *Archibald Primrose*, Sir *John Wedderburn*, Sir *James Kinloch*, and several other Prisoners of Distinction were taken and tried at *London*, *York*, and *Carlisle*, some of whom have undergone the just Sentence of the Law. Amongst these, the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, Lord *Balmerino*, *Charles Ratcliff*, Esq; and and Lord *Lovat*, deserve the most particular Notice.

**W**ILLIAM BOYD, Earl of *Kilmarnock* and Lord *Boyde*, takes his Title of Earl from a Royal Borough of that Name, in the Shire of *Cunningham*. The first remarkable Man of his Family, and the first who assumed the Sirname of *Boyde*, is said by *Scotch* Genealogists to be *Robert* the Son of *Simon*, third Son of *Allan*, Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland* in the Year 1111, from whom the late Earl was lineally descended. The first who was created a Baron, and called to Parliament by the Name and Title of Lord *Boyde* of *Kilmarnock*, was one *Robert*, a Man remarkable for his Abilities, both as a Soldier and Statesman, whose Son *Robert*, a Nobleman of quick Wit and penetrating Judgment, was on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *October*, 1466, by Letters Patent created *Regent of Scotland*, during the Minority of King *James* the Third, who created his Son *Thomas*, in the Life-time of his Father, Earl of *Arran*, and gave him in Marriage the Lady *Mary Stewart*, eldest Sister to the King. He was shortly after sent on an Embassy to *Denmark*, on a Treaty of Marriage between the young King, his Brother in-law, and *Margaret*, a Daughter of that Crown, whom he espoused in the Name of his Royal Master: But by the Practices of his Enemies against him, was forced afterwards to take the Opportunity of one of those Ships which convoyed the Queen, and retired to *Denmark*, with his Wife, the King's Sister; whence going to pay a Visit to *Charles*, then Duke of *Burgundy*, Anno, 1470, he died at *Antwerp*, and was honourably interred at the Expence of that Duke, who erected a superb Monument to his Memory.

After the Restoration of King *Charles* II. *William* the then surviving Descendant, a Man of Wit and Learning, for his, remarkable Activity in the Interest of that Monarch, and upon Account of his solid Parts, was created by that Monarch, Earl of *Kilmarnock*. The Family having remained in a private Station, from the Time of the famous Earl of *Arran* in *James* III<sup>d</sup>'s Reign, till this Period, when they again appeared in Parliament with their ancient Lustre.

*William*, his Great-Grand-son, the 4<sup>th</sup> and late Earl, who was confined in the Tower of *London*, was but very young when his Father died. His Father's Death leaving him too soon at Liberty to be his own Master, and the Indulgence that is generally given to young Noblemen, added to the natural Sprighiness of his Temper, soon gave him an Aversion to a rigorous Study of Letters, though he had made some Progress in Classical Learning, and had acquired some tolerable Notion of Philosophy and Mathematicks; but there was too much of the volatile in his Disposition, to continue long at Exercises that required Application: He was more happy in acquiring those which are called genteel Accomplishments; such as Riding, Fencing, Dancing, and some Musick; in all which he excelled, and was esteemed by Men of Taste, a polite Gentleman

When he came to the Estate, it was pretty much incumbered, and great Part

of the old Patrimony alienated: The Earl's Disposition was by no means cut out for improving it by Parsimony; on the contrary, as his Income was infinitely short of what the Generosity, or rather the Profuseness of his Disposition would prompt him to spend, he found his Affairs daily growing worse, and therefore thought of bettering his Circumstances by an advantageous Match: To this Purpose he fixed his Eyes upon Lady *Ann Livingston*, Daughter of *James* Earl of *Linlithgow* and *Callander*, a young Lady of considerable Fortune, and great Beauty. The Earl made his Addresses to the Lady, but her Friends, who knew the low Ebb of the Earl's Fortune, refused their Consent: However, his Lordship's agreeable Person, and genteel Address, raised a Friend for him in the Lady's Bosom, who married him without her Mother's Consent.

His Lordship's Excesses, added to the Charge of a Family, reduced the Estate so low, that it was not now sufficient to support them with any tolerable Decency; his Lordship was therefore obliged to apply to the Ministry for a Pension, which he obtain'd, and has ever since enjoy'd it.

It does not appear to me that the Earl was in the original Design of the Rebellion, for I believe it was far advanced before his Lordship so much as thought of joining them. But his Lady happening to be at *Edinburgh* when the young Pretender entered that City, she was charmed with the Gaiety of his military Court, and the Affability with which he treated her and all the Ladies: The Countess is naturally of a very gay Disposition, is fond of publick Diversions, and is generally the first at all Parties of Pleasure; she found herself more than usually caress'd by a Person who personated Sovereignty, which flatter'd her Vanity, and puffed up her Ambition; she was soon converted to the *Jacobite* Faith, and her Lord had not Resolution to withstand her Solicitations, especially after the Battle of *Preston-pans*, which elevated the *Jacobites* to such a Degree, that they esteemed it Madness and Infatuation in every Body who did not immediately join their Standard: Among the rest the Earl of *Kilmarnock* joined them, and was received by the young Chevalier with Marks of great Esteem and Distinction; he was declared of the Privy Council, made Colonel of his Guards, and promoted to the Degree of a General.

**A**RTHUR ELPHINGSTON, Lord *Balmerino*, is of a Name very antient, though not very numerous in *Scotland*, but cannot be numbered as of a potent Clan, it has abounded with Men of Figure and Note in their Country, as much as any other Name whatsoever. They are said to have come from *Germany*, and that the first who appear'd of the Name, married, in the Days of *Robert* the First of *Scotland*, *Margaret*, Daughter to Sir *Christopher Seaton*, of *Seaton*, by his Wife, the Lady *Christian*. Sister to King *Robert*, who bestowed on him several Lands in *Mid-Lothian*, the Revenue of which was sufficient to support his Dignity

especially in those Times, when Luxury and extravagant Expences were none of the modish Accomplishments of a fine Gentleman, however highly born. These Lands Mr *Elphingston* called after his own Name, which they still bear, and is the chief Seat, and gives the Title of Lord to the Lord *Elphingston*, Chief of the Family we are now treating of.

In the Reign of King *James* the First, a second Son of the Lord *Elphingston*, by the Interest of his Father with that King, was created a Baron, by the Name and Title of Lord *Balmerino*. *John* the 4<sup>th</sup> Lord of that Name, his Great Grandson, and Father of the late unfortunate Nobleman, was, in the Reign of Queen *Ann*, made General of the Mint, and Sheriff of the County of *Edinburgh*, and in 1713 was elected one of the sixteen Peers to represent the Peerage of *Scotland* in the Parliament of *Great Britain*. *James* his younger Son, by his first Wife, Daughter to the Earl of *Eglington*. and Half-Brother to the late Lord, while he had no Prospect of the Estate of *Balmerino*, was bred to the Law, where he made a considerable Figure at the Bar, as an Advocate, had a large Share of Employment, was esteem'd an honest and able Counsellor, and was listen'd to with great Attention by the Bench.

His remarkable Abilities, accompanied with a great Sedateness, soon recommended him to a Seat on the Bench, where he discharged that high and important Trust with great Honour and strict Integrity. He was esteem'd an able and just Judge, always avoided mixing Party Spirit with the Bench.

This worthy Lord died about a Year before the Rebellion broke out, but left no Issue. He was succeeded by *Arthur* the late Earl, the Son of *John*, the fourth Lord *Balmerino*, by his second Wife, Daughter of *Arthur Ross*, Archbishop of *St. Andrew's*.

Lord *Kilmarnock* on his Trial confess'd his Crime, pleaded guilty, and begged the Intercession of the House of Peers to his Majesty; Lord *Balmerino* denied the Fact, and after several useless and impertinent Altercations, he begg'd Pardon of the Peers, for giving them so much Trouble, and desired. them to recommend him to Mercy. Sentence of Death was passed on them, and much Intreaty made to the King for the Pardon of Lord *Kilmarnock*; but the loud Call of Publick Justice making it impossible to pardon two out of three, the Dead Warrant was sign'd for executing *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino*, on Aug. 18; the first of whom was remarkably penitent. He own'd the great Guilt of the Rebellion, professed himself a *Presbyterian*, and declared his Satisfaction with the Legality of King *George's* Title to the Crown; and as he had promised when he first begg'd for Mercy, he pray'd for our lawful Sovereign, with his last Breath.

As Lord *Balmerino* lived in the Acts of Treason and Rebellion, so he died in the Aggravation of his Crime, having the Insolence to wear the same

Regimentals to the Scaffold that he wore at the Battle of *Culloden*, without ever shewing any Remorse of Conscience for rebelling against the King and Government, and endeavouring to set up a Popish *Pretender*, by which he could expect no other Consequences from the Success of the Rebels, than the overturning and changing our pure and holy Religion for a Parcel of Monkish Ignorance, and Priestly Slavery. And as the Belief of a Purgatory, for the Purgation of the Souls departed this Life, is one of the Principles of the Church he was endeavouring to establish, we shall leave him there, untill the Priests Prayers, and the Indulgences of the Pope, fit him for a better Place.

It will be expected that I should give some Account of the:Lord *Cromartie*, who was in the fame Condemnation with the other two.

**G**EOERGE Earl of *Cromartie*, was of the noble Family of the *Mackenzies*, the Chief of which was the Earl of *Seaforth*, who was in the Rebellion 1715, his Lordship was the Grandson of the first Earl of *Cromartie*; and this unhappy Nobleman was himself the second who bore that Title, his Father having never lived to enjoy it. How he came to be embarked in the Rebellion is not easy to be accounted for, as his Lordship had always warmly professed the Revolution Principles, and besides was under particular Obligations, as having received considerable Favours from the present Government. But his Lordship loved Company, and it seems was drawn by Company to do as they did; which was attended with another Misfortune, the drawing his eldest Son the Lord *Macleod* into the same Misfortune, who being taken with his Father, as I have before observed, was then a Prisoner with him in the Tower. His melancholy Case, the several Circumstances tending to extenuate his Guilt, his sincere Repentance, the great Distress of his Family, and the affecting Situation of his Countess big with Child, being laid before his Majesty, whose generous Disposition inclines him always to see the Arguments for Clemency in the strongest Light, he was graciously pleased to reprieve him, when the other two Lords were ordered for Execution; which frees me from the Necessity of saying any thing more of him, except that he is said to have expressed all the Duty and Gratitude towards his Majesty, which so high and undeserved a mark of Mercy ought to excite in the Mind of a Gentleman and a Christian.

**C**HARLES RATCLIFFE, Esq; was the younger Brother of the unhappy Earl of *Derwentwater*, who suffered for the Rebellion in 1715, they were the Sons of Sir *Francis Ratcliffe*, by *Mary Tudor*, natural Daughter to King *Charles II* by *Mary Davis*, descended from the ancient and noble Family of the *Ratcliffe*'s Earls of *Sussex*. He was a Prisoner in *Newgate*, and under Sentence of Death, when his Brother suffered, and after receiving several Reprieves, made his Escape from thence, when his Life was in no Danger. He went immediately to *France*, from thence to *Rome*, and afterwards returned to *Paris*, where he married the Widow of

Lord *Newburn*, by whom he had a Son, who embarked with his Father in favour of the late Expedition, and were taken by his Majesty's Ship the *Sheerness*, already taken Notice of, and confined some Time a Prisoner with him in the Tower, from whence, on *Friday* the 21<sup>st</sup> of *November*, he was brought under a strong Guard to the Court of *King's-Bench* in *Westminster-Hall*, to be arraigned on his Sentence in the Year 1716, when he escaped out of *Newgate*. He pleaded that he was a Subject of *France*, in which Country he had resided 30 Years, and had his Commission; and that he was not *Charles Ratcliffe*, meaning that he was Earl of *Derwentwater*; then a Jury was impannelled to find him the identical Person. On *Saturday* the 22<sup>nd</sup>, Mr. *Ratcliffe* being brought up to the Bar of the Court of *King's-Bench*, was again arraigned, but refused to hold up his Hand, or acknowledge any Jurisdiction but to the King of *France*, insisting on a Commission he had in his Pocket from the *French* King, and appealing to his *Sicilian* Majesty's Minister, who was present in Court; but on hearing his former Indictment and Conviction, which were read to him, he said he was not *Charles Ratcliffe* therein named, but that he was the Earl of *Derwentwater*; and his Council informed the Court that this was the Plea he relied on; to which the Attorney-General replied, with his Averment of his being the same *Charles Ratcliffe*, and thereupon Issue was joined: Then the Council for the Prisoner moved to put off his Trial upon his own Affidavit (to which he had Subscribed the Count de *Derwentwater*) that two of his material Witnesses, naming them, were Abroad, without whose Testimony he could not safely go to Trial: This Affidavit not proving Satisfactory, because the Prisoner did not therein Aver, that he was not the Person formerly attainted; a Jury was impannelled, one of whom he challenged peremptorily, which the Court disallowed; then the rest of the Jury were sworn, and after a clear Evidence of the Identity of the Person in behalf of the Crown, the Prisoner producing none on his Part, the Jury withdrew about ten Minutes, and then found their Verdict, that he was the same *Charles Ratcliffe*, who was convicted of Treason in the Year 1716. Then the AttorneyGeneral moved to have Execution awarded against the Prisoner on his former Judgment; to which the Prisoner's Council objected, tendering a Plea of Pardon by Act of Parliament, in barr of Execution: But the Court said, as he had already pleaded such a Plea as he chose to rely on, and as that was found against him, nothing more remained for them to do at present, but to award Execution, for which the proper Writs was made out; and he was accordingly executed on *Tower-Hill* on *Monday* the 8<sup>th</sup> of *December*, in the 53<sup>rd</sup> Year of his Age. He was buried on the 11<sup>th</sup> at Night, in *St. Giles's in the Fields*, near the Remains of his Brother.

**S**IMON FRASER, Lord *Lovat*, was of an antient and honourable Family in *Scotland*, whose Genealogy I shall forbear to trace, my Book being swelled above my Proposals, so that I shall conclude for the

present, with the following Remarks on the latter Part of his Lordship's Life; which he spent in practising the Maxims of Government he had adopted from *France* and *Rome*, by distressing and impoverishing such as had any Business or Concern with him: Several Gentlemen, who were not immediately under his Subjection, he ruined, by hiring Ruffians to kill their Cattle, and firing their Corn Fields and Barns, on the slightest Quarrel or Misunderstanding between them: His restless and active Disposition conduced not a little to draw him into Snares, but his ready Invention and speedy Execution helped him out of them. In Business he was unjust and unconscionable, and declared his own Profit or Pleasure had always been the Rule of his Actions; and to them he, on all Occasions, sacrificed every other Concern: This led him into Violence, Rapes, Cruelty, Treachery, and every base and infamous Practice, being guilty of all Manner of enormous Crimes, rendered him a fit Instrument for Carrying on this Herll-bred Scheme of Rebellion, in which he was early engaged, and for which he was beheaded on *Tower-hill* on *Thursday April 9, 1747*, between the Hours of Twelve and One.

His Lordship it is said was of the Persuasion of a Set of People in *France* called *Jansenists*, who deny the Infallibility of the Pope; but he desired that Mr *Baker* a *Romish* Priest belonging to the King of *Sardinia's* Ambassador, might attend him in private till his Execution, which was granted.

About an Hour before the Execution, the great Scaffold next the Bars on *Tower-hill* being over-loaded with Spectators broke down; by which about eighteen Persons were killed, and many more hurt, who died afterwards: So that as he had caused much Destruction in his Life, the like Fate, attended him on the Day of his Death. On *Monday April 17*, His Corps was brought from the House of Mr *Stephenson* in the *Strand*, attended by only one Coach, and interr'd in the *Tower*.

Thus I have brought my History down from the first Contrivance of the Rebellion Abroad, to the death of the last Person who suffered for it without Partiality, and with all the Clearness, Candour and Exactness in my Power, as well from the best Information I could procure, as my own Observation, and I may venture to say, that no Man in *Britain*, in a private Station, had so great a Share in the Fatigue.

I was likewise a Volunteer in 1715, although but 15 Years of Age, rode in one of the King's Troops; so that I have been concerned in driving out both the Father and Son of this Popish Pretender, and now concludes with a hearty Wish, that nothing of the like Kind may happen for the future; and that the *British* Nation in general may be truly sensible and thankful, for the Blessings God has given them in the auspicious House of *Hanover*, under whose Succession may they live in the quite Possession of their Laws, Liberties and Properties, 'till Time shall be no more.

F I N I S

---

E R R A T A

In the Title Page, l. 16, for *with*, read *to*. — P. 23, l. 20, add *in*.—P 28.1. 11, add *Face the publick*, Sawoay—P 68, l. 12. for *wickedly*, read *verily*.—P. 370, l. 14, add *behaving well*.