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*S C O T L A N D .*



[ Price One Shilling. ]

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From the Departure of the Pretender's Son  
from *Rome*, down to the present Time.

In which is

A full ACCOUNT of the Conduct of this Young  
Invader, from his first Arrival in *Scotland* ;  
with the several Progresses he made there ;  
and likewise a very particular RELATION of  
the Battle of *Preston*, with an exact List of the  
Slain, Wounded, and Prisoners, on both Sides.

Taken from the Relation of Mr. JAMES MACPHER-  
SON, who was an Eye-Witness of the Whole, and  
who took the first Opportunity of leaving the Rebels,  
into whose Service he was forced, and in which he  
had a Captain's Commission.

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*Fida Metu paveant. OEtceas spernite flammās.*  
Ov. METAM.

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L O N D O N :  
Printed for M. COOPER, at the *Globe* in *Pater-noster-*  
*Row*. MDCCXLV.

The  
History  
of the  
Present Rebellion  
in  
*Scotland*

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by

**Henry Fielding**

THE HISTORY OF THE PRESENT REBELLION IN SCOTLAND.

**From the Departure of the Pretender's son from *Rome*, down to the present Time.**

**In which is**

**A full Account of the Conduct of this Young Invader, from his first arrival in Scotland; with the several Progresses he made there; and likewise a very particular RELATION of the battle of Preston, with an exact List of the Slain, Wounded, and Prisoners, on both Sides.**

**Taken from the Relation of Mr. James Macpherson, who was an Eye-Witness of the Whole, and who took the first Opportunity of leaving the Rebels, into whose service he was forced, and in which he had a Captain's Commission.**

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**Ov. METAM.<sup>1</sup>**

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**LONDON:  
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<sup>1</sup> The motto is from Ovid *Metamorphoses*, ix, 248-9: "Let not your heart be filled with groundless fear. Scorn the Octæan flames!"

The present Rebellion is a Matter of such Consequence to this country, and must so seriously engage the attention of every *Briton* who hath the least regard either to his own real Good, or the Welfare of his Posterity, that I shall make no Apology for the present Undertaking; in which my reader may be assured, that as the utmost pains have been taken to procure the best Intelligence, so he may safely rely on the Truth of the Facts related.

The Pretender's eldest son *Charles*, who is now in the twenty-fifth Year of his Age, having, in the Beginning of the Summer, taken a solemn Leave of his Father at *Rome*, and in the Presence of the Pope and Cardinals, having made a solemn Vow that he would never forsake his Religion; set out with one *Patrick Graham* his confessor, the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, *General Macdonell*, and some other Attendants, amongst which is one Mr. *Fisher*, a person who some years ago murdered his Friend Mr. *Darby* in the Temple, for which he hath a pardon under the Pretender's Sign Manual, and is advanced to the Post of Major in the Highland Army.

Having passed through *France* by land, and visited the *French* King in his Camp, from whom he obtained five Independent Companies, besides a large Quantity of Arms, and a Ship of War, together with further Promises of future Assistance, he departed for *Brest*; where the aforesaid Soldiers and Arms being put on board, in the Beginning of *August* they sailed out of that harbour; the Pretender's son himself, together with those Attendants who accompanied him from *Rome*, being embarked in a small Vessel.

They had not been long at sea before they met with one of our Men of War, between whom and the *Frenchman* a very sharp Engagement ensued; in which both Ships suffered extremely, and the latter was so entirely disabled, that she was obliged to put back into *Brest*.

During this engagement, the small vessel which carried the Pretender's Son escaped, and made immediately for the western coast of *Scotland*. No *English* Man of War being at that time in those seas, they cruised for some days off the islands of *Barra* and *Uist*, and at last stood in for the Coast of *Lochaber*, and on the 10<sup>th</sup> of August in the evening landed between the Islands of *Mull* and *Skye*.

One *Macpherson*, whose Hut stood about a Mile from the Seashore, seeing these people land, had the curiosity to advance towards them, and was told by one of his Countrymen that came with them who they were, and particularly, that the young man was the Prince of Wales and the Son of his King. *Charles* presently came up to him, and giving him a *French* Pistole, asked him if he would not bear arms for his King and Country, to which *Macpherson* readily answered he would, and then *Charles* very graciously held forth his Hand for him to kiss, which he accordingly did.

The Young Pretender then threw himself on the ground, and kissed it, after which his confessor cut a turf and presented it to him saying, *In the Name of the most holy and infallible Pope, I present thee this as Regent for thy Father, and do hereby, by virtue of the full Powers to me delegated, invest the most puissant James III with the Possession and Rule of the Kingdom of Great Britain; which he is to hold at the Will and Pleasure of the Holy See. Dost thou therefore, in his Name, accept the Government of these Realms, on the condition of fighting the Cause of our Holy Mother the church, to the utter Extirpation of the Persons of Heretics; and wilt thou persevere manfully in the same, till the Blood of Heretics shall be washed away from the face of the earth?*

The Young Pretender on his Knees received the Turf from the Hand of his Confessor, and faithfully promised in his Father's name to fulfill all that had been enjoined him.

Then he and his Confessor fell both on their Knees, and continued in a devout Posture several minutes, invoking the Assistance of the Saints, and repeating each several hundred *Pater Nosters*, and *Ave Marys*.

This ceremony being ended, in which all present assisted, the marquis of *Tullibardine*, and five other Scottish chiefs took their leave of their commander, and having kissed his hands, set out to disperse themselves among the clans.

*Charles* then asked *Macpherson* how far they were from a house, and was told that he was full seven miles from any town, or indeed from any house, unless some few bad huts, such as his own, which were scattered here and there, and were inhabited by highlanders.

*Charles* behaved with great courtesy to this highlander, and asked him several questions concerning the state of the country, till the confessor having enquired his religion, was told by him that he was of the presbytery. After which answer the young man grew immediately reserved to him, and speaking something to his confessor in a language which he did not understand, but which the confessor answered with a smile, turned away from him. Nor did he ever afterwards speak to him.

*Charles* spent three days in visiting the several huts of these highlanders; amongst whom he distributed his money very liberally, so that by the end of the third day, he had enlisted upwards of 70 in his party. He delivered them arms (for he had arms with him for 500 men only) a sufficient number for 6,500 having miscarried in the *French Man of War*.

On the 14<sup>th</sup> of August the marquis of *Tullibardine*, and two other of the scotch chiefs returned with a body of above 300 of the clans, who were immediately disposed into a regiment, and called, the Royal Regiment of Highland Guards. The command of which was given to the marquis, one Mackay was made Lieutenant Colonel, and Mr. *Fisher* Major. The captains and inferior officers were chosen out of the clans.

This regiment was no sooner formed, than the utmost diligence was made use of to discipline them, and instruct them in the use of arms. Nor was much less diligence used by the confessor, assisted by another

priest whose name was *Fraser*, to instruct them in the Roman Catholic religion, and this with such success, that upwards of 200 of these ignorant people were converted in less than a fortnight.

The government no sooner received advice of the landing of the Pretender's son in Scotland, than immediately a proclamation was published, with a reward of £30,000 for the apprehending him. And at the same time, an order was issued for all the officers of his majesty's land forces in Great Britain to repair to their respective posts.

The regiments which at that time lay in the north were *Colonel Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's Dragoons*, together with the regiments of foot of *Lascelles*, *Murray*, *Guise*, and *Lee*. These were ordered to march directly towards *Stirling*, where they were to encamp under the command of *Lieutenant General Sir John Cope*.

Had some of the well-affected chiefs had it in their power, in the infancy of this rebellion, to have armed their clans it might most probably have been crushed in the eggshell; but there being a provision by a very severe law against this, without an order of council, and there being some time as well as difficulty required to obtain this order, the rebels had unfortunately, an opportunity to form themselves, before any such step could possibly be taken against them.

By the 20<sup>th</sup> of August, before which time the two other chiefs were returned with their clans, the army of the rebels was increased to the number of 1200. They then proceeded to form two other regiments, one of which was commanded by *General Macdonell*, and the other by the Pretender's son himself.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, having made themselves tents, they marched a few miles, and encamped on a hill, (for before this time they kept in separate companies, at some distance from each other, in order to avoid discovery;) a stratagem which had so good an effect, that whoever recollects the accounts which the newspapers gave us of the first landing of the Pretender, must remember with what uncertainty they spoke of a few men being landed in the west of *Scotland*, who were sometimes gentlemen from Ireland hunting, and sometimes were quite vanished, every subsequent account actually contradicting the former; so that few, except the most credulous, gave any belief to it, imagining it was rather a story devised by some persons for particular purposes which need not be mentioned. this infidelity was of very pernicious consequence, especially as it prevailed in some measure even among the greater people: nay, so accustomed were they to treat this rebellion as imaginary, that even when it was impossible to doubt longer of its reality, they made it still the subject of contempt and ridicule; saying it was only a company of wild highlanders got together, whom the very sight of a body of troops, however small, would infallibly disperse: nay, one great man is reported to have asked, with a contemptuous air, why they did not read the proclamation to them? This induced a supineness in our councils, and gave the rebels time and opportunity to grow more formidable than they could

ever have become from such a beginning, had the report of it met with more credit at first, and afterwards with less contempt than it did. However, we may learn the truth of that old observation, that it is never safe to despise the most contemptible enemy too absolutely.

A lesson which, I hope, our future politicians will learn from the present case. But to return to our history: the rebels being now upwards of 1200 strong, grew somewhat bolder, and began to place greater confidence in their strength. On the 21<sup>st</sup>, therefore, as we have said, they came to a rendezvous on an open hill, where they encamped in the sight of the country.

On the 22<sup>nd</sup> they erected their standard with great solemnity: the priests first washed it all over with holy water, and blessed it; then a certain number of *Ave Marys* and *Pater Nosters* were said, besides prayers to the saints; in all which acts of devotion, *Charles* distinguished himself with greater zeal (if possible) than the priests themselves. In the afternoon of this day in which they erected their standard, they were reinforced by a body of 200 Highlanders, who brought them an account that the King's forces were marching towards *Stirling*.

The chief care of the rebels began now to be the procuring provisions, as their mouths grew very numerous; in order to which they sent out a party, who, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> in the evening, drove a herd of black cattle into the camp, which were received by them with great joy.

On the 23<sup>rd</sup>, a party of 400 of the rebels, chiefly belonging to the Royal Regiment of Highland Guards, attacked and defeated a small party of the King's forces, under the command of *Capt. Scott*. The captain himself was wounded in the arm; and a sergeant, even after the battle was cut all to pieces; which fate all the rest had shared, had it not been prevented by one *Stewart*, a captain of the Highlanders. **These** fellows had already so well profited under their popish instructor, as to learn the language of heretic dogs! And the true arts of propagating religion with fire and sword.

The rebels began now to increase considerably, and by the 28<sup>th</sup>, they were full 2000 strong. At this time they added a battalion to the regiment of guards, and likewise formed a third regiment, of which the duke of *Perth* was declared colonel.

*General Cope* had now assembled a pretty considerable body of the King's forces near *Stirling*; but the ways towards the rebels were such, that it would have been impracticable to come at them without the utmost hazard of losing the whole army in the attempt: nor had he indeed any other way of attacking them, than by taking a vast scope round; which he declined, as he chose rather to keep himself posted between them and the city of *Edinburgh*; well knowing, that could the capital of *Scotland* be preserved, any success they might have of assembling a body in the highlands, where they must soon be starved, would be in the end fruitless and ineffectual.

However, the alarm of their success daily increasing in *England*, and the numbers which from time to time joined them giving a very just cause of uneasiness to our ministry here, the general received peremptory orders to march forwards, which he did; and in the meantime the rebels gave him the slip, and on the 29<sup>th</sup> marched towards Perth, the duke of that name leading the van, *Charles* marching in the centre, and General Macdonell in the rear. This evening they were joined by Lord Geo. Murray, brother to the duke of Athol, and by three other gentlemen, one of whom is brother to an earl.

On the 30<sup>th</sup>, they marched no more than three miles, on advice that the King's forces, under the command of his excellency Lieutenant-General Sir John Cope, was marching towards them. However, this afterwards proved a false rumour.

*Charles* expressed great bravery on this occasion; and showing a medal which he wore on his right arm, said, he feared nothing while he had the protection of that holy relic. And indeed the greater part of the army, who were now Catholics (so well had the priests, who were now likewise increased in number, bestowed their time, and so plentifully had they bestowed their relics) seemed to rely more, some on an old tooth, others on a lock of hair, and others on some such bauble for protection, than on their swords: not that they neglected the human means of strengthening themselves: On the contrary, they spent at least twelve hours in every day in the exercise of their arms, to their instructions in which the few officers they had addicted themselves incessantly. *Charles* himself was constantly busied either in this, or his devotions; which last occupied a full third part of his time: nay, so very devout is he in his inclinations, the General Macdonell one day endeavoured, with some sort of ridicule, to give him a gentle reprimand; but he returned it with great severity, saying, God knew best what might be the end of any other journey he was taking; but this he was certain of, that whenever he was on his knees, he was on his direct road to heaven; a road in which he was certain one day or other to come to a happy end of his journey.

While they remained in this camp, *Charles* gave two instances, the one of his exact regard to discipline, the other of his more exact regard to his religion. One of the highland guards had stole a sheep; of this being accused, he was tried by a court-martial, and condemned to be shot, which sentence was accordingly executed; a rigour, which regard to discipline might have excused, had it been as well exerted towards another, who having committed a rape on an infant of 11 years of age, was pardoned. Nor could any other reason be assigned for the too great severity shown to the one, or the too unjust mercy shown to the other; but that the former was a protestant, and the other a papist: nay, the only defence which the latter could be brought to make, was that the girl was a heretic, and against such all things were lawful. a dreadful religion indeed, which teaches us to divest ourselves of humanity to our fellow creatures, only from serving their God in a different manner, and holding different tenets of religion

from our own: and which horrible zeal can be only accounted for from the wordly interest of priests, and the dark ignorance in which they bury the minds of all lay zealots, over whom they exercise so despotic an authority, that however benevolent and good they may otherwise be in their dispositions, yet when the cause of their religion once interferes with their humanity, the latter is always sure of being sacrificed to the former: so that as in the protestant religion, that is to say, in the pure and true spirit of Christianity, sincere piety always renders a man kind, good and charitable towards all other human beings: so doth a violent zeal in popery as certainly divest him of all these amiable principles; and the more pious the catholic, the worse always must be the man, in all matters where the interest of his religion, or of propagating the faith, as they call it, is concerned: a fact so established, that every page almost of the histories of popish countries abounds with examples of the bloodiest and most cruel actions done, at the instigation of priests, by men who on all other occasions have shown the very mildest and best dispositions.

I hope my reader will pardon this digression, which I thought the nature of the fact sufficiently warranted on this occasion. I now return to these rebels, by whose arms this blessed religion is attempted to be introduced, with all the war and massacre and bloodshed, in which its genius delights, into this country.

On the 31<sup>st</sup>, they came to *Perth*, which they took possession of without any opposition: here mass was celebrated publicly, and *Charles* and most of the army assisted at it. Then the Pretender's declaration was publicly read at the market cross, after which he was proclaimed with great solemnity. A minister of the kirk meeting with *Charles* in the street, offered to give him advice, not to show so great zeal for his religion, and reminded him of the fate which his Father had met with in the last rebellion, which he attributed to his disregard to the holy presbytery and adhering to popery, to which, the minister said, he had sacrificed his crown. *Charles* answered coldly, his Father preferred an heavenly crown to an earthly one: upon this, one of the common soldiers reviled the minister, and spit in his face; for which fact, without any other merit, he was within two days afterwards preferred to be a lieutenant.

One of the highland chiefs, who, though he had simply embraced the party of the rebels, was however a rigid Presbyterian, declared the highest indignation at this preferment, and ventured to remonstrate against it to *Charles* himself: he was answered, that his word was not to be controlled, nor the reasons of his conduct to be enquired into by the subject. And the very next morning this poor man was found shot in his bed; nor was any the least enquiry made after the murderer. Such is the spirit of popery and arbitrary power, to which the blood of so many millions hath been shed for a sacrifice.

While the rebels lay at *Perth*, they had frequent alarms of the King's forces being ready to attack them, on which account the whole army, amounting to 3600 men and upwards, and which were disposed in

three regiments, were drawn out, and lay one whole night and day under arms; but no enemy appearing, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September, at ten in the morning, they marched back into their camp. The same day the marquis of *Tullibardine*, at the head of 500 men, took possession of the duke of *Athol's* house at *Blair*, whither the next morning *Charles*, the duke of *Athol*, *Lord Asgill*, *Lord George Murray*, and some more, repaired, and were entertained by the marquis, who was saluted there by the title of the duke his brother.

The duke of *Perth* summoned many of his tenants to meet him at *Blair*, and bring with them all the rent they owed him, on pain of being treated with the utmost severity. He likewise ordered as many of them as could procure arms to furnish themselves therewith, and bring them along with them: most of these obeyed his summons, and produced him all the money and arms in their power. But instead of discharging these poor wretches, after they had delivered him their rent (and some of them more than was due) he insisted on their bearing arms in the Pretender's cause. To this likewise several submitted, (such are the terrors of arbitrary power) three however resisted, declaring, that besides the inconvenience which the neglect of their affairs would subject them to, and the danger of the undertaking, it was against their conscience to assist the cause of popery and against the true religion of their country; to which one of them had the boldness to add, he was sorry to see his grace embarked in such a cause: upon this, the duke flying into a rage, snatched up a pistol which lay in his tent, and immediately shot the poor man through the head. After which the other two made their escape from him, and one from the camp, the other being pursued and killed by one of the rebels, who was witness to the whole transaction.

This duke of *Perth*, notwithstanding the apparent cruelty of this action, is a man of a good character, and hath formerly behaved himself like a worthy and good natured gentleman: but such is the nature of this cause, and of the spirit with which it is conducted; headed by a young, rash, ambitious, fiery zealot, under the absolute government and guidance of furious, enraged priests, who breathe nothing but blood and desolation, and have so effectually breathed their horrid principles into the poor wild wretches under their influence and command, that the whole army, according to *Macpherson*, and others who have seen it, is liker to a legion of devils than of men. May God confine them to their own borders, or, if they attempt to overleap them, inspire this nation with a spirit sufficient soon to drive them out of her own bowels, in which they would quickly become the most violent and mortal disease.

The duke of *Athol*, who had retired to *Edinburgh* with his family, on the first news of the rebels approach, had taken such care to convey away everything which could be either carried or drove off from his territories, as well as his house, that the marquis of *Tullibardine* had great difficulty to provide a very moderate entertainment for the Pretender's son and his followers: the army therefore, (which was now grown very

numerous) found very little reason to be satisfied with the plentifulness of their quarters. Indeed, if the priests had consulted policy as much as religion, they could never have found a fitter opportunity to proclaim a general fast than the present. No Bull of the Pope's would ever have been more certain of finding a most exact and punctual obedience. The whole army therefore, which on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September had encamped at the *Blair of Athol*, on the 3<sup>rd</sup> marched back again towards *Perth*. In their march the van-guard had like to have fallen in with a small party of the King's Dragoons; upon which an alarm was immediately spread through the whole army of the rebels, that Sir John Cope with the King's forces was approaching; but these few dragoons presently retiring, delivered them from their apprehensions almost as soon as they were risen, and quickly after some more welcome guests arrived; for on the same day about thirty head of cattle were driven to the camp, for which the Pretender's son promised the owners payment, when he had got possession of what he called his Father's crown.

On the 9<sup>th</sup> of September, the *Inverness* post was stopped as he passed by *Athol*; he was immediately brought before the Young Pretender, who ordered his packets to be searched, and two priests, one of whom is made a bishop, and dignified by the title of his lordship, were appointed to read the letters. Some of these letters were detained, and the rest delivered back again to be conveyed as directed.

While the army lay at *Blair*, mass was constantly celebrated twice a day in the chapel of the castle; at which *Charles* never failed to assist, together with all the principal noblemen, and others. Here 30 *French* officers, together with the famous General Cameron, joined them; these were immediately dispersed in a new regiment, the command of which was given to that General. These officers, who landed in a long small vessel in the west of Scotland, brought with them dispatches to *Charles* from his Father, and, as was reported, a considerable sum of money. The confessor likewise read a letter publicly, which he had received from the Pope, containing absolution and indulgences to all those who should embrace the catholic religion and the Pretender's party: and many took him at his word, particularly one James Cameron, who had so well recommended himself by expressing an extraordinary zeal against heretics, that the confessor procured him an ensign's commission: he was afterwards rebuked by his brother (who is a rigid Presbyterian) for going to mass; upon this he swore, that he had got heaven and a pair of colours both in an hour.

At this time the alarm grew very high in *London*. On the 9<sup>th</sup> his Majesty published a proclamation for disarming papists and nonjurors, and for commanding all papists and reputed papists to depart from the cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and from within ten miles from the same; and for confining papists and reputed papists to their habitations, and for putting in execution the laws against riots and rioters.

And now addresses of the most loyal and zealous kind began to flock in from all corporate bodies in the kingdom, in which the city of London, the court of lieutenancy, and the whole body of merchants, led the way: all these were conceived in the strongest terms of loyalty, and expressing a true sense of the dangers with which these kingdoms were threatned by popery and arbitrary power. All people began to think of arming themselves in the cause of the public; and several noblemen, who have since put it in execution, took out commissions to raise regiments for the public service.

*Sir John Cope* was now at *Inverness*, with his forces, where he received orders to take the most immediate road to the rebels, even by sea, if there were no other more expeditious method; in pursuance of which orders, he embarked his forces at *Inverness*, and sailed directly towards *Leith*, by which means he hoped to intercept the rebels before they could possibly arrive at *Edinburgh*.

The rebels lay all this while in their camp near *Perth*, where their generals and other officers lost no opportunity of regimenting and disciplining them with the utmost expedition.

One evening (when *Macpherson* himself happened to do duty as one of the Young Pretender's guards) a person came to the camp, and was, by his desire, conducted to the presence of *Charles*, with whom he stayed in close conference, at which only the dukes of *Perth* and *Athol* (for so the marquis of *Tullibardine* was now called) were present, during several hours. soon after his departure, it was rumoured through the whole army that the city of *Edinburgh* was to be betrayed to them, and that they were to march in a day or two to take possession.

Accordingly, on the 11<sup>th</sup> instant, at break of day, the army marched, and came that day to *Dumblain*, which is 22 miles. The next day they halted in the morning, were drawn up and reviewed by General Cameron; and having been under arms all that day, advanced in the evening as far as down, which is only two miles distant from *Dumblain*.

On the 13<sup>th</sup>, they again marched at day break, and in the morning passed the firth at the Ford of *Frews*, five miles above *Stirling*. Here *Charles* attempting to give an extraordinary instance of his bravery, by passing the water first, and mistaking the ford, very narrowly escaped drowning, from which he was preserved by Lieutenant Duncan Madson, who at the hazard of his own life rescued him from the waves; a service for which he would certainly have been rewarded, had not religion and the priests (Madson being a firm adherent to the presbytery) opposed his promotion. Indeed so strong is this bias in the mind of *Charles*, that not a single instance can be produced of any preferment being bestowed by him, unless on those who have embraced his religion.

The army having passed the firth at this ford, which is about five miles above *Stirling*, halted for some time, while a council was held at their front among the generals, after which they were directed to march towards *Glasgow*, and they all apprehended the design was to make an

attempt on that city; but on the 14<sup>th</sup> in the morning, the posture was changed; they turned short towards the east, and came to *Falkirk*; and on the 15<sup>th</sup> advanced within sight of *Edinburgh*, their vanguard being posted about three miles to the east of *Gogar*, and which is about the same distance from *Edinburgh*. Here they again halted, and were drawn up, in order, as they supposed, to form the attack of the town; but were immediately surprised to see the Young Pretender, with the duke of *Perth*, etc. at the head of the Royal Regiment of Guards only, advance directly towards the town, where, as they soon after heard, the gates were thrown open for their reception. *General Guest*, with some of the King's forces, some armed townsmen, with the bank and most of the valuable effects, and with provisions, as it was then said, for ten weeks, being retired into the castle.

The declaration was then read, and the Pretender immediately proclaimed at the Market Cross, as he had been before at *Perth*; at which ceremony some magistrates (but whether voluntarily or by compulsion was not known) assisted, with all the gentry and nobles of the rebels army. This ceremony was accompanied by a triple discharge of the small arms from the guards, as well as from the artillery, with most of which the castle had supplied the town for their defence; and this salute was again returned from the army without the walls; such, I mean, as had firearms, which did not amount to a third part.

In the evening, some of those who had attended the Pretender's son into the town, returned into the camp, and gave an account to the rebels there of the reception which *Charles* and his friends had met with; and which (whether it arose from fear or favour I will not determine) was much more to his satisfaction than he expected. Indeed, had the city been inclined to have made a vigorous resistance, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for the Pretender's forces to have taken it in any reasonable time; especially as they daily expected a visit from *Sir John Cope*, and who, it was said, was to have been greatly strengthened with a regiment from the townsmen of *Edinburgh*. This success, therefore, (to whatever treachery it was owing) greatly elated the whole party, especially the priests, who failed not to ascribe it to the favour of heaven, as they again derived that favour from the prevalence of their own prayers.

These persons little consider the horrid impiety they are guilty of, by attributing to the immediate interposition of the Supreme Being, the consequences which are produced by the iniquity and villainy of men; making him thus, in order to serve their vile purposes, the author of the blackest treachery and deceit; as if he would, by his own divine conduct, authorize and sanctify that detestable and hellish maxim of popish priestcraft, to do evil that good may come of it; or in other and truer words, as if he would inspire the blackest principles into the minds of men, in order to propagate a most cruel, impious, and idolatrous religion, by all the means of treachery and violence. A horrid blasphemy, by which they have made God the author of dreadful massacres, in which a hundred

thousand poor souls, of all ages and sexes, have been inhumanly, in one night butchered in their sleep.

The Pretender, with his principal followers and 500 of his guards, were lodged in the town, where he was treated with rather more respect than fear will well account for, though I am willing to attribute as much as possible to that motive, as the weakness of human nature will allow it, base as it is, some little degree of excuse preferable to those wicked principles, which as they are more diabolical, so are likewise more voluntary and in our own power. The rest of his guards took up their quarters in the *Canongate*: and this part of his army found sufficient means, notwithstanding what had been withdrawn into the castle, to refresh themselves, after the labours of a very fatiguing and hungry march, where they had little more to comfort and keep up their spirits, but those hopes of rewards which their priests very liberally bestowed on them in another world, and these now and then sweetened with some insinuations of temporal preferments in this, when the treasures of *England* shall be employed to reward the loyalty and sufferings of highlanders.

As to the main body of the rebels, as soon as their several guards and Picquets were fixed (for their generals omit no sort of military discipline or precaution) the rest of them were ordered in to their camp, in order to their repose, which was very acceptable to men who had little else besides the noise and smell of gunpowder to regale themselves with for the last 24 hours: this want, however, was somewhat remedied the next morning, when their friends sent a pretty large supply of provisions to the camp, which was nevertheless soon exhausted by so large a multitude; and several parties, without asking leave of their commanders, detached themselves up and down the country to provide for their own bellies.

The rebels (as the guards, etc.) within the town, were now not much better supplied than those without, the provision which the people cared to afford them being almost totally exhausted the first day, and the neighbouring country having before been pretty well drained by the prudence of *General Guest*. Some of the more violent desired to be led on to the assault of the castle, though almost impregnable by nature, and well furnished with cannon, ammunition and men. This attempt was too romantic and impossible, to receive any countenance from their commanders: and it was then with the utmost difficulty that they were restrained from plundering the whole town; however, the consideration that they were their own countrymen somewhat allayed their fury, though it did not entirely prevent all disorders; and many violences were in spite of the superior officers committed, as well on the persons as properties of the inhabitants, both men and women; for all of whom (except those concerned in the treachery of delivering up the town) the reader will have a just compassion. God forbid that any city of *England* should ever be exposed to the same danger, to all the rapine and cruelty which such a banditti of ruffians, when let loose by their commanders, nay, even encouraged by them, would without mercy commit; a scene of misery

more easy to conceive, than pleasant to describe; and to which, without my undergoing that irksome task, the reader may have an adequate idea, by perusing the history of any one popish conquest.

As it was no easy matter to prevent the hunger of the soldiers from committing outrages at this season, so the furious zeal of the priests, and of their Young Pretender, now elated with success, was as difficult to be bridled: and it was not without the utmost persuasion, backed with some strong remonstrances from the cooler and more politic of his party, that *Charles* was prevailed on not to have mass celebrated, and *Te Deum* sung in the principal kirk of the city. Nor would this prudent council have restrained him for the present from an act which would have incensed the whole kirk of *Scotland*, had not an alarm of *General Cope's* being landed at *Dunbar*, by threatening immediate danger, given some assistance and support to their arguments. The reluctance with which this design was laid aside, and indeed the whole temper of these men, may well be gathered by the language of one *Callaghan*, an *Irish* priest, who had newly joined them, and who declared, in the hearing of Mr. Macpherson, that no further success was to be expected by those who durst not publicly celebrate the true religion in defiance of a set of protestant dogs; nor could they hope the lord would fight their cause, who suffered his temples to be polluted by heretics.

The news, however, of *Sir John Cope's* landing, a little deadened the joy which the increase of numbers, want of opposition, and the betraying the capital of *Scotland* into their hands, had given the rebels; and the more, as fame had greatly enlarged the strength of the King's forces, who were reported to be augmented by two *Dutch* battalions, and in themselves to be much more numerous, than in reality they were.

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, the whole army of the rebels was drawn forth, and having received a fresh distribution of arms from those taken in the city of *Edinburgh*, there were upwards of 4000 regularly armed, and full 3000 more, who were provided with daggers and other irregular weapons, the whole amounting to between 7 and 8000 men. With 2500 of these, *General Macdonell* was commanded to keep possession of *Edinburgh*, and the rest under the command of General Cameron marched that evening, and encamped at *Duddington*, in order to meet and fight the King's forces.

On the 20<sup>th</sup>, the *Grants* of *Glenmoriston* and some others joined the rebels, who having by their scouts received information of the march of *General Cope*, advanced that evening to a place called *Carberry-Hill*, where they pitched their tents. Indeed they were now pretty well supplied with the addition they had received from *Edinburgh*, with a sufficient number for those forces which they had with them, which amounted to upwards of 5000. In the evening the two armies came in view of each other, and accordingly, though the rebels had pitched their tents, both of them lay that night on their arms.

About three in the morning the rebels began to move, and turned at first eastward and marched about a mile in length, then facing about to the

left they formed themselves in five columns; in which posture they advanced towards *Sir John Cope*, *Charles* himself taking possession of a neighbouring hill, from which he might survey the whole action.

It is said, he at first declared a resolution of leading on his army himself to the charge, but was dissuaded from it by *General Cameron*, who told him, he would then put his own life, on which the success of his Father's arms depended, on the same even chance with that of the meanest soldier; that it would be difficult for him to restrain his natural ardour in the action, and thus by exposing his person, he might win the victory, and lose his cause. He added, that it would be time enough for him to engage in such a risk, when *King George* himself should in person oppose him; but that *Sir John Cope* was not of consequence or dignity sufficient to justify his hazarding himself arm to arm against him. These arguments were backed by the priests, who declared it was presumption; at the same time asserting, that by invocation of the saints, and by *Ave Marys* and *Pater Nosters*, he would lend more assistance to his cause than the valour of thousands could give to it.

Won, therefore, by these united persuasions, he with his priests ascended the hill, where, while they devoted themselves to prayers to the saints, the army proceeded to the charge.

About four in the morning, the patrol brought an account to *General Cope*, that the rebels were in motion in their camp; upon this the King's forces, who had lain all night on their arms, were drawn up in order of battle; the foot being in the center, two squadrons of dragoons placed on the right, and as many on the left, the remaining two squadrons being drawn up in the rear to support the foot: the artillery were placed in the front to the left.

This was the situation of both armies, when the highlanders marched on to the attack; and *Sir John Cope*, whose disposition was truly good and military, rode several times from the right to the left of the line, encouraging his troops, who all expressed great spirit, and a resolution of doing their duty. This disposition the General was afterwards obliged in some little to alter, by the alterations which the enemy made in theirs. The extreme column of the rebels, which were to the right, having advanced till they were opposite the cannon, which consisted only of six small field pieces, immediately faced about, and ran with the utmost violence up to the mouths of the cannon, which by an extreme neglect of those whose duty it was, not however to be in the least charged on the general, never fired on them once: it was then that the brave *Colonel Gardiner* ordered his dragoons to charge them in flank, which service he could not prevail on them to perform; but having given them a single discharge of their fire-arms, they immediately turned about, and like men struck with a sudden panic, ran away.

The colonel having in vain attempted to rally them, (as did *Lord Loudoun*, who threw himself at their head, and charged the rebels) on a sudden quitted his horse, and charged with the foot, who being attacked

with great fury by the highlanders, and seeing themselves deserted by the horse, after having made two irregular fires, which did very little execution, many of them threw down their arms and turned their backs to the enemy.

All was now in general confusion: poor *Colonel Gardiner*, and those few brave officers that stood their ground, fell a victim to the rage of the enemy, who finding no longer resistance, fell to the most inhuman butchery, with which having somewhat tired themselves, they proceeded to make prisoners of all those, who survived the blunted edge of their swords.

On the King's side there fell in this action, and were wounded;  
Of *Colonel Gardiner's* dragoons. The colonel himself, killed.  
*Lieut. Col. Whitmore*, wounded.

In *Hamilton's* dragoons. *Lieut. Col. Wright*, wounded. *Major Bowles*, wounded.

In *Lascelles's* foot. *Capt. Stuart*, killed. *Ensign Bell*, much wounded.

In *Murray's*. *Capt. Leslie*, slightly wounded, *Ensign Holdane*, dangerously wounded.

In *Guise's*. *Capt. Paintz*, dangerously wounded. *Capt. Howell*, killed.

In *Leigh's*. *Lieut. Col. Whiteford*, wounded, *Capt. Bremer*, killed. *Capt. Rogers*, killed.

The following officers were taken prisoners.  
Of *Guise's* regiment. *Capt. Pointz*. Lieutenants, *Cuming* and *Paton*.  
Ensigns, *Wakeman* and *Irvine*.

Of *Lord John Murray's*. *Capt. Sir Peter Murray*. *Lieut. James Farquarson*. *Ensign Allan Campbell*.

Of *Lee's*. *Col. Peter Palket*. Captains, *Basil*, *Cochran*, *Chapman*, and *Tatton*. Lieutenants, *Sandilands*, *Drummond*, *Kennedy*, and *Hewitson*.  
Ensigns, *Hadwick*, *Archer* and *Dunbar*. Mr. *Wilson*, as quarter-master.

*Dr. Young*. of *Murray's*. *Lieut. Col. Clayton*, *Major Talbot*.  
Captains, *Reid*, *John Cochran*, *Scot*, *Thomas Leslie*, and *Blackes*.  
Lieutenants, *Thomas Hay*, *Granston*, *Disney*, *Wale*, *Wry*, and *Simms*.  
Ensigns, *Sutherland*, *Lucey*, *Holden*, *Birnie*, and *l'Estrange*.

Of the earl of *Loudon's*. Captains, *Mackay*, *Monro*, and *Stuart*.  
*Capt. Lieut. Macknab*. *Lieut. Reid*. Ensigns, *Grant*, *Ross*, *Maclaggan*.

Of *Lascelles's*. *Major Severn*. Captains, *Adam Drummond*,  
*Forrester*, *Anderson*, *Corbet*, and *Collier*. Lieutenants, *Swinie*, *Johnston*,  
*Carrick*, *Dundas*, and *Herring*. Ensigns, *Stone*, *Cox*, *Bell*, *Gordon*, and  
*Goulton*. *Dr. Drummond*.

Of *Hamilton's Dragoons*. *Col. Wright*. *Major Bowles*. Cornets,  
*Jacob* and *Nash*. Quarter-master *Nash*. *Dr. Trotter*.

Of *Gardiner's Dragoons*. *Col. Whitney*. *Lieut. Grafton*. Cornets,  
*Burroughs* and *Alcock*. Quarter-master *West*. *Col. Whiteford*, volunteer.  
*Major Griffith*, master-gunner of *Edinburgh* castle.

Above 300 private men killed, above 400 wounded, and near 500 made prisoners.

Of the rebels there fell, *Capt. Robert Stuart*, of *Ardsheil's* battalion. *Capt. Archibald Macdonell*, of *Keppoch's*. *Lieut. Allan Cameron*, of *Lindevra's* (and ensign *James Cameron*, of *Lochiel's* regiment together with about 50 men. The duke of *Perth*, wounded. *Capt. David Narlack*, wounded; and 80 men.

The rebels, after this action, immediately marched back again to their camp, whence they intended to proceed to *Edinburgh*, in order to call a parliament, lay siege to the castle, and put the whole civil government under the name of the Pretender; but as *Mr. Macpherson* took this opportunity to escape from them, we cannot with certainty declare any more of their proceedings since.

*General Cope* finding it impossible to rally the army, escaped after the dragoons to *Lauder*; some of these, as well as the foot, got safe to *Berwick*, where *General Cope* is since arrived with the rest, who, we hope, will take a future occasion to regain that honour, at the expense of these very rebels, which they lost in this action.

As to the rebels, we have been since informed, they have been mustering their whole force, in order to invade this Kingdom, where, we doubt not, but they will meet with a reception becoming a brave nation, whose all is at stake in the contest. And as every Englishman, we are confident, will exert his utmost spirit and force on this occasion, so we trust in God, that the religion, laws, liberties, and lives of this country will never, through the indolence or cowardice of its inhabitants, be exposed to the mercy and disposition of a licentious rabble and cruel banditti. Indeed there are already many instances of this public spirit, which not only individuals, but whole bodies of men have shown; witness that ever-memorable association in defense of public credit, entered unanimously into by so large a body of the merchants of *London*, and which hath to tally defeated one of the most wicked and basest designs to blow up the whole nation, which was ever devised by man. Some of the contrivers and abettors of this detestable scheme are known, and must expect to be ever hereafter regarded by all Englishmen, as the most flagitious and profligate enemies of their country, and as such, to be held in everlasting abhorrence. Indeed, crimes like this deserve the most exemplary punishment, and will justify a legislature, even in going out of the common roads of justice to come at and punish them.

I shall conclude these papers, with exhorting every man in this kingdom to exert himself, not only in his station, but as far as health, strength, and age will permit him, to leave at present the calling which he pursues, and however foreign his way of life may have been to the exercise of arms, to take them up, and inure himself to them: nor should this be delayed a moment, for, I repeat it once more, his all is at stake. This is not the cause of a party: I shall be excused, if I say it is not the cause in which the King only is concerned, your religion, my countrymen,

your laws, your liberties, your lives, the safety of your wives and children;  
the whole is in danger, and for god almighty's sake lose not a moment in  
arming yourselves for their preservation.