

NAVAL AND MILITARY  
M E M O I R S  
OF  
*G R E A T B R I T A I N*,  
FROM  
1727 TO 1783.

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BY  
*ROBERT BEATSON, Esq. L.L.D.*

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

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VOL. I.



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1804.

Perhaps there never was a time more favourable for France to pursue her designs of invading Great Britain, or for the family of Stuart to renew its attempts to remount the British throne, than the present. Every thing appeared in their favour. The King was gone to visit his German dominions; and the Ministry had entered so deeply into the concerns of the House of Austria, that by far the greatest part of our army was on the Continent, supporting what was termed the common cause. Our coasts, indeed, were in a great measure unguarded, not more than eight thousand regular troops being in Great Britain at the time the rebellion broke out in Scotland. Notwithstanding that we had, so recently as 1744, escaped a French invasion in favour of the Pretender, yet we seem, at this time, to have been taken by surprise; having no fleet at sea to watch the motions of the enemy, a single cruizer being the first that gave the alarm of such an important event as that of their escorting the Pretender with a ship of the line and a frigate, on his voyage to Scotland.

Prince Charles Edward, the eldest son of the Pretender, had remained in France from the time that M. Roquefeuille's fleet had fled before that commanded by Sir John Norris, in hopes of a more favourable opportunity of invading Great Britain, and of asserting his claims to the throne. His hopes were flattered and encouraged by the advice and assurances of Cardinal Tencin. Nor is it at all to be wondered at, that a young man should entertain such expectations, when the weakness of Great Britain was pourtrayed to him much beyond what it

really was; and when the persons with whom he or his confidants had consulted, had taught him to believe, that, to insure success to his cause, his presence alone was necessary, a great number of the principal nobility and gentry, as they said, being ready to rise in his favour.

His views of things, however, and those of the French Ministry, were widely different. The latter had scrutinized into the real situation of affairs, and were only desirous of raising a rebellion in the heart of Great Britain, in order to distract the state, and to cause a temporary diversion in their favour. They knew too well, that such a design as that of invading England, would soon be crushed. They afforded the young Adventurer ample professions of support, indeed; but these they never meant to fulfil: well foreseeing, that the farther they engaged in this chimerical project the greater would be the loss they might sustain in the end. Like by-standers at play, they thus hoped to discover more than those who were engaged in the game. They knew there was a great difference between the present times and those of the year 1715. For asserting the claims of the exiled family of Stuart, there was then a considerable number of adherents; and the line in which the law had settled the succession to the Crown, was looked on by many as only the deed of an interested faction. Thirty years had made a wonderful change. The nation had the enjoyment now of civil and religious liberty in the fullest extent. There was no vexatious exertion of the royal prerogative, to sour or alienate the affections of the

subject. Both England and Scotland were sufficiently sensible of the advantages which they had derived from the union of the two kingdoms. They considered it in its true light, as being the genuine source of a wide and extended commerce, of thriving manufactures, and of a maritime strength, which, if properly exerted, was capable of protecting the nation both at home and abroad, and of making Great Britain respectable in every quarter of the world. The advantages were many; and the security already enjoyed so very ample, that people who had any thing to lose could hardly be expected to aim at a change by which they could not be bettered. The blessings enjoyed under the illustrious and benign House of Brunswick were such, that its adherents became, if possible, everyday more strongly attached to the family. Many had been brought over to the Brunswick cause, while others supported it from motives of private interest; so that the adherents of the House of Stuart were greatly diminished in number as well as in power; and of those who joined Prince Charles, by far the greater part, although composed of persons of rank, were men of law or desperate fortunes Buoyed by the hopes of a throne, and ignorant of the real state, as well as number of his friends in Great Britain, Prince Charles determined on making a trial of his fortune. Being furnished with a sum of money, and a supply of arms on his private credit, he, without the knowledge of the Court of France, wrote letters to his friends in Scotland, explaining his design and situation, and naming the place he intended to land at, fixing at

the same time on a signal, by which they might know his ships when they appeared. With a slender retinue he embarked at St Nazaire, on board of a small frigate, furnished him by a merchant of Nantz, of Irish extraction\*. He had arms for near two thousand men, and about 2000*l.* in money. His principal attendants were, the old Marquis of Tullibardin, whom they stiled Duke of Athol; Sir Thomas Sheridan; Mr Macdonald, who was to be Quarter Master General of the rebel army; Mr O'Sullivan, Mr O'Neill, and some few more. They sailed the 7th of July 1745. When off Belleisle, they were joined by the Elizabeth, a French ship of war of sixty-four guns, who had orders to escort the frigate round Ireland, to the Western Islands of Scotland.

On the 9th of July, in lat. 47. 57. N. they were discerned by Captain Piercy Brett in the Lion of fifty-eight guns, and 440 men†, who immediately gave chase to them. At five o'clock, he ran alongside the Elizabeth, and began the attack within pistol-shot. Both continued warmly engaged till ten o'clock, by which time the Lion's rigging was cut to pieces, her mizen mast, mizen top-mast, main yard, fore-top-sail yard, and maintop-sail-yard shot away, and all her lower masts and top-masts very

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\* Mr Walsh, who, likewise, by his interest, procured him the Elizabeth of sixty-four guns, to escort him to Scotland.

† Viz. 380 sailors, of whom were killed 39.

60 marines,	do.	16.
		55.
440		

much wounded; so that she lay muzzled in the sea, incapable of making sail. The French ship, which had suffered very much, but less in her rigging than the *Lion*, several of her gun ports beat into one, set some fail, and made off. The smaller vessel, at the beginning of the action, made two attempts to rake the *Lion*, but was soon beat off by her stern-chace; after which she lay at a considerable distance, till the action was ended, when she set all the fail she could crowd, and made off. The *Lion* had fifty-five men killed, and one hundred and seven wounded, seven of whom died very soon. Captain Brett was wounded, and much bruised in the arm. The master had his right arm shot off in the beginning of the action. All the Lieutenants were wounded, yet none would quit their posts, except the first, who, about nine o'clock, was so exhausted by the loss of blood, that he was obliged to be carried below. Of the enemy, as was afterwards learned, their Captain and sixty-four men were killed, and one hundred and forty wounded. This rencounter was a very great loss to the Pretender; as on board the *Elizabeth*, besides a great quantity of arms, stores and money, were above one hundred officers, many of them expert engineers, who, out of regard to him, had voluntarily engaged in his service.

Lieutenant Walter Graham of the marines behaved so well in this action, that by the recommendation of the first Lord of the Admiralty, he was afterwards promoted to a troop in the 4th regiment of dragoons.

The frigate pursued her voyage, and reached the

coast of Lochaber the end of July, where she landed the young Pretender and his attendants. He lost no time in repairing to the house of Mr Cameron of Lochiel, a respectable cheftain, and a strong adherent to the House of Stuart. But when Mr Cameron saw that the Prince was only accompanied by a few friends, and that he was so very poorly equipped for such a desperate attempt, he was much concerned; as he well knew the number of men that could be mustered from among the disaffected Clans, was by no means equal to a design of such magnitude; as also how very little reliance could be placed on the promises of France. He therefore did all that lay in his power to persuade the Prince to relinquish the enterprize for the present; to wait a more favourable opportunity, and until he was supported in such a powerful manner as to insure success; for, in their present circumstances, he clearly foresaw, that the attempt would end in certain ruin to himself and his adherents. This was the first time that ever the young Adventurer had such plain truths told him, or that ever he had heard such a true representation of his affairs. But, far from profiting by such advice, he rejected it, and resolved to follow out the plans which his ill-informed friends had suggested to him. In this he showed how much he resembled his grandfather James II. in his obstinacy; and, ere long, he convinced his followers, that there were many other particulars in which they were greatly alike. Mr Cameron used every method to bring the young Adventurer over to his opinion. He observed, that a defeat at this time would crush all his hopes

for ever. This, however, had no sort of effect; and Charles resolved to listen to nothing further on the subject. He even upbraided Mr Cameron with a change of sentiments, and said, that if he was afraid to follow his fortune, he would try it without him. On this, the brave cheftain replied, Fear, he was an utter stranger to; and that, to convince him his loyalty was unshaken, he would follow his fortune, although, in so doing, he saw inevitable ruin to himself and family. Accordingly the young Pretender hoisted his standard on the 12th of August; and many of the disaffected Clans repaired to it, he styling himself Prince Regent.

Intelligence of this transaction soon reached London. On the first news of the Pretender having embarked from France for Scotland, the Lord Justices had, on the 1st of August, published a proclamation, offering a reward of 30,000l. to any person who should seize and make him prisoner.

On the 31st of August, the King returned to London, to the great joy of all his faithful subjects. Loyal addresses poured in from every quarter; and the most effectual measures were taken to suppress the rebellion.

Sir John Cope, who commanded the little military force which was then in Scotland, and who were mostly employed in making roads, or else dispersed in garrisons, collected his army, if an army it could be called, and made all the haste he could to prevent the rebels from descending into the low country. But when he got within thirty miles

of the insurgents, he learned that both their numbers, and the post they occupied on the mountain of Corriarach, which lay directly in his route, were by far too strong for him to attack them with any hopes of success. The rebels waited with anxious expectation for the approach of Sir John Cope with his troops, whom they resolved to meet, well knowing that the defeat of that army would leave Scotland at their mercy; and that a victory at the commencement of their operations would bring them a great accession of strength. But he deceived them, by sending a detachment forward some miles on the road of Corriarach, who had orders to join him again: while with the main body he took the road to Inverness.

On this, the rebels quitted the mountains, and descended like a torrent into the low country, gathering strength as they went along. They took possession of Perth, Dundee, &c. and, proceeding to Dumblane, they crossed the river Forth, a little above the town of Down, seemingly with an intention of directing their route towards Glasgow; but, turning suddenly to the east, they proceeded to Edinburgh. That city, being incapable of making a long defence, they obtained possession of in a few days, when the Pretender had his father proclaimed King of these realms at the cross by the officers at arms. He at the same time published other proclamations and declarations, by one of which he dissolved the union of the two kingdoms, as being highly prejudicial to Scotland. A proof how little he understood not only the true interest, but also the

constitution of this nation; for nothing had contributed more to the prosperity of both countries, than the union: and his dissolving it by his own authority alone, sufficiently showed that he still trode in the same arbitrary paths his ancestors had done, and that he meant to establish a right to dispense with the laws of the land whenever they interfered with his designs or wishes. He took up his quarters at the Royal Palace of Holyroodhouse, and kept a sort of court there.

In the mean time, Sir John Cope was not idle, but used all his endeavours to prevent the capital from falling into the enemy's hands. Without stopping at Inverness, he marched his troops for Aberdeen, where he embarked them on board vessels provided for the purpose, and, as soon as the wind permitted, sailed for Dunbar, a sea port about thirty miles east of Edinburgh. Here he disembarked his troops and cannon, which consisted only of some field-pieces, and marched towards the capital. At Haddington, he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, under the command of Brigadier-General Fowke; the whole of his forces, however, were short of two thousand men. On the 20th of September, he encamped on a little plain above the town of Prestonpans, seven miles east from Edinburgh, where he determined to wait for the rebel army, who, he learned, was resolved to fight him. The situation which Sir John Cope chose, was the only one between it and Edinburgh, where his cavalry (for in that his principal strength consisted) could act with vigour. He drew up his little army with

judgment, and placed his cannon in such manner as to annoy the rebels very much in their approach to attack his front. The rebel army was considerably stronger than the King's. They had advanced as far as Tranent on the 20th, and lay on their arms all night. Sir John Cope ordered his cannon to play on them, which incommoded them a good deal.

Very early on the morning of the 21st, the rebel army was in motion on the heights, and marching eastward, with a view to take the King's army in flank; but Sir John Cope attended so well to all their movements, and changed his position from time to time, with so much quickness, as to present a strong and well compacted front, wherever they threatened an attack. At length, forming themselves into three columns, they came down from the heights with the greatest impetuosity, and began their attack on the royal artillery. Their design did not escape Sir John Cope's observation; and he accordingly ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney to charge this column of the rebels with a squadron of dragoons. This officer immediately advanced with great intrepidity; but when at a little distance from the rebels, his men became panic-struck, and fled in the most shameful manner. He used every effort to rally them, and lead them on to the attack, but in vain: he was desperately wounded in the action. This disgraceful fright spread like wildfire through the rest of the King's troops; all the exertions of their officers proved ineffectual; and, in less than half an hour, the rebels obtained a complete victory. The loss on the King's side might be about five

hundred men, killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the rebels was very inconsiderable. Sir John Cope collected the scattered remains of his army at Lauder, and retired to Berwick.

This victory gave great influence to the rebels; and a number of infatuated people, who before had hesitated as to the party they should really espouse, now declared themselves, and joined the Pretender's standard. The consternation this defeat occasioned, is not to be expressed. England, as to land forces, was in a very defenceless condition. Luckily, however, the young Adventurer did not follow the advice of the most sensible and intelligent of his adherents, which was, to march directly into England, and, with all expedition, to endeavour to reach the capital. This might have been attended with the most serious consequences. But the hopes of reducing the castle of Edinburgh, made him lose the only opportunity he had, during the whole prosecution of his wild and ill-concerted scheme, of attaining its object. He continued the mockery of royalty at the Palace of Holyroodhouse; when, finding all his efforts to subdue the castle in vain, he came at length to the resolution of marching southwards; and, on the 6th of November, he appeared before the city of Carlisle.

In the mean time, Lord John Drummond, uncle to the Duke of Perth, arrived at Montrose with a detachment of a Scots regiment in the French service, and several French piquets. A declaration was immediately published by him, setting forth, that he was come by order of the King of France, to

succour his ally the Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, and to make war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover. This detachment seems to have been sent in a great measure to render the services of the six thousand Dutch troops, now arrived in England, of no avail. These auxiliaries had unfortunately composed part of the garrisons of Tournay and Dendermond; and when they surrendered, it was stipulated that they should not serve against France for the space of eighteen months from that time. To oppose the Scots insurgents, was no infraction of the capitulation; but now that the French troops had appeared, the case became altered, and it was found necessary to send home the troops belonging to the States General, and to bring over six thousand Hessians in their place. On their arrival, they were ordered directly to Scotland, and proved of considerable service.

During the Pretender's irruption into England, the well-affected in Scotland did not fail to exert themselves to the utmost. Among the loyalists of the North, none appear with more glory than the renowned Duncan Forbes\* of Culloden, Lord

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\* Dr Smollet gives the following character of this truly great man: "A man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners, and unblemished integrity. He procured commissions for raising twenty independent companies; and some of these he bestowed upon individuals, who were either attached by principle, or engaged by promise to the Pretender. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family, and greatly injured an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several chiefs, who began to waver in their

President of the Court of Session in Scotland, who, to one of the ablest heads, added a fervent love for the constitution of his country. He knew the Highland chieftains well, and how to operate on them: and to him it was in a great measure owing, that many more did not join in the rebellion; as likewise that many took up arms against the rebels. No man, in short, ever deserved better of his country than he did: he accompanied the Earl of Loudoun to Inverness, where he armed all the loyal Highlanders. Their presence in that country prevented a multitude of disaffected persons, under Lord Lewis Gordon and Lord Lovat's son, from marching to the assistance of the rebels in England. The correspondence he held with that arch traitor Lord Lovat, shews his penetration, and that all the art of that dissembling man was seen through by him.

We will now return to the rebels before Carlisle, of which city they had made themselves masters in a few days; and notwithstanding the Pretender had certain intelligence, that Marshall Wade had an army superior to his in Yorkshire, and that the

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principles: some he actually converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the Government, which they had determined to oppose; others he persuaded to remain quiet, Without taking any share in the present troubles. Certain it is, this gentleman, by his industry and address, prevented the insurrection of ten thousand Highlanders, who would otherwise have joined the Pretender, and therefore he may be said to have been one great cause of that Adventurer's miscarriage." Smollet's Hist, of England, Book II. pages 153, and 154.

British troops were arrived from Flanders, with the Duke of Cumberland at their head, yet, from the hopes entertained by him of a powerful invasion from France in the south of England, and a general rising of his friends, both in England and Wales, he resolved to continue his route towards the capital.

Government had now recovered from the consternation which the rebellion, and the unexpected defeat at Prestonpan, had thrown them into. A regular plan of defence was laid down, and able officers appointed to carry it into execution. Admiral Vernon was appointed to command in the Downs, with a powerful squadron, to watch the motions of the French at Dunkirk and Calais; and he occasionally detached squadrons under the command of Commodores Smith, Knowles, and Townshend, whose activity was the means of intercepting many vessels with troops and ammunition, destined for the rebels in Scotland. Commodore Boscawen commanded at the Nore, as did Commodore Mostyn at Plymouth; and a strong squadron was kept cruising in the Channel under Admiral Martin. Rear-Admiral Byng was detached with a squadron to Scotland, where his cruizers greatly annoyed the rebels, and intercepted their supplies.

The Pretender continued to advance. At Manchester he was joined by a Mr Townley, a Roman Catholic gentleman, and about two hundred followers; and, on the 4th of December the rebels entered Derby. On their approaching so near to the capital, the King resolved to take the field. The

volunteers of the city of London were incorporated into a regiment; and the gentlemen of the long robe engaged to fight under his Majesty, with the Judges, as officers at their head. The rebels made a halt for one day at Derby. Their army was much fatigued, and greatly disheartened that so very few had joined them. On this, Mr Cameron pressed the Prince to avow himself a Protestant, and go publicly to church; but so strongly rooted were the principles which had proved the ruin of his family, that he would not follow this salutary advice. At Derby, the rebels held a council of war, and debated, Whether to proceed on their route to London, or to retire into Scotland and wait for reinforcements? The latter opinion was adopted unanimously\*.

The Scottish chieftains, hitherto unused to controul, grew jealous of each other, so that factions began to break out among them; and many were displeased at the partiality which the young Adventurer manifested towards the Irish who had accompanied him from France. The Pretender now perceived, when too late, that he was duped by France; and the disaffected in England, seeing no

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\*The council of war, at Derby, was accidental. Most of the officers being at the Pretender's quarters, and taking into their consideration their situation, they were all unanimous in advising him to retreat, rather than come to an engagement, without the smallest probability of success, in which case, a defeat to his army there must have proved fatal. Lord George Murray's letter, Scots Magazine for June 1749.

probability of success, were too wise to take up in arms in so hazardous an enterprize. "While at Derby, he called for a glass of malt liquor, and drank to all his friends in England. "I have now done," says he, "as much for them, as they have done for me."

The rebels, after halting a day at Derby, began their retreat into Scotland with the greatest expedition. They had taken every precaution to conceal their design, by which they gained a good many miles in advance of the King's army, now commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland. As soon as the real design of the insurgents was known, the King's army was put in motion, to endeavour to cut off their retreat; but so rapid was their march, that it was late in the day, of the 18th of December, ere the cavalry could get up with their rear-guard, at the village of Clifton, within three miles of Penrith. The Duke caused some of the dragoons to dismount, and endeavour to dislodge the rebels from the village. The troops behaved extremely well: and, after a contest of an hour, the rebels were forced to retire. Their rear-guard was, on this occasion, commanded by Lord George Murray; who finding his assailants were only the cavalry of the Duke's army, sent, it is said, notice thereof to the Pretender, and urged him to return with his army; assuring him, that with their numbers, they might certainly defeat the aforesaid cavalry, which would infallibly retard the motion of the King's army, and greatly facilitate the retreat of their own. This advice, however, was not approved

of. On the return of the officer he had sent, he gave orders for a retreat. The loss on either side was inconsiderable. After leaving a garrison, and most of their cannon in Carlisle, the rebels entered Scotland in two columns, and continued their retreat with great diligence. One column marched by Lockerby and Moffat, the other by Dumfries; where they levied heavy contributions, and carried off hostages for what was not completed: they both reached Glasgow, the 25th of December. The rebels chose this route, not caring to go by Edinburgh, where there was a considerable military force, and which they must have beat, ere they could have established themselves in the city or its environs. The King's army halted a day at Penrith, they being greatly fatigued by forced marches; and afterwards resumed the pursuit of the rebels. Arriving in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, on the 20th, the Duke ordered that city to be invested; but could not open his batteries against it, until his battering cannon arrived from Whitehaven. In the mean time, the rebel garrison kept firing their cannon wherever they saw any of the King's troops. The cannon being arrived, the batteries soon silenced those of the rebels; who, on the 30th, were glad to surrender at discretion.

As soon as the King's troops had obtained possession of Carlisle, the Duke set out for London, in order to concert the proper measures for effectually crushing the rebellion. The army continued its route to Edinburgh, where it joined the forces assembled there; the command devolving

on Lieutenant General Hawley. The rebels continued some little time at Glasgow, where they acted with great rigour, on account of the loyalty which that city had shewn, in raising a regiment for the service of Government while they were in England. They exacted heavy contributions in money and cloathing for their army; and as all the former could not be raised in the time allotted for it, they carried off some persons of rank as hostages. Some of the chieftains were so much exasperated against Glasgow, that, on quitting it, they resolved to set the city on fire. This design, however, it is said, was happily prevented by the interposition of Cameron of Lochiel and his brother. This was doing a very important service to the public, and, if true, ought not to have been overlooked.

What forces the rebels had in the north of Scotland, were now assembled, (together with their feeble reinforcements from France,) at Perth: and their whole army soon after formed a junction in the neighbourhood of Stirling. They blockaded the castle of that place, until their cannon arrived.

General Hawley being now at the head of a considerable military force, advanced as far as Falkirk, to observe the motions of the rebels; who being joined by their associates from the north, resolved to give battle to the Royal army. They had several men of rank among them, who knew every inch of ground in the neighbourhood of the place where they then were, and conducted them round

some hills\*, almost unperceived by General Hawley, to a rising ground about a mile above the town of Falkirk. By this position, they would have had it in their power, either to have attacked the King's army at a great disadvantage, or to have got between them and Edinburgh, and by that means have cut off their supplies. On perceiving the intention of the rebels, General Hawley immediately changed his position, and marched up the rising ground to attack them. While his infantry was forming, and the artillery coming up, he ordered some cavalry to charge them. But the rebels advancing with great briskness, the dragoons were thrown into confusion, and fled. The terror they were struck with, seized on the other troops, and a general route took place. A heavy rain beat in the faces of the King's forces, which not only prevented them from seeing the enemy, but so greatly damaged their powder, that their fire-arms became of little use. This the rebels foresaw would be the case, which induced them to take the circuit they did, in order to have the wind at their backs. The commanding officer of the King's artillery fled among the first; and the defeat would have been complete, had it not been for the efforts of Major-General Huske, and Brigadier-General Mordaunt, who rallied two regiments of dragoons, and two of infantry; making, at the same time such resistance to the enemy, as checked their progress, put a stop to their pursuit, covered the retreat of the troops, and even enabled them to bring off some of the cannon. But for this,

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\* On the 17th of January 1746.

the whole army would have been cut to pieces.

General Hawley, when he saw the confusion become general, sent orders to set fire to the tents, which were still un-struck in the camp; yet the order was not so completely executed, but that most of them, as well as of the cannon and stores, fell into the hands of the rebels. Fortunately, the reduction of Stirling castle appeared to them of much greater importance than following up the victory they had so very easily obtained; and they lost no time in forming the siege. The King's army retreated to Linlithgow, and soon after was cantoned in and about Edinburgh.

In this hopeless situation were things when his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland arrived in Scotland, January 30th, to take the command of the troops. His presence infused fresh spirits into the friends of Government, and a damp into those of the disaffected. The rebels before Stirling castle would not believe it; and threatened to punish any person who dared to assert, that the Duke of Cumberland was arrived in Scotland to take on him the command of the army. But they were speedily convinced of its truth: for, so soon as all the necessary stores were arrived, his Royal Highness put the army in motion, with a design to give the rebels battle, or force them to raise the siege of Stirling castle, still most gallantly defended by Major-General Blakeney.

No sooner did the rebels learn that the King's troops were advancing, than they resolved to retreat

northwards, with all expedition. They blew up the church of St Ninians, in which was their chief magazine of powder; raised the siege of Stirling castle, and set out for Perth, where their army divided; part of them taking the Highland road, while the rest marched by Aberdeen; giving out, that they expected great reinforcements from France, and that they would wait for the King's forces on the banks of the river Spey.

The King's army arrived at Stirling on the 2d of February; and as soon as the bridge across the Forth was repaired\*, the army was put in motion, and reached Perth and its neighbourhood on the 5th and 6th. The Duke finding that the rebels had withdrawn all their posts in the low country, pursued such measures as would effectually prevent them giving him the slip, and returning to the South, through the Highlands. While he was advancing northwards, by the coast road, a strong garrison was placed in Stirling castle. Some dragoons and infantry were stationed at Perth, under the command of the Earl of Crawford, whither the Hessian troops, now arrived in Leith roads, were ordered to repair, and act under his Lordship's orders. Detachments were ordered from Perth, to secure the strong passes, such as Blair in Athol, &c.

The army was divided into two columns, and set

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\* The rebels had broke down some of the arches of this bridge, to retard the march of the King's forces, then in pursuit of them.

out in pursuit of the rebels. The first, led by the Duke, marched by Dundee; and the second, led by the Earl of Albemarle, went by Cupar-of-Angus; both columns to unite near Aberdeen. This was deemed the most eligible plan; as by it the army could receive whatever necessaries they stood in need of from the fleet, which wailed along the coast, and advanced northward with them.

The Royal army arrived safe at Aberdeen the 25th, as the rebels did in the neighbourhood of Inverness, the 18th. The Earl of Loudoun not having sufficient force to make head against the united army of the rebels, put a strong garrison into Fort George at Inverness, under the command of Major Grant, (who made a very poor defence), and, with the rest of his forces, he then retreated into Ross-shire; Lord President Forbes going along with him.

While his Royal Highness was refreshing his army at Aberdeen, the rebels made several successful expeditions. They soon prevailed on Major Grant to surrender Fort George to them; on which they sent a party, under Lord George Murray, and Lord Nairn, as far as Blair in Athol, with a view to seize on the castle, to raise recruits, and to procure provisions. Sir Andrew Agnew, with a handful of men, defended the castle, until he and his men were reduced to eat horses flesh. He was relieved after sixteen days close siege, by a detachment of the King's troops and Hessians, under the Earl of Crawford, who obliged the rebels to retire.

Another party was sent against Fort Augustus, which Major Wentworth most shamefully surrendered to them. The stores they found therein, proved a most seasonable supply; and flushed with their success, they proceeded to lay siege to Fort William. General Campbell suspecting their design, procured a reinforcement of troops, which were thrown into the place; and Captain Scott made so gallant a defence, that they were forced to raise the siege, and retire to Inverness.

Another expedition was sent against the Earl of Loudoun. They collected together all the boats they could; and, the weather being extremely foggy, they, unperceived by the King's ships, ferried over into Ross-shire about two thousand men under the command of die Duke of Perth and the Earl of Cromarty. They surprised some companies of the Earl of Loudoun's regiment at Tain, who did not expect any attack from that quarter. Lord Loudoun and the Lord President Forbes being up the country, escaped them. Lord Loudoun afterwards collected the few forces he had, and retreated with them first into Sutherland, and afterwards into the island of Sky, where he was of considerable use, by hindering any recruits or provisions going to the rebel army from that place. The Earl of Cromarty seized on the castle of Dunrobin, belonging to the Earl of Sutherland; while the Duke of Perth rejoined the rebels. This was the last of the rebels successes; and the time drew near, when the scene of affairs was to receive a change, and peace and happiness to be restored to the country.

His Royal Highness, while at Aberdeen, was joined by the Duke of Gordon, and many other well-affected noblemen and gentlemen. The army was put in motion on the 6th of April, and, on the 12th, arrived on the banks of the river Spey. There it was expected the rebel army would make a stand, and endeavour to hinder the King's forces from passing that rapid river. Every thing was in their favour. The river being deep and rapid, the cavalry would there have been unable to act against them; but their whole conduct shewed, that subordination and good counsel did not reign among them. The army passed the river unmolested, and encamped on its western banks; and, next day, marched and encamped a little beyond the town of Elgin. On the 14th they marched to Nairn, and encamped: they halted the 15th. The rebels formed a design to endeavour to surprise the King's army before day-break on the 16th; being of opinion, that the preceding day having been the anniversary of the Duke of Cumberland's birth, they conceived hopes, from that circumstance, that the troops might be off their guard, or perhaps intoxicated with liquor, from celebrating that event. For this purpose, they actually put their army in motion, and advanced several miles on the road to Nairn; but they either set out at too late an hour, or the badness of the road had protracted the time beyond their calculations. They found that it would be day ere they could attack the out-posts of the King's army, and consequently that the whole would be alarmed, and ready to receive them, by the time they reached the Royal camp. On this they relinquished the

enterprize, and returned to their former ground, about nine o'clock, on Drum Mossie muir, near Culloden House, about three miles from the town of Inverness, where they resolved to wait the approach of the King's army, and give it battle\*.

Early in the morning of the 16th of April, the Duke put his army in motion; and, from the intelligence he received that the rebels waited for him, he so arranged his troops, that they could, on the shortest notice, form in order of battle. About noon, he came in sight of the rebel army, drawn up in thirteen divisions. He kept advancing until he had a distinct view of them, when he made some few alterations in his original plan of attack. A little before one in the afternoon, the Duke of Cumberland's cannon began to fire; which being extremely well served and pointed, did very great execution. Those of the rebels, on the contrary, were remarkably ill served, and did little or no execution. As the King's army kept advancing, the rebels made a most furious attack on its left wing, where Barrell's regiment was posted. They were received with great firmness. Being supported by the fire of the second line, the rebels were checked; and the cavalry charging them briskly at the same time, their troops were broken. The left wing of the rebel army being likewise successfully attacked, the whole gave way; and in less than half an hour they were totally defeated, and fled with the greatest

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\* Extracted from an account of this affair by Lord George Murray, and published in the Scots Magazine for June 1749.

precipitation towards the town of Inverness. About eight hundred of them were killed in the action, and about four hundred more in the pursuit.

The Pretender, with some few followers, made for the house of Lord Lovat, who came out to meet him. But when he was informed of the fate of the day, the hoary traitor, so far from affording the unhappy fugitive any consolation, or condoling with him on the occasion, felt only for himself; and he had even the brutality to insinuate, that the misfortune which had happened was owing to a want of resolution, in not leading the troops on to battle; at the same time, imputing his own impending ruin to his attachment to the House of Stuart.

The Pretender reached the Western Islands, and there, eluded the most active and vigilant pursuit. The hardships he underwent, and the frequent and narrow escapes which he made, are scarcely to be paralleled. The reward offered by Government of 30,000*l.* for apprehending him, was a circumstance well known; yet such was the fidelity of the persons to whom he intrusted himself, although poor and wretched in the extreme, that they kept his secret, and never betrayed or forsook him.

After suffering the greatest distress from cold, hunger, and fatigue, he was, on the 20th of September, taken on board a French privateer, called the *Bellona*, sent on purpose from St Malo\*,

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\* The vessel was sent by young Sheridan, and some of the Pretender's Irish adherents, and conducted to Moidart by Colonel Warren of Dillon's regiment. With the young

which conveyed him to France.

The Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, and many other persons of rank, were made prisoners on the field of battle, or in the pursuit, together with upwards of a thousand men. The loss which the King's troops sustained in the action, was very inconsiderable; and no officer of rank was killed, except Lord Robert Ker, a captain, son of the Marquis of Lothian, in Barrel's regiment. What rendered the battle of Culloden still more complete, was, that on the day on which it was fought, the loyal Clans of Sutherland and Mackay attacked the castle of Dunrobin, when, after a stout resistance, the Earl of Cromarty, his son Lord Macleod, and their adherents, were made prisoners: this completely crushed the rebellion. A few days after the victory, his Royal Highness the Duke was joined

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Adventurer embarked Cameron of Lochiel and his brother, and some others. Having sent notice to all his friends within his reach, of the opportunity that now offered to them of escaping, all availed themselves of it who could. They put to sea immediately; and on the 29th arrived at Roscou, (a small port in Brittany, near Morlaix) after a pleasant voyage, but not without great risk, as a squadron of British ships of war was at that time cruising in the Channel. Two large French privateers of force came to an anchor in Loch Nouay, on the coast of Lochaber, the end of April. There they were discovered by Captain Noel of the Greyhound, of twenty guns, who being joined by the Baltimore and Terror sloops, attacked them in the Loch; but the enemy's ships were of such superior strength, that they were obliged to retire. The Duke of Perth, (who died on his passage), his brother, and many other of the rebel Chiefs, embarked on board these privateers, and escaped to France.

by the Earls of Sutherland and Loudoun, and the Lord President Forbes. They had heard of his advancing with his army from Aberdeen, and were hastening to give him all the assistance in their power.

It is to be wished, that a veil could be thrown over the measures which were pursued for extinguishing the rebellion after the battle of Culloden. Glorious would it have been for Great Britain, had the advice of the illustrious and humane Forbes been followed! Mercy is ever the attribute of, and attendant on great minds. On this occasion, it would have accomplished, what an unrelenting severity served only to rivet and confirm. Jacobitism would not only have been annihilated, but the affections of the adherents of the House of Stuart would have been transferred to the House of Hanover. It is to be lamented, that the great Forbes lived at a season when hood-winked faction had but too much influence. Had he lived in times like the present, his meritorious services had probably been distinguished by a seat in the great hereditary council of the nation.

That true patriot, Archibald Duke of Argyle, followed up the plan originally laid by President Forbes. In the year 1756, he laid the axe to the root of Jacobitism, forming the disaffected Highlanders into good and loyal soldiers, who made themselves conspicuous for their bravery, and rendered the most important services to Great Britain, in every quarter of the globe.

In relating the foregoing important events, which occurred during the existence of the rebellion in Scotland, in the years 1745 and 1746, the Author thought it would be better to deviate a little from his plan, and lay them before the reader in one connected series, from the commencement of that rebellion, to its conclusion. He has placed several transactions in a different point of view from others who have wrote on this subject