

THE
Edinburgh HISTORY
OF THE
LATE REBELLION,
MDCCXLV and MDCCXLVI,
WITH THE
MANIFESTOES
OF THE
PRETENDER and his SON

ALSO

The *Journal* of the Young Chevalier's
Expedition into *England*, as written by
Himself.

The Fourth EDITION, with ADDITIONS.

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P R E F A C E

THIS New Edition of the History of the *Rebellion*, appears for the third Time in Public, and as all Liberty was given to every Person of Character to dispute the Facts as narrated, to the Intent the same might be rectified upon proper Evidence, it is presumed this will be no small Recommendation of it; several wicked People have indeed misrepresented the *Author*, not only in his public but private Capacity, in the most odious Manner, tho' ignorant of the Person they speak of, as well as of his Cause; sufficient it is to him to have a good Conscience, which must bear him up against the Stream of Reproach, and the most impetuous Torrent of Defamation. The late Prince of *Wales* was charmed with every Part of it, but with none more than the good-natur'd Description of those concern'd in the enterprizing Project; and daring Adventure; and the late King of *Sweden*, who was in more Battles, and more terrible Sieges, than *Charles XII* caus'd it to be translated and read before him. As the Young *Chevalier*, published by Mr. *Griffiths*, is not wholly sold off, the *Author* hereby recommends that Performance, a proper Supplement to what is herein contained.



THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
R E B E L L I O N ,

MDCCXLV and MDCCXLVI.

CHARLES Edward, eldest Son of the Pretender, was, from his Birth *December 20, 1720*, honour'd as *Prince of Wales*, not only by the fugitive *British* and *Irish* Noblemen, but by the *Pope* and the People of *Rome*. Fully convinced of his Right, he ever flattered himself with the Prospect, and embraced every Proposal that was made for the Recovery of *his* Throne. In the Year 1735, the most likely Way for obtaining it was laid down by *Simon Lord Lovat*, who, upon a Disgust for being turned out of his Captaincy in the Independent *Highland* Companies, and the Office of Sheriff-Principal of *Inverness*, contrived the Rebellion, and by the most dexterous Policy whetted the Minds of the *Clans*, and spirited them to Arms, by representing the Feats of their Ancestors in Favour of the *Stuart* Family; he communicated his Scheme to *Perth, Drummond* of *Bochaldie*, and some others, who, in the Year 1740, sent *John Murray* of *Broughton* with a Petition to the *French* Court; who soothed them with fair Promises, but made Hesitation about the Method of Invasion. Cardinal *Fleury* artfully suggested, that a Body of *Swedes* were more likely to gain the Affections of the People than an Army of *French*, and therefore proposed, that the Scheme should be executed by them; and thus put off the Petitioners till a more ticklish Time, when he might employ the Chevalier to Advantage. All Things, as they thought, being ready for the Invasion, and he being declared Regent of *Scotland*, set out *January* following for *Venice*, in his Way to *France*, full freighted with Hopes, which were damped a little by the overturning of the Chaise when about half a Mile from *Rome*, the Superstitious about him construed this as a bad Omen; yet a Thirst after Power, entirely removed every Suspicion of a Disappointment; here he continued his Correspondence with the Disaffected, and was ready to put to Sea with a Fleet of Transports, conducted by a *French* Squadron then lying at *Dunkirk*; when King *George* got Intelligence of his Scheme; and, upon the 15th of *February*, imparted the Design to both Houses of Parliament, who addressed him in the most loyal Manner, promising to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, and passed an Act, making it High Treason for the Pretender, or any of his Sons, to land in *Britain*, or any of the Dominions thereto belonging. Every thing was put in the best Posture for defeating any Attempt, whether secret or open, and Addresses were presented to the King from all Parts of *Britain* and *Ireland*. He returned soon after to *Rome*, and informed his Father what he had done; here he continued till the Spring of the Year 1745, when again he set out for *Paris*, in a Chaise that broke down with him just about the Place where it formerly had done; being come hither, he was again amused by the Court of *Versailles*, and had a regular Correspondence with the Chiefs of the *Clans*, who generally gave him the greatest Satisfaction in their Answers, and rendered him so confident of Success, that upon their craving a Delay of the Matter, he said to *Murray*, that he was so fully resolved on the Expedition, that he would go, tho' assisted by none; and it is observable, that in the memorable Year 1745, he so precipitately, after the Battle of *Fontenoy*, hurried into the Scheme, that he would not so much as wait an Answer from the Chieftains which were then upon the Road dissuading him from his Enterprize; for he directly rode to *Port Lazare* in *Britany*, where, on the 3rd of *July*, he went on board a small Vessel of 16 Guns, and was joined off *Belleisle* by the *Elizabeth* of 64, who were both attacked in 47 Deg. 57 Min. N. L. 39 Leagues West from the Meridian of the *Lizard*, by the *Lion* Man of War of 58 Guns. The Engagement continued 5 hours, and then both Sides were glad to part, after having done

each other great Damage. The *Elizabeth* returned, but the Frigate pursued her Passage, with the Chevalier and seven Attendants, whom I take to be the Marquis of *Tullibardin*¹, eldest Brother to the Duke of *Athole*, who was attainted for Rebellion, 1715.

Old *Lochiel*, who was in the Rebellion 1715. General *Mac Donald*, who was Lieutenant-Colonel in the *Irish Brigades*. Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, an *Irish Gentleman*. Colonel *O Sullivan* an *Irishman*, bred in a *Romish College* abroad, where he entered into Priest's Orders; (as several *Irish* and *Scots Highlanders* do) after which he was recommended to Mareschal *Maillebois*, by whom he was retained, as domestick Tutor to his Son. The Mareschal, perceiving in him a military Genius, encouraged his applying that Way, which he did with such Success, that having attended his Master in his Expedition against *Corsica*, he acted as Secretary. This he did to the great Honour both of himself and Patron; his Reputation grew; he served two Campaigns, one in *Italy*, the other on the *Rhine*, and attained the Reputation from the Generals of being the best irregular Warrior in *Europe*; nor Was his Knowledge in the regular much inferior to that of the wisest Commander; he was Director of the *Pretender's* Artillery, and Aid-de-Camp. Mr. *Kelly*, who was a long Time in the *Tower*, upon the Affair of the Bishop of *Rochester*. Mr. *Mitchel*, his Valet-de-Chambre, a Man who was long about the *Old Pretender*, and carried on the Courtship betwixt him and the Princess *Sobieski*; a Negro closed his Retinue.

However true it may be, that he landed from *Uist*, where he was about a Week, in *Ardnamurchan*, in the Manner he describes; yet certain it is, that a Frigate of 16 or 18 Guns was seen off some of these Western Islands about that Time. He brought with him 700 Stand of Arms, besides Ammunition, and 25,000 *l.* in Cash.²

Upon the 24th of *July* he sailed to the Entrance of *Loch-Soinard*, went to the House of *Donald Mac-Donald* of *Kinnloch-Moidart*, whence he intimated his Arrival to his best Friends; *Cameron* of *Lochiel* repaired to him, but refused at that Time to join, till the *Chevalier* produced the *French King's* Obligation to favour his Expedition with all his Force. The *Camerons* met, and the Question being proposed, Whether or not join the *Pretender?* the Majority were of Opinion, it was risking too much, and therefore declined, offering to confine their Chief, lest he should engage in so desperate an Attempt; but he told them that it was impossible he could dip deeper than already he had; for, says he, "I have corresponded with him." Then was the Scheme agreed to. The *Camerons* set up his Standard at *Glenphillin*, with this Motto in *Latin*, *The good Cause at last triumphing*. Numbers of those, who had been in the Plot with him, repaired thereto from the Isles, such as *Clanronald*, &c. and several *Papists*, who lived in *Argyle's* Lands, hasten to the mad Essay. And now he marched to within a Mile of *Fort-William*, where he encamped; here he was joined by the *Stuarts* of *Appin* under *Ardshiel*; the *Mac-Donalds* of *Glengary*, *Keppoch*, *Glenco*: For the *Mac-Gregors* and *Athole* Men had not come in yet. He made them the largest Promises, was very popular among them, gave the private Men no less than eight Pence *per* Day at first; nothing was wanting to their Encouragement, for, when some *Mac-Donalds* belonging to *Keppoch* attacked about 70 new-raised Men of *St. Clair's* Regiment, whom they took Prisoners, he gave

¹ The Family of *Athole*, have been long Lairds of *Tullibardin* and, by marrying the Heiress, were first Earls, then Marguisses, and now Dukes of *Athole*. The *Murrays* were as frequent perhaps as any Sirname in *Scotland*; were possessed of very large Territories in the North, such as *Sutherland*, *Murray*, &c. But were outed of these by the *Catti*. However, many great Families yet remain of them.

² His Father pawned his very Jewels to raise Money for this Occasion.

them the Booty, viz. 50*l*. The Chiefs were made Colonels, &c. and his Forces were regimented in the Manner of regular Troops: And here it may not be improper to give a Sketch of the Characters of the Persons principally concerned in this Rebellion. And, first, of

James Drummond, commonly called Duke of *Perth*, (an Honour conferred on his Grandfather, the Chancellor, by King *James VII* a little before the Revolution, tho' the Patent did not pass the Seals) was a young Man, Chief of a noble Family, which first came from *Hungary*, in the Days of *Malcolm Canmore*, and matched with the Royal Offspring (*Annabella Drummond*, the Daughter of *Drummond of Stobhall*, being married to K. *Robert III* bore him K. *James I.* and six Daughters) was good-natur'd, mild and affable; fond of a Country-life, and of Horse-races; at which his Horses frequently won the Prize. He lay under great Obligations to the Government; for tho' the Chancellor went to *France* with K. *James*, and his Father was in the Rebellion 1715, yet he peaceably possess his Estate. But, forgetful of those great Favours, by the Instigation of his Mother, a Daughter of the Duke of *Gordon's*, generally look'd on as a *Roman Catholic*, he shook off his Allegiance to the mildest of Kings, and rose in Arms to overturn a Government, to which he certainly owed some Gratitude; but what can be expected from a Man of the best natural Disposition, when educated in wrong Principles, both with respect to civil and ecclesiastical Affairs.

John Murray of Broughton, a Man of no extraordinary Merit, and grosly ignorant of the Interest of his Country, was frequently abroad in the last 3 Years before the Pretender's landing, and on his Arrival in *Ardnamurchan* he was the first that came to him from the Low Countries, on which he was made his Secretary, but knew very little of his Intrigues, being only a Subscriber of his Declarations for Form's Sake.

Donald Cameron of Lochiel, Chief of an ancient Family, was a very humane Gentleman, and had given great Proofs of his Inclination to civilize those of his Name, who had been odious some time past for a thievish Disposition, which frequently shewed itself in open Robberies. His Country is sit for Grain and Pasture; but his lazy Clan, averse to Improvement, were always ready to embrace every Occasion of Spoil. Trials have been made by Merchants, who understood Trade, of settling among them, and setting up a Fishery; but such of them, and their Neighbours, as got Credit, were sure to break their Trust; at which *Lochiel* was truly sorry; yet for this Reproach, and their Rebellions since the Revolution, they were never employed in the Army, Church or State. However, as he was allowed the Possession of his Lands, it is hard to screen him from the Imputation of Ingratitude towards his Benefactors.

Donald Mac-Donald junior of Clanronald, a known Papist, has in *South-Uist*, an Island of 24 Miles long, an Estate of about 700*l. per annum*, is reckoned a very good-natured Gentleman; but the Misfortune is, that his Clan, who live with himself, and are *Roman Catholicicks*, have little or no Communication with the Continent (except once a Year, that some Drovers transport their black Cattle) which makes them utter Strangers to the civil Policy. Their Religion recommends an Abhorrence of the ecclesiastical Constitution; no Arts or Sciences prevailing among them, their Exercise is the Sword, and Education the Accounts of their Sea-fights with the *Mac Leans*, and their Rebellions since the Revolution. These Men are generally of a very low Stature, and, as in *Lochabar*, speak the *Irish Tongue*, and despise our Laws; just as their Progenitor *John of the Isles*, who usurped the Name of King, and his Father *Alexander*, whose Estate was forfeited for Rebellion *anno* 1476.

Alexander Mac Donald of Keppoch was a well-bred Gentleman, tho' of small Fortune, and, was

it not for the frequent Robberies of his Vassals, his Name would have been little known. This Man's Father being in *Mac Intosh's* Lands, which are perhaps as good as any in the *Highlands*, refused to pay the Rent to the lawful Proprietor; on which *Mac Intosh* raised some of his Clan, and got a Company of Soldiers, who set out to bring *Keppoch* to Justice; but, upon hearing of their Approach, he mustered his Vassals, and fought them at *Mulroy*, where the Captain was killed, and 200 more, the rest being put to Flight, 1689.

The *Stuarts* of *Appin*, ever zealous for the *Pretender*, joined the *Chevalier* under *Stuart* of *Ardshiel*, a Gentleman of good Parts, tho' misapplied.

The *Mac Donalds* of *Glengary*, who united under their Chieftain's second Son, are much like those of *Keppoch*, of a good Size, but very poor, and addicted to Theft and Robbery: If any Religion be among them, it is Popery.

The few *Mac-Donalds* of *Glenco* have a small Income, live in a Glen about four Miles long and half a Mile broad, at a Distance from Politeness, and like many other of the Rebels, drowned in Ignorance, were ready to engage in the most desperate Cause, when a Prospect of Plunder was before them.

Lauchlan Mac-Lauchlan of *Castle-Lauchlan*, had a small Estate in *Argyleshire*, was a very genteel Man; but, as his Forefathers had lost their Possessions for Rebellion, and by their Feuds with the Family of *Argyle*, he was easily brought into the Scheme. I knew some of his Officers, Men of *O Sullivan's* Education, who attended this Expedition. This Clan is far from being numerous, but their Men are strong.

I need not speak of the *Mac-Gregors*., who were obliged to change their Names into *Drummond, Graham, Gordon, Murray, &c.* an Act being past against them, in the Reign of *James I* for Seditious and Murders. They Were dispossessed of *Broadalbine*, took up Arms in this and other Rebellions, judging that in the Midst of Commotions they might be advanced.

Such were the Abettors of this Insurrection! These were the Men the young *Pretender* brought with him for reinstating the *British* Isle in their Religion, Laws and Liberties, to remove the Incroachments made upon a free People, and secure them in the Enjoyment of their valuable Rights!

The Regency at *London*, (for the King had been abroad since *May 3*) did all they could to suppress this Rebellion, as will afterwards appear. Sir *Hector MacLean*, and *Bleau* of *Castlehill*, who had been taken up on Suspicion of Treason, *June 5*. were sent up to *London*, where they underwent a long Examination, but little could be made from the decyphered Letters about them, yet a Proclamation was published over *Britain* and *Ireland*, setting 30,000 *Pounds Sterling* on the Head of the *Pretender*, *August* the 6th 1745; which when he saw, he issued out another, setting the like Sum on the Head of his present Majesty. Some who were suspected were ordered to be seized. Captain *Campbel* of *Invera*, was sent with a Party to take the Duke of *Perth*. *Invera* went to him, took him aside, and after telling him his Business, *Perth* said *Desire Patie Murray* (a Gentleman-In the Company) to speak with me. This the Captain did, but, in the mean Time, *Perth* went out by a secret Passage which leads to the Kitchen, made the best of his Way through his Park, at the very Time that the Party of the *Highland* Watch were entering the Avenue from the other Side to seize him. From this he crossed over to *Angus*, and rode through the North Country incognito, with only one Servant, and so arrived at the Camp of the young *Chevalier*. On the 28th of *July*, *John Graham*, alias *Mac-Gregor*, the younger of *Glengyle*, was committed to the Castle, on

Suspicion of Treason. His Father had been early in the Rebellion; for at *Daalspider*, a Place five Miles from any House, he seized upon 40 Soldiers in the Night-time. August 13th, *John Mac-Leod* from *Holland*, and on the 23rd. *James Rollo* of *Powhouse*, were confined to the Castle, I leave the Reader to imagine the Case of People at that Time. Such as knew the *Highlanders*, were justly afraid; others, who did not, laughed at the Matter. An original Letter from the *Pretender*, to one of the Chieftains, was intercepted, and a Copy of one to another; but, when read, some looked upon it as a Chimera, to suppose a young Man, with 7 Persons to put himself at the Head of the Army, which consisted of about 2190 Men in all, viz. *Murray's* Regiment of Foot; 8 Companies of *Lascelle's*; 2 of *Guise's*; 5 of *Lee's*; 183 of the *Highland* Regiment; *Gardner's* and *Hamilton's* *Dragoons*.

On the 21st, the General marched from *Stirling* with the Infantry, and 6 field Pieces, 2 Cohorns, and several covered Waggons, leaving the Horse behind, as they could not get Forage in the Country through which he was to pass: So, crossing the *Firth* by *Stirling-Bridge*, he 'proceeded by the Way of *Taybridge* to *Inverness*, where he arrived on the 29th. Mean Time, the *Chevalier*, who had advanced to *Coreyerriog*, a Hill about 6 Miles from *Fort-Augustus*, finding he had nothing to oppose him, marched forward with the few (about 1900) which he had, and these very ill armed, many of them wanting Firelocks, reached the Braes of *Athol* on the 30th, and came next Day to *Blair*, the Duke of *Athol's* Seat, on which the Duke and several *Fyfe* Gentlemen removed to *Edinburgh*. Had *Cope* attacked the Rebels now, he, in all Probability, would either have then dispersed them, or made such a Diversion with his Forces, as would have obliged them soon to disband; but this Gentleman's Misfortune was to be unacquainted with the Country (against which he was prejudiced) and to trust the Reports which so much swelled the Numbers of his Enemies.

The *Pretender* continued at *Blair* till the 3rd of *September*, when he mov'd toward *Dunkeld*. That Day a Detachment of his entered *Perth*, and next Day proclaimed his Father King, and him Regent. In the Afternoon he entered the Town on Horseback, amidst the Acclamations of his own Party. There his Standard was set up. The Person called Duke of *Perth*, the *Robertsons* and *Mac Gregors*, Lord *Nairn*, *Mercer* of *Aldie*, *Oliphant* of *Gask*, and all who had little to lose, Bankrupts, Papists, and such as were outlawed by Church and State, publickly resorted hither, as to an Asylum. These *Robertsons* are *Mac Donalds*, being come from one called *Robert*, as Numbers of other Names, such as *Mac Naughtan*, *Mac Arthur*, &c. who spring from one Man, who has done something remarkable, for which they adopt his Name; they were reduced for Rebellion against *James IV*. Lord *Nairn* is a Son of a second Brother of the Duke of *Athole's* who married the Heiress of *Nairn*. He was in the Rebellion 1715, and was sentenced to die, but was pardoned. His Estate is almost gone, as indeed is *Aldie's*, &c. Lord *George Murray*, Brother to *Tullibardin*, and several more increased his Number.

While the 2 Armies, at the Distance of 83 Miles from each other, were preparing, the one to penetrate forward, the other to get up to a proper Station to prevent their Progress; the Country in general was in an Amaze. On the 7th a Detachment of the Rebels entered *Dundee*, and proclaimed the *Pretender*, searched the Town for Horses, Arms and Ammunition, and levied the Public Money. Next Day, however, the Ministers of the Town preached as usual, and prayed for King *George*, warmly recommending Loyalty to their Hearers, all without Molestation, tho' some *Highlanders* were present. A Ship with Gun-powder on Board was seized, and carried to *Perth*. Some Towns along the Coast of *Fyfe* were likewise visited by them.

The Rebels, while here, committed various Excesses, rifled several Shops of what was valuable, and even the poor Labourers were not exempted from their Rapine; the Cattle and Grain

were promiscuously snatched up by the strolling Parties. The main Body were with the young *Adventurer*, who exercised them every Day. He put up in the Viscount of *Stormont's* Lodging, and once gave a Ball, at which he took a single Trip, and then withdrew.

Cope, not caring to hazard his Forces, by returning the Way he came, fearing the Enemy would set upon him, dispatched Orders Southwards for Transports to be sent to *Aberdeen* to bring his Forces by Sea to *Leith*. The General decamped on the 4th, and was waited on by several of the well affected Gentlemen, who did all in their Power to render his March agreeable; yet this did not hinder his encamping amidst the ripe standing Corn, notwithstanding many Remonstrances to the contrary. He arrived at *Aberdeen* the 11th, rested his Troops till the 15th, then sailed for *Dunbar*, where he landed in the Night of the 17th.

The Enemy having Intelligence of the sailing of the Transports, and March of the Troops, set out from *Perth* the 11th, and forded the *Forth* at the *Frew* the 13th. *Gardner's* Dragoons made a Shew of opposing their Passage; but one Party appeared at one Place, while the other passed over at another; on which *Gardner* retired. They seemed to direct their Rout to *Glasgow*, which City they summoned; but receiving no Answer, they turned towards *Edinburgh*. As they passed by *Stirling*, they were complimented with a few Shot from the Castle, which they did not stay to resent, tho' some Balls are said to have lighted within 20 Yards of the young *Chevalier*. The Dragoons kept about 6 Miles before the Rebels, both hasting forward to *Edinburgh*; where no sooner Notice was got of what passed, than all Precautions were taken for preserving the Place. From the Moment they left *Perth*, the City had repeated Accounts of them. Numbers of Volunteers, Ministers, Advocates, Merchants and Writers, (some of whom stood Centry at the Gates) not only bore Arms themselves, but liberally contributed by Subscription to raising a 1000 Foot for his Majesty's Service.

About 18 pieces of Cannon were brought from the Castle, and planted upon the Ports of the Town; Ramparts, Pallisadoes, and Barricadoes, were erected at the Gates and Walls. And, besides the Engineers who came from *England*, the worthy Mr. *MacLaurin*, the *Archimedes* of the Age, contributed to fix the Batteries.

The Banks, public Offices, and the most valuable Effects of some private Persons were secured in the Castle. On Sunday the 14th in the Morning, the City was alarmed, with the Approach of the Enemy; the Gates were shut, *Hamilton's* Dragoons were sent for to join *Gardner's* at *Corstorphin*; however, public Worship began, as usual, about 10 o'Clock; but at 11 the Bell was tolled, which the Congregations taking for a Signal of the Enemy's advancing, they flew out of the Churches. The Magistrates caused the Volunteers, about 400, and Trained Bands, about 1000, to draw up in the *Lawn-Market*, and *Parliament-Close*, where they made a very fine Appearance, Numbers carrying a Musket who were capable of buying a Captain's Commission. *Hamilton's* Dragoons came from *Leith* at an hard Trot. I saw them ride thro' the City brandishing their Swords; heard them huzza as they past, which was chearfully answered, not only by those in Arms, but by the whole Crowd; the Horses and Men, tho' raw and young, looked extremely well, and any Man would have been tempted to put too much Trust, in them, which I fear too many did. They proceeded to *Corstorphin*, where they joined Colonel *Gardner*, who frequently declared, that had they been with him at *Stirling*, he could have stopped the Enemy's Passage. A little after, the whole City-Guard, together with the *Edinburgh* Regiment, marched out, and halted on the EastSide of *Colt-Bridge*, about a Mile from the City, in Expectation of being joined by the Volunteers, who demurred at this; for, as they only engaged to defend the Town, they thought they should keep within it, which they did. The Lord Provost sent Orders to those at the Bridge to march forward to

join the Dragoons and receive Orders from the Commanders of the King's Troops. This they obeyed, and continued under Arms till Night. They were supplied with all Sorts of Provisions from *Edinburgh*, and nothing was wanting on the Side of the Country People to render their Situation agreeable. At 9 o' Clock, the Dragoons retired a Mile Eastward, and lay upon their Arms all Night, the Enemy being advanced to *New-Liston*.

Next Morning, the *Highland Army* continued their Rout, on whose Approach, a Party of Dragoons posted at *Corstorphin*, retired to the Main-body at *Colt-Bridge*, to the East of which they drew up; but all quitted that Post about three o'Clock afternoon, on Appearance of a Party of the Rebels on *Corstorphin Hill*. The Dragoons rode off by the North-Side of the City, and proceeded for *Haddington* (their Baggage and Tents being carried into the Castle) and the City-Soldiers came into the Town, where Things were in a general Uproar, every one setting forth the Actions of the Day, as he favoured or disliked the Cause. The Magistrates and Council, in Expectation of *Cope's* landing every Moment, assembled in the *Goldsmiths-hall*; a Petition was presented from the principal Inhabitants, desiring a general Meeting should be called, in order to determine what was proper to be done. After some Reasoning the Demand was granted, the Fire-Bell was rung, the most Part of the Citizens came to the *New-church Isle*, where, after formally telling the Design of the Meeting, the Question was put by the Lord Provost, the Colonel of the new Regiment, and Member of Parliament for the City, *Receive the Dragoons into the Town or not?* It was answered, *No Dragoons*. As his Lordship did not incline to invite them, for fear of the Consequences, so General *Guest* was averse to send them, unless they were formally called. In my humble Judgment, had either the Dragoons come in, or the Town stood out itself, as was the Provost's Opinion, the Mischief which closed this fatal Week would have been prevented. The *Rebels* had no Cannon, and it is known they are not fit for a Siege. Then the Question was put, *Defend the Town, or not*. All but two, said, *Not*. Upon this it was agreed to capitulate on the best Terms that could be got, and, in the mean Time, that the King's Arms should be returned into the Castle, As they were about to name Deputies to treat with the *Chevalier*, a Letter was handed in, directed to the Lord Provost and Magistrates, whose Superscription was, *Charles Prince of Wales, &c*. On mentioning these Words the Reader was stopt; so the Meeting broke up. Afterwards Deputies were sent off to the *Chevalier*, who had halted a little to the West of *Corstorphin*, but, on receiving an Epistle from a trusty Friend of what was passing, gave Orders to march. The Volunteers and *Edinburgh Regiment* gave their Arms into the Castle; a Party of the Trained-Bands and City Regiment kept Guard all Night. At *Gray's Mill*, two Miles Southwest of *Edinburgh*, the Deputies waited on the *Pretender*, who said to them: "I do not treat with Subjects." The Chiefs added, "The King's Declaration, and Prince's Manifesto, contained such Terms as every Subject ought to accept with Joy." And gave them till Two o'Clock in the Morning to return a positive Answer. The *Chevalier* asked what was become of the Volunteers Arms to which it was answered, They were delivered to the Castle; at which he was displeased and said, "If any of the Town's Arms be missing I know what to do." No Answer coming to the *Rebels*, but a farther Delay being asked which was refused, Orders were given to *Lochiel* to march with his Clan undiscovered to the *Nether-Bow*. The Coach which had returned with the Deputies through the *West-Port*, was at this Time coming down the Street; and, being urgent to get out, the Porter and Centinels, notwithstanding the strictest Orders not to open the Gates, allowed the same to pass; the Port being opened, the *Camerons* rushed in; possessed themselves of it, then of the Main-Guard, making the Soldiers on Duty Prisoners, placed Centres at all the Gates and *Weigh-House*. This so surprized the Magistrates and Council, who had still been sitting, that they directly broke up. There were loud Complaints of Provost *Stuart*, without and within Doors; so that *November 30th*, he was taken into Custody of two of the King's Messengers,

on Suspicion of High Treason, and brought to *London*, but has since been tried and acquitted. The *Parliament-Close* was filled with *Rebels* before Five in the Morning. They were very naked, and several wanted Arms, especially Firelocks, but were supplied by those of the City which fell into their Hands; Their Weapons, which were unfit for Use, were rubbed up by the Armourers, who at this Time got constant Employment. They set about providing Clothes, Shoes and Linens, of which they were in great Want, the most Part having nothing but a short old Coat of coarse Tartan, a Pair of Hose, much worn, coming scarce up to their Knees; their Plaids and Bonnets in the same Condition. The Remainder of their Army came to *Duddingston* with the *Chevalier*, having fetched an half Compass about the Town for Fear of the Castle-Guns. He made his Entry to the *Abbey* through the Road that leads by *St. Anthony's Well*, the Duke of *Perth* riding on his Right, and Lord *Elcho*, who joined him the Night before, on his left Hand. They were all very much jaded, few but in *Highland* Clothes. As he came to the Head of the Hill, upon the Road leading to the Well, he alighted and walked a little. Several People now met him, fell upon their Knees, kissed his Hand, and he received them in a very popular Way. It was here the first general Huzza was raised; then walking down to *St. Anne's Yards*, he mounted his Horse, (*viz.* a bay brown Gelding) where he received another Huzza; and, as entering the *Abbey*, a third; he discovered a great Satisfaction at his Reception, smiling all the Time. He was a tall slender young Man, about five Feet ten Inches high, of a ruddy Complexion, high nosed, large rolling brown Eyes, long visaged, red-haired, but at that Time wore a pale Periwig. He was in *Highland* Habit, had a blue Sash, wrought with Gold, that came over his Shoulder; red Velvet Breeches, a green Velvet Bonnet, with a white Cockade, and a Gold Lace about it. He had a Silver-hilted broad Sword, and was shewn great Respect by his Forces. His Speech seemed very like that of an *Irishman*, very sly, and he spoke frequently to *O Sullivan* and *Mr. Murray*. Being come to *Holyroodhouse*, he put up in Duke *Hamilton's* Lodging. In the mean Time, such as forced, into the Town took care to secure the Heralds for the ensuing Proclamations. Betwixt Twelve and One o'Clock at Noon six of them came to the Cross in their Robes, with a Trumpet before them. *David Beatt*, whose Father had been in the Rebellion 1715, and he himself Bankrupt, kept the Papers in his Hand, and read them to the Herald who repeated after him. Some of the Clans got up to the Cross before the Heralds, where, meeting with their Friends, they saluted each other; took their Guns, and, with a jocose Air, presented them upon the Cross to such of their Comrades as they observed, to shew their Satisfaction, as well as Alertness at Arms. While the Clan *Cameron* in three Ranks surrounded the Cross, *Barisdale*, with *Mac Donald* a Papist, and Taylor, at the Head of the *Canongate*, were upon it, the Streets and Windows were crowded with Spectators of the unusual Scene, and the following Declarations were read amidst some Huzza's: Which, however well understood by the greater Number of the Bystanders, sure I am, the fortieth Man, did not know a single Sentence of them.

His MAJESTY'S most gracious Declaration.

JAMES R.

JAMES VIII. by the Grace of GOD, King of *Scotland, England, France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting:

Having always born the most constant Affection to our ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, from whence We derive Our Royal Origin, and where Our Progenitors have swayed the Sceptre with Glory, through a longer Succession of Kings than any Monarchy upon Earth can at this Day boast of, We cannot but behold, with the deepest Concern the Miseries they suffer under a foreign Usurpation, and the intolerable Burdens daily added to their Yoke, which become yet more sensible to Us, when We consider the constant Zeal and Affection the Generality of our Subjects of

that Our ancient Kingdom have expressed for us on all Occasions, and particularly when We had the Satisfaction of being Ourselves among them.

We see a Nation always famous for Valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign Potentates, reduced to the Condition of a Province, under the specious Pretence of an Union with a more powerful Neighbour. In consequence of this pretended Union, grievous and unprecedented Taxes have been laid on and levied with Severity in Spight of all the Representations that could be made to the contrary; and these have not failed to produce that Poverty and Decay of Trade, which were easily foreseen to be the necessary Consequences of such oppressive Measures. To prevent the just Resentment which could not but arise from such Usage, Our faithful *Highlanders*, a People always trained up and inured to Arms, have been deprived of them. Forts and Citadels have been built and garrisoned, where no foreign Invasion could be apprehended, and a Military Government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered Country. It is easy to foresee what must be the Consequences of such violent and unprecedented Proceedings, if a timely Remedy be not put to them; neither is it less manifest, that such a Remedy can ever be obtained, but by Our Restoration to the Throne of our Ancestors, into whose Royal Hearts such destructive Maxims could never find Admittance.

We think it needless to call to Mind how solicitous We have ever been, and how often We have ventured Our Royal Person to compass this great End, which the divine Providence seems now to have finished Us with the Means of doing effectually, by enabling Our good Subjects in *England* to shake off the Yoke under which they have likeways felt their Share of the common Calamities. Our former Experience leave us no Room to doubt of the chearful and hearty Concurrence of Our *Scots* Subjects on this Occasion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious Work: But that none may be deterred, by the Memory of past Miscarriages, from returning to their Duty, and being restored to the Happiness they formerly enjoyed. We in this publick Manner think fit to make known Our gracious Intentions towards all our People.

We do therefore, by this Our Royal Declaration, absolutely and effectually Pardon and remit all Treasons, and other Crimes hitherto committed against Our Royal Father, or Ourselves; from the Benefit of which Pardon We except none, but such as shall, after the Publication hereof, wilfully and maliciously oppose Us, or those who shall appear, or endeavour to appear, in Arms for Our Service. We farther Declare, That We will, with all convenient Speed, call a free Parliament, That, by the Advice and Assistance of such an Assembly, We may be enabled to repair the Breaches caused by so long an Usurpation, to redress all Grievances, and to free our People from the unsupportable Burden of the Malt-Tax, and all other Hardships and Impositions which have been the Consequences Of the pretended Union, that so the Nation may be restored to that Honour, Liberty and Independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

We likeways promise, upon our Royal Word, to protect, secure, and maintain all our Protestant Subjects in the free Exercise of their Religion, and in the full Enjoyment of all their Rights, Privileges and Immunities, and in the secure Possession of all Churches, Universities, Colleges and Schools, conformable to the Laws of the Land.

All this We shall be ready to confirm in our first Parliament in which we promise to pass any Act or Acts that shall be judged necessary to secure each private Person in the full Possession of his Liberty and Property, to advance Trade, to relieve the Poor, and establish the general Welfare and Tranquility of the Nation: In all such Matters We are fully resolved to act always by the Advice of our Parliaments, and to value none of our Titles so much, as, that of *Common Father of our People*,

which We shall ever shew Ourselves to be, by Our constant Endeavours to promote the Quiet and Happiness of all Our Subjects. And We shall be particularly solicitous to settle, encourage, and maintain the Fishery and Linen-Manufactory of the Nation, which We are sensible may be of such Advantage to it, and which, We hope, are Works reserved for Us to accomplish.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the Recovery of our just Rights, and the Prosperity Of their Country, We shall take effectual Care to reward them according to their respective Degrees and Merits. And We particularly promise, as aforefaid, Our full, free, and general Pardon to all Officers, Soldiers and Sailors, now engaged in the Service of the Usurper, whether of the Sea or Land, provided that, upon the Publication hereof, and before they engage in any Fight or Battle against our Forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable Service, and return to their Duty: In which Case We shall pay them all the Arrears that shall be at that Time due to them from the Usurper: We shall grant to the Officers the same Commissions they shall then bear, if not higher; and to all Soldiers and Sailors a Gratification of a whole Year's Pay, for their Forwardness in promoting Our Service.

We farther promise and declare, that the Vassels of such as shall, without Regard to Our present Declaration, obstinately persist in their Rebellion, and thereby forfeit all Pretensions to Our Royal Clemency, shall be delivered from all Servitude "they were formerly bound to, and shall have Grants and Charters of their Lands to be held immediately of the Crown, provided they, upon the Publication of this Our Declaration, declare openly for Us, and join heartily in the Cause of their Country.

And having thus declared Our gracious Intentions to Our loving Subjects, We do hereby require and command them to be assisting to Us in the Recovery of our Rights, and of their own Liberties: And that all Our Subjects, from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty, do, upon the setting up of Our Royal Standard, immediately repair to it, or join themselves to such as shall first appear for Us in their respective Shires; and also to seize the Horses and Arms of all suspected Persons, and all Ammunition, Forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the Use of Our forces.

We also strictly command all Receivers, Collectors, or other Persons, who may be seized of any Sum or Sums of Money levied in the Name, or for the Use of the Usurper, to retain such Sum or Sums of Money in their own Hands, till they can pay them to some Person of Distinction appearing publickly for Us, and demanding the same for Our Use and Service, whose Receipt or Receipts shall be a sufficient Discharge for all such Collectors, Receivers, or other Persons, their Heirs, &c.

Lastly, We do hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewards of Stewartries, and their respective Deputies, Magistrates of Royal boroughs, and Bailies of Regalities, and all, others to whom it may belong, to publish this our Declaration at the Market-Crosses of their respective Towns and Boroughs, and there to proclaim Us, under the Penalty of being proceeded against according to Law, for their Neglect of so necessary and important a Duty.

Given at our Court at Rome, the 23rd Day of December 1743, the Forty-third Tear of Our Reign. J. R.,

JAMES. R.

Whereas We have a near Prospect of being restored to the Throne of Our Ancestors, by the good Inclinations of our Subjects towards Us; and whereas, on account of the present Situation of this Country, it will be absolutely impossible for Us to be in Person at the first Setting up of Our Royal Standard, and even some Time after; We therefore esteem it for our

Service, and the Good of our Kingdoms and Dominions, to nominate and appoint, as we hereby nominate, constitute and appoint, Our dearest Son Charles Prince of *Wales*, to be sole Regent of our Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and of all other Our Dominions during Our Absence. It is our Will and Intention, That our said dearest Son should enjoy and exercise all that Power and Authority, which, according to the ancient Constitution of our Kingdoms, has been enjoyed and exercised by former Regents. Requiring all Our faithful Subjects to give all due Submission and Obedience to our Regent aforesaid, as immediately representing Our Royal Person, and acting by Our Authority. And We do hereby revoke all Commissions of Regency granted to any Person or Persons Whatsoever. And, *lastly*, We hereby dispense with all Formalities, and other Omissions that may be herein contained, declaring this Our Commission to be as firm and valid, to all Intents and Purposes, as if it had pasted Our Great Seals, and as if it were according to the usual Stile and Forms. Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at Our Court at *Rome*, the 23rd Day of *December* 1743, in the 43rd Year of our Reign.

J. R. (*L. S.*) *Leco Sigilli.*

CHARLES P.R.

BY Virtue and Authority of the above Commission of Regency, granted unto Us by the King our Royal Father, We are now come to execute his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, by setting up His Royal Standard, and asserting his undoubted Right to the Throne of his Ancestors.

We do therefore, in His Majesty's Name, and pursuant to the Tenor of his several Declarations, hereby grant a free, full, and general Pardon for all Treasons, Rebellions, and Offences whatsoever, committed at any Time before the Publication hereof, against our Royal Grandfather, His Present Majesty and Ourselves. To the Benefit of this Pardon We shall deem justly intitled all such of His Majesty's Subjects, as shall testify their Willingness to accept of it, either by joining Our Forces with all convenient Diligence, by setting up His Royal Standard in other Places, by repairing for Our Service to any Place where it shall be set up; or, at least, by openly renouncing all pretended Allegiance to the Usurper, and all Obedience to His Orders; or to those of any Person or Persons commissioned or employed by him, or acting avowedly for him.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the Recovery of His Majesty's just Rights, and the Prosperity of their Country, We shall take effectual Care to have them rewarded according to their respective Degrees and Merits; and We particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free, and general Pardon to all Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, now engaged in the Service of the Usurper, provided that upon the Publication hereof, and before they engage in any Fight or Battle against His Majesty's Forces, they quit the said unwarrantable Service, and return to their Duty; since they cannot but be sensible, that no Engagements, entered into with a foreign Usurper, can dispence with the Allegiance they owe to their natural Sovereign. And as a further Encouragement to them to comply with their Duty and our Commands, We promise to every such Officer, the same or a higher Post in Our Service, than that which he at present enjoys, with full Payment of Whatever Arrears may be due to him at the Time of his declaring for Us; and to every Soldier, Trooper, and Dragoon, who shall join Us, as well as to every Seaman and Mariner of the Fleet, who shall declare for and serve Us, all their Arrears, and a whole Year's Pay to be given to each of them as a Gratuity, as soon as ever the Kingdoms shall be in a State of Tranquillity.

We do hereby farther promise and declare, in His Majesty's Name, and by Virtue of the above said Commission, That, as soon as ever that happy State is obtained, he will, by and with the Advice of a free Parliament, wherein no Corruption, nor undue Influence whatsoever, shall be used

to bias the Votes of the Electors, or Elected, settle, confirm, and secure all the Rights, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of each of His respective Kingdoms: His Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the Church of *England* as by Law established, and likewise the Protestant Churches of *Scotland* and *Ireland* conformable to the Laws of each respective Kingdom, together with a Toleration to all Protestant Dissenters: He being utterly averse to all Persecution. And Oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of Conscience and Religion. And We Ourselves, being perfectly convinced of the Reasonableness and Equity of the same Principles, do, in consequence hereof, farther promise and declare, That all His Majesty's Subjects shall be, by Him and Us, maintained in the full Enjoyment and Possession of all their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, and especially of all Churches, Universities, Colleges and Schools, conformable to the Laws of the Land, which shall ever be the unalterable Rule of His Majesty's Government, and Our own Actions.

And, that this our Undertaking may be accompanied with as little present Inconveniency as possible to the King's Subjects, We do hereby authorise and require all Civil Officers and Magistrates, now in Place and Office, to continue, till farther Orders, to execute their respective Employments in Our Name and by our Authority, as far as may be requisite for the Maintenance of common justice, Order and Quiet; Willing and requiring them, at the same Time, to give strict Obedience to such Orders and Directions as may from Time to Time be issued out by Us, or those who shall be vested with any Share of Our Authority and Power.

We also command and require all Officers of the Revenue, Customs and Excise, all Tax Gatherers of what Denomination soever, and all others who may have any Part of the publick Money in their Hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal Commander authorized by Us, and take his Receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient Discharge; and, in case of Refusal, We authorise and charge all such Our Commanders to exact the same for Our Use, and to be accountable for it to Us, or Our Officers for that Purpose appointed.

And having thus sincerely, and in the Presence of Almighty GOD, declared the true Sentiments and Intentions of the King Our Royal Father, as well as Our own, in this Expedition, We do hereby require and command all His loving Subjects to be assisting to Us in the Recovery of His just Rights, and of their own Liberties: And that all such, from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty, do forthwith repair to His Majesty's Royal Standard, or join themselves to such as shall appear in their respective Shires for His Service: And also to seize the Horses and Arms of all suspected Persons, and all Ammunition, Forage, and all whatever else may be necessary for the Use of Our Force,

Lastly, We do hereby require all Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Magistrates of what Denomination soever, their respective Deputies, and all others' to whom it may belong, to publish this our Declaration at the Market-Crosses of their respective Cities, Towns, and Boroughs, and there to proclaim His Majesty, under the Penalty of being proceeded against according to Law, for the Neglect of so necessary and important a Duty. For as we have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and general Pardon for all that is passed, so We, at the same Time, seriously warn all His Majesty's Subjects, that we shall leave to the Rigour of the Law, all those who shall from henceforth oppose Us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any Act or Acts Civil or Military, to the Lett or Detriment of Us, Our Cause or Title, or to the Destruction, Prejudice, or Annoyance of those, who shall, according to their Duty and our Intentions thus publicly signified, declare and act for Us.

Given at Paris, the 16th May 1745.

Tho' these Manifesto's have been very solidly confuted by the *Occasional Writer*, yet I must here observe,

1. That I cannot think the Declaration of the Pretender was either penned. or printed at *Rome*; of the last I have been frequently assured; and indeed from this Circumstance of the Proclamation issued out at *Lochiel*, of Date *August 22nd*, setting 30,000*l.* upon the Head of His Majesty King *George*, being imposed on the same Type, with that Paper, the Matter would almost appear. The same Thing may be remarked of a small Piece in *Octavo*, called a Letter, containing the like Things with his Declaration, which was handed about among his Party in *June* before.

2. It is evident, a Correspondence has been carried on with him by the Disaffected, who are generally against the Union, that Bulwark of our Religion against *Rome*, and of our Liberties and Trade against *France*.

3. The levying Taxes from the Islanders and Highlanders is false; for they will neither traffick themselves, or suffer others to trade among them. And sure no Men, who have experienced the Blessings of Commerce, will complain of the Legislature, for having put an Hardship upon them. If Trade increases by the Wisdom of the Parliament, endeavouring to extend the several Branches thereof, why not. pay a moderate Sum for supporting of it.

4. The depriving the Clans of Arms is so far from being wrong, that it has the Precedent from the Six *Jameses*, who did them twenty Times more hurt in one Reign, than this mild Government has since 1688: From which Period, there is not an Highlander or Islander, who has been stript of an Acre of Land, Strange the Pretender did not cry out upon the King for sending a 1000*l.* to teach them *Heresy*: But whether is it better to take from them their Arms, or allow them to murder one another, as on the 15th *July*, 1544, when the *Mac Donalds* and *Frasers* fought almost to the Extirpation of both Parties, there remaining but seven of the former, and two of the latter, miserably wounded? Whether is it more gentle to disarm them, or hang 300 of them in Chains, as King *James I* did?

5. His Profession of putting down 'Forts and Citadels in the *Highlands*, where no foreign Invasion could be apprehended,' (a Fact contradicted by his Son's Expedition) is certainly very weak; for if the Rebels would open their Eyes, they must see that these Garrisons cause vast Sums of Money to circulate among them; besides other Good which they do, as will easily occur, to any Person skilled in Trade, or who knows these Parts. In short, were their Forts demolished, these tumultuary People, in a few Years, seeing their Loss for the Want of them, and come to themselves, would perhaps say, We have sinned! Give us our Forts again! Strange the Pretender did not call the Road made by General *Wade* in 1728. a Grievance also!

6. As to the Malt-Tax, it could be no great Bait to these Rebels, there being little thereof among them; they Are supplied with *Usquebaugh*, *i.e.* *Aquavita*, from the North, which they carry by Land, and are immoderately fond of; But Gentlemen of Estates know the great Advantage reaped from that Duty, in that it makes the Grain sell better, and that the Excesence advances the linnen Manufactory so beneficial to the Subject.

7. He seems no Way sensible of the Tyranny of King *James VII* but rather judges he was wronged. His promising to maintain his Protestant Subjects in the free Exercise of their Religion, &c. conformable to the Laws of the Land, must be understood, not the Laws since the *Usurpation*, but those of his *Father*, who sent a Popish Army to root out the Presbyterians with the most

rigorous Prosecution. And no Doubt, the freeing *Britain*, particularly *Scotland*, from Imposition, is to restore it to its ancient State under the *Jameses*, when the People sold their Commodities to the *French*, who eased them of the Trouble of trading to the *East* and *West-Indies*; gave them Wines and Cambricks in Return, of which they were so fond, as, for a small Sum, all of them, from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty (a Method revived by the Pretender) would repair to the Royal Standard, and march as the Court of *Versailles* directed.

8. That a Spirit of arbitrary Power breaths in the Father's is clear, and that the Son has servilely copied from him is as evident. What a strange Offer is this, to promise Pardon to Soldiers, Sailors, &c. only if they would come over to him; when we need not quote the Acts of *Leipsick*, to prove that it is a *Popish* Tenet, *to keep no Faith with Hereticks*: Has not the *Popish* Pretender declared it in the strongest Terms? Has he not said, that 'no Engagements (yea, *Oaths*) entered into with a foreign Usurper, can dispence with the Allegiance they owe to their natural Sovereign?' I have been informed, that the old Pretender draws a Paper extremely well, and is a Man of exquisite Sense, which I mould not scruple to believe, if he had not discovered a Mind insensible of the most apparent Slights from the *French* Court and General Officers. An Instance of which I shall give. One Day the *Mareschal de Villars*, who was an excellent Commander, but very vain, had an Interview with the present King of *Sweden*, then Prince of *Hesse-Cassel*, and Generalissimo of the *Dutch* Troops, some of the Princes of the Blood, the Pretender, and chief Nobility, came with the former; several General-Officers and Princes with the latter. The Vivacity of *Villars* took the Start of the *Swedish* Prince. With an Air becoming so great a Man, he introduced the Grand-Children of *Lewis*, and the rest in his Train; then, as if correcting a Mistake, he turns to the *Chevalier*, and says, with a jeering Smile, thrice over, *Voyez le Chevalier de St. George*. His Highness taking up the Taunt, turned his Looks from the General to the unfortunate Tool, (beholding the one with Disdain, the other with Compassion) brought on another Discourse, and did not receive him. That the Pretender is a good General, and consequently prudent, is declared by the Author of the *Military History of Lewis XIV* in his Description of the Battle of *Malplaquet*, where he first took the Name of *Chevalier de St. George*, and spilt much *British* Blood. A meritorious Recommendation to the *British* Throne! But I must be allowed either to discredit what I heard of his Parts, and the Account of his Bravery, or else conclude his Son's Council have used Freedom with his Name: For, to say no more, can a Man in his Senses be supposed to court a Throne with these Methods, *viz.* Accuse the major, *England*, of oppressing *Scotland* the minor Part? But the best Remarks on this Piece, and those of the 9th and 10th *October*, are to be found in the Resolutions of Parliament, 7th *November* 1745. The Tenor of which is as follows.

Resolved,

By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that the two Papers respectively signed *James R.* and dated at *Rome* the 23rd Day of *December* 1743, and the four printed Papers, signed *Charles P. R.* dated respectively the 16th Day of *May* 1745, *August* 22nd 1745, the 9th Day of *October* 1745, and the 10th Day of *October* 1745, are false, scandalous and traitorous Libels, intended to poison the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects; containing the most malicious, audacious and wicked Incitements to them to commit the most abominable Treasons; groundless and infamous Calumnies and Indignities against the Government, Crown, and Sacred Person of his most excellent Majesty King *George II*, our only rightful and undoubted Sovereign; and seditious and presumptuous Declarations against the Constitution of this united Kingdom; representing the high Court of Parliament, now legally assembled by his Majesty's Authority, as an unlawful Assembly; and all the Acts of Parliament, pasted since the late happy Revolution, as

null and void; and that the said printed Papers are full of the utmost Arrogance and insolent Affronts to the Honour of the *British* Nation, in supposing that his Majesty's Subjects are capable of being imposed upon, seduced or terrified, by false and opprobrious Invectives, insidious Promises, or vain and impotent Menaces; or of being deluded to exchange the free Enjoyment of their Rights and Liberties, as well civil as religious, under the well established Government of a Protestant Prince, for Popery and Slavery under a Papish bigotted Pretender, long since excluded by the Wisest Laws made to secure our excellent Constitutions and abjured by the most solemn Qaths.

Resolved,

By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, that, in Abhorrence and Detestation of such vile and treasonable Practices, the said several printed Papers be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman, at the *Royal-Exchange* in *London*, on *Tuesday* the 12th Day of this Instant *November*, at One of the Clock in the Afternoon; and that the Sheriffs of *London* do then attend, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly. These Orders were punctually obeyed, amidst the repeated Acclamations of a prodigious Multitude.

The *Chevalier* is no sooner in the Abbey, than he sent a Message to the City of *Edinburgh*, superscribed *Charles P. R.* and subscribed *C. P. R.* requiring, on Pain of military Execution, that 1000 Tents, 2000 Targets, 6000 Pair of Shoes, and a proportional Number of White-iron Water-cantines, should be prepared against the 23rd. The Deacons met with their several Incorporations, and took a Note of what each could furnish of this Demand. A Report was made by these to the general Meeting upon the 24th, and the several Articles were prepared; and 2s. 6d. was laid upon every 20s. of real House-rent for Payment of them.

Sept. the 18th an Order was proclaimed at the Cross of *Edinburgh*, requiring all the Inhabitants of that City and Suburbs, and of the County of *Mid-Lothian*, to give up, at their own Expence, all the Arms and Ammunition in their Custody, under Pain of being deemed Rebels, and treated as such. The Muskets which they got this Way were tried by them, sometimes at the Expence of those who were near them, and some Shots proved fatal to themselves.

That Day a Drum beat up for Soldiers through the City, in the Pretender's Name, and 5 Guineas advance were offered. A Captain's Commission was proffered to such, as could raise 40, and a Lieutenancy to these who should, bring 20 Men to the Field. The Author of the *Caledonian Mercury*, *James Grant*, a Papist, who had been an Officer in *Airly's* Regiment in the Rebellion 1715, moulded that New's-Paper to the Times. A Journal of the *Chevalier's* Progress is inserted; the Alacrity and Courage of the *Highlanders*, is cried up to the Skies; the Duke of *Berwick's* Letters 1732, from the Trenches of *Gaeta*, concerning the young *Chevalier Charles* are printed. He is compared to *Charles XII* of *Sweden*;—with how much Justice, let *Preston*, *Falkirk* and *Culloden* tell. The King's Speech, as fine a one as ever came from a Throne, is commented, upon, and called, *The Elector of Hanover's Speech to his pretended Parliament*, and, when News was barren, the ill-digested and false *Memoirs of Lord Dundee*, who was as much an Enemy to King *William*, as *Grant* to King *George*., were continued in that Paper, till the whole were exhausted.

While the *Chevalier* was in the Abbey of *Holyroodhouse*, and his little Army at *Duddingston*, General *Cope* was as *Dunbar* joined by two Regiments of Dragoons under Brigadier General *Fowkes*, who had come from *England* to take upon him the Command of the Horse, and by several of the Volunteers, who had engaged for the Defence of the City of *Edinburgh*; as these Gentlemen were under Arms, in Time of the general Meeting upon the 16th, so that they could not be present to

controul what was then done, they now resolve to shew their Zeal.

The Earl of *Hume*, Lords *Belhaven*, Justice-Clerk and *Drummore*, did all in their Power to render *Cope's* Expedition agreeable; they were at considerable Pains to get Intelligence, (which that Officer was not careful enough to procure in the North.) and inform him of the real State of Affairs.

On the 17th at Night, the Forces disembarked; a Council of War was held, whether to march forward and sight the Rebels, or retire till joined by some veteran Regiments. The Gentlemen who were affected in their private Properties, were much more touched at the dismal Change, of seeing the *Lothians* and Metropolis of the Nation, as remarkable for their Loyalty in general, as for their stately Buildings, Order and Beauty of their Streets, from the Seat of Judges and great Men, from a Seminary of Arts and Sciences, from the Centre of Politeness and Decency, become the Habitation of the *Camerons*, (whose Chieftain *Lochiel* was Governor of the Town) *MacGregors*, *Mac-Donalds*, &c. were desirous of being rid of such Masters, and therefore urged the marching forward to the Attack. Several Officers were for Advancing, while others were for retiring, till farther Assistance should be sent. *Cope* was almost brought into this last Opinion on the 18th; but next Morning (whether by Orders from above, or not) he altered his Mind. The Lords formerly named, and Gentlemen who waited on him, procured Carriages for his Baggage. The People brought their Horses with such Alacrity, that their Faces and Gestures spoke with Sincerity of their Minds: But whether from his Willingness to alleviate the Burden, by communicating it among the many, or an Hardship he inclined to put on the innocent Objects of his Aversion, I shall not determine: But he used twice as many as were needed; nor did he give the least Gratuity to the Owners.

On the 19th the Drums beat to Arms; and the Troops marched to *Haddington*, where they encamped that Night: Next Day they proceeded Wesward, and about 11 o'Clock of the Forenoon, halted upon a Cornfield to the West of *Seaton*, opposite to *Cockeny*. This was indeed a most advantageous Situation; for they had a Ditch in Front, from whence two Parks, divided by a high Dyke, sloped upward; the Sea, *Cockeny*, &c. on their Flank; a Park-dyke on their Right, at the Ends of which there were Roads lying East and West. In short, the Ground about them was all inclosed, except from the East, from whence they came. All Things necessary, both for Man and Horse, were supplied by the Country, with a Chearfullness not to be described, and Workmen waited nothing but Orders to enter upon the most difficult Tasks.

The Rebels, who had been joined on the 19th by the *Grants* of *Glenmoriston*, decamped about 4 o'Clock in the Morning of the 20th; for having early Intelligence of the Arrival of *Cope's* Army, they had resolved to fight him. The Pretender, at their Head, presenting his Sword, said, *My Friends, I have flung away the Scabbard*. This was answered with an Huzza, altho' they were said to be in a great Pannick. He proceeded slowly towards *Inveresk*, thence to *Carberry-hill*, along the Brow of which the Rebels extended themselves, till they espied the Army. It was now two o'Clock, when they raised a loud Huzza, which was readily answered by the King's Forces. Had *Cope* not attacked them directly, or advanced to *Esk-water*, and stopt them on their March to *Musselburgh-bridge*, Things might have gone otherways: Had the Duke acted at *Culloden*, as *Cope* did at *Preston*, what would have been the Event! Both Armies continued in View of each other till betwixt 4 and 5 o'Clock, when the King's raised some Huzzas, which were not answered. Some Cannon were likewise discharged at a Party of Rebels, who had got into the Church-Yard of *Tranent*, but did no other Harm than breaking the Arm of one of them; at which, however, they fled in the utmost Confusion, which *Cope* ought to have improved. About an Hour after, the Rebels,

from their Motions, seemed to be for an Attack. They were advancing by the Road at the upper Dyke Westward, and at the End of it were to turn East and take the Troops in Flank. Had the Dragoons rode through the Passages, and the Foot crossed through the Park, such a Fire might have been given as would soon have obliged them to flee; but instead of this, the Lines only wheeled, and so fronted the West, to receive the Enemy; which they observing, retired to their former Ground. Night now coming on, both lay upon their Arms. *Cope* ordered some Fires to be made, which discovered to the Rebels what was doing in his Camp; whereas in their's not one Word was heard, nor the least Sign seen, except a Lanthorn with a Candle, which, like a Meteor, blazed a little, and then disappeared. Some Coehorns were thrown at them, but did no Harm. About 3 in the Morning the Enemy crossed through some Inclosures, and getting below *Seaton*-House, they formed, while another Body was stealing a March to prevent the Army's Escape to *Edinburgh*. Now it was almost five o'Clock, when the Pretender addressed his Party thus: *Follow me, Gentlemen; by the Assistance of God I will this Day make you a free and happy People.* But, while marching, *Lochiel* advised him not to advance, and ordered a small Party to stand about him, upon a rising Field, to the South-west of *Seaton*. Their Right Wing, consisting of the Regiments of *Keppoch*, *Glengary*, *Clanronald* and *Glenco*, was commanded by *Perth*, Lieutenant-General; the Left composed of the *Camerons*, *Stuarts of Appin*, one Body of the *MacGregors*, with *Glencarne* (the rest being with Major *James Drummond*) was under Lord *George Murray*. Their 2nd Line, made up of the *Athole Men*, *Robertsons*, *MacLauchlans*, &c. under Lord *Nairn*. The few Horse which they had, about 100, and these very unfit for Action, stood as a Body of Reserve, The first Line crawled upon their Knees, like Hunters in Quest of their Prey. Some of *Cope's* Centries saw them; but whether they believed them to be a Hedge appearing by Means of the Dawn, or if they were prohibited to fire on any Account, as they gave out, or if afraid to discharge, sure it is the Rebels quietly advanced, and came up in the Form of a Wedge towards the Artillery, which, being ill guarded, upon the firing of two Shot, soon fell into their Hands. It was at this Time the Body of the Army had the first general Notice of them. The *Highlanders*, in a declining Posture, covering their Heads and Breasts with their Targets, marched furiously up to the first Line, where they gave a loud Huzza. They received some Platoons, which some of the Soldiers, without Orders, discharged for their own Safety; then, firing full in the Face of the Troops, they threw away their Firelocks, rushed upon the raw Men with Sword and Pistol, and made a dreadful Havock. At the Moment they raised the Shout, the young Horses on the Wings, *viz. Gardner's* on the Right, and *Hamilton's* on the Left, affrighted at such a Noise in the Morning, fell a capering, fled off all at once, and disordered the Foot; yea, some of them, when their Riders were dismounted, ran through the Enemy towards *Dunbar*, whither *Fowkes* and *Lascelles* retreated. The Rebels pursued very irregularly, firing Pistols at them. Some Officers, endeavoured to rally some of the Foot, and give the Enemy a Fire while in this Confusion, which had they done, the Misfortune might have been remedied; but as the second Line advanced it was forborn. The Dragoons halted half a Mile from the Field, and drew up; and could *Cope* have thought of returning upon the Clans, now in Disorder, he might have regained the Advantage, for the Foot had not yet surrendered: But as this either did not occur at the Time, or was judged impracticable, *Cope*, the Earls of *Hume* and *Lowdon* retired with them by the Way of *Channel-kirk*, where they first stopt, with about fifteen of the Foot that followed their Rout, to *Lauder*, from thence the next Day to *Berwick*. The Infantry in the first Line were miserably massacred by the Rebels. Such as threw down their Arms, and begged for Quarters upon their Knees, were inhumanly mangled; and such as fled into the Inclosures were pursued and kill'd. But the great Carnage was at the *Grange Park Dyke*, which when the poor Men were climbing, they were massacred in the most barbarous Manner; twenty were killed by the Sword,

for one who fell by a Bullet: At last the Slaughter was stopt by *Perth* and *Lochiel*.

In this Battle were slain, of the King's Troops, 360, among whom was the brave Colonel *James Gardner*, (a Gentleman, who, in the Heat of Youth, had been turned from the most licentious Dissoluteness, to the Piety, Strictness, Prudence and Wisdom of the grayest Hairs) universally lamented, especially as he was against all the Motions that brought on this fatal Scene. Captain *Stuart* of *Phisgil*, of *Lascelle's* Regiment, Captains *Brymer* and *Rogers* of *Lee's*, *Howel* of *Guise's*, *Bishop* and Ensign *Forbes* of *Murray's*. About 500 were wounded, the rest mostly taken Prisoners, with 83 Officers; several of whom were wounded, particularly, Lieutenant Colonel *Whitney* of *Gardner's*, and Major *Bowles* of *Hamilton's* Dragoons. The latter after he had fallen, with his Horse, which was one of the Six that were killed upon the Field, was desperately hacked by the Boys who followed the Rebels. This was the Fate of as many as fell, but particularly of *Gardner*, and the Master of *Torphichen*. The private Men's Heads were almost cut through, the greater Number in the back Part; some had 7 or 8 Wounds. Noses, Hands, Arms, Legs, &c. were promiscuously to be seen scatter'd o'er the Field. The Dragoons scarcely lost 50, between killed, wounded and Prisoners. On the Side of the Rebels were killed 2 Captains, 1 Lieutenant, and 1 Ensign, and about 40 private Men; they had 80 wounded, and *Rob Roy MacGregor's* Son, who then went under the Name of Captain *James Drummnd*. All the Cannon, (*viz.* 6 Pieces) two Coehorns, all the Tents, Baggage, Equipage, &c. fell into their Hands; they seiz'd also the Military Chest, containing 4000£. *Cope* having secured the rest, partly in the *Fox* Man of War, *Haddington*, and elsewhere, which was the only prudent Action of that Officer during his inglorious Campaign. The *Highlanders* plundered some Officers both of their Money and Watches; their Servants were not spared, and some Country Gentlemen, who were not in Arms, were treated in the same manner. I myself surveying the Field, before the Dead were stript, asked some of the wounded Men what was become of *Cope*? And they all, but especially the *English* Soldiers, spoke most disrespectfully and bitterly of him. After this I went to the Road-Side, where the *Chevalier*, who by Advice of *Perth* &c. had sent to *Edinburgh* for Surgeons, was standing. He was clad as an ordinary Captain, in a coarse Plaid and blue Bonnet, his Boots and Knees were much dirtied; he seemed to have fallen into a Ditch, which I was told by one of his Lifeguards he had. He was exceeding merry: Speaking of his Army, he said twice, '*My Highlandmen have lost their Plaids?*' At which he laughed Very heartily. When talking of the Wounded, he seemed no Way affected. There were seven Standards taken, which when he saw, he said in *French*, a Language he frequently spoke in, *We have missed some of them;* Then he refreshed himself upon the Field, and with the utmost Composure eat a Piece of cold Beef, and drank a Glass of Wine, amidst the deep and piercing Groans of the wounded and dying, who had fallen a Sacrifice to his Ambition. Next Day the poor Men were brought into *Edinburgh* upon Carts; some were put into the Infirmary, others begged thro' the high Streets, and were generously supplied by the Inhabitants; but no Charity was shewn by the Rebels, so great was their Hatred to a red-Coat.

Such was the Event of the Battle of *Preston*, in which the Rebels gave out, that, with 1456 Highland Foot, without Artillery or Horse, they had routed a regular Army of 4000 Foot and Horse, besides Volunteers, &c. supported with Cannon, and almost entrenched. But whoever considers the Matter, will find the Boast was groundless; for when *Cope* marched to the North, he had only about 1624 Foot, and at *Preston* it is not to be supposed he had more; and of these 466 were out on Parties, *viz.* 100 with the Artillery, 230 with the Baggage, 70 at Colonel *Gardner's* House, and 66 watching at the upper Park Dyke next to the Enemy; there were likewise 118 Dragoons out in the same Manner. If this is adverted to, and that young Horses, when fired upon in the Morning, generally reel, it will be found that 1456, (according to themselves,) choice Highland

Desperadoes, some of whom had been in foreign Armies, did no more than surprize about 1158 raw Foot, who were more incommoded by their own Horse, than by their Enemies. I would not here be understood to detract from the Bravery of the Clans, (a Virtue which they carry to such an Extreme, that it degenerates into Madness) but only observe, that it is a peculiar Weakness in them to magnify every little Instance of good Fortune into a Prodigy. The Arms of the Troops were reserved for Recruits by the Rebels; the Clothes and Linnens of the Officers and Soldiers were given to Men, some of whom scarce ever before had a Shirt. Colonel *Gardner's* House was rifled of every Thing that was valuable, which had not been carried off. Some People about *Tranent* and *Preston* were stript, by the Conquerors, of their Clothes, Shoes, Buckles, &c. Had the young Pretender marched to *England*, it is hardly to be supposed hut *Cope* would have carried the Consternation even to *London*. There were few Forces in the Kingdom then, and these but new raised Men. However, his Counsels were infatuated, and by his Conduct he ruined himself. The Prisoners were sent to *Edinburgh*, and confined in the Church and Tolbooth of *Canongate*, where they continued till the 29th, when they were transported to *Logie-Rate* in *Athole*; and their Officers, who had been liberated upon Parole, and obliged daily to present themselves, were conducted to *Perth*. After the Battle the *Chevalier* sent off Mr. *Kelly* to *France*. He rode Post to *Dover*, where he embarked for *Dunkirk*, and sent off some Vessels with Artillery, Arms, Ammunition, and Money to *Scotland*; from thence he went to *Paris*, and laid before the *French* Court the glorious State of his Master's Affairs. And now did the *Chevalier's* Connection with *France*, which was only conjectured at first, though hardly disowned by him, fully appears.

The Pretender, the Night after the Battle, let the Ministers of *Edinburgh* know, that they were allowed to preach as usual, but not to name King *George*; however, these had resolved, in a previous Meeting, not to exercise that Part of their Office under his Protection, being determined to avoid the Practice of the Nonjurant-Clergy, (who convened as usual) by testifying their Loyalty to their King, with whose royal Protection they were favoured on all Occasions; a late Instance whereof they had, in his gracious Condescension to signify his Pleasure to his Parliament, for promoting the pious Scheme of providing for the Widows and Children of the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland*. The Ministers of the *West-Kirk*, Mr. *Mac-Vicar*, and Mr. *Pitcairn*, being sheltered under Cover of the Castle Guns, prayed for King *George*, as usual, and in the strongest and most pathetic Terms, recommended Loyalty to their Hearers.

On *Monday*, the 23rd, three Proclamations were issued out; the first, ordering all Farmers within five Miles of *Edinburgh*, to be ready, at twelve Hours Warning, to furnish their Horses for carrying the Baggage of the Rebels to *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or the like Distance. Another forbidding "any outward, Demonstrations of publick Joy on Account of the late Victory, as it had involved many innocent People in great Calamity, and had been obtained by the Effusion of the Blood of his Majesty's Subjects, admonishing all true Friends to their King and Country, to return Thanks to God for his Goodness towards them, as he, the Pretender, did for himself;" and concludes, with a Declaration of his Protection to those concerned in publick Worship. A third forbidding Abuses by his Army. Next Day the following Indemnity was proclaimed.

CHARLES Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions there unto belonging.

WHEREAS we are informed, That several of Our Subjects, as well Clergy as Laity, in Our, ancient City of *Edinburgh*, and Neighbourhood thereof, did associate and take up Arms against us; and that many of them fled from their Houses, lest they had been, prosecuted, and made. Examples of, as their Crimes demerited.

And whereas, we have nothing at Heart but the Good of all Our Subjects, how much soever deluded by the Prejudice of Education or mistaken Interest; and being always disposed, as a true Father of our Country, to display that Merry and Tenderness natural to Us, and the distinguishing Characteristick of our Family.

We do therefore, in his Majesty's Name, hereby grant a full Pardon to the Persons associated as aforesaid, for all Treasons, Rebellions, and Offences whatsoever, committed by them at any Time before the Publication of these Presents, whether against Our Royal Grandfather of blessed Memory, his present Majesty, or Ourselves, dispensing With the Generality hereof, and admitting the same to be as effectual, to all Intents and Purposes, as if all their Names had been herein set down. PROVIDED always, That the Persons aforesaid, present themselves within twenty four Days after the Publication hereof, to our trusty and beloved Counsellor *John Murray of Broughton*, Esq; Our Secretary, or any one of Our Council appointed for that Purpose, at our Palace of *Holyrood-house*, or where else We shall be for the Time, with a Declaration that they shall live for the future as quiet and peaceable Subjects to Us and Our Government, otherways these Presents to be of no Effect to them. Given at our Palace of *Holyrood-house*, the twenty fourth Day of *September*, and of his Majesty's Reign the forty-fifth Year, 1745.

CHARLES P. R. *By His Highnesses Command*, Jo. Murray.

On the 25th, Protection was proffered to the Banks, if they would return from the Castle to their former Business; but this Promise was disregarded. There were also Proclamations for preventing Thefts and Robberies; which had but little Effect upon the Rebels, for, under Pretext of searching for Arms, they would rifle Peoples Houses, and carry off what was valuable. On the 30th, every Person possest of Arms, Tents, Horses, warlike Stores, taken at *Preston*, were required to return the same under Pain of Military Execution. That same Day the Magistrates of all Burghs in *Scotland*, the Collectors of the Land-Tax in all the Shires, the Collectors and Comptrollers of Customs, were ordered, by circular Letters, to repair to the Palace of *Holyrood-house*, to have the Sums to be paid by the respective Towns ascertained, and to bring in their Books, and what Money was due, upon Pain of Treason, Rebellion, and Military Execution. Few obeyed, but left the Kingdom, or else repaired to the Castle.

The Goods in the Custom-House of *Leith*, were sold for the Use of the young *Chevalier*. And several Demands were made upon Towns in the Country, and upon *Glasgow* no less than 10,000*l.* but the Sum was abated to 5,500*l.*

Thus they proceeded without Controul, till the 25th, that some Cannon were discharged at them, as they were observed to make too near Approaches to the Castle, and to hinder People from going to it. On the 29th, all Communication between the Castle and City was stopt; whereupon General *Guest*, then Commander of the Forces in *Scotland*, who had repaired to that Fort, wrote to Provost *Stewart*, "That since the Passage to and from the Castle was shut up, he would make Use of Cannon to dislodge the *Highland* Guards, he having got Orders from Court to keep the Avenues clear." The Letter was sent by some Deputies to the *Chevalier*, who immediately gave them an Answer in Writing, wherein he speaks of our present illustrious King, in a Manner neither suitable to his Majesty, or to one who assumed the Name he himself did. And, after aggravating the

Barbarity of the Orders, upon which he put the worst Construction, he declared he would make full Reprisals upon the Estates of those who were Abettors of the *German* Government.

The Deputies reported the Pretender's Answer to the two Generals, *Preston* and *Guest*, who, in Compassion to the City, gave a Respite for six Days, till the Return of an Express from Court. Some thought the *Chevalier* would have desisted also; but, on the contrary he went *Incognito*, under Favour of the Night, to the *Castle-Hill*, and gave Directions for fixing a Battery against the Fort. *Lochiel* undertook the Siege from that Place, while some hot-headed People, who had joined at *Edinburgh*, were to entrench themselves at *Livingstone's* Yards, to the South-West of the Garrison, within Reach of her great Guns: So from *October 2nd*, that Orders were given from the *Chevalier*, forbidding Communication, upon Pain of Death, between the Castle and the Town, there was a Blockade of both, till the 5th, that the King's Letter came, ordering to spare the City, but to keep the Passes open, till the Relief, which was hastening, should arrive. As the Rebels were at *Holyrood-house*, the Packet fell into their Hands, and, to be before the Generals, a Proclamation is issued out, setting forth, "That the Prince, in Consideration of the many Murders committed on the innocent Inhabitants, and of the Duty of Justice to give place to Mercy, when the good of a People required, took off the Blockade of the Castle." The Infatuation of the Rebels can scarce be paralleled; they had not a single Cannon, nor had they one Battering-piece. As they possess themselves of an old ruinous House on the North-side of the *Castle-Hill*, next to the Fort, they were dislodged soon from thence by the great Guns. And on the 4th, Fire was set to the Place; it burnt with great Violence, but the Flames did not catch hold of the adjacent Buildings; the Bell-House shared the same Fate, in which *Lochiel* taking up his Quarters, was hurt by a Fall of a Stone upon his Shoulder; 3 Men and a Serjeant sallied out upon *Livingstone's* Yards, killed 3 Men, wounded two, brought off the Captain and 7 Prisoners, after setting Fire to the Habitation to which they betook themselves; the unhappy People were buried in the very Trench they had digged. Such however was the Tenderness of the Garrison, that, tho' frequent Shots were discharged, yet these were so well directed, that none of the Town's People suffered during this Blockade, except two Men who were killed, and one Woman who was wounded. Several of the Rebels were slain, particularly as they were scrambling up the Rock on the North-side, in the Night-time; and upon the *Saturday*, when the Soldiers, under Cover of the great Guns, digged, a Trench across the Hill, several were wounded. Thence they fired very briskly, but were answered by the Rebels, whom they drove from their Fastnesses down to *Miln's Court* and the *Weigh-House*, whence they were dislodged likewise, the Wall thereof being beat down. As the Rebels fled from the Lanes, some Soldiers advanced to them, at which Time two of them were hurt, and retired; which was the only Loss the Garrison sustained. All *Saturday* Afternoon there was constant Firing from the Fort. The Firing ceasing upon the *Sabbath*, was to the Inhabitants like a Calm after an Hurricane. On the 7th; old *Gordon* of *Glenbucket*, and Lord *Ogilvie*, joined with about 400 Men. As the former had neither Power nor Riches, so he could bring none with him, but People of desperate Fortunes like himself, the latter, as he had Power, so he used it in the most savage Manner, by threatening with Fire and Sword several of those he brought with him. On the 8th, a Proclamation was made, setting forth, how acceptable Money, Arms and Horses, &c. would be to the Pretender, from such as could not personally join him, And on the 10th the following Declaration was published.

CHARLES *Prince of Wales*, &c. *Regent of the Kingdoms' of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging: Unto all his Majesty's Subjects, of what Degree soever; Greeting.*

CHARLES P.R.

As soon as We, conducted by the Providence of GOD, arrived in *Scotland*, and were joined by a Handful of Our Royal Father's Subjects, Our first Care was to make publick his most gracious Declaration; and, in Consequence of the large Powers by him vested in Us, in Quality of Regent, We also emitted Our own *Manifesto*, explaining and enlarging the Promises formerly made, according as We came to be better acquainted with the Inclinations of the People of *Scotland*. Now that it has pleased GOD so far to smile on Our Undertaking, as to make Us Master of the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, We judged it proper, in this publick Manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the Hearts of all his Majesty's Subjects, of what Nation or Province soever, with Comfort and Satisfaction.

We therefore hereby, in his Majesty's Name, declare, That his sole Intention is to reinstate all his Subjects in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws and Liberties; and that Our present Attempt is not undertaken in order to enslave a free People, but to redress and remove the Encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a Religion which they dislike, but to secure them all the Enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established among them, either in *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*; and if it shall be deemed proper that any farther Security be given to the established Church or Clergy, We hereby promise, in his Name, That he shall pass any Law that his Parliament shall judge necessary for that Purpose.

In Consequence of the Rectitude of Our Royal Father's Intentions, We must farther declare his Sentiments with regard to the National Debt: That it has been contracted under an unlawful Government, Nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy Load upon the Nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest Part due to those very Subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish and defend, He is resolved to take the Advice of his Parliament concerning it, in which He thinks He acts the Part of a just Prince, who makes the Good of His People the sole Rule of His Actions.

Farthermore, We here in his Name declare, That the same Rule laid down for the Funds, shall be followed with respect to every Law or Act of Parliament since the Revolution; and, in so far as, in a free and legal Parliament, they shall be approved, He will confirm them. With respect to the pretended Union of the two Nations, the King cannot possibly ratify it, since He has had repeated Remonstrances against it from each Kingdom; and since it is incontestable, that the principal Point then in View, was the Exclusion of the Royal Family from their undoubted Right to the Crown, for which Purpose the grossest Corruptions were openly used to bring it about. But whatever may be hereafter devised for the joint Benefit of both Nations, the King will most readily comply with the Request of His Parliaments to establish.

And now that We have, in his Majesty's Name, given you the most ample Security for you Religion, Properties, and Laws that the Power of a *British* Sovereign can grant; We hereby for Ourselves, as Heir apparent to the Crown, ratify and confirm the same in Our own Name, before Almighty GOD, upon the Faith of a Christian, and the Honour of a Prince.

Let me now expostulate this weighty Matter with you, my Father's Subjects, and let me not omit this first publick Opportunity of awakning your Understandings, and of dispelling that Cloud,

which the assiduous Pens of ill-designing Men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the Truth. Do not the Pulpits and Congregations of the Clergy, as well as your weekly Papers, ring with the dreadful Threats of Popery, Slavery, Tyranny and arbitrary Power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you, by the formidable Powers of *France* and *Spain*? Is not my royal Father represented as a Blood-thirsty Tyrant, breathing out nothing but Destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious Religion? Or, have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked Truth.

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

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

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

The Fears of the Nation from the Powers of *France* and *Spain*, appear still more vain and groundless. My Expedition was undertaken unsupported by either: But indeed, when I see a foreign Force brought by my Enemies against me, and when I hear of *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Hessians* and *Swiss*, the Elector of *Hanover's* Allies, being called over to protect his Government against the King's Subjects, It is not high Time for the King my Father to accept also of the Assistance of

those who are able, and who have engaged to support him? But will the World, or any one Man of Sense in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary Prince, rather than an independent Monarch? Who has the better Chance to be independent on Foreign Powers? He, who with the Aid of his own Subjects, can wrest the Government out of the Hands of an Intruder: Or he, who cannot, without Assistance from abroad, support his Government, tho' established by all the Civil Power, and secured by a strong Military Force, against the undisciplined Part of those he has ruled over so many Years? Let him, if he pleases, try the Experiment, let him send off his foreign Hirelings, and put the whole upon the Issue of a Battle; I will trust only to the King my Father's Subjects, who were or shall be engaged in mine and their Country's Cause: But, notwithstanding all the Opposition he can make, I still trust in the Justice of my Cause, the Valour of my Troops, and the Assistance of the Almighty, to bring my Enterprize to a glorious Issue.

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

Given at our Palace of *Holyroodhouse*, the tenth Day of *October*, One thousand seven hundred and forty-five.

C. P.R.

By his Highness's Command, J. Murray.

This Declaration was looked upon as a Master-Piece by the Party: But, alas, it is worse than the former, whether one reflects upon the Contradictions it contains, the insidious destructive Promises it is made up of, the Tyranny which it breathes, or Ignorance of the State of the Nation it discovers. I shall only observe, (since the Paper has been well answered by the *Occasional Writer*) that, by the Inclinations of the People, he perhaps means the two Generals, *Guest* and *Preston*, who did not open the Gates of the Castle when *Lochiel* appeared before it. As to this Question, *Who has the best Chance to be independent on foreign Powers? He who, with the Aid of his own Subjects, &c.* Who are his Subjects? The *Mac Donalds* of *Keppoch* and *Glenco*, the *Mac Gregors*, *Camerons*, &c. People inured to Plunder and Murder. Whom had he of the *English* Nation, or whom of the best Part of the *Scots*? Indeed some Desperadoes joined his Standard when set up, and some Noblemen, dazzled with the glittering Appearance, embarked in the Scheme. But what Proportion did those few bear to the numerous Inhabitants of *Britain* and *Ireland*? King *George* being then at War with *France* and *Spain*, could not send such a Number directly as could defeat his Project; nor are the *Scots* Militia any Way to be compared to what formerly they were, when they frequently defeated the *Highlanders*: for now the Country is civilized: instead of being Soldiers, the People are Merchants and Traders, and, by the very Customs paid from their Labour this Way, they can raise a sufficient Army to protect them against Commotions from within, and Irruptions from without. However, who but the Forces of *Britain* were with our King's Son when he defeated him? Whereas, in the Rebel Army there were *French*, and *Irish* in *French* Pay,

notwithstanding he denies they were his Allies; and, in the next Sentence, declares they are engaged and are willing to assist him. Who calls his Father a Blood-thirsty Tyrant, &c? None. I am confident I heard the Ministers of the Church of *Scotland* oftner than the Pretender, and saw several Sermons by the Bishops and inferior Clergy in *England*, and can defy any Man to point out in them the least personal Reflection. The Mischiefs of Popery and Slavery they do indeed set forth in the most lively Colours. Who calls his supposed Grand-father a Tyrant. His Conduct in *England*, his Letters to the Parliament and Privy-Council of *Scotland*. Alas! That neither the Pretender or his Council should expose themselves to the Ridicule of every considerate Person! What must his Friends abroad think of his Weakness?

October 13th he was joined by the Old Laird of *Mac Kinnon*, with 100 of his Clan, who have been frequently in Rebellions, which is the only Thing that makes their Name to be heard of. One called the *French* Ambassador, landing at *Stonehive*, came to his Camp on the 14th, with Dispatches of Importance from his Brother, and Assurance of Assistance from the *French* King. On the 16th, one *Monro*, and another, upon Conviction of *Robbery*, were shot. Lord *Elcho* raised a Regiment of Life-Guards, who were clad in Blue with Red Facings; such as had no Character to lose listed in it; there Pay was but small; for though the private Men received 6d. *per diem*, yet the Officers were only paid the fourth Part, the Arrears being put to the Charge of the Government, when the Peace of the Kingdom should be restored; some Soldiers Prisoners, likewise listed with them, but as they did this only for present Subsistence, so they embraced the first Opportunity of deserting.

And now *Forbes*, Lord *Pitsligo*, brought him a Troop of about 100 Horse. The Earl of *Kilmarnock* had also joined; as did the *Mac Phersons*, who were the last that came to him from the North, where a Storm was gathering against him; for the Lord *Loudon* had repaired to *Inverness* upon the 11th of *October*, to take upon him the Command of 20 independent Companies of the well affected Clans, which the Lord President of the Session was impowered to raise for the Government's Service. And here it will be proper to give a short Sketch of the People whereof they were to be composed.

All to the North of *Fort Augustus*, who speak the *Irish* Language, I call the *Northern*, those to the South, the *Western Clans*. The former are as poor, in as blind and abject Slavery to their Chieftains, as the latter, and in these Things they only agree. They generally hate each other; but, if in a foreign Country, the bare speaking *Irish* would make them Friends. The Dialect of their Language as much differs, as that spoke in the City of *Edinburgh*, from that in the remotest Parts. The Northern are not so quick or ingenious as the Western; the former have not obliged the learned World much, whereat the latter have produced a *Buchanan*, a divine Poet and judicious Historian; a *David*, and a *James Gregory*, and at last a *Mac Laurin*; each of whom have published very great Works. Of the former sometimes warlike Men appeared in the Field, but such as were raised proved seldom an Honour to their Country; the latter also brought forth Men of a martial Genius, but, alas! their Talents ever were chiefly employed in Fends among themselves, or Insurrection against both their *Scottish* and *British* Sovereigns.

The Northern Clans consist of the *Mac-Kenzies*, *Sutherlands*, *Mac-Kays*, *Gunns*, *Mathisons*, *Mac-Leods*, *Monroes*, and *Grants*, besides those in the Rebellion. In general they are either from an *Irish*, or a *German* Descent. The *Mac-Kenzies* are sprung from one *Kenneth*, who for his good

Services, Anno 1263. in defeating the *Danes*, had the Lands of *Kintail* assigned him; his Posterity are called *Mac-Kenneth*, (i. e. *Kenneth's Son*) and now *Mac-Kenzie*. That Name soon raised itself upon the Ruin of the *Banes*, *Dingwals*, *Urquharts*, and *Mac-Leods* of the *Lewis*. At present there are many civilized Families of this Name, in the North *Highlands*, tho' their Ancestors have been remarkable only for Barbarity and Rebellion, particularly in 1645, 1715, and 1719. As to the *Mac-Leods*, they are as ancient as any Clan in the Isles. There were two Families of this Name, that of *Lewis* and *Harris*; the latter as yet exists, but the former was forfeited for Rebellion against *James VI* who gave their Lands to some *Fyfe* Gentlemen. These went to take Possession, but, being set upon by them and the *Mac-Kenzies*; they were miserably slaughtered, and the Family wanting a male Heir, *Seaforth's* Second Son, the Progenitor of the Earl of *Cromartie*, married the Heiress, and from thence is called Lord *Mac-Leod*. The *Mac-Leods* are as loyal as any of the Clans, having never appeared in Arms against this Government, which may be attributed to their Loss in the Year 1651, at *Worcester*, where they were almost intirely cut off.

As to the People of *Sutherland*, The *Gunns*, a Clan, whose Chieftain has no Property, are of *Danish* Extraction. They never made a Figure, either in their own or any other Country; of the *Mathisons*, the same may be said: The *Mac-Keys* are indeed of a nobler Race, being the same with the *Forbeses*, descended of an *Irish* Nobleman, who about the Year 1300 came into *Scotland*, and had two Sons; the younger of whom, by a Marriage, procured the Lands of *Strathie*: From his great Grandson, *Y. More*, (i. e. *Great*) the Name cometh; they were instrumental in suppressing the *Duffs*, to whom *Strathnaver* belonged. For these having a Quarrel with the *Murrays*, brought 1000 Men to the Field against them; the Armies engaging, of the former, after an obstinate Battle, there remained 7, of the latter 12, desperately wounded: As their Misfortune rendred their Lands almost desolate, so the *MacKays* were possessed of them.

AS to the *Sutherlands*, they are the same with the *Catti*, who came to *Scotland* in the Days of *Corbredus II* anno 76, but they of that Shire are much degenerated from the Bravery of their Ancestors, and far from equalling that of the *MacPhersons*, who are of the same Stock: The *Sutherland* Militia, especially those who live upon the Coast, are among the very Refuse of the Highland Counties; they are as subject to their Lairds, (some of whom are scarce worth 300 Merks *per ann*, the richest not 2000) as *Negroes* to their Masters. It is notorious what Numbers of Slaves were sent off to the Plantations, by *MacKay* of *Scouray* and Company, in the Years 1728 and 1729. In short, those People are as poor, barbarous, inhuman, cruel and revengeful, as the worst of the Rebels, but less active; more stupid, and not at all given to that outward Civility, which the latter, by a natural Air peculiar to themselves, affect to shew to Strangers who come among them. The Earls of *Sutherland* are certainly as ancient as any in *Scotland*, but few of them have made a Figure in the Cabinet or Field. Their Charter of Earl is as old as 1061, when *Malcolm Canmore* created the Son of *Allan* Thane of *Sutherland*, (who had been beheaded by *MacBeth*) Earl, in Consideration of the faithful Services he did. The Family, after the Interruption of the male Line, anno 1514, was called *Gordon*, and several of that Name are now in *Sutherland*; but some time after they took up their former Sirname. In the Year 1616, they espoused the Protestant Cause, and have continued faithful to the Government, which is greatly their Interest. Of the *Monroes* I shall only observe, that the same Character will fit them, as that I have here given of the People of *Sutherland*.

As to the *Grants*, there is a Dispute whether they are of *Danish*, *Irish*, or *English* Extraction, I am apt to believe they are *Irish*, being called in the Year 1314 the *Irish Scots*. As far back as 1258,

one *Grant* was Sheriff of *Inverness*, and afterwards came to take Possession of the Lands of *Strathspey*, which belonged to the *Cummings*, whom, under Pretence of suppressing Rebellions, they extirpated, by killing them in the Night Time, without Regard to Age or Sex, and since have continued Proprietors of their Estates.

There are other Surnames among the Northern Clans, such as *MacIntire*, *MacBain*, *MacPhail*, *MacInnucater*; but as none of these have any landed Interest, I pass them, with this Observation, that the first three seldom change their Names, which the latter sometimes do, into *Rose* and *Mac-Kenzie*, and that these Turn-Coats, when advanced, prove the very Pests of the Society of which they are Members. They affect a Profession of Religion, under a Mask of which they commit the blackest Villaines, and with an unrelenting Revenge pursue a Stranger, at the Expence of Truth, Gratitude, and every Tye binding upon Mankind.

Of these Men the Lord *Loudon* and the President soon excited about 2000 to join in Defence of the Government, having prevailed upon their Chieftains to come into their Views. And now the Pretender might observe the Spirit of the People in general breathing forth in the loyal Addresses from the several Synods of *Scotland* to his Majesty. Mean Time, the Adventurer having got a Supply of Money, Arms, Ammunition, and warlike Stores, from *France* and *Spain*, which were transported from *Stohehaven* and *Montrose*, the Places of their Landing, and ferried over at *Haigens-Nook* (where a Battery was erected for securing the Passage) by the Country People, in 185 Carts, which they were compelled to bring in for that Purpose, published an Order, on the 28th, for preparing Carriages to convey his Baggage to *Berwick*, or the like Distance. These being come in, he set out for *Dalkeith* on the 1st of *November*. Several of his Detachments marched before him, and some, particularly a Party of the *MacPhersons*, joined him there, without halting at *Edinburgh*; *Lochiel* was the last who left that City. They stayed at *Dalkeith* from the 1st to the 3rd of *November*. Two Corps marched from thence; the one towards *Pennycaik*, the other to *Loanhead*, both Places being in their Way to *Peebles* and *Carlisle*. These Detachments escorted their Baggage and Ammunition in about 150 Carts and Waggons, and near as many Sumpter Horses. He himself marched with the main Body on Foot towards *Lauder*, where he arrived that Night, and lay in the Earl of *Lauderdale*'s Lodging. Next Day hearing that a Party of Dragoons were advancing towards him, he returned to *Channel-Kirk*, to bring up the rest of his Troops; from whence coming back, he continued his Rout towards *Kelso* where he crossed the *Tweed*, and on the 6th, with 7000 Men, entered *England*, where every Thing was in Readiness to receive him; for, from his first Landing, the Lords of the Regency had taken care to put the Kingdom in the best Posture of Defence. Mr. *Trevor*, the *British* Minister at the *Hague*, required the 6000 Auxiliaries the *Dutch* were obliged to furnish *Britain* in case of an Invasion; accordingly the States General gave Orders for them to hold themselves in Readiness to embark; this the *French* Minister remonstrated against, and in a Memorial, set forth, that the sending eight of the Battalions, which defended *Tournay*, to the Assistance of *Great Britain*, was an Infraction of the Capitulation of that Town, and so far detrimental to the *French*, as it enabled the National *British* Troops to continue to act against his Master and his Allies; and desired a speedy Answer to this Representation. The States replied, that they were sorry his most Christian Majesty should take any Umbrage at sending to *England* these Troops, which made Part of the Garrison of *Tournay*, since this was no Violation of the Treaty of that Place, as appeared from the Words of it; that they were obliged so assist *Britain*, in Consequence of the most solemn Engagements: that these Forces were by no Means to act offensively against *France*, nor in the most remote Places on the Continent from her Barrier, but

only in Support of a Crown (with which they were in the strictest Alliance) when shaken by rebellious Subjects. Some other Memorials were afterwards presented, as upon the 18th, which was answered upon the 21st; another upon the 6th of *October*, which was replied to upon the 13th. — But tho' these Troops actually came over, joined M. *Wade's* Army, and continued in *England* till all was over; yet were they engaged in no Action.

Here was Demonstration that the *French* Court was concerned in the Chevalier's Design, though at his first Arrival in *Paris*, *January* 1744, she pretended to have no Knowledge of his Journey; and when openly in the Country, her Party in *Holland* suggested, that M. *Amelot* was removed and disgraced, for giving the Adventurer such Hopes as drew him there. Yea, her Ministers went so far as to call his Enterprize a *Don Quixote* Expedition at the *Hague*, and some other Courts of *Europe*.

At the close of the Month of *August*, his Britannick Majesty arriv'd at St. *James's*. He had scarce landed in *England*, when he was address'd from all Quarters of the Kingdom. The Merchants and trading Part of the Citizens of *London* associated, at the Risk of their Lives and Fortunes, for Support of their King. Men of Property of all Ranks and Orders, crowded in with liberal Subscriptions for raising Forces, beyond Example. The Admirals and Captains in the Navy agreed to levy a Regiment of Foot, for the Pay of which they appropriated their own Salaries. The Proprietors of the Prince *Frederick* and *Duke* Privateers, lent the King their Share of the rich Prizes these Ships had taken, viz. 700,000 l. The Clergy, with a becoming Zeal, formed their Hearers by Precepts, and excited them by their Example, to the Support of the Crown, of their own Liberties, and of the reformed Religion, Witness the excellent Sermons of the Bishop of *Oxford*, and the Archbishop of *York*, who, in a Meeting of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy of *Yorkshire*, *Sept.* the 24th, made a Speech, of which I shall here give an Abstract:

IT was some Time," said he (*after a Short Introduction*) before it was believed (I would to God it had gained Credit sooner) that the Pretender's Son is in *Scotland*; has set up his Standard there; has gathered and disciplined an Army of great Force; receives daily Increase of Numbers; is in Possession of the capital City there; has defeated a small Part of the King's Forces; and is advancing with hasty Steps towards *England*.

What will be the Issue of this rapid Progress, must be left to the Providence of God. However, what is now incumbent upon us to do, is to make the best Provision we can against it; and every Gentleman, I dare say every Man in *England*, will think it his Wisdom and his Interest, to guard against the mischievous Attempts of these wild and desperate Ruffians.

But the great Mischief to be feared, which ought to alarm us exceedingly, and put us immediately, on our Defence, is the certain Evidence, which every Day opens more and more, that these Commotions in the *North* are but Part of a great Plan concerted for our Ruin. They have begun under the Countenance, and will be supported by the Forces of *France* and *Spain*, our old and inveterate (and late Experience calls upon me to add, our savage and blood-thirsty) Enemies.— A Circumstance that should *fire* the Indignation of every honest *Englishman*.

We are now blessed with the mild Administration of a just and Protestant King, who is of so strict an Adherence to the Laws of our Country, that not an Instance can be pointed out, during his whole Reign, wherein he made the least Attempt upon the Liberty, or Property, or Religion, of a

single Person. But if the Ambition and Pride of *France* and *Spain* is to dictate to us, we must submit to a *Man* to govern us under their hated and accursed Influence, who brings his Religion from *Rome*, and the Rules and Maxims of his Government from *Paris* and *Madrid*.

For God's Sake, Gentlemen, let us consider this Matter as becomes us, and let no Time be lost to guard against this prodigious Ruin. To your immortal Honour be it spoken, you have considered it; and are now met together to call in the unanimous Consent and Assistance of this great County. And it will be extremely to our Credit; give Courage to the Friends of the best Constitution in the World; damp the Spirit of its Enemies at home; and be an Instruction to those abroad; that there is still Spirit and Honesty enough among us to stand up in Defence of our common Country. This will be the Use of an unanimous and hearty Declaration of Fidelity to our Country, and Loyalty to our King. But the Times, Gentlemen, call for something more than this! Something must be done, as well as said.— And the Fund for our Defence, already begun, and now to be proposed to this great Assembly, will, it is hoped meet with the hearty Concurrence of every Individual that composes it.

As to you, my Reverend Brethren, I have not long had the Honour to preside among you; but from the Experience I have had, and what I have always heard of your honest Love to your Country, (if you permit me to say so) I will be your Security to the Publick, that you will decline no Pains to instruct and animate your People; nor Expence, according to your Circumstances, to stand up against Popery and arbitrary Power, under a *French* or a *Spanish* Government. —We scorn the Policies of the Court of *Rome*; have no Interests separate from the People; but on every Occasion, where our Country is concern'd, look upon ourselves as incorporated with the warmest Defenders of it.

Let us unite then, Gentlemen, as one Man, to stop this dangerous Mischief, from which Union no Man surely can withdraw, or withhold his Assistance, who is not listed into the wicked Service of a *French* or a *Spanish* Invasion, or wholly unconcern'd for the Fate of his *bleeding Country*.

May the great God of Battles stretch out his all powerful Hand to descend us; inspire an Union of Hearts and Hands among all Ranks of People; a clear Wisdom into the Councils of his Majesty; and a steady Courage and Resolution into the Hearts of his Generals.

This moving and lively Representation, had so good an Effect, that an Association was unanimously entered into, and 90,000*l.* was subscribed for, to maintain 4000 Men, who were raised and cloathed by the first of *November*.

Moreover, some went so far, as to maintain an entire Company, particularly Mr. *Thornton*, who raised a Corps of 70 Men, whom he cloathed and paid out of his private Purse, and called by the Name of the *Yorkshire Blues*: And not only did the Prelate of *York* exert himself, but his Brethren in general, such as the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Worcester*, *Hereford* and *Durham*, &c. Nor were those of the established Church solely Champions for the Cause of Liberty. The Dissenters contributed in their Turn, and shewed their Zeal according to their Capacities. The *Quakers* furnished the Troops with flannel Waistcoats, to be worn under their Cloathing, to enable them to go thro' their Winter Campaign; yea, the *Roman* Catholicks themselves in general, abhorred the Thoughts of a Change.

The Nobility and Gentry, such as the Lord Chancellor, Dukes of *Montague, Kingston, Ancaster, Bedford*, the Earls of *Cholmondley, Berkley, Hallifax*, Lord *Gower* and Lord *Herbert* levied six or seven Regiments, some of which were not disbanded till *September* 1746. Even the Judges and great Lawyers offer'd to raise Forces, and to act in Person themselves. In a word, the same Spirit broke out all over the Kingdom.

The Militia of the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, were directly put in order. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen waited on their Sovereign, offered him their Service, and declared, "That upon every Occasion, they were 'ready to sacrifice all that was dear and valuable to them, in Defence of his Majesty's Person and Family, and in Support of the happy Constitution both in Church and State.'" The other Towns in *England*, like the Members of the Body influenced by their Head, soon followed the Example of the Metropolis.

A Proclamation was published against *Papists* and *Nonjurors*: Several Regiments were sent for from *Flanders*; and about 1500 Merchants, Traders, and Proprietors in the publick Funds, agreed by Subscription to take Bank Notes in Payment of their Debts, in order that the *Specie* might circulate among the Troops; this put a Stop to a Run which had been upon the Bank some Days before, from a groundless Fear of a Design upon the Treasury, which was at this Time strictly observed. The Parliament also met, notwithstanding the pretended *Prince of Wales Charge* (of which I shall give the Reader a Copy) to the contrary,

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

CHARLES P.R.

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

CHARLES P.R. *By His Highness's Command,*

J. MURRAY.

The first Thing the Parliament did after addressing the King in the warmest and most affectionate Terms, was to pass an Act, empowering him to secure and detain such Persons as should be suspected of conspiring against his Person and Government. *October* the 23rd, a Motion was made in the House of Commons for calling Home the Remainder of the *British* Forces for suppressing the Rebellion; but the previous Question being put, Whether this Vote should at present be stated? it was carried in the Negative. At this the Disaffected conceived great Hopes; but whoever considers a little, will find that they were groundless, for already there were in *England* about 36,000 regular Troops; so that it was answering *France's* Design too much to call home any more. Afterwards 1,298,100*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.* was granted for paying 49,229 effective Men for the Year 1746; that very Day 64,360*l.* 13*s.* was granted for paying the thirteen Regiments of Foot, commanded by the Noblemen already mentioned, and others, for 122 Days, from the respective Times of their being raised, and 13,176*l.* 10*s.* for the Pay of the two Regiments of Horse, for the same Time, and in the same Way; and 35,152*l.* 19*s.* was appropriated for maintaining the 20 Independent Highland Companies for 361 Days. His Majesty was likewise empowered to raise what of the *English* Militia he thought fit.

Hence one may observe the Difference betwixt his present Majesty and *James II* the former is even in Time of Danger adored and regarded as the Head of the Constitution, whence, as from a Fountain, Honours are derived, the Ornament of his Kingdoms, the Darling of his Subjects, and Delight of his Family, who all join as it were to sacrifice themselves for his Welfare; whereas the other was a Disgrace to his Country, abhorred by his Subjects, despised even by the *Popish* Powers, yea by the Pope himself, and deserted by his Children. And though he had conferred upon some, great Places, which the worst of Men, if a King, has at his Disposal; yet even the most of these ashamed of his Conduct, relinquished his Cause.

On the 18th, the Duke of *Cumberland* arrived at St. *James's*, from *Flanders*. On the 27th, the Princess of *Wales*, was delivered of Prince *Henry-Frederick*, whereupon his Majesty was complimented by both Houses of Parliament, And as this Increase of his Family was most agreeable to all but the Rebels and their Abettors, it was so far an Evidence, how much he reigned in the Hearts, as well as over the Persons of his Subjects; and a Confutation of the Bishop of *Rennes's* Assertion at *Madrid*, that the People of *Britain* were ripe for a Revolt. On the 30th, his Birth-day was kept with an uncommon Gaity thro' *England*: but in *Scotland* it was not so universally solemnized, by Reason of the Rebels, by whom the Country was then over-awed; yet in many Parts it was loyally observed.

England was now a Seminary of Soldiers, acted by the Spirit of their King, who declared in Council, that if the Rebellion continued he would lead his Army himself. The Hero, now sixty-two Years of Age, did not doubt to put to Flight the Son of him who, with the Grandchildren of *Lewis XIV*, at *Oudernade* fled before his Standards when but twenty-five.

Field-Mareschal *Wade*, Commander in Chief of the Army intended for the North, moved from *Doncaster* on the 21st, with the *British* and *Dutch* Infantry, having sent his Cavalry to *York* some

Days before. The Humanity shown by the People to the Soldiers on the Road, was incredible, unanimously contributing with their Horses, and otherwise, to the Ease of the Troops; so that, after a March of eighty-seven Miles, they arrived *Octob. 28*, at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, being then about 14,000 strong.

The first Thing the General did, was to secure the adjacent Country from Attacks; and to dispose the Troops in proper Quarters: After which he signified by Proclamation, upon the 30th of *October*, the King's Pleasure, "That those of his Majesty's Subjects inhabiting the *Highlands of Scotland*, and others, who have been seduced by Menaces and Threatenings of their Chiefs and Superiors, to take Arms, and enter into a most unnatural Rebellion, should be Objects of the Royal Mercy, if they would return to their Habitations on or before the 12th of *November*; but if they slighted this Offer, they were to be punished according to the Demerit of their Crimes."

This voluntary Condescension had but little Effect upon them; their Chiefs were deeply engaged, and had contracted too much Guilt to hope for the Royal Mercy, The People were kept in Ignorance of what was doing, as Well as of the Hazard they run. Gracious Declarations were attributed to the Pannick which reigned among the Forces. "Whom have we to deal with, but the Remainder of the shattered Troops at *Fontenoy*? They will never face us," was the Language of the Rebels.

As such Preparations were made against the Pretender, it was surprising that he, who had served in some Campaigns, did not drop his Scheme of marching into *England*. But driven by a Thirst of Power, hurried by a boundless Ambition to govern, and dazzled with the first glittering Appearance of his good Fortune, he pursued his Design; but hearing that Mareschal *Wade* was at *Newcastle*, he threw himself with his Army into the western Road, surrounded by a Crowd of Flatterers, who made him believe, that he wanted nothing to be admired, but to be seen, nothing to his being joined by Multitudes in *England*, but only to set up his Standard there.

About 24 Hours after his decamping from *Duddingston*, General *Wade* had Advice thereof by an Express, and would have proceeded to attack him, had not his Motions, from the Routs taken by his different Detachments, been so uncertain. The Matter being laid before a Council of War, it was agreed to wait at *Newcastle*, both to preserve the Coal-mines, that Support of *London*, and to be ready to sally out upon him, when assured of his Intentions.

The Chevalier having entered *England* upon the 8th, marched his Army to *Halyhaugh*. Next Day he came to *Langton* with Part of his Cavalry, his Infantry being sent to *Cannoby*, and some other Villages on the *Scots* Side. The 10th, he appeared with the Body of his Army on the Moor of *Carlisle*, that western *English* Barrier against the ancient Invasions of the *Scots*. At Night, the Remainder of his Forces, who had taken the Road of *Dumfries*, arrived with his Cannon, and brought the mortifying News of 34 of their Waggons being left behind, which fell into the Hands of the Militia of that County. That Day he sent the following Summons to the City of *Carlisle*.

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, Regent of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

BEING come to recover the King our Father's just Rights, for which we are arrived with all his Authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our Passage: We therefore, to avoid the Effusion, of *English* Blood, hereby require you to open your Gates, and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable Manner; which if you do, we shall take Care to preserve you from any Insult, and set an Example to all *England* of the Exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our Father's Declarations, and our own: But if you shall refuse us Entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such Means as Providence has put into our Hands, and then it will not perhaps be in our Power to prevent the fatal Consequences which usually attend a Town's being taken by Assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your Answer within the Space of two Hours; for we shall take any further Delay as a peremptory Refusal, and take our Measures accordingly.

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

As the Body of his Army had encamped on *Brampton Muir*, eight Miles West from *Carlisle*, to wait for General *Wade*, his Letter would have proved but an impotent Menace, had they not marched up. He himself went to *Warwick* Castle, in order to observe if the King's Troops were moving towards him. *Perth* was left to command the Siege; but, finding the Difficulty of the Enterprise, he repaired to the Pretender, and in a Council of War expressed himself very freely, laid open the Treachery of the *French*, both from Circumstances and Facts, as well at the fatal Consequences of depending upon Assistance from the *English*, who generally adhorred their Cause; yea, he even moved in Time to disband; some were of his Sentiments, while others were for marching forward: At last, a middle Opinion between the two Extreams prevailed among them. The first Place they had summoned, was certainly to be reduced, in order to strike a Terror in the rest; the Inclinations of the private Men were for Plunder, and these must not be controuled. They immediately seize upon all the Horses they can find; laid hold of four Carpenters, whom they obliged to cut Wood for Fascines and scaling Ladders in *Corby* and *Warwick* Parks, which they greatly destroyed. With these they approached *Carlisle* upon the 13th, and next Day began to break Ground within 300 Paces of the *Scots* Gate, but were driven back by the continued Fire from the Batteries; However, a thick Mist coming on, they approached, and obliged the Country People, who, with their Tools and Instruments, were now in their Power, to dig a Trench towards the *English* Gate, as the most Defenceless. The City was attacked in three Places at once, which when the Centries saw, upon clearing up of the Sky, they were amazed, and spreading the Consternation among the Inhabitants, these were struck greatly with the Fear of a Storm, and being put to the Sword by those Men of whom they had framed but too just Notions. Hereupon Numbers in their Fright leapt over the Wall, which is about 5 Foot broad, and 6 Foot high, cross'd the Ditch, which is about five Foot broad, and generally escaped, though some fell into the Hands of the Enemy. The Militia being shut up in a Town where they were much fatigued by watching for seven Nights and seven Days, and the Inhabitants almost distracted with the Apprehension of a Massacre, desired a Meeting, and the Mayor, Aldermen and Citizens, conveened with the Governor of the Castle, Col. *Durand*, to consult about the proper Methods in this Extremity. The Colonel was of Opinion, that the Place might hold out; but he was overruled. The Terror of the Highlanders storming the Town Sword in Hand, in the Night Time, having raised in their Minds a dreadful Prospect of Blood, Slaughter and Rapine, it was resolved to deliver up the Place; accordingly, Deputies were sent to enquire what Terms could be granted. The Answer was, That the Town should enjoy her Liberties;

but the Provisions and Ammunition laid up for the Militia, should be delivered in the Case these were in; yet before Agreement, a Message was sent to the Chevalier, then at five Miles Distance, to inform him of their Success. He answered, That he was not to do Things by Halves; he must have both the Castle and Town, or neither of them. The Garrison of the former were by the brave Durand almost prevailed with to stand a Siege; but, upon second Thoughts, they shamefully deserted their Cause; for, in one Night, of 400 Men only 80 remained, and some of these unfit for Action. In the mean Time, Perth, who was afterwards made Governor, took Possession of the Town and Castle in the Pretender's Name, about Ten o'Clock on the 15th. Thus meerly through Fear, one of the strongest Cities of England fell into the Hands of the Rebels, who lost only an Engineer killed, and one Man wounded. About three Months Provisions for the Militia, and near 200 Horses, with their Furniture, were seized, the Men were dismiss'd upon taking an Oath, that they would not serve against the Family of Steuart for a Year. In the Castle were found 1000 Stand of Arms, 100 Barrels of Powder, and a great deal of military Stores. The Country for several Miles round had secured their Money, Plate, and most valuable Effects, in the Castle, which followed of Course.

The Rebels, while here, made excessive Demands. The Cess, Excise, and Land-tax, were exacted under the severest Penalties; yea, a Contribution from the Inhabitants, upon Pain of military Execution, was extorted, and the private Men among them committed many Outrages, which the Chiefs could not prevent.

Wade being assured of their Rout, prepared to intercept them; but the Rigour of the Season, their late forced Marches, and a Kind of Flux among the Troops, retarded his Operations till the 16th, that he put his Army in Motion for the Relief of *Carlisle*, now in the Hands of the Enemy. His Design was to decamp at Day-break; but, to the Prejudice of the Expedition, by moving from the left, the *Swiss* Troops had the Van, and they would not stir till 10 o'Clock. The Weather now excessively cold, the Snow lying three Feet deep upon the Ground, and a hard Frost, were Difficulties the Army must encounter. The Major-Generals *Howard* and *Oglethorpe*, the Brigadiers *Cholmondley* and *Mordaunt*, marched at the Head of the Infantry, and at Night they arrived at *Ovington*; but as it was observed, that many of the last Column might drop through excessive Fatigue upon the Roads, which were terribly broken, and full of Ice, Major-Generals *Huske* and *Oglethorpe*, sent out Countrymen with Lights and Carts, to bring them up. In this Service they were employed till Nine the next Morning, when the Forces continued their March to *Hexam*. The first Line entered the Town about Four in the Afternoon, and the Rear at Midnight. Here the Marshal being inform'd of the Fate of *Carlisle*, resolved to return, and on the 22nd arrived at *Newcastle*, through Roads in a Manner impassable, with an Army almost spent with Fatigue, though they had only marched thirty-two Miles in six Days. The Soldiers were lodged by the Magistrates and Inhabitants, in the publick Halls, Malt-houses, and other empty Buildings; and such as appeared most disorder'd, were supplied with Quarters, and proper Refreshments in private Houses, at the Proprietors personal Expence. In two Days they were revived, and on the 24th, began their March Southward in Pursuit of the Enemy, who, on the 20th, had set out for *Penrith*, where they halted till the 22nd; then marched for *Kendal*, advanced to *Lancaster* on the 24th, and reached *Preston* on the 26th, proclaiming the Pretender as they went, amidst the Acclamations of his Party. Here the Chevalier, who marched on Foot, mounted on Horseback, and surveyed the adjacent Country, while his Men were rigorously collecting the publick Money, and shewing a Resentment against that Place which had twice been fatal to their Cause, viz. in 1648

and 1715. On the 28th they proceeded to *Wiggan* and *Leigh*. The western Shires were now in a Consternation; for as the Pretender's Counsels were only made known to *O Sullivan*, *Sheridan* and *Mac Donald*, their Rout was not certainly known. Every Town provided for itself; the City of *Chester*, as the Key into *Wales*, was, by the Vigilance of the Earl of *Cholmondley*, put into a Posture of Defence, and its Bridge broke down. At *Liverpool*, where a Visit was expected from them, the Inhabitants took Care to secure their valuable Goods in the Ships that were in the Road. These Precautions had such Effect, that they turned Eastward to *Manchester*, where they advanced that Afternoon; here they beat up for Volunteers; some Papists, and Nonjurors of desperate Fortunes, like some others they had picked up on their Rout, engaged with them; but, to their great Disappointment, no Person of Rank or Distinction came in. Here they formed the *Manchester* Regiment, of which the unfortunate *Francis Townley* was made Colonel, and *Thomas Cappoch*³ Quarter-master. They wore blue Cloaths, Hangers, a Plaid Sash, and white Cockade: And shared so much of their Master's Regard, as to be left at *Carlisle* upon his Retreat, to fall a Sacrifice to offended Justice. On the 29th, their Body moved forward, and, about Ten in the Morning, their Cavalry entered the Town. They laid hold of the Bellman, whom they sent about to order all such as had publick Money to bring it in. About Two in the Afternoon, the Pretender, at the Head of his Life-guards, came in, and in the Evening dispatch'd Orders for illuminating the Town. On the 30th, a Party of them marched to *Stockport*, the rest directing their Rout Westward to *Knotsford*. They carried off what Horses they met with, and such as were out of the Way, their Owners were compelled to bring in. At Night they crossed the *Mersey* in different Places, the Cavalry forded it; but the Foot and Artillery passed over Bridges of Trees and Planks laid a-cross, by the country People, whom they forced to their Assistance. They marched next to *Macclesfield*, where the Pretender arrived with 5000 Men, and the Artillery about Two in the Afternoon of the 1st of *December*. On the 2nd their Van marched to *Congleton*, , where they got Intelligence, that the main Body of the Duke's Army of 12,700 Men, was at *Newcastle* under *Line*, nine Miles South-west from them.

For his Majesty had ordered three Regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and fifteen of Foot, who were afterward augmented by some Detachments from the Foot Guards, to march to *Lancashire* to oppose the Progress of the Enemy. Lieutenant-General, Sir *John Ligonier*, set out from *London*, on the 21st, to take upon him the Command of those Troops. *Stafford* was the Place of their Rendezvous, being most convenient for observing the Rout of the Rebels, either to pursue them into *Wales*, where, had they directed their Course, they would have been shut up, or to hinder their advancing to *London*. But as they were marching, the Duke begged of his Royal Father, to be permitted to put himself at the Head of these Troops: With Difficulty he obtained his Request, and set out at One in the Morning of the 26th, and in three Days arrived at *Stafford*, between which Place and *Tamworth*, the Army was cantoned, with the Cavalry in Front. He no sooner appeared among them, than the Hills and Vallies repeated their Huzzas, his heroick and unaffected Mein, his easy Greatness, and martial Countenance revived them, and raised in them a Confidence of certain Victory. Hearing the Enemy designed for *Congleton*, he commanded that Part of the Cavalry, which was posted at *Newcastle* under *Line*, to retreat to *Stone*, till the Infantry should come up. Here he watched their Motions, and observing that they were too far to the East of him, the better to intercept them in their Rout to *London*, he marched his Army to the South-East, along the Road from *London* to *Chester*, entered *Coventry*, upon the 6th, with all his Horse, and two Battalions of

³ This Man the Pretender made Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Foot, having ordered his other Forces to encamp upon *Meridant* Common, between *Coleshill* and *Coventry*. This Step of his Royal Highness effectually disconcerted the Policy of *O Sullivan*, who managed the March of the Rebels; for turn which Way they will, the Duke was alert to meet them.

The Pretender, by his Spies, having Intelligence of the Motions of the King's Troops, of their Alacrity under their Royal Leader, and their Eagerness to sight under his Eye, became very circumspect. He marched the Van to *Ashburn*, and the main Body of his Army to *Leek*, the better to conceal his Designs, and all of a sudden, turned to the East for *Derby*, which he entered, on the Morning of the 4th, with four hundred and fifty Horse, and two thousand three hundred Foot the rest of his Troops continued entering the Town till late at Night, when their Artillery and Baggage arrived: By which Management, they appeared more numerous than they were. They are no sooner here, than they levied the publick Money, in the most rigorous Manner, and at Night, held a Council of War, where the grand Question was, Whether to proceed forward, or retreat? The Meeting continued several Hours, and broke up without coming to a Resolution. In the Afternoon of the next Day, the Council of War, in the Chevalier's Presence, resumed the Consideration of what was proper to be done; and after a full Debate, they resolved to return⁴ for the North. They now perceived the Rashness of their Enterprize, finding themselves in a Manner surrounded by the Government's Troops, and their Prospect of being joined by any considerable Numbers of the *English* entirely cut off, only three Persons joining them in this great Town. They saw, too, that the *French* could not, were they ever so sincerely inclined to it, assist them by an Invasion, the Coasts being so well guarded by the *British* Fleet. In short, they had innumerable Reasons for turning back, but not one inviting Incident to tempt them forward.

The Chevalier's Fortune seemed now to have begun to frown upon him. Some of the Transports from *France* had been driven back, and others taken, particularly a Privateer called the *Soleil*, on Board of which were the Earl of *Derwentwater* and his Son, about Eleven Captains, Ten Lieutenants, and Sixty private Men.

The Pretender's Adherents were at this Time expecting he would advance, and therefore, at *London*, they began to exert themselves in his Cause; some of them, upon the 8th of *December*, privately dropt his Declarations at *St. James's* upon the Parade, while others, less prudent, were, for malicious Expressions, &c. taken into Custody. They were however in high Spirits, and expected every Day the Arrival of their Friends; but how great was their Disappointment, upon hearing that they had begun to retreat. For,

At Ten in the Morning of the 6th of *December*, after several Feints, they began to march from *Derby*, with their Cavalry in Front, and 13 Pieces of Cannon in the Center. Early in the Morning several Parties of their Horse were in Motion, in the Roads about the Town; some of them seeming to move to *Loughborough*, while others kept on the *Ashburn* Side. When about a Mile from the Town, they halted upon the Hills till near Four, and then went off, their Carriages being on full Trot, and their Foot actually running. While here, not content with the Demands formerly made, under Pretence of taking up the Money, which was subscribed for raising some Foot for the Government's Use, they sent back twelve Officers to require a larger Sum. This they did with peculiar Marks of Terror and Violence. They sent for some Cannon, which they pointed at the Mayor's House, and some others of the wealthiest People of the Town, threatening to lay them in

⁴ This was strenuously insisted on by Lord *George Murray*, whose Sincerity the Rebels from that Day forward continued to suspect.

Ashes, if 19,000*l.* was not immediately paid down. The Mayor compromised the Matter for a much less Sum, which was instantly given them, on which they went off, but not without stripping some People even of their Cloaths and Shoes, to make up what was wanting. This Step of staying so long near the Town, kept their Rout a perfect Secret.

But no sooner had the Duke certain Intelligence of their Course, than he put himself at the Head of all the Horse and Dragoons, and a Thousand Volunteers mounted, to stop them till the Foot should come up: He sent every where Expresses to the Militia to intercept them.⁵ As they were now upon the Return, they plundered *Ashburn*, after extorting a great Sum of Money under Pain of military Execution; nay 'twas said, some went so far, as to murder People upon the High-road, for refusing to comply with what was out of their Power to grant. They also carried off all the Horses they could lay their Hands on.

This was the Beginning of their Retreat, which they managed with all their Skill; for their Motions were as quick as uncertain, and their Designs intricate and dark. To provide then against all Events, the Places which they were supposed to have an Eye on, were put in a Posture of Defence. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Cholmondley* and *Warrington*, the Lord *Gower*, and the Marquis of *Granby*, repaired to *Chester*, to stop their advancing into *Wales*; the *Liverpool* Battalion of 700 Men was ordered to take Post at *Warrington*; these picked up about 16 Stragglers who were sent to different Goals. A 1000 new-raised Foot were dispatched to *Newcastle*, to prevent the Rebels coming there, or if they came, to keep them in Play till the Troops should come up. And as their Return dispirited their own Soldiers, so it encouraged the Country People; for, on the 8th of *December*, those about *Manchester*, to the Number of 11000 rose, armed with Sythes, Hedge-Stakes, &c. in order to fight them; but as this Resolution might be attended with the Loss of many Lives, whatever might be the Success, they were prevailed with to give it up, and refer the Enemy to a more able Avenger, who was now in full Pursuit of them.

His Royal Highness had sent Expresses to the Magistrates of the Towns thro' which they were to pass, to seize all Stragglers, to harrass them in their March, and spoil the Roads, while he himself was at their Heels with his Cavalry, and his Foot mounted on Horses supplied by the Country People. On the 8th, the Enemy was at *Macclesfield*, and the next Day moved to *Manchester*, where the People were so prudent as to conceal their best Effects, and retire from the Place, judging that what formerly they had extorted wou'd not satisfy, but that now, upon their Disappointment, their Demands would be larger. And so they were; for the Rebels levied there about 16,000*l.* in Cash, and committed 13,000 Damages. On the 10th, they marched to *Wiggan*, and on the 11th, to *Preston*, where they halted the 12th. On the 13th, they made the longest march during this Chase, viz. 20 Miles and arrived at *Lancaster*, where they halted the 14th. But having Intelligence that the Troops were still gaining Ground of them, they continue their Flight, with the greatest Precipitation. On the 10th, about 11 o'Clock in the Night, the Duke arrived at *Macclesfield* from *Litchfield*, with two Regiments of Dragoons, having marched about forty Miles in two Days, thro' terrible Roads, by *Utoxeter*, and *Cheadle*; the Foot entered at Twelve, being provided with Horses by the Gentlemen of *Staffordshire*. After reposing himself a little, he gave Orders for a March about Four in the Morning, and set out for *Manchester*, which the Enemy on the News of his Approach had quitted with the utmost Confusion; he entered the Town upon the 12th, amidst the repeated Acclamations of a People who poured out their Blessings upon him; the Town was

⁵ *Wade* who was slowly marching Southward after the Rebels, hearing of their Retreat, returned himself to *Newcastle*, alter detaching *Oglethorpe* with 1000 Horse in Pursuit of them.

illuminated, the Bells were set a Ringing, Bonfires were prepared, and in short, every other Demonstration of Joy was observed. By Three the next Morning, he was again in Motion; the Van arrived *Preston* the 13th, about four Hours after the Rebels had quitted that Place; the first who entered the Town were the *Georgia* Rangers, soon after, a Party of *Kingston's* Horse, commanded by Colonel *Mordaunt*, and the Captains, Lord *Byron*, and Lord *Robert Mannors*. 'Twas here the Dukes Army joined the Detachment under General *Oglethorp*, who came in likewise with a Party of the Duke of *Montague's* and M. *Wade's* Regiments of Horse, and St. *George's* Dragoons. These Troops had marched from *Doncaster* without a Halt, and in three Days made about a 100 measured Miles, over Snow and Ice, in order either to come up with the Enemy, or join the Duke, by whom that March was literally paralleled. A Captain called *Mackenzie* was here taken Prisoner, with two private Men. The Rangers were immediately sent after the Enemy, who had halted at *Lancaster* upon the 14th, till the whole of their Troops should come up. They were in Sight of them that Day, and greatly alarmed the Enemy. About 10 o'Clock in the Forenoon, a hundred Horse, among whom was *Perth*, reached *Kendal*; the Country People being there at a Market, mobbed their Rear, and as they were turning toward the Bridge of the Town, one of the Rebels was killed by a Musket fired out of a Window; whereupon the Town's People closed in and took two more Prisoners. But some Shot being fired by the Rebels, which killed a Shoemaker and an Ostler, the People dispers'd. *Perth* posted to *Shap*, where he arrived upon the 16th. Upon the 15th, their main Body entered *Kendal*, where hearing that one of their Hussars was slain, they breathed nothing but Revenge; the Cess and publick Money were demanded under the severest military Execution; the Magistrates, with great Difficulty, could pacify their Chiefs, by representing, that the Inhabitants were innocent of what was laid to their Charge, and that in a publick Market the Offenders were unknown; as *Lochiel* came at last to understand the Matter, the Contributions were abated, yet a great Sum was levied, and as they were departing out of the Place, their last Rank plundered some Houses, and robbed several People of their Shoes. On the 16th, their main Body marched for *Shap*, but the Rear Guard halted at a Farm four Miles from *Kendal*, to prepare small Carts, for carrying their Ammunition, which could riot be got forward over steep Hills, and through broken Roads, upon their four wheeled Waggons, that were mostly broken. Next Night they arrived at *Shap*, while the Bulk of the Rebels marched to *Penrith*, where in the Evening they were joined by the Rear Guard.

. The Rebels being continually alarmed by the Approaches the Light Horse, sent a Party through Lord *Lonsdale's* Parks at *Lowther*, where they took a Running-Footman belonging to his Royal Highness, and a Gentlemen of the County, from whom they were informed that the Duke was within a Mile of them, with about Four thousand Horse and Dragoons, besides Light-Horse and Militia. Hereupon they immediately abandon *Lowther-hall*, and resolve to make a Stand. Accordingly Lord *George Murray*, who always commanded the Rear- Guard, took Possession of a Village called *Clifton*, a Mile to the North of Lord *Lonsdale's* Seat, upon the Highway to, and two Miles short of *Penrith*. He ordered Colonel *John Stuart*,⁶ to the Bottom of the *Muir*, to the South of the Village, with his Regiment, as also *Clunie Macpherson* with his Battalion, while the *Mac Donalds* of *Keppock* stood at a little Distance to wait the Event. They fortified themselves behind three Hedges and a Ditch. It was now about an Hour after Sunset, when the Duke appeared upon the open *Muir*, after a March of ten Hours. He directly ordered three hundred Dragoons to dismount, and march forward to attack the Enemy. They advanced to the very Brink of the Ditch,

⁶ Commonly called Roy,

when the Rebels fired from behind the Hedges, and killed some few; which being observed, the Troops, after firing some Platoons, which were not without Success, were ordered to retire some few Paces. The Enemy taking this for the Beginning of their Flight, crossed the Ditch with incredible Swiftnes, and rushed on with Pistol and Sword in Hand. The Dragoons, who had drawn their Swords, were now ready to pay them home in their own Coin. The Shouts begin, the Clashing of Swords is heard; some of the Rebel's Swords breaking upon the Steel Caps, which the Cavalry commonly wear, they draw their Daggers, and fight with great Obstinacy; as some of them in the Dark were separated from their main Body, and had wounded some Officers, they inhumanly cut them when down, crying, *No Quarter! Murder them.* Thus they continued for about an Hour, when observing the Resolution of the Forces, they return with as much Precipitation a-cross the Ditch as at first they came on, and with full Speed carry the Consternation to *Penrith*, where the main Body of their Army, with the Artillery and Baggage, was arrived. Such was the Skirmish at *Clifton*, in which about 12 of the Dragoons were killed, and 24 wounded, among whom Col. *Honeywood*, Capt. *East*, and two Cornets. Of the Rebels were slain about 20 Men, and 70 taken Prisoners, among whom Captain *George Hamilton* of *Redhouse*, a Gentleman who had spent his Substance with riotous Living: he was very strong and agile, but there meeting his Equals, he was much wounded by an Hussar, and has since been tried, convicted, and executed. As the Rebels who had not advanced, carried off those of their killed and wounded on the other Side of the Ditch, their Number could not be known; they gave out that they only lost 12 Men who run up the Muir; but whether to believe his Royal Highness, who wrote to his Majesty that 70 of them were taken Prisoners, besides those killed and wounded, or to credit them, must be left to the Judgment of the impartial; the only Thing the Rebels had to boast of was, that they took some Broad-swords from the Dragoons, but upon Enquiry I find that these only amounted to seven.

Being driven from the Village, and come to *Penrith*, a Council of War was held, where *Roy Stuart* was for marching back, and surprising the Troops in the Night Time, or by Day-break next Morning; but Lord *George Murray* was not for diminishing their Forces by Skirmishes, but for pursuing their Rout and joining Ld. *John Drummond*, who had landed from *Dunkirk* with 600 Men at *Montrose*, and was afterwards joined by a Body of desperate Persons, under Lord *Lewis Gordon*, a third Brother of *George Duke of Gordon*, the *Frazers*, under the Master of *Lovat*, *Farquharsons*, some *Mackenzies*, and *Mackintoshes*, in all about Three thousand Men; his Opinion prevailed. Next Day their whole Army marched for *Carlisle*, where they arrived at Night. His Royal Highness not being able to pursue his Advantage at *Clifton*, on the 18th, through Grounds covered with Snow, Roads broken with Ice, and Darkness, which was the greatest Difficulty, rested his Troops there that Night, in the Morning he set out, and with his whole Force entered *Penrith*, where several Houses and Shops had been broke open by the Rebels, vast Quantities of Goods carried off, or thrown into the Streets, spoil'd and destroy'd. From hence he began his March on the 21st for *Carlisle*, which he reached about One o'Clock. But the Enemy had abandoned the Place after changing their Garrison, and leaving in it about Four hundred Men, consisting of the *English* that joined them, and some *Scots* under the Command of *John Hamilton*, the Duke of *Gordon's* Factor, with a proper. Train of Artillery.

About Two o'Clock the Rebels came up to *Langton*, where they crossed the *Esk*, which was then about Four Foot deep. The Cavalry entered the Water with the Hussars in the Front, and the Pretender in the Center, with a Boy belonging to *Keppoch* behind him: as he was passing two People being like to give Way, he immediately seized upon their Hair, and cried out in *Irish*, *Coaer, Coaer, Help, Help*; till they were relieved. The Infantry marched into the River with Lord *George Murray* at their Head, kept hold of each other, and so arrived on the other Side. *Perth*,

being better mounted than the rest, crossed the Water several Times on Horseback, and brought off a Person with him every Time he went. No sooner are they here than judging themselves out of Danger, they separated, one Party of 4000 marched to *Annan* with the Pretender, and the other of 2,500 to *Ecchlefecan*, where they rested. Lord *Elcho* was sent with 500 Horse to *Dumfries*, where he levied the Excise, and imposed on the Town a Contribution of 2000*l.* in Specie, 1000 Pair of Shoes, seized nine Casks of Gun-powder, all Arms publick and private, Horses, Horse-Furniture, Boots, &c. and being in Want of Necessaries, the Rebels stripped many People of their Cloaths and Shoes. Near 1100*l.* in Cash was instantly paid. Provost *Crosbie*, and Mr. *Walter Riddel* were carried off as Hostages till the Remainder should be remitted, and for the Security of their Stragglers if they should come that Way: They ordered the Town's People to send their Baggage after them. In short, their Resentment against this Place for its Loyalty was prodigious; Outrages of the worst Kind were committed against the Inhabitants, the Houses were plundered, private People were robbed, and upon Complaint, they were only told, that they might be glad their Town was not laid in Ashes, considering they had entered into an Association against their Cause, and had seized their Waggons as above. The Damage done by these Excesses was computed at 4000*l.* That committed in the Country much greater. Next Day the Pretender, the *French* Ambassador, *Perth*, *Lochiel*, *Clanranald*, *Glengary*, *Keppoch*, &c. went by the Way of this pillaged Town, while Lord *Tullibardin*, Lord *George Murray*, Lords *Ogilvie* and *Nairn* took the *Moffat* Road. The main Body continued at *Dumfries* till the 23rd, when they marched Westward, being informed that General *Guest* designed to hold, out the City of *Edinburgh* against them till the Arrival of the Troops. As there were no other Towns to fleece till they reached *Glasgow*, so they with all possible Diligence advanced there. The Van entered that City upon the 25th, and the Body of their Army with the Pretender next Evening. Here they made vast Demands, as a Punishment for that Town's attachment to the Government.

The Duke of *Cumberland* having chas'd them out of *England*, judged it proper in the next place, to reduce *Carlisle*: accordingly the Town was surrounded on all sides, at a Mile's distance. The Garrison fired upon all who came in View. Mr. *Townley*, to whom the Chevalier had given a Commission for raising a Regiment of Horse being Commandant of the Place, caused the Guns to be mounted upon the Walls, the Houses within Reach of the Batteries to be burnt, and several *Chevaux de Frise*⁷ to be made and fix'd at the Gates, and Entrances of the City, to prevent the Approach of the Horse: He was even for making Sallies upon the King's Troops, but all his Councils were opposed.

As his Royal Highness perceived that it might cost some Lives to take the City by Assault, without Artillery proper for a Siege, he sent to *Whitehaven*, for some Battering-pieces, with which he was supplied by the 25th. No sooner are these come up, than they began to erect Batteries, notwithstanding a continued Fire from the Walls: On the 28th, one of six Pieces was finished, from which they played upon the Four-Gun Battery of the Town: but on the 29th, the firing ceased for Want of Shot, till towards Evening, when a fresh Supply arrived, and it was renewed with great Briskness for two Hours.

The Walls being much shaken, the Town's People appeared in the most supplicant Manner

⁷ The [cheval de frise](#) (plural: chevaux de frise) was a Medieval defensive obstacle consisting of a portable frame (sometimes just a simple log) covered with many long iron or wooden spikes or even actual spears.

before the Commandant, and beseeched him to think of preserving their Lives. *Townley* then went to Mr. *Hamilton*, the Governor of the Castle, to consult on what was proper to be done. A Capitulation was proposed, to which Colonel *Hamilton* agreed: However, two Letters were first sent, one for his Royal Highness, the other for the Commander of the *Dutch* Troops, which were supposed to be with his Army. This latter was signed *Geohegan*⁸, who stiled himself Commander of the *French* Artillery, and of the *French* Garrison that was at or might come to *Carlisle*; for Defence of the Town and Citadel. The Contents were to summon the *Dutch* to retire from the *English* Army, under Pretence of the Capitulation of *Tournay*, which I mentioned before.

The Night of the 29th was spent in raising a new Battery of three 18 Pounders; which was completed by the Morning. But, on the first Platoon of the old Battery firing, the Rebels hung out the white Flag; and would have surrendered on Terms, but could obtain no other, than that they should not be put to the Sword, but reserved for the King's Pleasure; and these they thought proper to accept, *December* the 30th.

On which Brig. *Bligh* was ordered immediately to take Possession of the Town; and next Day the Duke entered it on Horseback, amidst the Acclamations of a rejoicing Multitude: The Nobility, who had come from all Quarters, and the General Officers followed. He was no sooner in *Carlisle*, than he walked round the Walls, reviewed the Fortifications, and desired to be brought to the House where his Brother Prince lodged, in which he took up his Lodging, and lay in the same Bed. He ordered such Things as were forcibly or otherwise taken away, to be exposed to View, that every Person might receive their own, upon proving their Property.

The Garrison was directly confined in the great Church, and a List of their Names, &c. given in; but by a special Order were stript of nothing which they had. The Officers were as follows.

English. 1 Colonel. *Francis Townley* of *Lancashire*.— 5 Captains: 6 Lieutenants: 7 Ensigns: 1 Adjutant: — All of the *Manchester* Regiment, with 93 Non Commission Officers, Drummers, and private Men.

Tho. Capock, of *Lancashire*, whom the Pretender had made Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Scots. The Governor. *John Hamilton*, of *Aberdeenshire*. 6 Captains:—7 Lieutenants: 3 Ensigns: 1 Surgeon: 256 Non-commission Officers, Drummers, and private Men.

French. Sir *Francis Geohegan*, a Captain of *Lally's* Regiment: Col. *Strickland*, of no Regiment; and Sir *John Arbuthnot*, a Captain of Lord *Drummond's*; 1 Serjeant, and 4 private Men of *Lally's* Regiment.

There were found here, 6 Brass Guns of one and an half Pounders, 3 Brass Guns of four Pounders, One Brass Octagon, all with Carriages, 4 Brass Cohorns, and two Royals.

While his Royal Highness was here, *Carlisle* was crowded with Multitudes, who from all Quarters repaired to him. Particularly the City of *Edinburgh*, sent four Deputies to congratulate him on his Success, and to solicit him to honour that City with a Visit, if he came to *Scotland*; they

⁸ With the Jacobite garrison of *Carlisle*—consisting, at its surrender, of but 390 of *all* ranks, or 274 Scotch, 114 English, and 8 natives of different places in the service of France—was a gentleman of Toulouse of old Irish origin, the [Chevalier François de Geoghegan](#), (or Sir Francis Mac Geoghegan,) Captain in the Irish Regiment of *Lally*, and commander of artillery in the town.

were received in the most gracious Manner, and had the Honour to dine with him; he drank to the Prosperity of the Town, and expressed the deepest Sense of their Loyalty, and that of the adjacent Towns; but the most remarkable Thing was, Not one disrespectful Word dropt from his Mouth about those who had created him so much Trouble: He only lamented (when speaking of the *Highlanders*) that so much Bravery should be misemployed. On the 2nd of *January*, he set out for *London*, where his Presence was thought necessary, that he might be ready in case of an Invasion by the *French*, from whom a Descent was expected, notwithstanding the following Precautions.

On the 6th of *December* a Proclamation was issued out, for putting the Laws in Execution against *Jesuits* and *Popish Priests*, and promising a Reward of 100l. for every such Person, after Conviction, found in *London*, *Westminster*, the Borough of *Southwark*, or within ten Miles round these Places.

On the 12th Advice came, that an Embarkation of Troops was carrying on with great Expedition at *Dunkirk*, that most of the Vessels to be employed were already there, that Furniture was put on Board for 1000 Horse. A Proclamation was published on the 14th, to cause the Coasts to be carefully watched, and all Cattle, and every other Thing that might be serviceable for the Enemy after landing, to be removed. Alarm Posts were appointed; the several Guards were ordered to be in Readiness to march upon the first Notice of any Tumult or Insurrection in *London* or *Westminster*. Signals were also settled on the Coasts of *Sussex* and *Kent*, whither 4000 Foot and 2500 Horse had marched. The same was done upon, those of *Essex* and *Suffolk*, whither 3000 Foot and 1000 Horse repaired. The Lords of the Admiralty ordered all the Men of War at *Portsmouth* to put to Sea, and took up 50 Merchant-men to be armed for cruising in the Channel. Admiral *Vernon*, with the Commodores *Boscawen* and *Smith*, were already at Sea, each with a strong Squadron; and the *Dover* Privateers had voluntarily gone to *Vernon*, to receive his Instructions and follow his Orders.

On the 12th, two of these *Dover* Ships fell in with eight Transports, bound for *Dunkirk* from *Boulogne*, under Convoy of a *French* Man of War of 22 Guns, to take Troops on board; they seized three of them, and sent one of them that Night to the Admiral, in the *Downs*, and the other two to *Dover* next Morning. They fell in upon the 19th with about 60 Sail, mostly fishing Boats and small Vessels from *Dunkirk*, bound as they supposed for *Calais* or *Boulogne*, to take in Troops, drove seventeen of them on Shore near *Calais*, blew up one, sunk two, and brought three away; two of which were carried into *Dover*, but the third was lost in that Bay. The whole of these Vessels had some warlike Stores on board, such as small Cannon, Powder, Ball, Horse-Colours, Cloaths, Bedding for Soldiers, and Poles about seven Foot long, spiked with Iron at both Ends. Two of less Value, from *Roan* to *Boulogne*, were afterwards sent in.

On the 20th, the Country was alarmed by Advices from Admiral *Vernon* in the *Downs*, informing, that great Numbers of small Imbarkations were coming from *Dunkirk*; that several of them were laden with Cannon, Powder, Shot, and other Military Stores; that the *Irish* Troops had marched to *Calais* from *Dunkirk*, where General Count *Lowendahl*, and many other Officers, were, with a young Person, said to be the Pretender's second Son.

Notwithstanding the several Advices, which the Government received of the Designs of *France*, many were of Opinion, that the Preparations about *Dunkirk*, and some Neighbouring Sea-port Towns were only to amuse: But whether the Fears of a *French* Landing, were ill or well founded; certain it is, that the Enemy, on hearing how the Scale was turned, gave over their Alarms.

On the Morning of *Jan. 5th*, the Duke arrived at *St. James's*, from *Carlisle*, in perfect Health, and

did not appear in the least fatigued, tho' he had not been in Bed for three Days. The whole Court appeared very gay on the Occasion, and every one seemed to take a particular Pride in paying their Compliments to him. The Troops commanded by his Royal Highness were flusht with Success, and ready to march where ever Occasion offered. They were composed of the following Regiments, Lieut. Generals, *Ligonier, Richmond, Sinclair* and *Albemarle*, Major Generals, *Howard, Skelton* and *Bland*, Brigadiers, *Semple, Bligh* and *Douglas*, Artillery, *Lesly, Bernard* and *Roper's*, Brigad. Majors, Colonel *Sowle* and *Johnson*, besides *Gower's, Montague's, Hallifax, Granby's, Cholmondley's* new raised Regiments of Foot, each consisting of 824, *Montague's* and *Kingston's* new levied Horse, containing each 273 Men, together with Major General *Oglethorpe's* Body of 1000 Horse, with which he had been detached from General *Wade*. By this Time several foreign Powers had signified publickly their Abhorrence of the Rebellion. *Christian VI* of *Denmark*, when assured of it, offered not only the 12,000 Troops in *British Pay*, but also all the Forces he had, if they could be conveniently Carried over. The old King of *Sweden*, tho' his Power be too much controuled, by a People who run from the Extream of an absolute Monarchy, to the most licentious Liberty, declared his Detestation of the impious Attempt, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, and actually let out the Troops of his Landgravate in Support of Our King. The Empress of *Russia*, though raised to the Throne, by the Intrigues of the House of *Bourbon*, proffered a Quota of Troops to be employed, as the Court of *Great Britain*, should direct; yea, the present King of *Prussia*, though frequently so docile to the Court of *Versailles*, as to march his Army at her Command, and receive his 1,400,000 Florins for mustering his Men, gave out that if the Project was pursued, his whole Army was at the Service Of his Royal Uncle.

The Rebels had no sooner left the City of *Edinburgh*, than immediately the Oeconomy of the Town was restored, as much as possible, considering there was no regular Magistracy: for on the Day of Election, none would take the Charge, as the Place was then in the Hands of the Enemy. A new Subscription wag immediately opened, and in a short Time, Money was given in, the Drums beat thro' the City for Recruits, and such as had listed formerly, but had been obliged to disband on account of the Rebels, were now desired to repair to their Duty, when they should enter into the Pay of 4s. *per Week* without Discount.

Lieutenant General *Handyside*, now Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Troops in *Scotland*, arrived from *Berwick* upon the 14th, with Col. *Price's* and *Legonier's* Regiments of Foot, General *Hamilton's*, and the late Colonel *Gardner's* Dragoons. The Night they entered was excessively tempestuous, and prov'd Fatal to several Ships, among whom the *Fox Man* of War, with her Crew perished in the Storm; her Wreck sometime after was thrown in about *Dunbar*, where was found, and decently interred, the Corps of Captain *Baver*, who had so well defended the Passage to *Kinghorn*, during the Stay of the Rebels in the *Lothians*.

The Militia of *Argyleshire* were now called to the Service of the Government, the Acts of Parliament, against any Number of Highlanders rising in Parties, was suspended, and happy had it been for the Pretender and his Associates, that the same had sooner been done; but then the Designs of the House of *Bourbon*, had not been so totally dashed: Arms and warlike Stores were shipt off from *Liverpool* for their Use. Major General *Campbell* of *Mamore* set out from *London*, to take upon him the Command of these Levies. That Officer had landed with his Regiment on the 4th of *November* in the *Thames* from *Flanders*, as did those of Lieutenant General *Handyside*, Brigadiers *Skelton, Bligh, Mordaunt* and *Semple*, with the *Highlanders*. Each of these from the Moment of their Arrival, were taken up about the Service of the Government, but none more than *Campbell*, who, to raise Troops to fight the Rebels with their own Weapons, arrived at *Inverara*

December the 21st, with a Commission to muster up 3400 Men. The Levies went on most successfully, the Gentlemen of the County sending in Lists of the Militia in their respective Lands, from which the Quota was draughted; a considerable Number of them was stationed at *Inverara*, which they fortified. About 300 of these attacked a Party of the *MacGregors*, whom they soon put to flight, killing two and taking seven Prisoners. A Corps was quartered at *Campbleltown* in *Kintire*, both to prevent any Invasion from *Ireland*, and to be in readiness to march against the disaffected Clans, scattered up and down the County, if they should arise; Garrisons were put into the Castles along the Coast, while the Remainder only waited an Opportunity of marching to join the regular Troops.

And here a particular Account of these People might be expected; but as the Genealogy of the Family of *Argyle* is set down in Books, which are in every Persons Hands, I shall only observe, that the *Campbells* by espousing the Cause of *David Bruce*, against *Edward Baliol*, have been the most Instrumental of any Family in *Scotland*, in settling the *Steurts* upon the Throne, in Prejudice to the Noble Family of the *Cummings*; and even contrary to the general Voice of the Nation at that Time, *Bruce's* Friends and Name not excepted. They continued Loyal to the several Kings, and some Way or other got the Lands of the neighbouring Clans: And these having lost their Possessions, and not considering that their Misfortune was owing to themselves, but imputing the whole to the *Campbells*, have conceived a Resentment against them, rather to be imagined than expressed. The present Duke of *Argyll* was at *Edinburgh* in *July* 1745, whence he went to the *West Highlands*, but hearing of the Insurrection, judged it proper to go no further than *Roseneath*, however, he had an early Account of the Intention of the Chevalier, which he communicated as well to the Regency at *London*, as to the Officers Of the Crown in *Scotland*; but these did not give due Heed to the seasonable Intimation. The *Campbells* being for the most part bred in the last Revolution Principles, were wholly devoted to the Support of the Union, which has prov'd more advantageous to them, than the vast Tract of Territory they possess. They took Arms *in Dec.* and seized such as they suspected; among whom Sir *James Campbell* of *Auchinbreck*, who was confined to the Castle of *Dumbarton*. Those of the Offspring of Baron *Guinach*, the first of the Race, well knowing, that a Change would dispossess them of their Lands, directly engage *pro aris & focis*.

And not only did these *Highlanders* shew their Affection to their King and Country, but the Western Counties followed their Example. The City of *Glasgow* raised a Regiment at her own Expence, which was provided with Arms from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in the same Manner as regular Troops, and put under the Command of the Earl of *Hume*. The little Town of *Paisly* having tasted the Fruits of Trade, and Advantage of a Thread Manufactory, raised a Corps of 210 Men. The Shire and Town of *Renfrew*, from much the same Motives, armed in Defence of the Constitution, under the Earl of *Glencairn*; in a Word, the whole western, southern and eastern Parts vied with each other, in exerting themselves on this Occasion. Mean Time, the northern Storm is raging beyond the *Forth*, and many unhappy People carried down the Stream of Rebellion.

For now the *French* dropped in among them with their Privateers, and were received in the most affectionate Manner. In some Places of *Buchan*, the very Boys wore white Cockades, and formed themselves into Companies; while those of riper Years declared for the Pretender; the vast Tract of Country from *Forth* to *Spey*, being in the Hands of the Enemy, great Excesses were committed upon the Inhabitants; several Noblemen and Gentlemen's Seats were plundered, their best Effects either carried off or destroyed, and their dwelling Houses in a Manner made a Dunghill. In the County of *Angus*, about 5000l. was levied under Pain of Military Execution; and the Cess was laid

on in the most undue Proportion; *Perth, Dundee*, and the Country around, was one Scene of Horror and Oppression, Robberies were constant, even in the publick Streets, and in open Day. The Families of Distinction left their own Houses, to be free from the Sight of such Devastation; Men were even pressed, under Pain of being burnt in their own Habitations.

The Shire of *Fife*, remarkable for her Martial Heroes of old, and her industrious Inhabitants at present, was visited by them; for on the 27th of *December*, a Party of *Highlanders* and *French*, under Major *Nairn*, came to *Dumferling*, where they raised the Cess, and committed several Excesses, as they had done at *Alloa* before; not content with the publick Money, they assessed several Gentlemen in considerable Sums, which they raised without Regard to Circumstances. The little Shire of *Kinross*, consisting of about four Parishes and an half, shared the Fate of her populous Sister; for the same Party demanded there a whole Year's Cess: All such as had any way favoured the Government, were severely dealt with; the Friends of a poor Carrier were forced to pay 13 Guineas, for no other Reason, but because he had carried one Captain *Reynolds*, a *French* Officer, on Board one of his Majesty's Ships of War; the People were obliged upon Oath to bring in their best Horses, Guns, Swords and Pistols, and make Faith on the same. They carried off about forty Horses with all their Furniture, compelled the Country People to carry into *Perth*, 100 Bolls of Meal, and 500 Loads of Coals, and plighted the Honour of the Commanding Officer for Payment; but alas! He failed; for the Workmen returned without so much as their Sacks. A few Days after, another Party, under the Earl of *Cromarty*, came down. By these the Sum of 1125*l.* was demanded of the County: However, the Money was not raised, though indeed some Houses were pillaged, the Possessors abused, threatened with Burnings, and all the dismal Effects of military Execution. The same things might be said of the Places around, but thus much may suffice by Way of Example.

What made the Rebel Party in the North more formidable, was, that Lord *John Drummond* had landed from *Dunkirk* on the 30th of *November* at *Montrose*, with 15 Pieces of Cannon, some of which were 28 Pounders, and 600 Men, several of whom, being forced into the *French* Service, embraced the first Opportunity of deserting. However, for some Time they made the poor Country feel to their Smart, that an Enemy was in her Bosom; the People were obliged to bring in their Horses, and carry their Artillery, some Pieces of which took about twenty Horses to draw them: their Provision, Ammunition, and other Necessaries were also transported by them, without the least Compensation; the Corps separated into different Parties, and were cantoned in the Towns along the Coast, while the main Body repaired to *Perth*, where was the grand Camp of the Rebels. There they fortified themselves, and planted their Artillery so conveniently, that to force them would have proved a difficult Task. And now Lord *Lewis Gordon*, whom the Pretender left behind him, for securing the Landings from *France*, got together a Body of Desperate Persons, most Part of his own Name. But not judging his Force equal to what might be expected from one of his Birth, he acted contrary both to the Law of Nature and Nations, using the worst of Means to augment his Numbers. Every Person in the Shire of *Aberdeen* worth 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* *Sterling* of valued Rent, was ordered, under Pain of military Execution, to pay 5*l.* *Sterl.* or furnish an able bodied Man; several unfortunate People, otherwise peaceable, came in; his Troops were soon augmented to 500 Men, while several others chused to pay the exorbitant Demand, so that in a little Time he raised about 13000*l.* *Sterl.* Moreover, the Earl of *Cromarty* with a considerable Body of the *Mackenzies*, to the Number of 300, had advanced to the Head Quarters at *Perth*, and about 300 of the *MacIntoshes*, with 150 *Farquharsons* (a Branch of the *Catti*) likewise came in; such a powerful Party appearing under the Viscount of *Strathallan* in the North for the Pretender, at last prevailed on some of the *Frasers*, under the younger *Lovat*, to throw off the Mask, and openly to espouse that Cause, which

their unfortunate Lord had been favouring in a clandestine Way, ever since the Abdication of K. *James*. At the time of raising the independent Highland Companies, a Captain's Commission was conferred on his Lordship, who behaved very ungenerously with those People, that listed with him. He would muster up some few of his Tenants, whom he exercised, and remitted to them some Trifle of the Cane or Carriage Service, for which they were at his Beck to make their Appearance at the Publick Reviews. The *Camerons* and *MacDonalds* are his Neighbours; *Clunie MacPherson* was married to his Daughter; all of these would sometimes talk very freely with him, Which by an insinuating Way he encouraged them to do; he digged in an easy Mine, and whatever things they advanced, he was sure indirectly, .perhaps by a Smile, a Gesture, a Glass, or some such Way, to relish. He would be very ready to seed their Superstition, and work them, up to a Belief of Improbabilities; he had a Way of tracing Genealogies, and would tell them Stories Of *Killicrankey*, *Dunkeld* and *Cromdale*, magnifying the Actions of their Ancestors to the Skies; he would say such a Sword and Target, *your honest Grandfather wore that Day*, and would entertain them with interpreting Prophecies and Dreams, &c. I knew a Gentleman of the Name of *Campbell*, who dreamed something very strange in the Time of the Rebellton 1715, relating to the Government, which he communicated to some People; the Story ran up and. down, and came at last to the Ears of Lord *Lovat*, upon whom it made no very great Impression, till about at 21 Years afterwards, that he wrote a Letter to the Gentleman's elder Brother, for a Copy of it. He would interpret it to the Satisfaction of the Clans, so much as to inflame their Inclinations to Arms, and stir up their Spirits to rebel: He was Master of all the Visions and Traditions of the credulous People that had lived in the Country for many Years. He would mention the Exploits of the *Scots* in *France* and elsewhere, unriddle the Prophecies of *Thomas Learmont* and many others, too tedious here to mention; and by such Methods as these, and others of the same Kind, he has promoted the Rebellion more than any Man in the *British* Dominions; but now from his Conduct it appears, that the Thread of his Policy was spun too fine, so that it fail'd at last in the Maker's Hand; and to crown all, he died a Roman Catholic, tho' he frequently endeavoured to get a Seat in the Assembly as an Elder of the Church of *Scotland*.

The Clan of this subtle Lord, first marched under Pretence of seeking some Cattle which had been stolen out of the *Aird*, but suddenly diverted their Course to Fort *Augustus*, in order to seize upon the Soldiers in that Place; but being prevented, by the timely Succours from *Inverness*, they marched to *Perth*, to the Number of 400 Men.

The Earl of *Loudon* apprised of the Designs of the *Frasers*, wrote to Lord *Lovat*, and in his Majesty's Name, demanded that he would deliver up the Arms of his Clan; he even went with a Party to *Castle-Downie*, against which he planted Cannon, and carried old *Simon* Prisoner to *Inverness*; but in a few Days he found Means to escape. About this Time several Letters passed betwixt the Lord President and him, wherein the former lays open the Ingratitude of his Lordship to the Government for their many Favours to him. *Lovat's* Answer was drawn up in the most crafty Terms; he throws the whole Blame on his *unnatural Son*, who had acted thus without his Advice; and points out the Remedy against the Clans Rising, *viz.* granting them 25,000*l.* *Sterl.* to keep them quiet; makes mention of the Battle of *Killicranky* in a Manner very honourable to the Rebels, and concludes in so comical a Way, as does not deserve a Place in any History. On the 3rd of *December*, *Loudon* set out for Fort *Augustus*, with 600 Men, supplied the Place with what was wanting, and in his March, intimated to the People of *Stratherrick* what they were to expect if they joined the Enemy; scarce was he returned to *Inverness* (on the 8th) till he heard of the dismal State of Affairs on the other Side of the *Spey*. To prevent the Evil from spreading further, he detach'd the Laird of *MacLeod* with 500 Men, towards *Elgin*, and the next Day Captain *Munro* of *Culcairn* with 200

Munroes: The *MacLeods* taking the Rout of *Cullen*; and the other, that of *Strathbogie*. Next Day the *Monroes* crossed the *Spey* and followed the *Grants*, who retired from thence to defend their own Estates, to the great Misfortune of the other Commanders; for had they marched on, 'tis not to be doubted, but either young *Gordon* would have fled to *Angus*, where he would have been shut up, or else have been worsted in the Skirmish I am soon to relate; the Consequence of which would have been, that not only *Aberdeen*, the third City in the Nation, and almost the whole North, would be put into the Hands of the King's Troops, but the future Landings from *France* had been prevented, which would have been so effectual a Check to the Arms of the Rebels, that perhaps the Scene had directly closed. *Gordon*, who had threatened *Strathspey* with Fire and Sword, thought fit to retire before the *Grants* to *Strathbogie*, whither they followed. Mean Time, the *MacLeods* arrive at *Old Meldrum* on the 19th, and the *Monroes* at *Aldrain* on the 21st. Next Day, each directed their March to *Inverury*, where they joined: By the Time the *Monroes* had got their Billets upon the Country, West of the Village, the farthest about two Miles distant, the others entered the Town. The whole Corps got Orders to be in Readiness about Six next Morning, to march for *Aberdeen* and drive the Rebels from it; but these were countermanded on hearing of the Reinforcements which Lord *Lewis* had got from *Montrose* and *Aberbrothock*. Next Day, 50 Men were sent by the Way of *Kintore*, to get Intelligence of the Motions of the Enemy; they espied 2 Men on Horseback, whom six of them pursuing a great Way, the two Rebels carried such a Consternation to *Aberdeen*, that those of their Party turned out, and drew up to the West of the Town.

But now an Express from Lord *Loudon* to *Mac Leod*, setting forth, that his Business with Lord *Lovat* would not allow him to spare any Reinforcement, being intercepted at *Turreff*, by the Rebels, Lord *Lewis*, directly called a Council of War, in which it was resolved to march secretly and attack the Enemy, who, they judged, would be secure in Expectation of the Clan of the *Guns*. He set out in the Morning of the 23rd, with about 900 Men, and marched by the Bridge of *Don*, with 800 to surprize them in Flank, while the other 100 took the common Road. About an Hour after Sunset, some of the *Mac Leods*, going to the South-End of the Town to relieve the Centries, espied white Colours upon the Declivity of a Hill, and approaching by the Side of the Parks of *Keith-hall*,

Mr. *Mac Leod* and *Culcairn*, hereupon went to the South End of the Town, and in an Instant very advantageously drew up the *Mac Leods*, to wait for the Enemy, now in full march to attack them. They at this Time were entering the Water of *Ury*, above the *Bass*, (a little artificial Mount, situated on the South-East near the Church) but here they were kept in Awe by the Fire of the King's Men, and so retiring a little, crossed at a Place called the Miln of *Keith-hall*, and advanced by the Way of the *Bass*, now betwixt them and the Royalists; but no sooner do they come out from this Fence, than they received a second *Salvo* from the *Mac Leods*, which obliged them to double their Pace towards the Church upon their Right; when here, they wheeled with their Front towards the King's Forces; there was nothing now between them but an Ascent, which equally screened both Parties from each others Fire; as General *Gordon* had retired behind a House for Safety, the *French*, who were there under Lord *Lewis Drummond*⁹ advanced firing, which was answer'd very briskly by the *Mac Leods*, till they observing there were. regular Troops among their Enemies, and that a Body of choice Men were crossing the *Don*, a little below the Town, they sounded a Retreat, which they executed regularly thro' the Midst of the Place. *Culcairn*'s Corps had no Share in the Action, for upon hearing the first Platoon, they fled out of their Quarters in the greatest Confusion, some one Way and some another. *Mac Leod*'s People went to *Strathbogie*, 14 Miles from the Place

⁹ Son to the Earl of *Melfort*, who followed the Fortune of *James II*.

of Action, and next Day retired to the other Side of the *Spey*, till they should be reinforced. Such was the Skirmish at *Inverurie*, in which were kill'd on the Side of the Royalists 7, and 15 wounded, and on that of the Rebels about 30, some of whom were carried down the Water, wherein they were shot by a Party of twelve Men, posted in a Corn-yard, near the Side of the River. As soon as Victory declared for the Rebels, they surrounded the Town, and took about 49 Prisoners, whom they treated in a very strange Manner. Lord *Lewis Gordon* went into an Inn, and called for Wine, among some of the Prisoners. From the Healths he proposed, any Person may form an Idea of him: His first Toast was, "Here's Confusion to all the *Whigs*." His second, "Damnation to all the *Whig* Ministers." And his third, "Success to the Arms of the *French* King." Next Day he sent a Detachment to *Strathbogie*, where hearing of *MacLeod's* crossing the *Spey*, they returned, and on the 26th directed their March to *Aberdeen*. The Prisoners who were whole, were most Part sent to *Perth*, and the wounded kept at *Aberdeen* for their Recovery. The Enemy continued Masters of the Country, augmented their Numbers, and favoured the Landings from Abroad, till called for to assist at the Battle which soon afterwards ensued.

Upon the 25th of *November*, the *Milford* took a Privateer called the *Lewis* of *Dunkirk*, and brought her into the Road of *Leith*, and on the 6th of *December*, the Prisoners were landed and escorted to *Edinburgh* Castle, by a Detachment of *Ligonier's* Foot, and the late *Gardner's* Dragoons, amidst a prodigious Multitude of Spectators. Their Number was about 206, Officers and private Men included, with 330 Stand of Arms, Bayonets, and Cartridge-boxes, as many Broadwords with Brass Handles, a great Number of Bridles and Saddles, Harnesses, and Collars for Horses. The Officers seemed much concerned; but some of the Men were no Way affected; they were mostly Native *Irish*, or *Frenchmen* descended from *British* and *Irish* Parents: Thus the Design of the Rebels got a Check, while the Government was visited with a Misfortune in return; for not only had the Fox Man of War of 40 Guns, been overset and destroyed, but the Hazard Sloop fell into the Hands of the Enemy, on the 1st of *December*. That Vessel having got Notice of a Landing at *Montrose*, sailed to the Mouth of the *Esk*, in order to destroy the *French* Men of War, that had convoyed the Troops. They engaged her very closely, the one by her Side, and the other on her Stern; by the Tide she was driven within Reach of a Battery, which the *French* had erected at the Entrance of the River; the Engineers on Shore played furiously upon her, so that after acting all that could be expected, at last, she was obliged to strike to the Enemy; who carried her to *Dunkirk*, where she was turned into a Privateer, called by the Name of *The Prince Charles Snow*, and three Times sent with Troops, Money, and Ammunition for the Use of the Rebels, till she fell, at a very critical juncture, (of which in its Place) into the Hands of her former Owners, who restored her to her old Name and Service. Such was the State of Affairs in *Scotland*, when the Chevalier re-entered it, and came to *Glasgow*, where he published the following Relation of his Winter Campaign; which I here insert, as the Paper is both curious and scarce.

JOURNAL of the Marches of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's Army, from the Time they entered England, the 8th of November, till their Return to Scotland, the 20th of December, 1745.

HIS Royal Highness entered *England*, Friday the 8th Day of *November*, in the Evening, and quartered at *Redings* all Night.

The 9th, His Royal Highness passed the Water of *Eden* at *Rockley*, about two in the Afternoon, with the First Column, and quartered that Night in the Villages West from *Carlisle*.

The next Morning, being *Saturday* the 10th, *Carlisle* was blockaded on all Hands, and the Cannon were brought up, in order to raise a Battery that Night, but Intelligence being come, that

General *Wade* was marching towards *Carlisle*, His Royal Highness went early on *Monday* the 11th, to *Brampton*, being seven Miles on the Road to *Newcastle*, in order to meet Marshal *Wade*'s Army, and give him Battle: But, after waiting there two Days, and having certain Intelligence that the Troops near *Newcastle* declined coming forward, His Royal Highness ordered *Carlisle* to be again blockaded, which was done accordingly by Half of the Army on *Wednesday* Night, being the 13th, whilst his Royal Highness continued with the other Half at *Brampton*, as the most convenient Post to attack the Enemy, had they ventured to relieve *Carlisle*. The Trenches were opened that Night at about Musket Shot from the Walls of the Town, about Midway betwixt the *English* and *Scots* Ports, and thirteen Cannon were brought up, in order to batter the Town; but this was prevented by the Town's Capitulating on *Thursday* the 14th, and his Royal Highnesses Troops took Possession of the Town and Castle on *Friday* Morning, after the Town got full Security for their Liberties, &c. according to the Capitulation. During both Times that *Carlisle* was blockaded, there was but one Man killed, and one wounded. The Militia that served in *Carlisle*, all the Inhabitants of the City, as well as the Neighbourhood, can testify the exact Discipline of his Royal Highnesses Army, who paid for every Thing. All the Subjects were protected in the full Enjoyment of their Liberties and Properties.

His Royal Highness, with his Army, halted at *Carlisle*, and the Neighbourhood, till the 20th, of *November*, which Day the Van marched to *Penrith*.

The 21st, The Van went to *Shap*, and the main Body came to *Penrith*.

The 22nd, The Van marched to *Kendal*, and the main Body halted at *Penrith*.

The 23rd, The main Body came to *Kendal*.

The 24th, The Van marched to *Lancaster*, and the main Body halted at *Kendal*.

The 25th, The Van marched to *Preston*, and the main Body to *Lancaster*.

The 26th, The Van passed *Preston*, and quartered at the Village on the other Side of the Bridge, and the main Body came to *Preston*.

The 27th, The whole Army halted.

The 28th, marched to *Wiggan*, and the Villages near to it.

The 29th, All the Army marched to *Manchester*, halted there the 30th.

The 1st, *December*, the Army marched to *Macclesfield*.

The 2nd, the Van marched to *Congleton* (within nine Miles of *Newcastle Under-Line*) where the main Body of the Duke of *Cumberland*'s Army lay, from which a Detachment was sent towards *Newcastle* for Intelligence, and within three Miles of that Place, the said Detachment took Mr. *Wear* (or *Wier*) their Principal Spy, Prisoner, and brought him to *Congleton*, upon which the Duke of *Cumberland*'s Army retired to *Litchfield*. The Prince Regent having Intelligence of his Retreat from *Newcastle Under-Line*, marched for *Derby* by *Ashburn*.

The 3rd, the Van marched to *Ashburn* by *Leek*, The main Body rested the 2nd at *Macclesfield*, and marched the 3rd, to *Leek*. And,

The 4th, The whole Army went to *Derby*, where they stayed all the 5th; and in a Council of War held in his Royal Highness's Presence, Dispatches of Importance being received, it was resolved to return to *Scotland*; and the next Day, being the 6th, they returned to *Ashburn*.

The 7th, they marched to *Leek*, and on the 8th to *Macclesfield*.

The 9th, the whole Army marched to *Manchester*.

The 10th, they marched to *Wigan*, and the 11th, to *Preston*, where they halted the 12th.

The 13th, marched to *Lancaster*, halted the 14th, which Day a reconnoitring Party took two of the Duke of *Cumberland's* Men, called *Rangers*.

The 15th, marched to *Kendal*.

The 16th, the main Body of the Army was at *Shap*, but the Rear Guard were obliged to stop at a Farm four Miles from *Kendal*, by Reason that a great many of the Carriages, and particularly the four-wheeled Waggon, in which was Part of the Ammunition, could not be forwarded because of the Steepness of the Hill, and Badness of the Road: But small Carts being got next Day, and the Ammunition being shifted from the broken Waggon, they came that Night to *Shap*, being the 17th; the main Body having gone to *Penrith* that Day.

The 18th, the Rear-Guard joined the main Body at *Penrith* in the Evening. They saw several Parties of the Enemy that Day, but upon the Approach of the Rear-Guard they always retired: Tho' once, a considerable Body of Light-Horse formed upon the Road, in order to stop their Proceeding; but, upon some of the *Highlanders* throwing their Plaids, and running to attack them; they went off at the Gallop, and shewed that Horse could run faster than Men, one of them only having been . killed. After the Baggage was sent to *Penrith*, a Battallion of Foot and some Horse, went through Lord *Lonsdale's* Parks of *Lowther*, thinking to find some of the Light-Horse about his House, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the County: Accordingly some of them were seen at a Distance, but rode off upon Sight of the *Highlanders*; Some Shots were fired after them. At the same Time, some Parties scouring the Parks, took a Running Footman of the Duke of *Cumberland's*, and another Person clothed in Green, who appeared to be an Officer; who informed that the Duke of *Cumberland* was within a Mile, with about 4000 Horse and Dragoons, besides Light Horse and Militia; upon which Lord *George Murray*, who always commanded the Rear-Guard, took Possession of a Village called *Clifton*, being a Mile from Lord *Lonsdale's* House, upon the Highway to, and two Miles short of *Penrith*. By that Time the Enemy had form'd upon an open Muir, facing *Clifton*, and within half Cannon Shot; where they continued for a considerable Time: At last, about an Hour after Sunset, they dismounted several of their Dragoons, who came to the Bottom of the Muir, and lin'd the Hedges and Ditches that were next to it. There was a pretty smart Fire on both Sides, for above half an Hour; but at last the Dragoons firing very fast, a Battallion of *Highlanders* was ordered down Sword in Hand upon them, with Orders to drive them from their Posts, but not to advance upon the Muir. Accordingly they went on with the greatest Alacrity and Swiftmess, and after passing two Hedges, drove them from the third, which was the last of all, and then returned, as they were ordered, to their former Posts. But 12 of the *Highlanders* having past the Bottom Ditch, and run up the Muir, are still a-missing, which is the whole Loss on their Side. How many of the Dragoons were killed and wounded is uncertain; but by several Circumstances, such as Broad-Swords taken from the Dragoons, and the Report of the wounded dressed at *Penrith* next Day, cannot be less than a hundred.

Night being come now on, both Sides retired. The four Battalions of *Highlanders* joined the main Body at *Penrith*, and next Day, being the 19th, the whole Army arrived at *Carlisle*, where they left a Garrison; and the 20th, past the Water of *Esk*, which was very high, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon. All this Time the Enemy never appeared; what they met with near *Penrith*

had disgusted them from too near an Approach of his Royal Highness's Army, which quartered in two different Columns that Night; the one with his Royal Highness at *Annan*, and the other at *Ecclefechan*,

It is certain, that by all Accidents, such as Deaths, by Sickness (of which 'tis believed there were more in one Day in General *Wade's* Army, than was in six Weeks in his Royal Highness's Army) and the People that went astray in plundering (which notwithstanding all the Officers were able to do, could not be intirely prevented,) and were not heard of again, that his Royal Highness's Army did not lose forty Men in the Expedition, including the twelve at *Penrith*. Upon the whole, never was a March performed with more Chearfulness, and executed with greater Vigour and Resolution; which (next to the visible Protection of Almighty GOD) was owing to the Example shewn by his Royal Highness, who always marched on Foot at the Head of his Men.

I shall make no Observations on this Paper, but that it clashes greatly with the Depositions of the Witnesses who were examined at *Carlisle*, *York*, and *Southwark*. But while the Chevalier is preparing an Account of Times that are past, he was not deficient in making Provision against the Time to come. Of *Glasgow* was demanded Broad-Cloth, Tartan, Linnen, Bonnets, and Shoes, to the Value of 10,000*l.* Such as had promoted the new Levies in Behalf of the Government, were mulcted, in Sums beyond their Ability, and their Houses plundered for non-Payment; Parties were sent out to the Towns and Countries around: *Renfrew*, *Paisley*, and *Lismahagoe* (which last they burnt) with many other Places, felt the dismal Effects of their Vengeance.

Stirling was now almost open to receive the Pretender; for on hearing of his Return, *Price's* and *Ligonier's* Regiments of Foot, *Hamilton's* and the late *Gardner's* Dragoons retired to *Edinburgh*, upon the 23rd; the *Glasgow* and *Paisley* Militia immediately followed from their respective Posts, and arrived in that City upon the 24th; These were most kindly received by the Inhabitants, who, were overjoyed to have these near them for their Support against an Attack, which was at that Time greatly feared, though the Place was provided for a Defence.

On the 2nd *Jan.* 1746, the Pretender set out for *Stirling*, tho' his Forces first moved towards *Edinburgh*, but turned about and proceeded the one Column to *Cumbernauld*, and the other to *Kilsyth*, where they arrived next Evening, while an advanced Party reached *Falkirk*.

On *Saturday* the 4th, they cantoned their Army at *Denny*, *St. Ninians*, and *Bannockburn*. Being thus in a convenient Situation for joining with such as had declared for him in the Northern Countries, he sent several Expresses to the respective Corps, to hasten their March to *Stirling*, whose Gates were now shut up and the Avenues to it stopped, to prevent any Intelligence of their Motions coming to the King's Troops; but were opened on the 8th, when the Rebels entered it.

While the Pretender is busy in preparing every Thing to strengthen his Cause and animate his Forces, the Army of General *Wade* is advancing to beat up his Quarters, being encouraged by the Example of their Fellow-Soldiers under the Duke, and the unparalleled Generosity of the City of *London* for their Support. In that Metropolis a Scheme was set on Foot by a young Gentleman (Mr. *Samuel Smith*, Merchant, in *Cateaton-street*). in Consequence of which, a Subscription was opened for purchasing for the Troops 12,000 Pair of Breeches, 12,000 Shirts, 10,000 Woolen Caps, and 1000 Blankets, 12,000 Pair of knit Woolen Gloves, and 9000 Pair of Woolen Spatterdashes; all these were immediately sent down for their Use: about 3000*l.* of the Subscription Money was set apart for rewarding such Soldiers as should be maimed or wounded in the Service; 300*l.* was sent to M. *Wade* to be applied according to his Direction, for the more speedy Recovery of the sick Soldiers under him, in Augmentation of the Allowance granted by the

Crown on that Behalf: This commendable Zeal of the Subjects, was however, anticipated by his Majesty, who on the 27th of *November*, out of his private Purse, ordered all the Soldiers under his Royal Highness, and General *Wade*, two Pair of Shoes each; a noble Example of Goodness, and worthy that Care and Clemency, for which his Royal and illustrious Family have been eminently remarkable: And indeed, without such Assistance, the poor Men could not have endured the Fatigue they underwent; but thus animated, they marched to *Scotland*; the Gentlemen of the Counties through which they passed, contributed a Fund for their Use; each Soldier had a Pound of *Beef*, a Pound of Bread, a Glass full of good *Scots*' Spirits, and a Bottle of Ale; besides the People of the Country, so liberally supplied them, that their Kindness was look'd upon as pouring Water into the Ocean. It was dark before they entered *Edinburgh*, yet were they received with all possible Demonstrations of Joy; the City was finely illuminated; the People huzza'd; the Militia lined the Streets, and warm Quarters were immediately assigned them.

On *Sunday* the 4th, General *Husk* arrived in Town, as did Mr. *Thornton* of *Chattel*, with his Troop. And on *Monday* the 6th, General *Hawley* came in. The Dragoons went out to meet him at *Preston*, but he upbraided them with their Cowardice, and desired them to put up their Swords at that Time, and see to use them better in the Hour of Action. On the 10th, the whole Forces being ready for Battle, and near to the Enemy, there remained nothing but to march toward *Stirling*, and dispossess them of their Posts; however, it was judged proper to wait a little for refreshing the Army, after the Fatigues of a Winter Campaign.

Mean time the great Care and Anxiety of the Rebels, was to have up their Artillery. The Pretender had no sooner come to *Bannockburn*, than he dispatched Lord *George Murray* to *Alloa*, to confer with Colonel *Drummond*, about transporting the Cannon upon Floats; these two surveyed the several Passages upon the *Forth*, and at last agreed, that the most proper Way would be to carry them over on Board of a Brigg which they had seized; for their further facilitating the Passage, they had erected a Battery of Cannon on the Pier of *Alloa*, and another at *Heigens-Nuick*; but even in this, they met with some Difficulties; for the *Pearl* Sloop had sailed up the River, to prevent the Passage of the *Forth* in these Parts: By this Time, they with great Labour, brought two heavy Cannon of 12 Pounders about by the *Frew*, while 3 of four Pounders which they carried along with them from *Glasgow*, were conducted to the [Hill of Airth](#), and planted there to annoy the King's Ships, and hinder their advancing up the River; this Battery was supported by 400 Men, drawn from their Rear-Guard stationed at *Falkirk*, Captain *Faulkner* in the *Vulture* Sloop, being arrived at *Inverkeithen* Rord, sent a Cutter and some Boats before him for Intelligence, these sailed up the *Forth* to *Kincardin* Road, where they lay. Next Morning the *Vulture* came into that Place, where being informed that two Vessels at *Kincardin*, were in Danger of being seized by the Enemy, she sent several armed Boats to burn them, which they did without any Loss; notwithstanding some Platoons from the Town. In the mean time, the Tide fell so low, that she could not return that Night to the Road; which the Rebels observing, they opened a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, and early in the Morning began to play upon her unexpectedly; their Fire was answered by the Sloop; two of their Cannon were dismounted, one of their Engineers was killed, and *Perth* received a Wound, which though not mortal, occasioned his being confined to his Bed, and rendered incapable of any further Action. The Enemy being driven from the Town and Battery, withdrew to the Point of *Elphinstoun*, where they erected a four Gun Battery, for guarding of the Pass.

Col. *Leighton* came to the Assistance of the *Pearl* and *Vulture*, with 300 Men on the 9th; when it was agreed to attack the Brigg at *Alloa*, which had two Cannon on Board; for this Purpose, 50 of *Leighton*'s Men, were sent in a large Boat, with the Ship's Boat manned, and armed to lie all Night

a Mile above *Alloa*, to prevent the said Brigg's going up the Firth that Night; but on passing the Town, they unluckily grounded, and were discovered; the Rebels beat to Arms, and fired from Right to Left very near half a Mile, but were at too great a Distance to do them any Harm, except .killing one Man, and taking of the Leg of another; for as the Sand was somewhat quick, and the Sea too deep, the Enemy thought it improper to run in their usual precipitate Way upon them, especially as in their Attack, they would be exposed to the Fire of regular Troops; by this Means Time was spent, till the Boats floated, and then sailed off. A second Attack was resolved upon next Morning; for which Purpose, *Leighton's* Men were landed, while the two Sloops briskly attacked the Battery which the Rebels had erected at *Elphinstoun*, within Musket-shot. Three of their Cannon were dismounted; but one of the Sloops having her Cable cut asunder, she was by the Strength of the Ebb Tide forced from her Station; and the two Pilots in the other, having each lost a Leg, were obliged to give up the Enterprise; in this whole Affair only two Sailors were killed, and ten or twelve wounded, but the Land Forces received no Damage. The only Good reaped by the Government from this Affair, was that it delayed the Measures of the Enemy for attacking *Stirling* Castle; so that it was the 12th of *January*, before the whole of their Cannon was transported.

Mean Time, the Siege of *Stirling*-Castle was begun, the Rebels being joined by all their Forces, on the 14th. But with all their Skill, they could make no Impression upon the Governor General *Blakeney*, having, by a brisk Fire over-turned their Fascines, of which they had a great Number, and demolished their Works; however, tho' they were not capable of reducing that Fort, yet they were in Possession of the West Country, as also of the Northern Coast, along which (for protecting their Magazines, the Hazard Sloop, and their other Vessels, were cantoned 1000 Men, composed of 400 *French*, 300 *Gordon*, and about 300 under the Command of Sir *James Kinloch* of *Navey*).

Every Thing being in Readiness upon the 13th, Major General *Husk* marched for the Relief of *Stirling*-Castle, with five old Regiments, viz. *Monro's*, *Cholmondley's*, *Price's*, *Ligonier's* and *Batterau's*, with the *Glasgow* Militia, and the Remains of *Hamilton's* and *Gardner's* Dragoons; they arrived at *Linlithgow* about 4 o'Clock, and had almost surprised 1100 of the Rebels, under the Command of Lord *Elcho*, and Lord *George Murray*; but a faithful Friend gave them Notice of the Approach of the King's Troops, who entered the one End of the Town, while they were retiring over the Bridge at the other, with the utmost Precipitation. On the 14th, the Regiments of *Howard*, *Pultney* and *Barrel*, marched to *Borrowstounness*, to be at Hand to support General *Husk*: *Fleming's*, *Blakeney's* and a Battalion of *Sinclair's* marched On the 15th. Next Day General *Hawley*, set out, and ten Pieces of Brass Cannon, which were brought from, the Castle of *Edinburgh*, followed; that same Morning General *Cobham's* Dragoons passed the City, without halting, from *Dalkeith*, where they were stationed the Night before; Mr. *Thornton* likewise accompanied the Troops with his *Yorkshire* Blues, as did several other Volunteers. Upon the 16th, *Hulk* with eight Regiments marched from *Linlithgow* to *Falkirk*, where at Night the whole Army arrived, and encamped to the Westward of that Village; next Day 1300 of the *Argyleshire* Highlanders under Colonel *Campbell* came up to the Camp.

The Armies were so near each other, that on the 17th, they came to a general Engagement, of which there have been very contradictory Accounts. The King's Troops were kept in Readiness for an Attack, and Centries were placed for a Mile round. The Rebels too were ready to catch at every Opportunity, and embrace every Advantage; the Officers of the King's Army came to the Resolution of waiting for the Enemy in their Camp; but they on the other Hand resolved to proceed and attack the King's Troops. Early in the Morning, all their Forces, except some few, left at *Stirling* either for pushing the Siege, or for securing their Retreat, were drawn up in a Line of

Battle, a Mile East of *Bannockburn*, then their Head Quarters, within four Miles of the Royal Army. They continued under Arms till about Twelve o'Clock, when they received Orders to march on and attack *Hawley*. Immediately Lord *George Murray*, put himself at the Head of their Army in two Columns; the Lines marching about 200 Yards distance from each other. They passed the Water of *Carron* at *Dunnipace*, where they first espied the King's Forces: At this Time Lord *John Drummond*, who that Day had the Command of the Left Wing, had gone with most of the Horse to reconnoitre the Royalists. He made a Feint of marching by the North Side of the *Torwood*, in order to attack the King's Men, who upon seeing them, began to draw up in order of Battle to receive them; the Generals finding the Rebels did not advance, and that their Colours still remain'd unmoved in the Wood, and judging thro' Mistake, that the Corps they observed, was the main Body, unluckily permitted the Troops to dine, which they had scarce done, when the Rebel Army was seen marching towards some rising Grounds upon a Muir, a Mile South-west from *Falkirk*; the Troops immediately got under Arms, formed in the Front of the Camp, and bent their March towards the same Grounds, the Rebels got up the Hill before the King's Forces, for the former now in full March to meet them, observing the Wind to be from the South, endeavoured to have it for them.

The first Line of the King's Army, extending from Left to Right, was composed of the Regiments of *Wolf*, *Cholmondley*, *Pultney*, one Battalion of the Royal *Scots*, *Price's* and *Ligonier's* in the Centre; the Dragoons on the Left; The second Line was made up of *Blakeney's*, *Monroe's*, *Fleming's*, *Barrel's* and *Batterau's*; *Howard's* were behind upon the Right, the *Glasgow* and *Paisley* Militia were stationed at some Farm Houses upon the Left, and the *Argyleshire* Highlanders at several Passes behind the whole.

The Rebel Army was formed thus, extending from Right to Left, the Battalions of *Keppoch*, *Clanranald Appin*, and *Lochiel*, who had 3 Battalions, *Cluny*, and the Master of *Lovat* in the first Line; 2 Battalions of *Athole* Men, 2 *Ditto* of the *Angus* Militia, under Lord *Ogilvy*, and 2 under Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the *Farquarsons* of *Braemar*, and the *MacKenzies*, commanded by Lord *Cromarty* and his Son in the second Line; the Pretender, with about 450 Horse, attended by the *French* Ambassador, was in the Rear, almost opposite to the Centre, but more inclining to the Right; as there was a Morass on the Left of the King's Army, the Right of the King's outlined the Enemy, so that their Left was opposite to the Centre of the Royalists.

The Dragoons, stationed upon the Right with the Artillery, were pretty near due South and North, forming almost a right Angle with the Front Line of the Foot, which was inclined North-east, the Space between the two Lines widened toward the Right; and any Person would have been apt to think an Army of 9000 Men, 7000 of which were regular Troops, might have defeated the Forces of the Enemy consisting of about 7500 Men, had not some unlucky Accidents happened, such as the Army unseasonably taking a Dinner, and not proceeding at first Sight towards the Enemy, by which Means the latter got the Advantage of the Ground, the Wind and Rain: Things being in this Condition, the Dragoons were ordered forward to take Possession of a rising Ground upon the Right of the Enemy, who observing this, sent the Battalions of *Appin*, *Keppoch*, *Clanronald* and *Lochiel*, to dispute the same with them; because the possessing this Hill, would turn the Wind upon the Faces of the Rebels.

The Dragoons marched on with great Resolution Sword in Hand, *Gardner's* were led by Lieutenant Colonel *Whitney* up to the Muzzle of the Guns of the Rebels, who opened; some Cavalry rode thro' them, and received their Fire, both in Front and Flank, upon which the Horses reel'd and scattered, threw several of their Riders upon the Ground, and retreated in great Disorder,

which they communicated to some Corps of the Infantry; and their main Body falling in upon the *Glasgow* Militia, put them in Confusion. At this Time, a violent Storm of Wind and Rain drove full in the Front of the Royalists, who began to fire tho' very irregularly; but alas, that prov'd fatal to some of the Dragoons, now flying off between the two Armies. The Foot being disordered, a Flight ensued of almost the whole first Line, except *Barrel's* and *Ligonier's* Regiments, under General *Cholmondley*, who rallied, and brought them on to the Charge, animating them by his own Example. The Rebels seeing the Disorder, threw away their Guns, and pursuing with their usual Impetuosity, they ran down the Hill upon the Royalists, now broke and flying for their Lives: But General *Husk*, whose Bravery will shine in the *British Annals*, as the Deliverer of the King's Army that Day, with the old Buffs, and the Royal *Scots*, who made a Motion to the Right, by a continual Fire made a great Slaughter, and drove them back up the Hill with the utmost Precipitation; they endeavoured to come upon his Wing, Sword in Hand, but received such a terrible Fire, as effectually check'd their Fury; for the General had order'd the first Line to kneel, but not to fire till the Enemy was within Reach of their Bayonets, whereas the 2nd and 3rd Line kept them in perpetual Motion. Mean Time, Brigadier *Mordaunt* rallying some Regiments, to whom several who were separated from their own repaired, led them on with great Resolution; and the brave Colonel *Francis Ligonier*, who died at *Edinburgh* of a *Quinsey* ten Days after, brought the Horse back to the Field; these drew up to the Right of General *Husk's* Division, who by this Time huzza'd the Enemy, but they wanted Stomach to come on again. They continued in this Situation, till near Night, when the Horse were order'd to march up to the Field where the Highlanders were first stationed; but there was no Enemy to be seen, except at a Distance. General *Hawley* was now retreating with such of the Troops as had not recovered the first Consternation to *Falkirk*, where they halted and drew up; and General *Husk* observing the Night was very Stormy, and that it would be Destroying the Men to stay any longer, withdrew from the Field, with all Marks of Honour. However, as Captain *Cunningham* of the Train of Artillery, had deserted it (for which he was justly broke) as the Drivers had run off with the Horses at the Beginning of the Action, and as the Cannon had sunk into the Ground, now moistned with the Rain, it was impossible to get them off, yet the Grenadiers of *Barrel's* Regiment got together some Ropes, which they fastened to one of the Pieces, and drew it to *Falkirk*, where Horses were found to bring away two more; the Tents now very wet, were abandoned by those who were to carry them, so that such of them as were not burnt, fell into the Hands of the Enemy. As the Night continued to advance, it was agreed, for Fear of an Ambush, to march the Troops to *Linlithgow*, and put them under Cover. As they filed off, the *Argyleshire* Militia were drawn up at the East End of the *Callender Park* in a Line, along which they marched and arrived at *Lithgow* that Night, and next Day came to *Edinburgh*, where Things were in a general Uproar and Confusion: For some of the Horses at the Beginning of the Action, having run off after their Riders were dismounted, occasioned various Conjectures; and such of the Men as fled off at the first Onset, gave the Alarm; and the Consternation continued till about 9 o'Clock at Night, when a Letter to the Lord Justice *Clerk* undeceived the People, and an Huzza was raised. Had the Rebels pursued their Way, and got betwixt the Troops and *Falkirk*, 'tis not to be doubted but they might have taken many Prisoners, for the Firelocks were so spoiled, that their Powder would not burn; some Soldiers, while on the Field of Battle, endeavoured five Times to discharge, but were still prevented by the Storm; Never could the Highlanders wish for a Day more favourable for their Broad Swords than this, when not one Gun of 5 would fire, and not the 20th Man of the Royalists discharged; but as nothing happens, in the Course of Things without Causes, so here, when a Detachment of their Cavalry was going to pursue the Dragoons in their first Disorder, *John Roy Steuart*, cried out, *Gentlemen keep your Ground, these are only Copes*

Dragoons: You have the Battle yet to fight. Colonel *Drummond*, observing the Royal Scots to wheel, took that for a Flight, and said, *these Men behaved admirably well at Fontenoy, and yet they are flying; I fear there is an Ambuscade:* And directly Orders were given for the Rebels to keep their Ranks: But lastly, after General *Husk* had marched off the Field, the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, Colonel of the Pretender's Life-Guard or *Hussars*, being well acquainted with the Country, desired a Detachment, which he offered to lead thro' a much nearer Road than that of *Falkirk* to *Lithgow*, by which he would intercept the Forces, but this was opposed.

In this Battle were slain on the Side of the Rebels, about 300 Men, but none of Note, and as many wounded, among whom *Lochiel* and his Brother, also Lord *John Drummond*, thro' the fleshy Part of the Arm, by a Random Shot from one of the Soldiers Firelocks at *Falkirk*. And *Glengary's* second Son, then Colonel of his Regiment, was shot accidentally at *Stirling*. There was one Major *MacDonald* of *Keppoch's* Regiment, taken Prisoner in the Following manner: He had seized one of the Dragoons Horses, which he mounted; the Creature on hearing the Drums beat to rally, rode off with him: He endeavoured to thro' himself off, but was carried so furiously that he could not, and the Horse never stop'd till in the midst of his own Troop, where the Major was disarmed and secured.

On the Side of the King's Troops were killed about 200 Men, among whom Lieutenant Col. *Whitney*; Cornets *Monk* and *Crow* of *Ligonier's* Dragoons, and a great many other Officers.

Few of the Foot suffered, the Loss chiefly falling on the Dragoons, of whom 170 were left upon the Spot, and 30 taken, With about 206 other Prisoners, but these, for most Part, of the *Glasgow* and other Militia, the Volunteers, and By-standers, who foolishly went to view the Engagement. Captain *Thornton*, with 17 of his Company, shared the same Fortune, tho' he afterwards found means to escape. But the chief Man among the slain, was Colonel Sir *Robert Munro* of *Foulis*, who being on Horseback, and receiving a Ball in the Breast, dropt; his Brother Doctor *Duncan*, a Physician, observing this, being behind the Lines unarmed, rode in to his Assistance, but alas, they were both miserably slaughtered, to such a Degree, that had not Sir *Robert* been known by his Corpulency, his Body had not been distinguished; next Day the Pretender sent up to the Field, where both Sir *Robert* and Colonel *Whitney* were known, carried to *Falkirk*, and honourably interr'd.

While the Rebels are disposing of the Prisoners in several Places, such as the Churches of *Falkirk* and *Stirling*, and in the Prisons of these Towns and elsewhere, the Pretender twice summon'd *Stirling* Castle, on the 18th, to surrender. The Rebels were the more earnest to have that Fort in their Hands, as it wou'd. have secured their Communication with the Northern, as well as the Western Parts of *Scotland*, whereof it may be called the Key; but in this they were much disappointed, for General *Blakeney's* Answer was, *that he was always look'd upon as a Man of Honour, and the Rebels should find he would die so:* The Siege therefore was continued, but proceeded very slowly, as well from their own Ignorance in, and Unfitness for besieging Towns, as from the Dispositions made by the Garrison, then consisting of 600 Men, for a vigorous Defence. They made so constant and sometimes successful a Fire upon the Men at Work on the Batteries, and those employed in placing the Fascines, whereof they had collected a great Number, that the Highlanders, the Flower of their Troops, refused to go near them: The *Irish* Brigade and Colonel *Drummond's* Regiment, were ordered to that Service, but these had been so much diminished by Desertion, and the late Battle, that scarce 300 of them were left. At last on the 24th, two Batteries were completed: These though erected under Cover of Wool Packs, did little other Hurt than damage the upper Part of the Walls. Mean time they sent the Prisoners taken at the late Battle to

Down Castle, where they were shut up and met with great Hardships, through want of Provisions; for though the Rebels had taken Care to seize all the Meal they could get in the Country, yet a Scarcity was visible among them, to which the Burning of their Boats, that passed over the *Forth*, by the King's Sloops, not a little contributed.—And not only are the Besiegers in Distress for want of Subsistence, but new Disputes began to arise among them. At the Action of the 17th, the *Clans* and *French* Picquets were the only People who stood in the Field; for some of the other Corps, such as the *Angus* Battalions, and those who joined them at *Edinburgh*, betook themselves to Flight in an Instant, and soon came to the Camp before *Stirling*. The former complained much of the whole Weight falling upon them, urging, that if such as they, brought with them, were once exhausted, they could not be recruited from the Places whence they came; these Complaints they laid before the Pretender, who smoothed them with fair Promises from *France*, which at that Time they expected. O *Sullivan* began now to be envied, and he to disdain their Councils, being chagrined at their not following his Advice; he with Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, who had almost Nothing to lose, were supposed to have too much of the Pretender's Ear, and solely to govern his Counsels, while they whose Lives and Fortunes stood engaged, were in a Manner despised by the *Irish* Favourites; the Adventurer observing their Disgust, thought of appeasing their rising Resentment, by conferring Posts upon their Officers, advancing each a Rank higher than he was, and treating them with somewhat more seeming Confidence; yet still these Politicians reigned in his Cabinet, and even at the general Consultations their Opinions prevailed.

It will not appear incredible that the Rebels gave out that the Victory at the late Battle was theirs. They published an Account, that they killed 600, took 700 Prisoners, all the Baggage, Tents, Arms, Ammunition and Artillery: Attributed the Escape of the King's Troops to the Storm which favoured their precipitate Retreat, and blamed the Inequalities of the Ground, interspersed with such Risings and Hollows, that their Right could not perceive what was doing on their Left; diminishing their Loss to only 40 killed, among whom two Captains, and some Subalterns, with about 80 Wounded. But so little Weight had these Boastings upon the Inhabitants of the Country, that they, wholly convinced that the Want of Success was owing to the Tempest, continued their Offices of Kindness to the King's Troops, and did Things highly irritating to the Enemy: The Populace, who rose in Arms upon the 16th, and liberated the Officers taken at the Battle of *Preston*, from their Confinement at *St. Andrews*, *Cowper*, *Leslie*, *Glamis*, *Culross* and *Pitferren*, whither they had been sent some Time before, notwithstanding the Pretence of a Victory on the Part of the Rebels, carried them to *Edinburgh*, where they arrived on the 19th.

While the Chevalier is pacifying his Clans, and busy at the Siege of *Stirling* Castle, the Generals of the King's Army are preparing every Thing to try the Fortune of another Battle. A Court Martial, of which Brigadier *Mordaunt* was President, directly sat for the Trial of some Officers and Soldiers for misbehaving at the late Action; the Guilty were severely Punished, and the Innocent acquitted and encouraged to their Duty. The *Glasgow* Militia were now honourably dismissed, as the Time they were engaged to serve was expired. Their Officers unanimously assured the Generals, that they were willing to serve their King and Country at their own Expence, and that they would be ready at a Call, whenever their Attendance; should be judged necessary, or in the least Degree useful.

One cannot be surprized that a Consternation all over *England* accompanied the News of the late unfortunate Action: To recover People from their Apprehensions, his Majesty ordered 16 Pieces of Brass Cannon, with Stores, and about 40 Gunners and Matrosses, to set out from *Newcastle*, for *Edinburgh*, at which Place they arrived upon the 26th, he likewise appointed the Dragoons of

General *Bland* and *St. George*, with the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, to reinforce the Army, which he now sent his own Son to command.

No sooner was the Event of the Battle of *Falkirk* confirmed at Court, than the Duke flew like an Arrow to check the Pretender's Progress. He set out from *St. James's* about One of the Clock in the Morning of the 25th, and arrived at the *Abbey of Holyroodhouse* upon the 30th, about Three in the Morning. The City, in Expectation of him the Night before, expressed their Joy, for the coming of their Deliverer, by the most splendid Illuminations, Ringing of Bells, and other Demonstrations of Gladness. He went to Bed, rose at Eight o'Clock, wrote to his Royal Father, and the Duke of *Newcastle*, about the State of Affairs, and then received those who came to him; the General Officers first waited on him, with an Account of what had past; the Soldiers, much disheartened at the late Disaster, crowded to him; his very Presence raised them almost from Despair, to a Confidence of Victory. No sooner had he got rid of the Compliments of the Nobility, Gentry and Clergy, than, unable to stay a Moment from Action, he walked down Stairs, and viewed the 16 Pieces of Cannon in the Close. As he came out of the Gate, the Drums ruffed, and a loud and continued Huzza ensued; but unmindful of the Acclamations of the Multitude, he passed along the Cannon, placed in two parallel Lines, and never took his Eye from off them: After Dinner, he order'd an Inspection of the Arms and Ammunition of the Soldiers, who were ordered to be in Readiness by Four next Morning to march. Accordingly, at the Time appointed, all were ready to proceed. They were not now incumbered with Multitudes of idle Spectators; for, not only had Intimation been made from the Pulpits, that all, except such as brought Provision and Forage, or Information, for the Army, should be fired upon, if they presumed to approach within a Mile of it without a Pass, but the Dragoons of *Hamilton* and *Ligonier* were ordered to patrol along the Roads leading Westward from *Edinburgh*, to prevent any Intelligence coming to the Enemy. About five in the Morning, they set out in two Columns, consisting of 14 Battalions of Foot, the *Argyleshire* Highlanders, *Cobham's* Dragoons, and Lord *Mark Ker's*, which last, and two of the Battalions of Foot. *viz.* the *Scots* Fuzileers and *Sempil's*, were not in the late Action; so that by the Reinforcements they got, their Loss at it was more than made up: General *Husk* led the Van, and the Artillery brought up the Rear. The Duke following the Troops, put himself at the Head of the, *Royal Scots*, and with eight Battalions went to *Lithgow*, where he quartered. Brigadier *Mordaunt*, with six Battalions, marched to *Borrowstounness*, the Dragoons to the adjacent Villages, and the *Argyleshire* Men in Front, towards the *Avon*; next Day the whole Army was put in Motion, formed in Order of Battle; and they all passed in Review before their illustrious General as they drew up; When the Highlanders passed, he seemed much delighted with their Appearance, saying, *They look very well, have Breeches – and are the better for that:* Then they proceeded, expecting every Moment to engage; and arrived at *Falkirk* about ten in the Morning, when to their great Disappointment, no Enemy was near them: For on hearing of the Arrival of the Duke, they held a Council of War, in which the grand Question was, Retreat or Fight? The Pretender and the Foreign Officers were for the latter; Lord *George Murray* and the Highland Chieftains declared for the former, alledging the Increase of the Royal Army, and the Diminution of their own: for about 1500 Highlanders had repaired to their wild Habitations, with the Spoils of *England*, of the southern Parts of *Scotland*, and the Booty got at *Preston* and *Falkirk*. In a Word, the Siege of the Castle of *Stirling* was raised, 'ere the Hero, whose Name bore the Force of an Army, was within 23 Miles of it. On the 31st they moved off their Baggage, with about 20 Pieces of Cannon, having spiked up some others, and crossed the *Firth* at the *Frew*: But before they retreated, there was a considerable Quantity of Powder and Ball, laid up in the Church of *St. Ninian*, to which they attempted to set Fire, but the Train missed; However, about seven Stragglers going to the Church in Quest of Prey

(for great Quantities of Houshold Furniture had been hid in it) in the mean Time, a private Man, called *Macintosh*, at the Desire of a *French* Engineer, came to the Window, and fired a Pistol through it; the Shock was sudden, the Powder blaz'd, the Plunderers, the Incendiary, the Seats and Roof blew up in the Air; the Stones flying about the Church-Yard, a few of the Town's People were struck, while the whole were stunned at the terrible Convulsion. The Report was heard by the Royalists, who rightly judged it an Indication of a Retreat, while the Rebels taking it for an Attack on their Rear, redoubled their Flight to *Crief*, where they held a Council of War, in which they appointed *Inverness* for the Place of Rendezvous. They now separated into two Bodies, one of which took the Rout of *Perth*, which they continued entering from nine in the Morning of the 2nd, *Feb*, till the 4th, when the Place was entirely evacuated by them. Here they nailed up 13 Pieces of Brass-Cannon, about 8 and 12 Pounders, and threw the Swivels taken out of the Hazard Sloop, into the *Tay*. From hence seven Pieces of Cannon and fourteen Carts with Ammunition, were escorted by Lord *Lewis Gordon*'s Men, who went for *Dunkeld*, crossed *Braemar*, in their Way to the North; Majors *Nairn* and *Kennedy* went by *Dundee*; the *French*, the Life-Guards, Lord *Ogilvie*'s, *Pitsligo*'s, *Elcho*'s, and Sir *James Kinloch*'s Battalions, with Lord *George Murray*, took the Road of *Cowpar* of *Angus*, and proceeded to *Montrose*, where they put two Pieces of Cannon, on Board of a small Boat, which coasted along, and kept pace with them; thence they marched to *Aberdeen*, and then directed their March, some by *Old-Meldrum* and *Bamff*, and others by *Inverurie* and *Strathbogie*, where Lord *George Murray* halted two Days, when he proceeded to meet the Pretender, now hastening forward to the Place appointed.

He, with *Perth*, *Kilmarnock*, Lord *John Drummond*, *Nairn*, Brigadier *Stapleton*, Secretary *Murray*, the *French* Ambassador, and the Clans, passed along *Taybridge* to *Dalnacardich*, which through lingering at *Fairntoun*, and some other Places, he did not reach till the 7th; next Day he dispatched Couriers to those *Mac Pherson*'s, *Cameron*'s and *Mac Donald*'s, who had retired with Plunder from his Camp; these, in Prospect of more, resorted to him, so that from the 10th, that he appeared before the Castle of *Ruthven*, to the 14th, his Numbers increased to 3000 strong: The Garrison of *Ruthven* being summoned to surrender, the Siege only lasted till Lieutenant *Molloy* obtained of *Glenbucket* to come out on Parole: This being agreed to, that Officer with his Command, viz. 12 Men, were conducted to *Blair*, leaving the Barracks, on which the Government had bestowed vast Sums, to the Highlanders, who insensible of their own Advantages, directly blew them up. From thence he sent Deputies to the *Grants*, then in Arms for the Government, threatening them with a Visit if they did not embrace a Neutrality. Hereupon four Gentlemen of that Clan came to him in Name of the rest, embraced the Terms proposed, and gave Hostages for the Performance of them. After this he marched to *Moy*, the Residence of the Laird of *Macintosh*, where he lodged: And now, the Earl of *Loudon*, being at *Inverness*, within 8 Miles of him, contrived to surprise him. He consulted two Officers, and laid down his Scheme of seizing the Pretender in the Night Time. The Design being approved, about 3 in the Afternoon of the 16th, Centries were posted at the Avenues, and Intimation, was made to the Town's People, to keep within Doors, and to the Officers of each Corps privately by himself to repair to *Barnshil*, to the East of the Town at 6 o'Clock, all which was obeyed. When they were drawn up, his Lordship walked along the Line, directed each company to follow the Guides he had assigned them: He ordered them to fire upon any Body of Men they might see, tho' not to trouble any small Company, except for Intelligence; but an Accident ruined this Scheme: For about four Men of the advanced Guard being sent before, the rest mistaking them for the Enemy, fired upon them, and killed a Piper.

The Report of the Guns echoed through the Hills, and the Rumour of Lord *Loudon*'s Approach,

sounded in the Ears of the Pretender, who was sitting at a Fire with his Garters loose, and Shoes untied. In that Dishabille, flying out of the House, he took to his Heels, ran three Miles, and roam'd through The Wilds till next Morning, when he was found by his Party. Lord *Loudon* finding his Plan thus disconcerted, retreated to his former Camp, and waited the Motions of the Enemy, now recovered from their Consternation, and in full March to attack him in *Inverness*; which he, not thinking himself able to defend, abandoned, and went to *Inverbreaky*, where he encamped.

In the mean Time, the Rebels took Possession of the Town, and laid Siege to the Castle, then sufficiently provided for a Defence. They planted Cannon on the Trenches which Lord *Loudon* had digged, and sent a Drum to the Governor, viz. Major *George Grant*, a brother of the late Sir *James Grant*, to demand the Place. After some parlying, it was agreed that all Firing should cease; but the Rebels contrary to the Treaty, advanced toward the Garrison in the Dark, and broke Ground to the East of the Town, about 21 Yards nearer than before; a Friend having Intelligence of what was doing, found Means of conveying Letters to the Gunner, who communicated his Advices to the Governour. The Guns were then brought to bear upon the *Trench*, whence the Rebels were driven with Precipitation, scarcely taking Time to carry off their wounded Men. They now betook themselves to an old Kiln, where they planted a large Piece of Cannon, and fired upon the Garrison. Next Day both Sides furiously plied each other, with no great Loss to either. But not to dwell on the Particulars of a Siege of small Importance, I shall only observe, that the Garrison were obliged to surrender on the 3rd Day, on very poor Terms, which were solely owing to *Grant*, whose Cowardice and bad Conduct cannot but reflect Dishonour upon himself, I had almost said upon his Name.

When all was over, the Pretender came into the Town, now in the Power of his Troops, and had the Pleasure of seeing the principal Garrison in the North in his Hands; in it were found 12 Pieces of Cannon, 100 Barrels of Beef, 16 Barrels of Powder and Ball, besides other Ammunition and Military Stores: A Governor was immediately appointed, but his Command was short-lived; for as the *Highlanders* complained of the Forts and Garrisons among them, it was judged proper to raze these as they fell into their Hands: A Train of Powder was laid before the Bastions, which were successively blown up; at one of them a *French* Captain (the very Person who directed the burning of *St Ninian's* Church) with a small Dog, made too near an Approach: The Engineer look'd into the Train from a Corner, while the Animal stood upon a large Stone directly above it; the Powder firing, a Whirl from it blew the Captain up in the Air, and he fell into the Water about two Yards from Shore, where he was taken up quite dead. The Dog was flung to the other Side of the River, where he fell into a Yard newly digged, but received little Damage, being preserved from Suffocation by the Stone on which he stood. Thus a Fort was demolished on which the Government had expended 50,000*l*.

.After this the Chevalier twice detached a Party of 2000 Men under *Barisdale*, by the Way of *Beulie*, 6 Miles from *Inverness* to fall upon *Loudon*; but twice they returned without Success, for his Lordship had effectually cut off their Pursuit, by staving the Boats, which as he passes the Ferries, were hawled to the opposite Shore; however, once it was rumoured, that a Skirmish had happened, in which the Royalists were defeated, and the Laird of *Macintosh*, one of their Captains killed. The News was gladly received, the Pretender gave a Ball, and danced with the Lady, to comfort her for the Loss of her Husband. He then sent a Detachment to Fort *Augustus*, which being naturally weak, easily fell into their Hands. This Fort they turned into a Place of Confinement for the Prisoners whom they could not transport, and so it continued until the Day before the Battle of

Culloden, when it was blown up. The Country People, dazzled with these Instances of Success, brought them Provisions, and did what Kindness they could to the Rebels, who from the Time of the Surrender of *Fort George*, were hastening up to the Camp.

The Troops which took the Coast Way, began on the 16th to enter *Elgin*. That Day, 30 Horse crossing the *Spey*, advanced to the Town, where they demanded Billets for 5000 Men, and Stables for 400 Horses. Of some Gentlemen, they required 1000 Stone of Hay, 10 Load of Straw, and 20 Bolls of Oats, under Pain of Military Execution: Next Day 100 Chests of Arms, Powder and Ball, escorted by a Party of *Roy Stewart's* Regiment came in, and some Hours after, Lord *Elcho's* arrived. These Chests had been landed from two *Spanish* Privateers which brought Money and Ammunition: one of these was afterwards taken and burnt, but the other got safe to *Dunkirk*, where she communicated the News of the Pretender's Rout. On the 17th, their main Body arrived. Here as in most Towns on the Road they drew up, surrounded the Cross, proclaimed the Pretender, and ended the Scene by drinking Healths, Huzzaings, beating of Drums, and throwing Glasses over their Heads. On the 18th, they marched to *Forress* and *Nairn*, leaving at *Elgin*, Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Corps, some *Farquharsons* and Horse under Lord *Pitsligo*, and arrived at *Inverness* the very Day the Garrison surrendered. The Customs, and Excise were exacted through the Country, the Cess Books were brought in, those liable were not only ordered to pay in their Arrears, but 5*l.* was laid on every 8*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* of valued Rent, and demanded on Pain of military Execution, which was put in Force against those who refused to comply. After this they settled in their Camp, but sent Detachments 30 Miles around them, till the 13th of *April*, three Days before the Battle of *Culloden*.

Let us now return to the Duke, who entered *Sterling* on the 2nd of *Feb.* but staid there only till the 4th, when the Arch of the Bridge, that had been blown up by General *Blakeney*, for retarding the Progress of the Enemy, was repaired, with the Timber the Rebels had procured. That Day the Army marched, and came to *Crief* on the 5th. Parties were now sent to seize the Dutchess of *Perth*, and Viscountess of *Strathallan*: These Orders were executed, and the two Ladies escorted to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. *Perth's* Horses which were of the finest Brood in *Britain*, were secured; and the Hay and Forage in the Parks, seized for the Service of the Dragoons. Next Day they proceeded to *Perth*, where Magazines of Provisions were laid in. Detachments were now sent out to secure the Passes; Sir *Andrew Agnew* was dispatched to *Dunkeld*, with 500 Foot, and 120 of the *Campbells*; Lieutenant Colonel *Leighton*, with 500 to Castle *Menzies*, and others to the respective Places, by which 'twas apprehended the Rebels might return to the low Lands.

About this Time, *viz.* *February* the 8th, 5000 *Hessians* arrived at *Leith*; they were really very fine Troops; armed with Guns, Bayonets, and Swords; cloathed in Blue, turned up with white; their Hussars, about 500, looked extreamly well, wore Scymitars of a great Length, which hung by a Cord tied round their Body. Their Horses were long tail'd, of a strong Make, and generally black, of a much less Size than those of the *British* Army, but more durable and fit for Use, being mostly *Swedish*, which are reckoned among the most serviceable in the Northern Nations.

While the Army continued here waiting for Provisions which were sent them by Sea, the Duke was sometimes in Danger of his Life. Some Desperadoes were taken up in Women's Cloaths, with Arms concealed about them; in particular, *John Roy Stuart*, bound himself with an Oath, that he would bring the Duke's Head to the Pretender. For this Purpose, he got a soft Skin, upon which he sewed an artificial Beard, put-on the Habit of a Countryman, and went into *Aberdeen*, driving a Horse with Forage for the Dragoons; mean time a young Man accidentally coming to an Inn, where such Circumstances were told him, as made him conjecture Mr. *Steuarts* Design, he

repaired directly to the Camp, and informed General *Bland* of the Project; whereupon the Ports of the Town were shut, the Avenues were guarded, and a general Search was made, but the Assassin was hid in a Hay-Loft by one who stood his Friend. This Plot hindered his Royal Highness from going to the Church, because it was given out, that the Design was to be executed there; however, he as usual rose at four, reviewed his Troops, appeared at publick Entertainments, and walked the Streets with his Officers. He likewise sent out Parties to scour the Country, one of which consisting of 200 Foot and 80 Horse, marched up the *Don*, to seize upon the Rebel's Magazines, and to recover the Booty of the Southern Counties which they conceal'd; the Ministers shewed them the Shallows and Fords, directed them to the Magazines and valuable Effects then buried in the Snow, upon the Tops and Sides of the Mountains. During this Search, none but actual Rebels were molested. Instances may be produced of this: A Party of Soldiers went to a disaffected Gentleman's House, and robbed it; the Officer was tried and broke for his Pains; as was another, for taking six Guineas from a Merchant, as a Reward for preserving his Goods from being spoiled.

During the Interval, from the 23rd of *February* to the 5th of *March*, the *Hessians* successively defiled, to replace the *Irish* Troops. On the 5th, his Serene Highness marched from *Edinburgh* in the following grand Manner; 1. His Highness's Coach; 2. The Prince of *Hessenberg*; 3. The led Horses; 4. His Serene Highness himself with several Nobility, Gentry and Officers around him; 5. The Col. of the Hussars with his Corps, holding their Sabres naked in their Hands; 6thly, The Coaches; 7thly, The Earl of *Crawford*, with three *Hussars* and drawn Sabres; 8thly, the Covered Waggons; 9thly, the Col. of his Highness's Guards in a Chaise; the Baggage clos'd the whole. He had all the Honours paid him at *Edinburgh* that could be expected; several grand Balls and Concerts were given, at which was the most numerous Appearance of Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes, particularly on the 21st of *February*, the Night preceeding the Anniversary of the Birth of his Consort the Princess *Mary* of *England*. As he entered *Stirling*, the same Honours were paid him as before were paid to the Duke; thence he moved to *Perth*, where he encamped, and continued to send out Detachments to scour the Country. One of these, viz. 20 *Hussars* marching to *Dunkeld*; as they drew near, a Body of the Enemy on the opposite Shore, fired upon them, and obliged them to keep off. Next Day, the Prince and Earl of *Crawford* came up with the rest, and kept the Rebels in play, while a Body of Horse crossed at a Place called the *West Boat*, and marched on with great swiftness Sabre in Hand; as they advanced, the Enemy fired some random Shot, which killed one Man, and wounded three, and then withdrew. From this Time nothing happened till the 16th of *April*, except a few Incidents which I shall now relate.

Lord *George Murray* being encamped at *Daalspider* in *Perthshire*, with a strong Party, laid a Scheme for surprising the *Campbells* at *Blairfitty*, *Rannach*, &c. in the Night of the Seventeenth. Accordingly about Ten in the Evening, his Men set out in different Parties; the Country People gave 'em the surest Intelligence; they arrived at the Places appointed, and seized upon 200 in their Beds, Few were prepared for Defence, from the short Alarm they got, and before they could put themselves in a Posture to resist, were overpowered and secured, However, some had Time to retreat, and lay on their Arms till next Morning, when *Murray* appeared at a Distance. The Royalists however kept their Ground, and the Enemy not advancing upon them till Night, they moved off, and sent to the Prince of *Hesse* and Earl of *Crawford*, to inform them of their Disaster, and the hazard the Remainder ran, from the Circumstance of lying in a Country where the Houses are so few. Hereupon the Troops from *Perth* were call'd in, a great Body of *Hessians* and Dragoons marched toward *Blair*, then closely besieged. From the Time they set out from *Dunkeld* till their Arrival, they were constantly alarmed by Shots from behind Bushes and Thickets of Wood, tho' those in Ambush still ran off as the Hussars and Dragoons advanced to attack them.

Perhaps this was to alarm their main Body, then lying in wait at a Place clad with Shrubs, over against the Pass of *Killicranky*; by good Fortune the Royalists were apprised of the Plot, and instead of marching down the common Path, the Foot fetched a Compass around the Height, while some Hussars with the Cannon in Front, safely rode toward the Pass where a small Bridge is built across a Rivulet which runs into the Tay, over which four Men could scarce walk a Breast; the Enemy rightly judging the Foot were designed to cross the River above, and attack them in Flank, while the Cannon were to play upon their Front, directly fled towards *Blair*, the Siege of which place was now raised. The Rebels now retired towards *Ruthven*, whence *Lochiel* had been dispatched, with the *MacDonalds*, *Cameron*, and *French* Piquets, to besiege Fort *William* then prepared for an obstinate Defence. By the 20th, they began the Siege of the Fort, (the Town having been burnt, and the Inhabitants forced to retire to the Garrison) by discharging 17 small Bombs of five Inches and a half diameter, weighing about 16 or 18 Pounds each, from the *Sugar-Loaf* Hill, about 800 Yards from the Place; next Day they came nearer by 400 Yards, whence they discharged 84 of their Royals, and continued to approach till the 1st of *April*, that they were within 100 Yards of the Walls, during which Time both Parties fired very smartly at each other, without Success on the Side of the Besiegers, though otherwise on that of the Royalists. Three of the former were killed, and seven or eight wounded, among whom Colonel *Grant* their Chief Engineer; of the latter only two killed, one of whom fell by Accident, and two were wounded. The six Pieces of Cannon taken at *Preston* were recovered by the Royalists, and some Cohorns and Mortars, with other Arms, which were left by the Rebels on the 4th, when the Siege was raised, and their Spirits began to fall from the towering Height to which they had risen. The reducing of the *Campbell's* was now deferred; the menacing Letter of *Keppoch* and *Lochiel*, dated from *Glenevis*, the 20th of *March*, promising to hang a *Campbell* for every Beast these had taken from them, was no more thought of: The Execution of Vengeance upon them for Rebellion to the *Royal Family* since the Days of *James VI* was delayed, either from their Disappointment, and the good Order the *Argileshire* Highlanders were in, who intimated that they were prepared for them, or from the Command of the Pretender to repair to the Camp, in order to strengthen him against the Duke.

But not only did the Enemy make a Diversion in *Athole*, and *Inverlochry*, but likewise in *Strathbogie* and *Keith*. The Parties there, under *Roy Stewart* and Major *Glascoe*, abandoned their Posts on the Arrival of General *Bland*, who had marched, *March* the 14th, with four Regiments of Foot, *Cobham's* Dragoon's, *Kingston's* Horse, and some *Campbells*. Orders being sent to *Inverurie* for the General to march forward and attack them, he obeyed, and was within Half a Mile of *Strathbogie* before he was discerned. The Enemy then waiting Dinner, immediately fled off; only some *Hussars* drew up on the Green, and made a Shew of standing upon the defensive: But this was only to favour the Retreat of the Foot. At *Westerton*, a Mile's Distance, they did the same, never breaking their Ranks till a Party of *Kingston's* Horse were observed to ford the *Devron* below them, and the *Campbells* to advance behind them, and then they betook themselves to Flight. The Van pursued the Rear of the Enemy for two Miles; but as the Night was coming on, and the Evening wet and hazy, the Troops returned, leaving the Rebels now in full Speed to the *Spey*. Some few Days after a Captain of Highlanders and 30 of *Kingston's* Men were sent to *Keith*, with a discretionary Power to act as they saw Occasion: These marched to the Hill above *Fochabers*, and then came back. The Rebels, who had certain Intelligence of their Motions, resolved to surprize them. About 10 o'Clock at Night, *Roy Stewart* with his Regiment, and Major *Glascoe* with a few Piquets, set out, and arrived at *Keith* about One in the Morning. The Avenues to the Town were stopt; the Major came up to the Centry, who asked, Who's there? A Friend of the Duke of *Cumberland's*, replied he: But immediately the Man is disarmed, and a Pistol held to his Breast,

threatening immediate Death if he cried out. Two or three others were likewise seized; but one of them, escaping, alarmed the rest; a Confusion ensuing, *Kingston's* Horse were all taken, except five who made their Escape thro' the *French* Centinels, one of whom they killed, and wounded several.

The Houses of the Town were searched; and so certain was *Roy Stewart's* Information, that the Name of each Lodger was mentioned by those sent to seek them. In the mean time, about 12 *Campbells*, in the Churchyard, fired upon the Streets; but the Rebels surrounded and obliged them to retire to the Church, which they defended, till overpowered by Numbers who fired upon them thro' the Windows. Seven of them were killed, and five wounded, the rest being taken Prisoners in their Beds. The Loss of the Enemy was not certainly known, they having thrown the dead Bodies upon Horses, and buried them in their Return.

About this Time, two Soldiers were taken by the Rebels, and brought to their Camp; like others, they were much dealt with to enter into the Service; and at last were prevailed on, but embraced the first Opportunity to attempt their Escape. But this being prevented, they were tried for Desertion, and condemned to be hanged. On the Day of Execution, the Pretender withdrew; *Mac-Lauchlan*, a Priest, then clad like a Soldier, with Mr. *Hay*, a Nonjurant Minister, attended them to the Gibbet. They took but little Notice of the Priest or the Curate, and read their Bibles as they went. When at the fatal Tree one of them sung a Psalm, which he raised himself, and gave out the Line so as to charm the Spectators. But before he mounted the Ladder, *Mac-Lauchlan* desired he would leave his Advice, as a dying Man, to all who heard him, to be true to the *Prince*, and to abhor the Service of the Usurper. The Criminal answered, "As a dying Man, I exhort all to be true to their Trust," intimating his Sorrow for having at all engaged with the young Chevalier. With that he was ordered to go up. "Yes," says he, "I will." and as he was climbing, he said, "Every Step of this Ladder, leads me a Step nearer Heaven." The other was not so chearful or resigned; but both testified their hatred of the Service of their new Master.

The Rebels foreseeing they could make no farther Impression on the Quarters of the regular Troops, contrived to surprise the *Sutherland* Militia; for this End, having got all the Boats from *Speymouth* to *Findorn* together, by Means of a thick Mist, they landed, upon the Morning of the 20th *March*, three Miles West from *Dornoch*, undiscerned. The Centries soon fell into their Hands, with about 60 Men taken Prisoners; the Alarm was carried Westward to the Earl of *Loudon*; who was with the Body of the Militia at the *Bonar*. *Loudon* reflecting how unequal his Troops were to the *Macdonalds* under *Barisdale*, the *Mac Gregors*, and *Cromarty's* Corps, with some others, draughted from the different Battalions of the Enemy, wisely withdrew to *Strathnavern*, where an Opportunity now offered of giving a Blow to the Rebellion.

On the 24th of *March*, the *Prince Charles Snow* was espied off *Peterhead*, by the *Sheerness* Man of War, who immediately bore down upon her; she made all the Sail possible thro' the *Pentland* Firth, and on the 25th appeared off of *Tongue* Bay. The *Sheerness* coming up with her, an Engagement of five Hours ensued; 36 of her Hands were killed, and several wounded; she frequently made a Signal of Distress; but her Friends were not there. At Night, seeing she could not escape the *Sheerness* Man of War, she ran a-shore on the Shallows, landed her Treasure, and the Men all staid a-shore till the Morning. Lord *Reay*, being informed of what past, convened a Number of his Vassals, who, with about 80 of *Loudon's* Men, and six Officers, possessed themselves of the Eminences thro' which the Enemy were to pass; the latter in their March were attacked by the Royalists, who killed six upon the Spot, and wounded as many; the Dispute continued till a fresh Corps coming upon them, they surrendered with their Effects. Thus about 20

Officers and 120 Soldiers and Sailors, with 12,500 Guineas fell into the Hands of the Victors. The Prisoners were conducted on Board the *Sheerness*, whose Captain took Possession of the Prize; in which were found 14 Chests of Pistols. and; Sabres, with 13 Barrels of Powder, besides Ammunition and military Stores, and next Day sets for *Stromness* in the *Orkneys*, where he relieved 12 Ships in that Harbour, by seizing a Privateer of 14 Guns, that had laid an Embargo upon them. Lord *Reay*, and. his Friends, apprehending *Cromarty* might now execute his Menaces, viz. Fire and Sword, which. he had threatened some Days before, embarked with the Treasure and Prisoners, and arrived at *Aberdeen* on the 6th, while Lord *Loudon* crossed over into *Sky* with a considerable Body, and there kept a Correspondence with the Militia of *Argyleshire*, and with the regular Troops now preparing for the grand Decision.

The Duke understanding from *Reay*, the bad State of Affairs in the Northern Counties, and from the Prisoners, that several Embarkations were preparing at *Dunkirk*, whence some Ships had landed a few. Battalions, and 120 of *Fitz James's* Horse, (the rest of these, with their Colonel, being taken on the 24th of *February* by Commodore *Knowles*) in. the *Bourbon* and *Charite* Privateers, he prepared to set out, having already secured the Countries of *Clova* and *Grenesk*, and some other Parts. Every Thing being in Readiness, he marched on the 8th, and by the Way of *Oldmeldrum* and *Bamff*, arrived at *Cullen* upon the 11th. Here a Party of the Rebel Hussars endeavoured to surprize an Out-guard; but as these appeared too alert for. them, they ran off with Precipitation. Next Morning his Royal Highness, and General *Husk*, marched to the *Spey* with 15 Companies of Grenadiers, the Highlanders and all the Horse, with two Pieces of Cannon. On the Approach of *Kingston's* Horse, a small Party of the Enemy lying in *Fochabers*, crossed the River, carrying such Consternation with them, that those on the other Side made all possible Haste to *Elgin*, only one Captain *Hunter*, and a few others, waited till the Horse were entering the Water; when he fired one of his Pistols upon them without Success, and with the other happened to, shoot his own Horse through the Neck, he immediately jumped off his Back, got behind his Comrade, and galloped off full Speed. The Duke being come to the River, was. shewed the very Ford, where King *Malcolm Canmore*, anno 1057, and after him King *Alexander*, surnamed the *Fierce*, anno 1107, crossed over in Sight of the Ancestors of these very Rebels his Royal Highness was now pursuing, to suppress the dangerous Insurrections they had raised against their Government: His Royal Highness was the first to enter the Water, at the Head of the Horse, who forded it, while the Highlanders and Grenadiers passed a little higher; the Foot waded over as fast as they arrived; and tho' the Water came up to their Middles, they went on with great Chearfulness. In short, they all got over, with no other Loss but that of one Dragoon and four Women, who were carried down by the Stream. Thus was one of the strongest Passes in *Scotland* given up; a Pass where 2000 might very easily have kept back an Army of 20,000 Men: A sure Prelude of the Destruction of the Rebels, and a Proof of the Duke's Reputation, who made them fly as it were, at the Sound of his Name.

The Troops were cantoned that Night upon the Banks of the *Spey*, and next Day continued the Pursuit, till they came to *Elgin*, which the Rebels quitted on their Approach. About a Mile from this Place, the Army halted upon the open Field, and dined, the Duke's Table being a Drum-Head.

At this Time the Earl of *Cromarty* and his Son were surprized in *Sutherland*, by the Militia of that Country, and made Prisoners, with the greatest Part of 400 Men they had with them. This Affair happened thus: The Earl being to march from *Dunrobin*, to join the Pretender; Ensign *John Mac Kay*, lay in Ambush to intercept him. Part of *Cromarty's* Corps marching before, while he staid behind, to see a few Bottles out which Lady *Sutherland*, had ordered in to drink her Lord's

Health. *Mac Kay's* Men let these pass, and lay still till the Earl came up; when they suddenly fired upon him and his Retinue. These last hereupon returned to *Dunrobin*, whither they were followed by *Mac Kay*, whose Force however, was much inferior to the Rebels; but he made the most of their Consternation, which made them fancy they were pursued by a considerable Army. Being come to *Dunrobin* House, *Mac Kay* demanded to speak with the Earl, which being granted, he told his Lordship, that if he did not instantly surrender, the House would be blown up or burnt about his Ears. On this, the Earl desired half an Hour to consider of it. Mean time *Mac Kay* went down Stairs, and told the Guard, 'twas needless for them to stand to their Arms any longer, since their General had submitted. On this they surrendered, and *Mac Kay* calling in his People, put them in Possession of the Place; then went back to *Cromarty*, told him there was no Time to be lost, for his Men had yielded; and with that the Earl surrendered in good earnest. He was put on board the *Hound* Man of War, and his Son with him, together with one Col. *Kendal* in the *Spanish* Service, and nine other Officers.

And now the Chevalier having Intelligence of the Duke's Approach, called in his Out-parties on the 4th; and the next Day his Army drew out on the *Muir*, which proved the Field of Battle; erected their Batteries, and stood to their Arms till Night: When in a Council of War, it was determined to march and surprise the Royalists, whom they supposed to be in Disorder, the Effect of that Day's Rejoicing, it being the Anniversary of the Duke's Birth.¹⁰ At ten o'Clock they set out in perfect Silence, and by two in the Morning arrived at the Camp. But to their great Astonishment they found the Centries awake, and the Piquets on their Guard. Hereupon suspecting the Enemy was apprized of their Design, they thought proper to return; which they did unperceived by the Royalists, who really knew nothing of the Danger they were in: And had the Rebels attacked them thus unexpectedly, 'tis probable the Pretender would have found an easy Victory.

As the Rebels marched back, their Spirits seemed damped by this Disappointment; and the Pretender was exceedingly vexed, and cried out, "G—D—n it! Are my Commands still disobeyed?" Intimating that his Orders were slighted, and that he had no Hopes of the ensuing Battle. About eight, they arrived at their former Ground, and rested on their Arms: But short was their Recess from this Night's Fatigue; for the Royalists, in their Turn, were now on their march to attack them: And between the Hours of one and two (*April 16.*) was fought the decisive Battle of *Culloden*.

Both Armies being ranged in Order of Battle, the Royalists (about 8,500) were drawn up in two Lines; the first composed of the Regiments of *Pultney*, the *Royal Scots*, *Cholmondeley*, *Price*, *Royal North Briti/h Fuzileersj Monfo* and *Barrel*: The second Line was made up of *Baterau's*, *Blakeney's*, *Howard's*, alias the *Bufs*, *Fleming's*, *Bligh's*, *Sempil's*, *Ligonier's*, and *Wolf's*. There was a Morass on the Right, which covered them from a Surprize on that Side; and the Dragoons, under the Generals *Hawley* and *Bland*, were ordered to the Left, to fall upon the Right Flank of the Enemy; the Highlanders, except 150 which were with the Dragoons, were left to guard the Baggage behind the Whole. The Rebels (being 9000) stood formed thus; in the first Line were the Hussars and Guards, the Battalions of *Keppoch*, *Glengary*, and *Clanranald*, under *Perth*; the *Mac Lauchlans*, *Mac Farquhars*, *Frazers*, *Chisholms*, and *Mac Intoshes*, under Lord *John Drummond*; the *Steuaris* of *Appin*, the *Camerons*, the *Robertsons*, under Lord *George Murray*. Their second Line was made up of the *Irish* Brigades and 70 of *Fitz-James's* Horse, Lord *Lewis Gordon's*

¹⁰ In which they were mistaken, for the Duke had the Precaution: to forbid the keeping his Birth-Day in the Army.

Regiment, with those of *Perth, Roy Steuart, Glenbucket, Kilmarnock, Lord John Drummond,* and *Lord Ogilvie*; the Pretender stood with a Body of Horse behind the whole, opposite to the Center, but at a vast Distance from it. It is remarkable, that the Rebel's Lines were far asunder: The second from the first about half a Mile, and the Reserve from the Second, about three Quarters: Whereas those of the King's Troops were not above fifty Yards from each other. The Cannon of the Rebels were placed in three Divisions, consisting each of three Pieces; Those of the Duke, *viz.* Ten, were placed in five Divisions, Two being in each. Things being in this Condition, his Royal Highness ordered them to advance; "For," said he, "I won't dine till my Work is done." By this insinuating, that taking that Repast at *Falkirk*, and not proceeding directly, was the Occasion of their Disaster there. He rode along the Lines, and being come to the Center, addressed himself in the following Terms to the Troops, "Gentlemen and Fellow-Soldiers, We are now in View of the Enemy. Here presents the End of our Toils; Our Cause is the best, since we are to fight for our King, our Country, our Religion, Liberties and Laws! The Consequence of a Victory, will be Peace, and every thing glorious to you as Soldiers; valuable to your Countrymen, as *Britons* and *Protestants*, and grateful to your King, as the common Father of us all. I, Gentlemen, have been an Eye-Witness of the *British* Bravery in general, and of yours in particular, and have no Doubt of your confirming the good Opinion which my Royal Father, I, and your Country; have formed of you. Be not affrighted at their sudden Shock; with Broad Sword and Target; parry them a little, and doubt not of Success. There is no retreating you see the Badness of the Roads, conquer or die, ought to be your Resolution; but if any are afraid to engage, let them speak freely, and with Pleasure they shall have my Discharge." These Words were uttered with so much Earnestness, and in so lively a Manner, that the Soldiers joyfully repeated their Declarations of standing by him.

The Royalists were now within 500 Yards of the Enemy when the Morass ended, which covered their Right; to remedy which, the Duke ordered *Kingston's* Horse, and 60 Dragoons, to cover their Flank. The Day was rainy, and the Wind began to rise from the North, to have which on their Backs was now the Dispute: After half an Hour spent in the Trial, the Enemy found, that by Means of an Inclosure upon their Right, which went almost to the Water of *Nairn*, they could not gain this Point, and therefore gave over the Attempt. Lord *Bury* was sent forward with a few Troops, within a hundred Yards of them to reconnoitre. Hereupon their Cannon began to play; but being ill served and ill pointed, the Balls flew mostly over the Heads of the Royalists, whose Artillery answered theirs with great Execution. A mighty Confusion ensued; the second Line gave way in a Moment, only some of the more daring ran into the First, whose Left came furiously down three Times upon the Right of the Army, within a hundred Yards of the *Royal's* and *Pultney's*. Those upon the Right were still bolder; for in a stooping Posture, with their Targets in their left Hand, covering their Head and Breast, and their glittering Swords in their Right, they ran swiftly upon the Cannon, making a frightful Huzza. They broke in between the Grenadiers of General *Barrel* and *Monro*, who had given them their Fire, according to Orders, *viz.* the second and third Rank; as they were within 30 Yards; and the first, just as they were at the Muzzles of their Guns. The Cannon in that Division were so well served, that, when within two Yards of them they received a full Discharge of Cartridge Shot, which made a dreadful Havock; while those who crowded into the Opening, received a full Fire from the Center of *Bligh's*. However, those who survived possessed themselves of the Cannon, and attacked the Regiments Sword in Hand; but to their Astonishment they found an obstinate Resistance; for the Soldier was now taught to push over the Right-Arm against the Right Breast of his Antagonist; and some mutually defended each other by pushing

against that Man who was engaged with his Right-Hand Comrade.¹¹ Some Battalions of the Rebels Left, judging these Regiments were broke, ran up to the Breach; but in their Way they received a most terrible Fire, both from the Cannon and small Arms of the Right of the Royalists; whereupon they directly ran off, and were pursued by some Horse, who made a dreadful Slaughter; while *Wolf's* and *Fleming's*, which wheeled to the Left of *Barrel's*, with *Bligh's* and *Semple's*, brought up by General *Husk*, made such a continual Fire upon their Flank and Front, as either killed or wounded the most of that Wing which had broke in. The Pretender in the Rear, observing the Flight of his Men, did all he could to rally them, but in vain. The Rout was total; the Dragoons were ordered to pursue: General *Bland*, and Lord *Ancram* made great Slaughter among the Enemy, now flying like Flocks of Sheep before them, and took several Prisoners of Note. The Clans crossed the Water of *Nairn*, and got up the Way of the Hills, whither it was impracticable to pursue them; and such as took that Rout were the only People that escaped. The Field was clear, and the Victory being compleat, the Soldiers, warm in their Resentment, did Things hardly to be accounted for; several of the wounded Men were stabbed, yea, some who were lurking in Houses, were taken out and shot upon the Field, tho' others were saved, by those whose Compassion was raised at the Sight of so many Victims. This Conduct was variously constructed; the Royalists gave out, that an Order was found in the Pocket of one of the slain, 'to give no Quarter to the Elector's Troops on any Account whatsoever.' The Rebels utterly deny the Charge; and Lord *Balmerino* endeavoured to disprove the same on the Day of his Execution; his Intention seems to have been, not only to vindicate his *Prince*, but even to throw an Odium upon the King's Troops and their illustrious Leader; for my Part, I acknowledge, it's hard to judge in the Case; the Condukt of the Soldiers is not to be defended according to the strict Rules of War; but this has been urged in their Behalf, that the Manifesto of the Pretender was in a Manner the same with the Order supposed to be given: Has he not said, "From the Benefit of which Pardon, we except none, but such as shall wilfully and maliciously oppose us. — And we particularly promise, as aforefaid, our full, free, and general Pardon, to all Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors, now engaged in the Service of the Usurper, whether of the Sea or Land, provided that upon the Publication hereof, and before they engage in any Fight or Battle against our Forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable Service, and return to their Duty. What is the Alternative of this Promise, but that they were to expect no Mercy, if they flighted his Terms? Besides, it is certain, that not only the actual Rebels, but their Abettors, frequently declared that they would not afford such kind Treatment to the Soldiers as formerly they had done. On the other Hand, the Rebels had enraged the Troops; their Habit was strange, their Language still stranger, and their Way of Fighting was shocking to the utmost Degree: The Rebellion was unprovoked, and the King's Troops had greatly suffered by it; the Fields of *Preston* and *Falkirk*, were fresh in their Memory, they had lost a *Gardner*, a *Whitney*, a *Monro*; besides other Officers, who with the private Men that dy'd the bloody Plains, were not killed, as in a Battle, but slaughtered as by a bungling Butcher; twelve or fourteen Wounds on one body, with a Hand or an Arm lop'd off, were Sights too frequent after every Action. And here before them is the lively Picture of sich dismal Scenes; Captain Lord *Robert Ker* of *Barrel's* Regiment, was covered with Wounds; his Head was cut by a Lieutenant of *Keppoch's* Regiment, from the Crown to the Collar Bone; yea, he was in a Manner hashed in Pieces; he was a fine Youth, and of noble Birth, being Son to the Marquis of *Lothian*: Three other Officers were likewise cut to Pieces, and their mangled, Carcasses could not but stir up the Soldiers to revenge. Therefore, if, when they found

¹¹ His Royal Highness had carefully instructed them in this new Way, since the Time he first put himself at the Head of the Troops.

Vengeance in their Power, they violated the stricter Rules of Humanity, some Allowance ought to be made for the Passion they were inspired with at that Time.

Mean while, the Duke is entering *Inverness*, where the Bells were ringing for the Victory; the People gave the Signal to huzza; but he moved his Hand for them to forbear. He instantly called for the Keys of the Tolbooth, and Freedom was the first Fruit of his Conquest: The Soldiers were set at Liberty; and as they came down Stairs, he clapped them on the Shoulder, saying, "Brother Soldiers you are free," ordered an Entertainment for them, and Payment of all their Arrears, About 4 o'Clock, the Army, after taking a Glass of Spirits upon the Field, each Man by Order of their Leader, advanced huzzaing; yet when they came to *Inverness*, they seemed much concerned at the Case of the miserable People, whose Carcasses were strewed before them. In this Battle were killed on the Side of the Royalists, 120, beside the Officers spoke of above, and 260 wounded, among whom Colonel *Rich*, whose Right Hind was cut off, and Left almost cut through, above the Fingers; he had likewise 2 deep Wound near the Elbow. The Horse did not suffer much, having only received some Platoons from the *Irish* Brigades, and a few random Shot from others, who sometimes turned about during the Flight: On the Side of the Rebels were killed about 500 on the Spot, and as many in the Pursuit; among whom Col. *Mac Lauchlan*, and Major *Mac Lauchlan*, of *Inchonnell*, with most of the Officers of his Regiment; Col. *Mac Gilivra* and Major *Mac Bean* of the Regiment of *Mac Intoshes*, with almost all their other Officers; Col. *Frazer Menzies* and *Mac Lean*, of *Drimnin*; who, though a Man of no very bright Parts, yet of great Courage and Affection towards his Children, an Instance of which he gave that Day; for seeing two of his Sons dangerously wounded, and hearing that another of them was killed, he stop'd his Flight, and said, "It should not be for Nought," and rustled upon two Dragoons, even after his Wig and Bonnet flew off, shot one dead, and wounded the other; when three more came up, he continued his Obstinacy, and was almost cut in Pieces. His Major and many of his Officers were likewise killed. Among the wounded were Colonel *Mac Donald* of *Keppoch*, in the Breast and Arm, who was carried to his House, but soon after died; General *Cameron* of *Lochiel* in both the Ankles, and, most of their Officers, with others, too tedious here to mention; Brigadier *Stapleton* died. of his Wounds, in a few Days after, and left his Advice to the Pretender, not to trouble himself any further with Designs upon the *British* Throne; for says he, "The Dispositions made by the Duke of *Cumberland*, were so fine, that the Highlanders would have been deseated at any Event." *Perth*, Lords *Ogilvie* and *Pitsligo*, Lords *John* and *Lewis Drummond*, with Lord *Lewis Gordon*, had gone for *Ruthven*, where they gave Orders for their Corps to shift for themselves. Several Officers were taken Prisoners, such as Lord *Kilmarnock*, who, taking a Party of Dragoons for *Fitz-James's* Horse, separated from the few who were with him, and came up to them. Sir *John Wedderburn*, Colonel *Farquharson*, Major *Steuart* of *Perth's* Regiment, five Captains, three Ensigns, and six Officers, such as Surgeons and Engineers, with about 900 private Men, shared the same Fate. All their Artillery, Tents, Cantines, 12 Colours, a vast Number of Arms, Ammunition, and Military Stores; in short, their whole Baggage fell into the Hands of the Conqueror. The Pretender himself lost his Wigg and Bonnet as he was riding off. He repaired with some few of his Horse to the House of Mr. *Frazer* of *Gortlich*, fourteen Miles from *Inverness*, where Lord *Lovat*, who lodged there, was mourning the News of his Defeat, which had reached his Ears before their Arrival. "Chop off my Head," says old *Simon* to the Chevalier, "We are surely undone." No, answered he, "My Lord, We have had two Days of them, and will yet have Day about with them." He was very uneasy that Night, and next Day went off to *Glengary*, (after desiring his Guard to shift for themselves) residing there for some Time, and heard daily of the Surrender of his Troops, and the Hardships that beset his Followers.

Such was the Battle of *Culloden*, of which I never saw any Account from the Rebels; nor indeed could one be expected, considering the Rebellion was dashed in Pieces: The Flame of it was not only extinguished, but the very Embers of it quenched. Yet, as I have heard some Excuses for their Overthrow, I shall consider them. 1. Their Men were not all there. 2. They were fatigued the Night before. And, 3. wanted Sustenance. The 1st will be allowed; for the *MacPhersons*, and several of *Glenbucket's* Men, in all 500, were not there; *Glengyle*, with 120 *Mac Gregors*, was in *Sutherland*, as was Lord *Cromarty* with 280 of his Men; *Barisdale's* Regiment of 400 was likewise absent; Mr. *Cameron* of *Dungallon*, *Lochiel's* Lieutenant Colonel, and the Master of *Lovat*¹² with some of their Attendants, were not in the Field; and 500 *French* Picquets were at or near *Inverness*, in the Time of the Battle. All which put together, will make about 17 or 1800 Men. But then on the other Hand, it must be considered, that the Royal Army was less numerous at *Culloden*, than. at *Falkirk*; Were there as many Dragoons at the former as at the latter Place? *Cobham's* were not recruited: And will any Person say, that *Ker's* Dragoon's and *Kingston's* Horse were equal in Number to two Regiments, viz. *Hamilton's* and., *Gardner's* (now *Naizon's*) then almost compleat? Is the Loss at *Keith* nothing? Or the Surprize of the *Campbell's* at *Blairfitty*, *Rannach*, and *Cushiville*? Are the Detachments left at *Blair*, *Castle-Menzies*, and *Aberdeen*, not to be considered? Or the Absence of the *MacKays*, a very martial People? Was not Lord *Loudon* with the Militia, kept from joining the Royal Army? And if the Rebels Account of *Falkirk* Battle be true, viz. That they lost but 40, and the Royalists 1300, including Prisoners, then it's impossible to balance the Troops on both Sides, without making the Rebels stronger, and the Royalists not so numerous, as on that boisterous Day. As to the Fatigue the Night before, it was owing to themselves; and, what General will not take an Advantage if he can? But were not the Duke's Forces next Day in the same Condition? The Night of the 15th was calm, but the Morning of the 16th was stormy, and the Soldiers much incommoded by saving their Arms, under. their Cloaths, from the Hail, which showered down upon them. 3rd, As to Subsistence, I only say, that this was their Misfortune; and is it not a *Finesse*, in the Art of War, for a Commander to improve upon the Straits of his; Enemies?

The 16th of *April* was the Beginning of a Jubilee, only interrupted by the Misfortune of those who forfeited their Lives to publick Justice. Fame, like an Eagle, carried the News of the Defeat upon her Wings. The Night of the Battle, Lord *Bury* was dispatched with a Letter to the King; he took the Opportunity of a Ship to *North-Berwick*, where he landed upon the 21st; took Post-horses to *London*, where he arrived upon the Morning of the 24th, and delivered his Message. His Majesty, having heard, twelve Hours before his Arrival, of the Action in general, asked him, "What's become of my SON? He is very well, answered Lord *Bury*. Then "all is well to me, replied the King," and unable to speak for Joy, he withdrew for a little, and ordered *Bury* 1000 Guineas. The Joy upon publishing the News was as universal as the Illuminations (the most splendid ever seen) were general and delightful, forming but one continued Blaze. From *Britain* to the utmost Bounds of *America* was nothing but Gladness for the great Deliverance. The Parliament, in Testimony of their Satisfaction, settled upon the Duke the yearly Sum of 25000*l.* in Augmentation of what he formerly enjoyed; and wrote him a congratulatory Letter upon his glorious Success, to which they received an obliging Answer from his own Hand.

The City of *Edinburgh* was not behind in testifying her Joy, which was the more heightened, in Proportion to her Sadness, the Night before, on a false Account of the Royalists being defeated,

¹² He was dining in *Frazer* of *Relicks House*, and being alarmed with the Noise of the Shot he rose up, but was presented with the dismal Sight of his *Frazers* flying in the. greatest Confusion.

and their Leader taken Prisoner; for, as at the Battle of *Leipsick*, Anno 1631, upon the *Saxons* giving Way, a Courier carried the false News of the Defeat of the Great *Gustavus*, so at *Culloden*, the Rebels breaking in upon two Regiments, a Courier went off with an Account of the Overthrow of the Duke; whereupon Balls and Dances were held by the Jacobite Ladies, whose Mirth was interrupted, about One in the *Sunday* Morning, by a Round from the great Guns of the Castle, answered by Discharges from the Men of War in the Road, on the Receipt of very different News.

This Victory proved decisive indeed; for not only was the whole Force of the Highland Rebels destroyed, but now their Friends the *French* voluntarily surrenders to the Conqueror. From the Time of the Duke's entering *Inverness*, Prisoners in Troops were either brought to kirk, or submitted themselves. He is scarce two Hours in the Town, e're six *French* Officers, who were not at the Battle, wrote a Letter to General *Bland*, surrendering themselves and their Soldiers Prisoners of War. Next Day, Lord *Lewis Drummond*, the Marquis *de St. Guiles* the *French* Ambassador, and 49 other Officers followed their Example. And on the 18th, the *Hound* Sloop arrived with Lord *Cromarty*, and other Prisoners, now pouring out bitter Reflections, Curses and Imprecations, upon the Countess of *Sutherland*, a Lady of great Wit and Humour, whose least Quality was to be one of the greatest. Beauties of her Age, for having ordered in a Dozen of Wine, to drink the Health of her Lord, at so unseasonable a Juncture. A Proclamation was published for all to submit to Mercy, and deliver up their Arms, which many did, and were dismissed; but the *Grants* of *Glenmoriston*, thro' Mistake of their Chieftain, were led into a Snare. Mr. *Grant*, with about 500 of his Vassals, came into *Inverness*; from whence they were sent into the Country of the *Macintoshes*: Hereupon the *Grants* in the Rebellion, begged his Intercession in their Behalf; he consented, and repairing to his Royal Highness, said, Here are a Number of Men come in with their Arms, who would have submitted to none in *Britain* but to me," No! answered the Duke, "I'll let them know that they: are my Father's Subjects, and must likewise submit to? me." So directly gave Orders to embark them with the other Prisoners, onboard the Transports; and on the 22nd, they were shipped off for *Tilbury* Fort, while 310 of the *French* Prisoners were sent to *Newcastle*; the Pretender's Servants, being only *French*, who were not with him before his Arrival at *Versailles*, had Passports given them to go Home. A Court Martial sat for the Trial of some Officers and Soldiers, among whom Major *Grant* mention'd p. 102. The Proof was so clear against him, that with Difficulty the Sentence was mitigated to declare him incapable and unworthy of the King's. Service for the Future. Some private Men were hanged, and others pardoned, as Circumstances appeared favourable for them.

The Houses of *Keppoch*, *Glengary*, *Clunie*, *Lovat*, and *Achnacarrie*, were reduced to Ashes, the Orders of the Officers not being able to prevent it. Numbers of Stragglers were taken, or surrendered themselves; among the first, Sir *James Kinloch* and his Brother were seized by the *Hessians*. The Marquiss of *Tullibardin*, and *Mitchell*, the Pretender's Valet, surrendered to Mr. *Buchanan* of *Drumachail*, and were committed to *Dumbarton* Castle, till an Opportunity offered of transporting his Lordship to *London*, where he was confined to the Tower, and soon, died of a Flux; leaving his Advice to the Pretender, not to make any further Attempts upon a Nation in general, so averse to him. Lord *Balmerino* surrendered to the *Grants*; and with *Kilmarnock* and *Cromarty*, was sent by Sea to *London*, where Apartments were assigned them in the Tower.

From *Inverness* the Duke set out for Fort *Augustus* on the 25th of *May*, where he staid for a considerable Time, and was the very Life of the Soldiers, amidst these barren Desarts. Parties were frequently sent out to search for the Pretender; but by Means of Morasses, and interjacent Lakes, he always escaped. But it was his Misfortune to be out of the Way, when Opportunities presented of getting off; for on the 4th of *May*, two *French* Men of War arrived off the Coast of *Arisaig*, and

went up to Loch *Nuay*, not knowing the Disaster that befel him; about 40,000 *Louis d'Ors* were landed in *Specie* for the Use of his Troops, on which a Meeting was held among the Chieftains,¹³ at which it was agreed, to gather again into a Body, and the Money was distributed among them; but afterwards, perceiving how hard it would be to muster any considerable Force against the Duke's victorious Army, the Project came to nought.

About this Time, a small Ship, discovering the two Men of War, informed the *Grayhound* and *Baltimore*, who being joined by the *Terror-Bomb*, sailed up to the Ships, who fired first a Gun at them, to which they got no Answer; then hoisting *French* Colours, one of them fired a Broadside. The *Grayhound*, by this Time, was between the two, who plied her close, and were plied in their Turn; and without Doubt, she must have fallen a Sacrifice, had not the other two raked the *French* Vessels so much fore and aft, as obliged them to send their Longboats a shore, for Parties of Highlanders, then lying near them. The King's Ships, observing this, sheered off, with their Masts and Rigging much shattered, in quest of the *Furnace* to renew the Attack; but before they returned, the two *French* Men of War had sailed away, with the Loss of 59 Men, highly disgusted at the Disingenuity of the Highlanders, who did not inform them of the real State of the Chevalier's Affairs, till the Money and Effects were landed, and the Sea Engagement was past. However, they carried off some of the Officers that were there, to confirm the News of the Defeat of the Rebels.

In the mean Time, the Parliament were examining such of the Rebel Prisoners as were brought before them, in order to discover the Rise and Spring the late Troubles, and on the 8th, attainted the following Persons of High Treason, viz. *Perth*, the Earl of *Kellie*, *Strathallan*. and his Son, Lords *Elcho*, *Pitsligo*, *Nairn*, *Ogilvie*, Lords *George Murray*, *John Drummand*, and *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Lovat*; *Graham* Viscount of *Dundee*, *Mercer* of *Aldie*, Sir *William Gordon* of *Park*, Secretary *Murray*, *Glenbucket*, *Lochiel* and his Brother, *Camerons* of *Torcastle*, and of *Dungallon*, *Clanrannald*, *Keppoch*, *Barisdale*, *Glencoe*, *Clunie*, *MacLauchlan*, *MacKinnon*, *Ardshiell*, and the other Officers of their Family, *Gask*, senior and junior, young *Carnwath*, and *Airth*, *Roy Stuart*, *Farquharson* of *Monaltry*, *Drumnaglash*, with some few others, known only by their Names, and appointed them to be prosecuted, unless, before the 12th of *July*, they should surrender themselves. None of these suffered, they having either escaped or complied; among the latter was Secretary *Murray*, who having; been disgusted at the Pretender, for turning him out of his Office, and substituting one Mr. *Hay* in his Room, had begun to think of being avenged for the Affront; some say he even wrote to those in Power, with an Offer of his Person, provided his Life should be spared. Whatever his Proposal was, it was agreed to, and the better to palliate the Matter, *Murray* was apprehended by a Party of Dragoons, *June* the 28th, and conducted to *Edinburgh*, and confined to the Castle till *July* the 7th, that he set out, under a strong Guard for *London*; where, on Examination, he made such Discoveries, as have never yet come to light. One Thing is certain, that he was a pretty severe Witness against Lord *Lovat*, who inveighed against him in Court, and deservedly called him by the most opprobrious Names.

Upon *July* 15th, the Judges sat at *St. Margaret's Hill*, in the Borough of *Southwark*, near *London*, for the Trial of Col. *Townley*, and some Officers of the *Manchester* Regiment. The Col. with about 16 more, were the first condemned; and *July* 30, nine of them, of whom *Townley* was one, were hang'd and quarter'd, and their Heads were fix'd up, some on *Temple-Bar*, others at *Manchester*. On the 13th of *August* the Judges opened a Commission of finally judging and trying the Rebels who were brought to *Carlisle*.

¹³ Here Lord *Lovat* was present.

Three very eminent Lawyers went from *Edinburgh* to plead for them. The Judges gave them the utmost Indulgence; every Plea the Prisoners adduced, either to alleviate or exculpate, was sustained. Here, of 105 that were tried, 30 suffered, and 60 obtained the Royal Mercy, and the rest were assoilzied[sic.] at the Bar. From thence they went to *York*, where the Jury acted with remarkable Integrity; but there, as at *Carlisle*, the Proof of the Facts were so clear, that it was impossible to withstand it. Among these, the Trial of two *Frenchmen* came on; their Defence was, That in the Nature of the Thing, they could not be constructed Traitors to King *George*, as they had not sworn Allegiance to him. The Plea of the one was sustained, as he had come with the Pretender's Party in the Heat of the Rebellion; That of the second was repelled; as a Distinction was made, that tho' he owed the King of *Britain* no natural, yet he was due a local Allegiance, having come over under the Protection of the *Dutch* General, who landed with Auxiliaries for Support of his Majesty. On this, the Libel was found relevant, and he condemned; but on his Way to the Gibbet a Pardon was brought him. Here of 74, five were acquitted, and 20 suffered. In short, only 60, by Course of common Law, were put to Death, for rebelling against a King, who had reigned 18 Years according to LAW. Whereas 600 suffered, *Anno* 1685, for rising in Arms against King *James* II or VII who had not been five Months upon the Throne, in which Time he had broke thro' the very Fundamentals of the Constitution. But the greatest Trial was that of the Earls of *Kilmarnock* and *Cromartie*, with Lord *Balmerino*, before the House of Lords, *July* the 28th. They were condemn'd to the Scaffold, but great Intercession was made for the two Earls, tho' *Cromarty* only succeeded. On the 18th of *August*, *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino* were beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, before a prodigious Multitude; the former behaved penitently, and as one conscious of his Guilt; but the other with great Heat and Resolution. The next remarkable Trial was that of Lord *Lovat*, who was taken in the Trunk of a Tree, with a Pair of Blankets about him, in the midst of a Lake: He was escorted to *London*, confined to the *Tower*, tried, &c. and on irresistable Evidence condemned, *March* the 19th 1747, and on the 9th of *April*, was beheaded on *Tower-Hill*. He died with little Concern, and like most of those who suffered at *York* and *Carlisle*, avowing the Cause in which he was engaged.

As to the Hardships of the Pretender in his Flight, I refer the Reader for a particular Account of them, (as hath been observed in the Preface) to a Pamphlet lately publish'd, entitled, The Young Chevalier, &c. And shall only observe here, That at last the unfortunate Adventurer, after wandering about the Isles and Highlands of *Scotland* for the Space of five Months, had the good Fortune to escape on Board a *French* Ship which carried him to *Boulogne*. And as his Departure put a final Period to the Rebellion, it naturally does the same to this History.

F I N I S



THE YOUNG
CHEVALIER ;
OR, A
GENUINE NARRATIVE
Of all that befell that Unfortunate
ADVENTURER,
FROM

His fatal Defeat to his final Escape, after wandering about the Isles and Highlands of *Scotland* for the space of five Months, while continually pursued by his Enemies, from whom all his narrow Escapes are Circumstantially and *Honestly* related.

The Whole Interspersed

With many Curious Anecdotes of the Lives and Characters of the Chiefs who accompanied, as well as those who abandoned him in his Distresses.

In Particular

The Characters of Lord *Lovat*, and some others are cleared up, all the Facts, hitherto unknown, are related on the most indisputable Evidence, in the most Candid Manner, and every fictitious Embellishment avoided.

By a *GENTLEMAN*,

Who was personally acquainted not only with the Scenes of Action, but with many of the Actors themselves.

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THE
BOOKSELLER

TO THE
READER.

THE Manuscript from whence the following Sheets were printed, was put into my Hands by the Author to publish for him; and, to prevent the Trouble I might be put to by inquisitive Persons concerning him, I have his Permission to acquaint the Publick, once for all, that he is a Scotchman, and was in Scotland during the whole time of the late unhappy Disturbances in that Kingdom, and for above a Year after the Battle of Culloden; that he had the best Opportunities for making himself perfectly acquainted with every Thing done by the Chevalier, his Friends, and his Enemies, (relative to his rash Undertaking, and its Consequences,) in that Part of the World; and partly by Accident, partly by particular Application, he was enabled to compile the following Narrative from authentick Materials only.

On

P R E F A C E

On perusing the Manuscript I found in it a plain, simple, unstudied Representation of Facts, the Truth of which I had not the least Reason to call in Question; and therefore I the more readily embraced the Author's Proposal of being his Publisher, and of putting my Name to the Title-Page of his Book; which to the Praise of my Brother Publishers be it spoken, they had the Modesty not to do, to any of the Trumpery that has hitherto appeared on this Subject.

However I must acknowledge, that the Book is not published with all the native Simplicity in which it came out of the Author's Hands; for, in Truth, the Style and Diction were so purely North-British, that being apprehensive many Passages might prove too obscure to the English Reader, I advised him to get it corrected by an English Hand. This has been done, but so carefully as not in the least to injure the Author's Representation of any Fact; nor is it so much polished but that the Traces of the original Style are still apparent enough in every Page.

I have only to add, that if any Person, who is well acquainted with any of the Facts narrated by our Author., should meet with ought which he may think repugnant to Truth, or to his Apprehension of the Truth, the Author will be glad of his Objections, and the more so, if communicated by the Objector in Person; and if convicted of any Mistake, the Emendation will be made in the next Edition, which we flatter ourselves will be call'd for in due Time. And if any Gentleman can and will give any further Light into even the most minute Article in the Book, let Favour, will be gratefully acknowledged. The Author may be spoke with by enquiring at the Dunciad in Ludgate-Street.

THE
YOUNG CHEVALIER:
OR, A
Genuine NARRATIVE, &c.

AFTER so many Accounts already published of the late Rebellion, &c. It may seem perhaps somewhat surprizing that any Thing more should appear on the Subject, at such a Distance of Time. And indeed if I had not observ'd that many Things concerning the Young *Chevalier* were omitted, and others misrepresented, either thro' Design, or the Misinformation of most who have yet attempted the History of his Undertaking, and what befel him after his final Defeat, I should not have thought it worth while to trouble the Publick with the following Sheets. Not that I can promise in this Narrative to please all Parties: A Thing perhaps impossible, especially for one who writes of his own Times. However, I shall religiously adhere to what I know to be Truth; and only give the Reader a bare Relation of Facts, stript of all the Embellishments of Fiction, and supported by the best and most obvious Evidence that the Nature of the various Circumstances will admit of.

And first, it will not, I presume, be thought impertinent to take a View of what the Young *Chevalier* did, preparatory to the Grand Action which proved his Ruin.

On *Monday* the 14th of *April*, 1746; which was two Days before the Battle of *Culloden*, he muster'd his Troops in the Town of *Inverness*, and walked along the Lines, encouraging them as he passed. Never were Men in more exalted Spirits: They rais'd a chearful Huzza, and expressed themselves with a Confidence which denounced, as it were, on their Enemies, that fatal Blow they themselves received. "We have seen *Cumberland* before: We will give him another *Fontenoy*" was the Phrase of the Day. Thus exulting, on they march'd to the Parks of *Culloden* and *Castle-hill*, on which they encamp'd; while the *Chevalier* and his General Officers took up their Lodging in the Mansion-Houses.

About six o'Clock the next Morning the Pipes of the *Highlanders* played, the Drums of the *French* beat to Arms, and the Troops march'd in order of Battle to the Place of Engagement, where they halted, and rested on their Arms, expecting with the utmost Impatience every Moment to engage the *Royalists*: And during the Time several false Alarms were raised, which only inflamed their Desire of coming to Blows. The *Chevalier*, desirous of improving this Ardour of his Troops, proposed to them to march forward, about 9 o'Clock at Night, and attack the *Duke's* Army in the Dark: For, said he, "they will be drown'd in Sleep, the Effect of this Day's rejoicing, as it is the Birth Day of the Usurper's Son." This Scheme was approved by *Sullivan* and *Sherridan* and with little or no Difficulty, agreed to by most of the Chiefs. But before setting out they thought of a Way to deceive the Country People, or the patrolling Parties of the Enemy. This was to make great Fires, on which they put large Quantities of wet Straw, which kindling but slowly, caused a violent Smoak, which being agitated by a SouthEast Wind, that then began gently to blow, very effectually covered their Designs. Big with the Hopes of Success, about Ten they defiled in the most silent Manner, with two Pieces of Cannon; and, thro' Parks and Byways, they arrived by One in the Morning on *Kildrummy-Muir*, within two Miles of the Duke of *Cumberland's* Camp.

The Picquets of the Royal Army were disposed in the best Order, but were no Way able to resist their united Force, had they directly march'd on: But here, thro' a most unaccountable Error, they separated. The Chevalier with one Body turned to the North West, in order to surround the Enemy, whom he judged himself capable of hemming in on all Hands; namely, by the Water of *Nairn* on the East, the *Sea* on the North, and his own Troops on the West and South. Nothing now impeded him but a Morass and a Lake, betwixt which he was obliged to march his Forces as thro' a Defile. About Two o'Clock he came so near the Centries as to hear them calling to, and answering one another; "Is all well? Yes, All's well." Now was the Time of executing his daring Scheme, which nothing but the most fatal Delusion could have prevented. And here it will be proper to take Notice of a Circumstance, which, tho' little in itself, yet, like other Incidents which frequently happen, contributed much to their giving up this favourable Conjunction, more than the Terrors of a Battery, or Avenues lined with Rows of devouring Cannon. The Matter was this. A Stallion they had with them, coming to a Place where some Days before he had covered a Mare, began to neigh. The Owner did all he could to stop him, but to no Purpose, and therefore would have shot him thro' the Head, had not one of the Generals prevented it, for fear of giving an Alarm. After endeavouring to pacify him, they ordered him back; but forthwith began to dread their Design was discovered, and a Damp appeared among them. This Story may be entirely depended upon, for I had it not only from several who were along with the *Chevalier*, but likewise from some in *Nairn*, the Town and People whereof I had the best Opportunities of being acquainted with: And they unanimously averred, that this Accident more than any Thing else, hindered the Adventurers from breaking in. The *Chevalier* immediately called a Council of War, in which the Grand Question was, whether or not to advance? The Chiefs were generally against it, while the *Chevalier* and his two *Irish* Favourites urged the Matter. But the Report of the Spies, who, taking the Picquets for the whole Army, with the Circumstance of the Horse mentioned above, and that of some Battalions having mistaken their Way, prevailed upon them to return. This Disappointment provoked the *Chevalier* extremely; and he was heard to say, "God D—n it, are my Orders still disobey'd? Fight when you will, Gentlemen, the Day is not mine." However, he gave Orders for marching back to the Field of Battle, and reposing themselves upon their Arms; and, at the same Time sent out some Parties to search the Country for all the Provisions they could find. His Commands were obeyed. One Battalion march'd into *Inverness*, while the main Body came up to the Place of Action. The *Chevalier*, with most of his General Officers retired to *Culloden-House*, where they reposed themselves for some Hours, and ordered a hot Dinner to be got ready for them. In the mean while the *Royalists* are advancing, and by 11 o'Clock were observed at the Distance of two Miles, by a patrolling Party, who directly carried the News to the Camp: An Express was sent to the *Chevalier*, and a Cannon was fired as a Signal of the Enemy's Approach. He instantly rose up, and when at the Foot of the Stairs, was met by the Steward, who told him, that his Dinner, *viz.* a roasted Side of Lamb and two Hens, and the Table-cloth was just ready to be laid:¹⁴ No, replied the *Chevalier*, would you have me sit down to Victuals when my Enemy is so near me! — This said, he mounted on Horseback, and galloped up to the *Muir*, where he assisted in the Disposition of his Troops, who were already in Battalia. Those who were sleeping in the Parks, and by the Sides of the Dykes, being awakened by the Noise of the Cannon, ran into their respective Regiments, and joined the Companies to which they belonged. They were now in top Spirits, and the rather as *Keppoch M'Donald* with his Regiment, was that Morning returned from an Expedition on which he had been dispatched. Every Thing being disposed on each Side, the Battle

¹⁴ These were the Man's Express Words.

begun; but as the same has been so fully described in the History of the Rebellion, printed at *Edinburgh*, I shall only mention the Consequences of it with regard to the Person of the *Chevalier*.

This young Commander, being posted with a Body of Reserve at a considerable Distance, was the Spectator of a Scene which at once blasted his Hopes, and mined his Arms: He had the cruel Mortification of seeing those Troops which he reckoned invincible, flying off in the most miserable Disorder and Confusion. He did all in his Power to reanimate and persuade them to return to the Charge, but all to no Purpose: Showers of Bullets from the Mouths of devouring Cannon, were Things to which they were Strangers. Promises and Entreaties were equally lost, and indeed he spoke to them in the most moving Terms, uttering Words to this Purpose: "Rally in the Name of Cod; pray Gentlemen return; pray stay with me your Prince but a Moment; otherwise you ruin me, your Country, and yourselves: And God forgive you." He rode up to the several Corps as they were retreating in the utmost Consternation, addressing them in these and such like Expressions as he past: But the Whole were deaf to his Entreaties, for the Generality of them knew not what he said, while others who understood the *English* Tongue, cried out, "Prince! *Oh! an! Oh! an!*" a Sign of Mourning, and a *Scottish* Particle expressive of the greatest Grief: "Oh that he had never been born; O! fatal Day; What Ruin have we brought upon ourselves, our Country and our Friends" Scarce were these and such like doleful Sentences out of their Mouths, when the Rout became total, some flying one Way and some another, and the Cannon being now brought to bear upon them as they were running for their Lives, the *Chevalier* seeing that all was gone, and that his Attempts on the *British* Throne had fail'd, spurred his Horse and gallop'd off at full Speed. But during the Confusion his Wig and Bonnet flew off, which last was taken up and sent to a Gentlewoman, a Member of the Church of *Rome*, who kept it as a Relick, in Commemoration of that fatal Day which had given at once so signal a Blow to a Cause and Interest she had much at Heart: But his Wig was recover'd by himself, just as it was falling from the Pommel of the Saddle. He made directly to the Water of *Nairn*, which he crossed, because if he took his Rout by the Places which lye betwixt that small River and the *Ness*, the Dragoons and *Kingston's* Light Horse would perhaps be at his Heels: His Conjecture was right, for such as passed the *Nairn* were the only People who escaped the Havock which was made in the Pursuit. The Clans who had stood the Storm, and made the Attack upon the Left Wing of the Royal Army pursued the same Course, and halted at a Place about two Miles from the Field of Action, where they set up the principal Standard, to which several repaired; and among the rest the *Chevalier* himself. In the mean Time the *M'Phersons* who came too late for the Battle, arrived in View, whom, they taking for some of the *Argylshire* Militia¹⁵, began to be in Pain: But, on observing their Number to be small, they resolved to make a Stand, and were now in Hopes of having some Revenge upon these People, to whom they bear a most deadly Hatred. As these came nearer to them, they were undeceived: *Clunie*, the Chieftain of the Clan *Catti*, directly made his Obeisance to the *Chevalier*, who now had got another Bonnet; and, observing a Confusion and unusual Melancholy in his Face, enquired the Cause. The young Adventurer, not being able to answer him by Reason of his Grief, one of the Generals said to him, "all is over." *What*, replied *Clunie*, *has there been a Battle?* "Yes," answered the other, "and the Day is not ours." With these Words the *Chevalier* and some of his Officers began to cast Reflections upon the Conduct of a certain great Man¹⁶, to whom they imputed the whole of their Disaster.

¹⁵ The *Argyllshire Campbells* were zealously attach'd to the Government.

¹⁶ L-d G-e M-y.

M'Pherson was almost struck speechless, but recovering himself he reply'd with an Oath, "there's no Help for it, let us return again, and try the Fortune of the Day; for here are six Hundred as brave Fellows as ever drew cold Iron." "No, replied the *Chevalier*, it is needless, for my faithfullest Followers are almost all cut to Pieces: *Lochiel* and *Keppoch*, (whose Advice would to God had been followed) are wounded, with many others. We are too few to encounter the Usurper's Forces, who are in Possession of our Cannon: And even if we should return, my Orders would still be counteracted as formerly: My Case is at present bad, but then it would be worse. Would to God I had lain in the Field, for there is now no more to be done." *Clunie* upon this returned with his Clan to *Badenoch*, where they procured the Favour of one *Blair*, a Minister, and most of them took the Benefit of the Duke's Proclamation to submit to Mercy; and all who did so, were dismissed peaceably to their own Habitations. And here it will not perhaps be improper to inform my Reader of a Circumstance which not a little contributed to induce that Clan to bear Arms for the Chevalier and his Cause.

In the Year 1743 the *Highland* Regiment, at that Time commanded by Lord Semple, was review'd at *London* by General *Wade* and several Officers of Distinction, and went thro' the different Evolutions of the Military Exercise with an uncommon Alertness: But scarce is it over when about 105 of them deserted, under Pretence that they were intended to be sent abroad, contrary to one of the Articles agreed upon at levying of them. They also pretended that their Plaids wanted a full Quarter of a Yard of the Measure stipulated. — No sooner are they gone, than immediately a Detachment of General *Wade*'s Horse was dispatched after them, and came up with them in a Wood, where they had begun to fortify themselves. Here they surrendered Prisoners to the Major of the Regiment, who order'd the principal Ringleaders, viz. *Samuel* and *Malcolm M'Pherson*, both Corporals, with *Farquhar Shaw*¹⁷, a Piper, to be maniced: And thus were they brought to *London* and secured in the Tower. At their Trial the Charge of Desertion was confessed, with all its aggravating Circumstances, (which I was informed by their Friends, was wholly owing to the Assurances given them by a Gentleman, hired by a Person of great Distinction for that Purpose;) and so they were condemned to be shot, which accordingly was executed about 6 o'Clock in the Morning of the 18th of *May* that Year. The Clan *Cattan* being advised of this Affair, and observing that three of their Name, with whom most of them were related; (for the *Highlanders* generally trace Kindred as far back as 400 Years) fell a Sacrifice for the Crime, of which several *Grants* and *Munro*'s were equally guilty; breathed nothing but Revenge: But, as Fire hid under Ashes, burns with greater Ardour when once these are removed, than that which is instantly made to blaze, so the Resentment of this Clan which they smothered for a-while, on a sudden broke out with a Violence which none but those who knew the Temper of these People can imagine. This Circumstance the Reader may be assured, together with the frequent Discourses of Lord *Lovat*, that Life and Soul of the Rebellion, upon Prophecies and Dreams¹⁸, tended more to promote the *Chevalier*'s Attempt, than every one is apt at first to imagine: And sure it is that had there been any Hopes of retrieving the Fortune of the Day, these Men would, from a Principle of Revenge, have marched back to the Field. But while the Clan *Cattan* are returning to *Ruthven*, those remaining with the *Chevalier* are consulting on Ways and Means to make the best of their melancholy Situation. The grand Question is, how their Prince shall dispose of himself. Some were for his continuing with his Troops, and following the Rout of the *M'Phersons*; while others moved

¹⁷ Note. The *Shaws* are a Branch of the Clan *Cattan*.

¹⁸ See the *Edinburgh* History of the Rebellion, sold by *Griffiths* in *London*.

that he should consult with Lord *Lovat*, and proceed no further without that Nobleman's Advice; but to this it was objected by some that the Enemy lay betwixt them and the *Aird*, in which Place the Seat of old *Simon*, viz. *Castle-Downie*, then stood: This Objection was speedily removed by several, who said, that he (Lord *Lovat*) had lodged at the House of Mr. *Fraser* of *Gortlich* in *Stratherrick*, since the Time of his Escape from Lord *Loudon* at *Inverness*; that he had caused a Room to be boxed and furnished there for himself, and to it he was wont to repair in the Summer Time to drink the Goat-Whey. The *Chevalier* fully assured of this, began his Journey with 20 Horsemen about 6 o'Clock at Night, having directed 200 more to be at the same Place by the Dawn of next Morning: About nine he arrived there himself, but instead of finding Comfort from his aged Trustee, his Ears were wounded upon his entering the Door with the loudest and bitterest Complaints; "Chop off my Head, Chop off my Head, the old Lord cried out to the unhappy Fugitive: My own Family, with all the great Clans are undone, and the whole Blame will fall upon me. Oh.! is there no Friend here to put an End to my Life and Misery." He even called to some particular Persons by their Names, whose Friendship he knew was sincere and inviolable towards him, beseeching them earnestly to do this last Office and Favour to him. This Request he frequently repeated, while none could appease him, or ever ventured to make him a Reply. But at last the *Chevalier* said to him: "No: No, My Lord, don't despair: We have had two Days of them, and will yet have another Day about with them." Then he informed him of several Particulars of the Battle, and magnified the Bravery of the *Frazers*, but reflected prodigiously upon the Conduct of those who hindred his attacking the *Royalists* in the preceding Night, when they were no Way prepared to receive them. By such Discourses as these he endeavour'd to sooth him, but all his Art was insufficient to rouse the drooping Spirits of that subtle and unfortunate Lord, who could not so much as be prevailed on at that Time to hear, or deliberate upon any Proposal for mending the State of his Affairs.

The Mistress of the House observing that the *Chevalier* was fatigued for want of Sleep, and quite disheartened by the Event of the Day, ordered a Hen to be roasted for his Supper, and a Bed to be prepared. When he had refreshed himself with a Wing of the Fowl, he went to his Chamber, and composed himself to Rest; but slept but little through the great Uneasiness and Anxiety of his Mind, which gradually grew upon him: And here tho' he might have been absolutely safe, at least for some Time, because the Dragoons, much less the Foot, were not suffered to withdraw so far as fourteen Miles from the Camp for some Days, yet his Apprehensions and Fears of falling into the Hands of those whom he and his Followers had so much enraged, increasing, he could not but determine to shift his Abode, with all convenient speed. Being unable to compose himself in Bed, he got up, and looking out of the Window saw some of his Guards approaching the House. Then putting on his Cloaths, he immediately repaired to them, and saluted them in a very affecting Manner, and brought in some of his Officers to the Room where Lord *Lovat* was. No sooner are they come in, than the *Chevalier* began to talk seriously to his Lordship on the Subject of their melancholy Situation, but all to no Purpose. That Nobleman would neither advise what Method to follow for his Preservation, nor admit of any Proposal for his own, but concluded in Words to this Effect, viz. "Not "No! my Family¹⁹ is ruin'd, my Children are exposed to the Resentment of the Government, from which I have nothing to hope but the utmost Severity. My House is no longer to me a Sanctuary, I have nothing to trust to but the Humanity of the Duke of *Cumberland*, (of whom his Lordship here took occasion to say several very handsome Things) And since I can find no

¹⁹ A Clan.

Friend who will do me the Kindness to put an End to my Days, I will lie in the Way of my Enemies, from whom I may possibly receive more Favour than from you.”

The young *Chevalier* and his Followers perceiving that the old Man was not to be wrought upon, withdrew to refresh themselves with such Things as the Place afforded. The *Chevalier* eating a Wing of the Fowl that was dress'd for him the Night before, put the remainder in his Pocket, and then dismissed almost all his Attendants, with a short Speech at parting, which, after condoling them on their Misfortune and his own, he concluded in Words to this Effect. “Now Gentlemen consult your own Safety, “for I can no longer advance you any Pay. “(*here he was ready to burst into Tears*) But “if you and I escape, I shall be sure to use my utmost Endeavours Abroad to procure you a Subsistence suitable to your Merit in the Foreign Armies.”

The Servants who were with him before his Arrival in *France* heard him with a sort of Pleasure, because, though they were grieved to see their Master reduced to the state of a Fugitive, yet they had long wish'd to be free from the *Highlanders*, whose Manners and Customs they abhorr'd, and to whom they actually bore the most invincible Hatred. These instantly repaired to *Inverness*, where they surrender'd themselves Prisoners to the Duke, who gave them Passports for returning Home. But the Pain of being forced to abandon their Master, which was so much alleviated in the Minds of the *French*, who were weary of the Country, was the more grievously felt by the *Chevalier's Highland Guards*, whose Safety depended in a great Measure on his. They reflected on his Words with the greatest Sorrow, and were almost distracted with Apprehensions for themselves, not knowing what to do, nor which way to turn their Faces. The fear of being taken up every Moment, and paying to publick Justice the Debt which they had contracted, presented itself to their View, in the most terrifying Shape. However, as Necessity has no Law, they at last resolved to keep in a Body, and to repair to *Strath Nairn*, whence some of them made Excursions for Victuals, and, taking on themselves the Name of the Duke's Troops, committed upon some of the Inhabitants, Cruelties of the worst sort.— From hence it may not be improper to observe that the People who live in the low Countries of *Scotland*, entertain as great a Hatred towards the *Highlanders*, as one can possibly suppose the most Hostile Nations capable of. How unfortunate then must it be for an Adventurer whose Aim is a Throne, to be obliged to advance towards it with those who are held in Abhorrence and Detestation in the Places through which he is to pass.

But, forlorn as the Hopes of his Followers were, desperate as their Situation was, the *Chevalier* himself was in no better. He was left with about seven Officers, and two Servants, with his two favourites *O. Sullivan* and *Sheridan*,²⁰ whose utmost Skill, Policy, and Experience, were now in the highest Degree requisite towards the procuring their own Safety and that of their Master, whose bad Fortune they were now to share.

No sooner had the *Chevalier* dismissed his Followers as above, than he, with the few Friends yet remaining with him, held a Consultation on the next Step that might be proper for them to take. It was above all Things resolved to keep at as great a Distance as possible from the Enemy's Troops, but especially the Militia, such as *the M'Kays, Munroe's, &c.* whose Severity and Cruelty upon former Occasions some began to relate and exaggerate. But as they had little Time to spend in debating, *Sullivan* put an end to it by observing that they ought to move further off, instead of losing one Moment by Consultations. He proposed to take the direct Road for *Glengary*; urging that they might look upon it as certain that none of the Enemy had yet taken that Rout, or at least

²⁰ This *Sheridan's* Wife nursed the old *Chevalier's* second Son, for which he was Knighted.

could not get there before them. Hereupon the whole Company took Horse and away. On this Road the young *Chevalier* was presented with the mortifying and melancholy View of several of his Followers desperately wounded, spent with Fatigue, and unable to bear up under the load of their Misery. Yet to none of them did he ever, at least that I could hear of, proffer the Assistance of his Horse, either singly, or to ride behind him, only in general, join'd with them in lamenting their Misfortune. I should not have mention'd this particular, had not the contrary been reported by several whose Information I have the greatest Reason to believe was not so good as mine. Indeed it would have been very weak in him to have quitted his Horse, and thereby endanger'd his own Person, and all only for the Chance of preserving a private Gentleman. Nor is it to be supposed that his Attendants would have suffer'd him to have carried his Compassion (the Sincerity and real Tenderness of which we have not the least Reason to call in question) to so extravagant a length.

About Ten o'Clock in the Morning they arrived at the Castle of *Glengary*, which is beautifully situated upon the side of a Lake, whence an extensive Prospect of the adjacent Country presents itself, and which could not fail of giving them timely Intelligence of any Parties that might be advancing to beat up their Quarters. Mr. *M'Donald* the Proprietor (whose second Son was kill'd after the Battle of *Falkirk*) had with all his Clan been in the Interest of the *Chevalier*, whom together with his Attendants, he now received with great Humanity, yet not without discovering some Apprehensions of Danger. For already had he heard of the Action the Day before, and with good Reason feared that himself would feel the Consequence, tho' he had not actually been in open Arms, but on the contrary had shelter'd himself under the Protection of the Government: For now he dreaded that his secret aiding of the *Chevalier's* Undertaking would be discover'd by Means of the Prisoners. However for the present he banish'd his Fears, and was impatient to hear an accurate Account of the Battle, the relation he had already heard being very confused and imperfect: For these *M'Donalds* are remarkable for a Military Genius, delighting in nothing more than in talking of warlike Achievements. Messieurs *Sheridan* and *Sullivan* informed *Glengary* of the Particulars of the Action, and observing by the various Alterations of his Looks that to learn how his Clan behaved was not the least part of his Curiosity, they artfully improved the Circumstance, and so nicely touch'd upon this Spring of the *Laird's* Passions, by launching out on the Valour and Intrepidity of his Regiment, that in an Instant forgetting the Consternation into which he had been thrown the Night before, he cheerfully set about preparing every Thing for the Accommodation of his Guests, each in proportion to his Rank, and rather agreeable to an Occasion of Rejoicing than of the deepest Affliction; so surprizing an Effect upon him, had the Praises he heard bestowed on the boasted *M'Donalds*! For my part I cannot but admire the quick Discernment of these two Companions of the *Chevalier's* Fortune, and how skillfully they wrought upon the Temper of their Host. Indeed had they seen as much of Mr. *M'Donald* some Years before²¹, as the Author of this Narrative, they would have had little Difficulty in finding out his natural Temper, and peculiar Inclination to Feats of Arms. But these Gentlemen really were not apprized of his Character; and

²¹ About nine Years ago as I was travelling through *Glengary* towards *Inverness*, I came to an Inn, where I found Mr. *M'Donald*, the *Laird*, fencing with his own Servant, who was very desirous to be rid of him; but that Gentleman's Spirits were so set upon his Diversion, that he cared for little else. Nor can this Chief ever be good Company, but when the Conversation turns upon this Exercise. Being always curious in observing the Genius and Temper of the *Highlanders*, I took particular Notice of this Gentleman, and enquired of the Landlady who he was. She, who appeared to be a very sensible Woman, seemed somewhat ashamed of his Conduct, and 'twas not without a visible Reluctance that she at last said, "It is our *Laird*."

besides one cannot but suppose that his Genius was at that time not a little obscur'd by a Sense of the vast Misfortune, and the great Danger which every Moment presented to his View.

The *Chevalier* being now safe in *Glengary*, had some leisure to reflect on the ruined Condition of his Forces; and tho' he could not assist the unhappy remains of them with Money or any Thing else, yet still he discovers the deepest Regard and Concern for them. He kept a Correspondence with the several Corps who yet held together in considerable Bodies, and had retired or were yet retiring to the most promising Places of Safety.

The very Night of the Battle, *Lochiel*, after having got his Wound dressed, and in some measure recruited his exhausted Spirits, march'd his Clan to the side of a Hill, where he drew them up, and order'd the Bag-Pipes to play all Night such Tunes as he knew would suit the Temper and present Circumstances of his Men. But the next Morning observing that no considerable Force was likely to join him, and that he could not procure Subsistence for his Troops there, he took his Rout towards *Lochabar*, fetching a Compass along those Hills which divide that Country from *Badenock*, and so he arrived in two Days at *Glengary*, where he found his unfortunate Master, now still more sensibly touch'd with the many Objects of Pity and Compassion, whose Misery was so much, I had almost laid entirely, owing to him. He now lay before him a new Scene of Grief, *Lochiel* was dangerously wounded in the Ankle, and unable to walk. Many of his own Men were in no better, some in a worse Condition. Loud and bitter Complaints, with deep and piercing Groans circulated among them, not only on account of their own Wounds, and the complicated Distress they saw themselves involv'd in, but for the loss of their brave Officers and Comrades who had been kill'd out-right. The whole was indeed a moving Scene, Nor could any Thing equal the Love of the *Camerons* for their *Lochiel*, except that of the *M'Donalds* to their *Keppoch*. For when they observed he was wounded in the very heat of the Battle, two of them laid hold of his Legs and a third supported his Head, while the remainder surrounded him as a Guard; and thus they bore him out of the Field, and over the small River *Nairn*.

These Things very much affected the *Chevalier*: But *Glengary* seem'd to take the greatest Delight in hearing of them, tho' his Satisfaction would have been highly augmented, could such an Exploit be told of his own Family, as that of the *M'Donald's* of *Keppoch*: For there is a prodigious and deep rooted Jealousy among the Clans, especially the *M'Donalds* and *Camerons* who seldom agree, but on the contrary, being Neighbours, are the Rivals of each others Actions and with Envy look upon any Thing that may tend to the Advantage or Honour of those against whom they have conceived an Hatred scarce to be erased by the length or waitings of Time.

After proper Refreshments, such as Butter, Cheese, Milk and Usquebaugh, the several Officers with the *Chevalier*, held a Council of War, in which some of them moved to set up a Standard nigh that Place and issue forth Orders for the Troops to repair to it. This Proposal was approved by some, who easily foresaw the Misfortunes that would attend them, provided they were taken, and doubtless it might have been unanimously agreed to, had not the *Chevalier* informed them that his Money was spent, and that unless they thought themselves able to attack the Royalists in their Camp, they would be cut off from their Subsistence. This Argument was supported by the *two Favourites* who pointed out the Madness and Folly of that Project, but still the better to engage their Constancy to their Master, they sooth'd them with large Promises from *France*, whence they expected both Men and Money for reviving their Cause and altering the State of their Affairs. At last it was agreed that the *Camerons* should keep together, and in the mean Time march forward ward to *Achnacarrie*, *Lochiel's* Dwelling-House, which is within nine Miles of, and upon the high Road to, *Fort-William*; and these by patrolling Parties and Scouts observe the Motion of the

Royalists on that fide, while the *Chevalier*, with those about him, were to take Care of what past upon the *Inverness* Quarter.

The *Camerons* set out for *Achnacarrie*, secured the best of their Effects in the Woods and Caves, and lived upon their Cattle in the most plentiful Manner, not knowing how soon the regular Troops or Militia of the Royal Army might snatch them out of their Hands. Mean while the *Chevalier* continued with Mr. *M'Donald* to wait for some Account from his Officers and the Noblemen whom he had parted with three Nights before: These were the Marquiss of *Tullibardine*, the Duke of *Perth*, Lord *John Drummond*, Lords *Balmerino*, *Ogilvy*, *Nairn* and *Pitsligo*, Lord *George Murray*, and Col. *John Roy Steuart*, Captain *Hunter of Burnside*, and about 800 Men of the *Angus* and *Athol* Battalions, who with some few others had repaired to *Corryburgh*, which is an Inn about 6 Miles from *Inverness*. But before their Departure they had agreed with the *Chevalier* at any Event, to let each other know of the State of their Affairs. Happy was it for the Marquis of *Tullibardine* that his Clothes and Baggage, thro' the Care of his Servant were secured, but unhappily for some others, they had lost the whole. Here they continued till about 12 o'Clock the next Day, when they were joined by Lord *Elcho*, (who had gone up to the Castle of *Moy*, which belongs to the Laird of *M'Intosh*) Lord *Lewis Gordon* and a few of their Attendants: And now they all, upon an Alarm that the Dragoons were advancing toward them, mounted on Horseback and pursued the Patent Road, viz. General *Wade's*, to *Ruthven*; but when at *Aggmore*, which is an Inn about 8 Miles from the Place they intended, Lord *Balmerino* broke off and continued there a little longer than the Company had done: Here he met with the Marquis of *Tullibardine's* Valet de Chambre, with whom he drank a full *English Pint* of *French Brandy*, saying, "Come *Fleming* (the Man's Name) here is the Duke your Master's Health. I actually will surrender to the Enemy, for to what Purpose should one be always in Terror of his Life." After regaling himself for some Time with Mr. *Fleming*, he rode directly to *Strathspey*, and delivered himself up, if I remember right, to Captain *Grant* of *Bandallach*, who brought him to *Inverness*, where he was immediately confined, and afterwards shipped off for *London*, where he met his Fate; But the Circumstances of his unhappy Exit are so universally known, that I dare say the Reader will readily excuse my saying any Thing further on that Head.

In the mean Time the other Noblemen who had retired to *Ruthven*, held frequent Counsels; but the desperate State of their Affairs now obvious to every Person, hindered their adventuring upon any Enterprize for retrieving them. The only Result of their Deliberations was, that every one should shift for himself. Hereupon the Lords *Elcho*, *Ogilvy* and *Pitsligo*, rode down towards *Braemar*, where they concealed themselves for some Time till an Opportunity of a Ship, procured by a Lady of Quality, presented itself, when they went on board, and landed in *Norway*. Mean while *Tullibardine* took the contrary Rout, viz. that of *Dumbartonshire*, and surrendered himself Prisoner to Mr. *Buchannan* of *Drummachil*, by whom he was delivered up to the Government, put on board the *Eltham* Man of War, and carried to *London*; where, after some short Confinement, he died in the *Tower*. *Perth*, Lord *John Drummond* and Lord *Nairn*, with some few more, set out in Quest of the *Chevalier*, who was now more than ever disheartened by the Loss of the Battle and the bad Accounts that were daily brought him of his unfortunate Followers.

Just before their Arrival at *Glengary*, which was the 20th of *April*, the *Chevalier* was was told of the Earl of *Cromarty's* Misfortune, and that he was brought in Prisoner to *Inverness*. The Rashness and Ill-Conduct of that Nobleman in *Sutherland*, must sit so heavy upon him and so naturally tend to render him mean and despicable in the World, that I do not chuse to enlarge on the Subject. But I may further observe that never Man appeared more infatuated than he. For when in an Enemy's

Country, in which he was surrounded by the *Sutherland* Militia on all Sides, he inconsiderately sent off the Body of his Party, and remained for some Time drinking and dancing with Lady *Sutherland*²², and a few Gentlemen and Servants: After which he set out as if no Danger was near; but was quickly surprised; and being separated from his Corps, both he and his few Attendants were easily made Prisoners.

As the Account given the *Chevalier* of this Matter made the Disaster appear much worse²³ than it really was, so his Grief was so heighten'd that on the coming in of the Noblemen above-mentioned, he was found almost speechless, and his Spirits in a Manner exhausted: But by Cordials, and the like, he was reviv'd. When come to himself he told them that he was always extremely glad to see them; but at the same Time wish'd that he had fallen in the Field, rather than live to be a Witness of those Miseries, which he had been so instrumental in bringing upon them. He then informed them of the Misfortune which *Cromarty* had met with. But the Duke of *Perth* and Lord *John Drummond* seemed not so much affected with it, for they well knew that the Handful of Men which that rash and imprudent Lord had got together, were almost the very Refuse of the *Highland* Counties. However they exprest much Regret that he should have fallen into the Hands of his Enemies. They then refreshed themselves with the Victuals which Mr. *M'Donald* had prepared for them, and took some Repose, of which they had Need enough, after the Fatigue they had undergone.

When they arose, a Consultation was held on this important tho' difficult Question, *viz.* What was proper to be done in the present Emergency? *Sullivan* informed them of the Agreement with *Lochiel*, which they highly approv'd of, and declared they came there upon no other Motive than to share the good or bad Fortune of their Prince; and appeared very thankful that they were at Liberty, while *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino*, the Infatuated *Cromarty* and his Son, with many others, were closely confin'd, and at the Mercy of that Government, they had so much incensed.

The *Chevalier* having informed these Noblemen of all the particulars that had come to his Knowledge, and of what Resolutions he had taken, enquired after several other Lords and Chiefs, concerning whom they gave him the most satisfactory Account they could; and when speaking of *Elcho*, *Pitsligo* and *Ogilvy*, they told him as I have narrated above. "But what is come of the private Men," faith he; they are scattered, replies *Perth*, but I presume the greatest Part are gone into *Strathspey* with *John Roy Steuart*; where it is not doubted but they will be very kindly received by the *Grants*, who were far from being Enemies to us: *Perth's* Conjecture was just; for the People of *Strathspey* were very obliging to them; and in Time of their Distress prov'd a real and

²² The Author of the History of the Rebellion, printed at *Edinburgh*, intimates that his Lordship might probably have escaped, had not he still further delay'd the Time by waiting the going round of a Toast to Lord *Sutherland's* Health: her Ladyship having order'd in a Dozen of Wine for that Purpose. He says, "On the 18th arrived the *Hound Sloop* with Lord *Cromarty* and other Prisoners, now pouring out bitter Reflections, Curses and Imprecations, on the Countess of *Sutherland*, (a Lady of great Wit and Humour, whose least Quality was to be one of the greatest Beauties of the Age;) for having order'd in a Dozen of Wine to drink the Health of her Lord at so unseasonable a Juncture." – This was at *Dunrobin*, the Earl of *Sutherland's* House.

²³ He thought *Barisdale* with his Regiment, which was a good one, and *Glengyle* with his, had shared the same Fate; but it was some Comfort to him, when he heard that only *Cromarty* was surpriz'd.

substantial Support, but still in such a Manner as to give no Umbrage to the the Government: For as the Fugitives had considerable Sums of Money, such Persons were not to be thrown off. Their Method was this, one of their Company who was best acquainted with the Proprietor of a Farm, would secretly bargain with him for a Dish of Victuals to be prepared at a certain Hour. Accordingly at 6 o'Clock a Pot containing much more than might reasonably be expected to serve a single Family, was set on the Fire full of Water and Barley, or Herbs, with a large Piece of Beef or Mutton in it, in order to make Broth, (which is much esteemed by most of the People of *Scotland*) This being ready, towards nine or ten at Night, those for whom it was cooked up, would, upon a Signal given by their Trustee, repair from their Huts or Holes, and enter the House by a Window left open for that Purpose, which not being very high, was easily effected, while the whole People in the House were asleep, (or supposed to be so) They would sit down to .their Victuals, and afterwards retire to their several Hiding Places, where Beds, viz. Straw and Heath, with Bed-clothes, were according to Agreement secretly prepared; and not only did they thus subsist and screen the Fugitives (while the Money lasted, which Lord *John Drummond* had distributed among them) in the private Way I have described, but actually furnished *John Roy Steuart* with a ten Scots Pint²⁴ Barrel of *Usquebaugh* (the Liquor generally used in the *Highlands* and Islands of *Scotland*) upon the Tenth of *June*, to drink the Health of that Day.

And now as I mention this Man, concerning whom so much has been written, and so many Errors propagated; I shall give a short but faithful Narrative of him, so that my Reader may be both informed and amused.

John Steuart, commonly called *Roy*, which signifies red, from the Colour of his Hair, was born in *Strath Spey* in the Parish of *Abernethy*, of creditable Parents, who had a competent Subsistence to appear genteelly in that part of the World. When but a Boy he gave Instances of the most enterprising Genius, discovering a Temper void of Fear and capable of any Thing, and which increased with his Years. After receiving a small Portion of Education at *Inverness*, he began to look about him, and deliberate upon, the Way of Life he should afterward pursue: A mechanical Employment was below his Turn of Mind, as well as the Dignity of his Family, though strips of the common Necessaries of Life, (such is the Infatuation of the *Highlanders*) and to be a Gentleman was not in his Power; and therefore he was nothing: Yet the Misfortune was, that he must live like one of his high Birth; but how to do this was the Question. At last he contrived a Way of raising himself to a Figure in the World; he got together a dozen of Desperadoes such as himself, but neither so strong or agile, over whom he appointed himself Captain. With these he infested the high Ways, and pillaged some Cattle; but happily for him, within a short Time, an Affair happen'd which at once put an end to his Scheme. One Day the present Lord *Braco*, who is married to the Laird of *Grant's* Sister, came to pay his Brother-inLaw a Visit; *Steuart* getting Intelligence of it, immediately conducted his Men to a narrow Passage nigh the entrance of a Wood, to intercept that Nobleman as he passed. This coming to the Knowledge of the Laird of *Grant*, he caused a younger Brother, to assemble an hundred Men of his Name, and with these convey'd his Brother-in-Law out of his Jurisdiction; scarce were they convey'd, when *Roy Steuart* had an Account of it by a trusty Friend, with whom he kept a Correspondence at *Castle Grant*, and observing that Projects were not so soon executed as they were contrived, he withdrew from his Pass and discharged his Corps. And now he bethought himself of entering into the Army, hoping by *Grant's* Interest to be preferred; accordingly he enlisted into the Regiment of the *Scot's Greys*, where by the Intercession

²⁴ That is Twenty *English* Quarts, *Winchester* Measure.

of his Patron he became Quarter Master, and perhaps might have been further advanced, had not his Genius, which was equal to the most difficult, and I may add, Vilainous Enterprize, still biased him to a Conduct which could not but give the World a bad opinion of him. A fellow Soldier of his Regiment coming to him one Day, told him that he had engaged to fight a Duel with one who had given him an Affront, and desired that *Roy* would be his Second; "O yes! Replies *Steuart*, I love some Times to take a Dance at the small Sword, for it will render my Heels nimble, and now they seem to be clogged." He never had seen the the Person who disoblged his Acquaintance; yet they set out for the Place appointed, but instead of meeting the Enemy, they heard the mortifying News, that he had gone over to *Ireland*. Upon this, the principal in the Quarrel, moved to return. "No, no, says *Steuart*, our work is not done;" "We have acted as becomes us, reply'd the other;" "No, not we, answered *Roy*, while the Fellow is alive; give me two Guineas, and I shall cross the Water and put a pair of Balls through him." But this generous offer was declined.

In short, this *Roy Steuart* was ever ready to assist in the most dishonourable Things, such as stealing away young Gentlewomen, in order to join them in Marriage with People far below their Rank, and then would offer Satisfaction at the Sword to their Friends, if they complained of such Treatment. At last, having had a very active Hand, in marrying the Earl of *Murray's* Brother to one Miss *Barber* in *Inverness*, he was rewarded with the loss of his Post, and sent to Gaol into the Bargain. However, by the Assistance of some Persons in Power at *Inverness*, he was enabled to make his Escape, after which he set out for *London*, where he secretly inlisted some Men for the Service of the *French* King; but finding himself in danger of being discovered, he made all possible haste out of the *British* Dominions, and went over to *Rome*; where he found the Means of being introduced to the *Chevalier de St. George*, and his Sons; to whom he magnified the Disaffection of all Ranks in *England* and *Scotland*, to the present Establishment; prais'd and extoll'd the Bravery of the *Highlanders* to the Skies, and even assured them of the Throne; the old *Chevalier*, though ever fond of the Crown, received this Information with great Indifference, and behaved with much more Coldness towards *Roy*, than his Son, who had already formed that Scheme which he afterwards set upon executing, to the Smart of these Nations; for he had resolved on the Attempt, ever since *Don Carlos* was conducted by the *British* Fleet into the Kingdom of *Naples*.²⁵

'Tis imagined by some, and that upon very good Grounds, that *Roy Steuart* had Letters from Lord *Lovat*, *Lochiel*, *Keppoch*, and Sir *Alexander M'Donald*, to the Court of *St. Albano*; for about the latter end of the Year 1735, he returned to *Scotland* with Letters to several of the Chieftains and informed them *viva voce*, of his Reception at Court: But here having, play'd one of his old Pranks, he was taken up, and secured in the Prison of *Inverness*, where he found Means to break, and fled over the *Ness* to *Castle Downie*, Lord *Lovat's* Residence in the *Aird*; where he was kindly entertained that very Night, and shelter'd for some Time, though the crafty *Simon* being told of his Escape, issued forth Orders as Sheriff Principal of the Shire, to search for him and take him dead or alive. When a convenient Opportunity occur'd, he left the Kingdom, carrying with him Answers to the several Letters which he had before brought: Soon after he enter'd into the Service of the *French* King, and by Means of the Pretender, he was made Captain of the Grenadiers in Lord *John Drummond's* Regiment; in which Station he continued till the Rebellion was just ready to break out, when he took the Opportunity of a Ship going from *Holland*. to *Leith*, to return into *Scotland*;

²⁵ He was on board the same Vessel with that Prince, and his Hat having fallen over board into the Sea, he was heard to say, "No matter, I am to go to *Old England*, which is able to procure a better."

where landing about the beginning of *June*, he went to *Lochabar*, and there prepared the Minds of the *Highlanders* to receive the young *Chevalier*, who was soon to appear among them.

No sooner is the *Chevalier* landed in *Ardnamurchan*, than *Roy Steuart* repaired to welcome him, and had a Colonel's Commission for his Pains, and levied his Regiment as they advanced. In this Station he continued till the whole Project was dash'd in Pieces, and was most active in the various Scenes; for his Sword was generally broke at every Battle, and the streaming Gore denounced the Share he had in the Action of the Day. His Attempts upon *Keith*, and against the Duke's Life, are well known. His Zeal for his Party was likewise manifested, upon his hearing of a young Man who was employ'd by the Duke of *Cumberland* as a Spy. For *Steuart* immediately set a Reward of Twenty-Pounds upon his Head. Many other Things might be said of him, but these may suffice: However, before I take my final farewell of him, it will not be improper to observe, that much of the Clamour against Lord *George Murray* for the loss of the Battle of *Culloden*, was owing to this Desperadoe. That Nobleman and he having had some Words on the Morning of that Day, *Steuart* was threaten'd to be put under an Arrest, which he said he despis'd, and that he only would submit to his Prince but not to him. The *Chevalier* was apply'd to, but he desired them to defer the Matter till afterwards; "For now, said he, there is no Time to decide Controversies, since the Enemy is so near." At the Council of War held that Morning, *Steuart's* Opinion was, that the *French* Picquets should be drawn up within the Park, that was to the Right of their Army, the Wall of which the Dragoons and *Argyleshire Highlanders* broke down to Attack the *Chevalier's* Troops in Flank; but as his Advice was not followed, he improved so far upon the Disaster that befell them from that Quarter, as every where to publish the Treachery of Lord *G—ge M—y*, which true or false, I am far from taking upon me to determine. It may however be observed, that Lord *G—ge* would expect little or nothing from the *Chevalier*, although he should succeed, for the Marquis of *Tullibardine* was his elder Brother, and so must succeed to the *Athol* Estate. In my Opinion therefore he must have been a loser by the *Chevalier's* Success, he being Heir Apparent to the Duke of *Athol*, who having no Male Issue, intended his Daughter, as was generally believed, for Lord *George's* Son, who, by this Means, would become Duke of *Athol*, and, perhaps, King in *Mann*.

Thus far have I made a Digression, and now resume the Thread of my Narrative.

The Noblemen and Gentlemen formerly named, who had repaired to the *Chevalier* at *Glengary Castle*, being Eye Witnesses of his melancholy Situation, endeavour'd as much as possible to soften the Rigour of his bad Fortune, by preparing Methods for changing the Face of his Affairs. A Project was laid down for continuing with the Clans in the Hills, until a faithful Messenger could arrive at the Court of *Versailles*, and lay down the State and Condition of his Army to the *French* Ministry. This in all Likelyhood would have been agreed to, but Want of Money for present Sustenance was an insurmountable Objection to all their Proposals. Mean while the several Corps, and all the Stragglers who had been concealed in Thickets and otherwise, till an Opportunity presented of escaping, heightened their Loss, and at the Expence of Truth, magnified the Severity of the King's Army beyond all the Bounds of Moderation. Tho' perhaps never was less Cruelty shewn upon such an Occasion²⁶. The *Chevalier* was touched with their Narrations of these Things

²⁶ In the Year 1679, when the Duke of *Monmouth* was sent down by King *Charles* II to quell the Insurrection at *Bothwell Bridge*, while the People were desiring nothing but to worship God in their own Way, on Hills or Mountains, without Molestation, or being murdered by the Dragoons, he not only refused to hear of a Submission in the Morning before the Action; but his Troops exercised the most horrid Barbarities, many Women lying dead upon the Field, with he Children

and usually said, "I am sorry to have brought any such Hardships upon these poor People; and the best Way to prevent the like for the future, is to give over all further Attempts; for our Cause is now desperate, and would to God I had died in the Field." The daily Accounts of the Surrender of his Troops, with the mortifying News that Numbers were found dead, upon the Hills and among the Vallies, of the Wounds they had received, almost involved him in Despair, and perhaps had even gone near to distract him, had not *Perth* and the other Noblemen relieved his Spirits and proposed an Hunting Match; for say they, "by this Means, we may better escape the Search of the Troops, if advancing towards us, or perhaps they may pass by us, as Gentlemen only taking their Diversion." Their Advice was follow'd, and so they continued till the 23rd, that certain Intelligence was brought of the March of General *Campbell* with a great Number of the *Argyleshire* Militia from *Inverness*. No sooner was this News confirmed, than he and the *Chevalier*, with the Chiefs formerly named, the two *Irish* Favourites, and about 40 Men, set out for *Achnacarrie*, where *Lochiel* was with his Brother Doctor *Cameron*, whose Patient he then was for the Cure of his Wounds.

Scarce are they within Sight of the Place, when immediately the *Camerons* mistaking them for their Enemies, put themselves in a Posture of Defence, for there were about 400 of them at that Time about the House, waiting the Fate of their beloved Chieftain. But finding their Mistake, they instantly put up their Swords, and with Joy received the *Chevalier* and his Company; and instantly brought them into *Lochiel's* Apartment; who, no sooner saw them than he, guessing the Truth, hastily demanded of the *Chevalier*, which Body of the Enemy was coming upon them? "The *Campbells*" replied he, "and by this Time I believe they are at *Glengary*, for they set out Yesterday from *Inverness*" "I thought so, answered *Lochiel*, "for those Men would surely not be the last to the ruining of us"²⁷, as they "have done by many other brave and loyal Clans:" And with that he utter'd Expressions, which the Rancour of his Wound forced from him, in Spite of his natural Politeness. The *Chevalier* was for instantly departing, had not Mr. *Cameron* and others dissuaded him from it, by assuring him that the *Campbells* would take a particular Care to desolate the Places thro' which they were to pass. "Consider, says he, that *Stratherrick* and *Glengary* lie between them and me, and these to be sure they will sift 'ere they come to this Place." His Conjecture was so far just, for tho' these Gentlemen behav'd with great Humanity in the Places thro' which they passed, yet they faithfully searched *Stratherrick* for Lord *Lovat*, who had gone off about two Hours after the Departure of the *Chevalier*, and gave a *Chart Blanche*, or full Commission to his Servants to conduct him wherever they pleased, only to avoid the Rout of the *Chevalier*; tho' indeed he need not have been at any Loss where to go: For as his House is almost in the Center of the *Highlands*, there was not a Man worth 10*l.* Sterling among the Clans but whom he knew, and had conversed with for upwards of sixty-six Years. His usual Way of treating them was this: If any of their Leaders²⁸ were in Company with him, he would be sure to magnify the Greatness of the Clan to

leaping in their Wombs.

²⁷ The neighbouring Clans, viz. the *M'Leans*, who were, in Possession of *Mull*, *Morvain*, *Coll*, *Lung*, *Suel*, *Ardnamurchan*; the *M'Donalds* who had *Isla*, *Cantire*, *Jura* and *Argyle*; the *Lomonds* and *M'Lauchlans*, who had *Coual* and *Knapdale*; the *M'Vicars* who had *Inverary*; the *M'Kechrans* who had *Craignish*; the *M'Douals* and *Steuarts*, who had *Lorn*; the *M'Gregors* who had *Broadalbin*, bear a most inconceivable Hatred to the *Campbells*, who are now become the Proprietors of their Lands.

²⁸ Note. Every one of them from the Chieftain to the Herdsman is a Gentleman; but, if one of

which they belonged, and even instance some particular Exploits of the Family which they represented. He would work them up to a Belief of Improbabilities, by interpreting Prophecies and Dreams; yea he had in a Manner the Key of them, and knew the critical Juncture when to touch upon the several Springs of their Genius: He would sometimes talk of their Broils with one another, and all the Heroic Actions which happened between them. And as he observed their Heat in warmly vindicating those of their Name, he would so dextrously introduce a Story to sooth their Passions, give Vigour to their Resolution, and inflame their Inclinations to Arms, as to obtain their Admiration and make them Brave; if he met with one whose Circumstances were lower by a fifth or tenth Part, he would ask his Name, and desire to know who was his Father, of whose Acquaintance in his latter Days he pretended to be ignorant, or at least to have forgot, but generally said, "I believe I knew your Grandfather very well, and a worthy honest Man he was, well did it set him to wear a belted Plaid and a broad Sword; there are but few like him now a Days; you resemble him very much, but not quite so brawny." And then he seldom failed to introduce a Sentence or two in the *Highland* Language, describing his Valour and Intrepidity upon the several Fields of *Killicranky* and *Cromdale*, against King *William's* Forces; or even trace him up to the Days of *Montrose*, when fighting against the *Covenanters*. If he met with a Beggar, he would talk with him also, and as he kept a long Purse full of Six-pences, he dismiss him with one of them; so by these and the like Insinuations, he would almost fire the Man into an unquenchable Thirst after War. He then would give a detail of his Genealogy for ten Generations backward; show his Connection with his Chieftain, and the other Families of his Name; point out their Retortion with the Neighbouring Clans, and at last demonstrate how near he was ally'd to himself: By this cherishing and fomenting their natural Disposition to Tumults and Insurrections, he promoted the Rebellion, and procured the profoundest Respect, Veneration and Esteem of all the *Highlanders*, who look'd upon him as an Oracle, and only wanted an Opportunity of entertaining him in their Houses.

His Servants conducted him for some Time through the Country of *Moidart*, *Knoidart* and *Ardnamurchan*; but at last being put into the Trunk of an hollow Tree, which stood in the midst of a Lake, he was, through Information of a Boy, discovered to a Party of the *Argyleshire* Militia, who went to the Place where they were directed, and found him sitting with a Pair of Blankets about him. He was instantly conducted on board one of the King's Ships by a Lieutenant, and there secured till Orders were sent to bring him up by Land, as the Sea would not agree with him. He was delivered over to a Party of Lord *Mark Ker's* Dragoons, who escorted him to *Edinburgh*, upon the 20th of *July*, and from thence to *London*, where his Fate is so well known, that I shall not enlarge upon it, but return to the Escape of the young *Chevalier*.

The Arguments of *Lochiel* having prevailed upon the unfortunate Adventurer, he sat down and had an handsome Dinner prepared, with plenty of Wines and other Liquors, which these *Highlanders* drink at a prodigious cheap Rate; yea in a manner for the same Price as at *Boulogne*; abstracting from the Freight, which is render'd very easy to them, as they are brought home in the Vessels, which they send to *France* with their Cattle, which they slaughter and barrel up; for as there are no Officers of Excise in these Parts, except at *Fort-William*, where there is a Garrison, and that the Coast is generally deep, 'tis almost incredible what Quantities of Liquor are run in upon the Creeks; yea sometimes landed in the open Shore, in the most publick Manner.

It was here the young *Chevalier* passed the first cool Moments, since his irretrievable Disaster; and, being with those he could trust, began calmly to deliberate on what was proper to be done. He

them be worth 100*l*, in the World, he is a Leader, and becomes a Captain at their Rendezvous.

was now much encouraged and assisted by the Advice of a Gentleman of unquestionable Zeal and Capacity. This was *Lochiel*, who, however mistaken in his political Principles, was yet a Man of strict Honour, and inviolably faithful to his Cause. Some were for fighting the *Campbells* as they advanced, but others more coolly withstood the Proposal, for, say they, "it will but enrage the Enemy the more: Besides, says one, this is but the Way to weaken ourselves, and furnish the *Campbells* with the stronger Pretensions for obtaining our Possessions, as a Reward for their Merit and Services." The last Opinion prevailed, they ended their Consultations with a full Resolution to skulk about in a Body for some Time, and wait the Succours that were expected from *France*. But, said *Lochiel*, "since the Enemy is so very near us, let us live as well as possible in the mean Time"²⁹, least those come to take up our Goods, who will give us little or no Thanks for them. Mean while my Clan may be driving their Cattle to the securest Places, and my Servants concealing my most valuable Effects." His Advice and Orders were follow'd, the *Camerons* having got a considerable Quantity of Provisions for present Subsistence, set about driving their Cattle, which is the great Stock in these Parts, to such Places of Retreat as they judged most safe; and afterwards went down to *Morvain*, where they gathered into a Body as the Chieftain had directed, In the mean Time his Domesticks are burying his Silver Plate, and other valuable Houshold Furniture, in the Hollows and Dens which surrounded his House. The Victuals which they carried off proved of the greatest Service, but the others were intirely and irrecoverably lost: For some Time after a Detachment of Brigadier *Houghton's* Regiment, coming to *Achnacarrie*, which is at any Time but a bare Place, they found it now almost desolate; the Chieftain's DwellingHouse being burnt to the Ground, and not so much as a single Person as to be seen near it. However, they set about searching for hidden Treasures; not doubting but something valuable might be found: But in all Probability they would have missed their Aim, had not the Gardener, who was in the Secret, been so anxious for the Preservation of his Master's Effects, as to skulk about the Place till discover'd by the Soldiers; who' getting him within the Reach of their Guns, obliged him to bring to, seized and examined him. After informing them who he was, they enquired of him what was become of his Master's Moveables; to which he pretending Ignorance, they immediately fixed two Halberts in the Ground, tyed him to them, strip'd him and employ'd two Drummers with Rods to lash him on the Back, till the Smartness of the Pain he was in, prevailed upon him to disclose the whole, and conducted them to the Places of Concealment, where they made seizure of every Thing; which done, they dismissed the Man, that he might go and inform his Master of what he had seen and felt. Which however he could not accomplish; for before he could find him, *Lochiel* was gone toward *Loch-Noua*, where the *French* Men of War were come: But more of this hereafter.

This Chief following the Fate of the *Chevalier*, set out with him from *Achnacarrie*, upon the approach of the *Campbells*. In four Hour's Time they arrived upon the Green of *Keppoch*, with their whole Retinue. Here the *Chevalier*, who put up in *Keppoch's* House, was sensibly touch'd with the change of his Fortune: He, that some few Months ago, appeared in that Place with the *M'Donalds* of *Glengary*, and *Clanranald*, the *Camerons*, &c. big with the Hopes of a Crown, against which his Imagination seemed to start no Difficulty, now saw himself reduced to the Necessity of flying to that Place as a Fugitive, incapable of sustaining the Dignity and Name he had assumed; and moreover, he had the further Mortification of hearing the Cries and Groans of a disconsolate Widow, and six Fatherless Children; for *Keppoch* was dead of the Wounds he had received upon the Field of *Culloden*, and his Clan, which had greatly suffered in the Engagement,

²⁹ Accordingly they feasted on Beef, Mutton and Venison, in the greatest Plenty; vast Numbers of Cows, Sheep and Deer, being killed every Day.

were but just returned from the Funeral of their beloved Master; who was in every Respect a compleat and well behaved Gentleman, worthy of a better Fate; and the more to be pitied, as he died fighting against a Constitution, to which by his *French* Education he was an absolute Stranger, and which by the Situation of his Residence, he had little or nothing to do with: The Cries and Groans of his Household, the mournful Sighs of his Clan, and the dreadful Prospect of the future Calamities that befell them, from the Regular Forces and the Militia, but particularly the *Munroe's* sunk the whole of the *Chevalier's* Retinue, and melted them into Tears: Till *Lochiel* and the two Favourites interposed, and urg'd that the indulging Grief to such a Degree, in the Day of Adversity, "was unbecoming a reasonable Man, and below the Temper of a Christian. "We must act and not mourn," said the *Chevalier*, and "I think it's proper that these People, (meaning the *M'Donalds* of *Keppoch*,) should join with the *Camerons*, and keep in a Body till an Opportunity offers, either of making head against the Usurper's Forces, or else getting over to *France*, where I shall be sure to use my utmost Endeavours, to get them incorporated with the *Scotch* and *Irish* Regiments in the pay of that Crown;" the Proposal was relished so well, as considerably to allay the bitter Complaints and Lamentations of the whole for a Time: A Dinner was prepared for the *Chevalier* and his Company, of the best Things they had, such as Venison, and Fish of all Kind, and a sufficient Quantity of Provisions was distributed among the Soldiers that came with the *Chevalier*. After this Refreshment, the Servants of *Keppoch* set about carrying off the most valuable Effects of his House, while the main Body of the Clan marched towards the *Camerons*, whom they joined. And here it may be observed, that *Keppoch's* Furniture escaped the most diligent Search, for though his House was burnt to the Ground, yet his Moveables were, so well secured, as not to fall into the Hands of the Royalists.

But while every Thing is preparing in this Way, against the Hardships that must of Necessity happen, the *Chevalier* and his Retinue, fired with a Spirit of Revenge, are busy in consulting what Rout was best to take for the future, and forgetting their former Resolutions *Gortlich*, *Glengary* and *Achnacarrie*, at last they agreed to this Scheme, "that *Lochiel* with the *Camerons* and *M'Donalds*, should keep in a Body, and favour any Landings from *France*, while the *Chevalier* and his favourite Companions, *viz.* *Sheridan*, *Sullivan*, and others, were to traverse the Isles, and endeavour to raise such a Force, as with the Succours from abroad, might make a stand." After staying here all Night, they set out next Morning to *Glenphillin*, where the *Camerons*, at his first landing, had set up his Standard. Here they entered into a Cave, not far from the Place, where every Thing was prepared for their Reception; and *Lochiel*, having with him a Guard of between fifty and sixty resolute Men, and Centries placed six Miles round, no great Danger was apprehended. Here they continued three Days, and were plentifully supply'd with every Thing necessary for the Support and Satisfaction of Life, but as it's impossible to bear tip under the Lashes and Tortures of Anxiety, the *Chevalier* declared his Uneasiness, and signified his Desire to be gone; and accordingly set out for the Isles.

It was now the beginning of *May*, when two *French* Men of War, one of Thirty-four Guns, the other of Thirty-two, appeared off the *Western* Coast They sent a long Boat on Shore to the Island of *Tyress*, in order to take in Provisions, and get a Pilot to conduct them through these Seas, some of which are at certain Times extremely Tempestuous, and being interspersed with blind Rocks and Islands, become dangerous to the People unacquainted with them. Having procured every Thing they wanted, they sailed to the Mouth of *Loch Nua*, when a Ship-Master belonging to *Fort-William* observed them; he instantly sailed to *Aros Bay*, in the Island of *Mull*, and informed the Captain of the *Greyhound* Ship of War of the Matter; who hereupon, with the *Baltimore*,

weighed Anchor, and sailed in quest of them, along with Mr. *Ferguson*,³⁰ who rightly judging the Enemy's Design was to enter the *Loch*, he conducted them to the Mouth of it, and being in their Way joined by the *Terror* Bomb-Vessel, they lay to all that Night, and next Morning by Day-break stood in for them. The *French* directly fired a Gun, which not being answered, they hoisted their Country Colours, and one of them gave a full broad-side, which the *Greyhound* returned; in a short Time, by the Force of the Stream, she was carried between the two, who plied her close and were closely plied in their turn; though without Doubt she must have been taken, had not the *Terror* and *Baltimore* raked the Enemy so much fore and aft, as diverted a considerable share of their Force: The *French* then sent their long Boats on shore, to bring in some Parties of *Highlanders*, who were there drawn up, and actually brought some of them on Board, with a Design to grapple the King's Ships, and attack them on their Decks Sword in Hand; which the others observing, wisely sheered off in Time with their Masts and Rigging much shattered: Meeting however with the *Furnace* Bomb, they returned with Design to renew the Attack; but in the mean time the Enemy had sailed away, much disgusted at the disingenuity of the *Highlanders*, who did not inform them of the real State of the *Chevalier's* Affairs, till all the Money,³¹ Ammunition, Liquors and Provisions, they had brought, were landed; however they carried off a considerable number of Noblemen, Gentlemen and Officers; for no sooner did they cast Anchor in the *Loch*, and it was known they were *French*, than an Express was sent to *Lochiel* and the other Persons of Distinction who were then with him; who instantly repaired to the Shore, and were Eye-witnesses of the Engagement which I have been describing. *Perth*, Lord *John Drummond*, Lord *Nairn*, the younger *Clanranald*, with several Officers embarked; but *Lochiel* told them that he inclined to continue behind for some Time, till he saw what Turn his Master's Affairs might take, and in the mean Time desired that at any Event they would not fail to send over some more Vessels to carry off the remainder of the Party. Repeated Assurances were given him of this, on which he retired with a few to the above-mentioned Cave; and *May* 4, the two Ships set sail for *Boulogne*. While they were proceeding on their Voyage, *Perth* died of the Fatigue which he had undergone both before and since the Battle of *Culloden*. He was a very tender Man, for having received a bruise in his Lungs, when but a Child, he contracted so much Weakness, as generally to feel a sensible Heaviness at his Heart toward Bed Time; which rendered him incapable of taking any Supper except a little boil'd Milk and Bread, or some such gentle Food; and yet, though very slender, and valetudinary, to Astonishment did he go through the several Hardships to which he was exposed; but now being unable to bear up under the Waftings of his shatter'd and tottering Constitution, and a Sickness at Sea which always violently attacked him when on Ship-board; or rather being unable to support himself, or comfort his Mind, on a Review of the miserable Scenes of which he had seen so much, and had been so great a sharer in, he sunk under the Depression, and died. His Corps was carried on Shore, and interred in a Manner suitable to his Birth, amidst the mournful Sighs and Groans of those, whose Love and Esteem his Humanity and Sweetness of Temper had so universally procured, he being a Nobleman naturally of the most extensive Benevolence and Charity; a great Encourager of Manufactures, and, to the utmost of his Opportunities, a Father to the Poor.

Let us now return to the *Chevalier*, who is bitterly lamenting his ill Fortune in missing the Opportunity of escaping, by means of the two *French* Ships. And the greater was his Mortification,

³⁰ The Man's Name, from whom the Author had this Narration.

³¹ They landed in Cash 40,000 Lewis d'Ors, which the *Highlanders* secured.

when he heard they had landed about 40,000 Lewis d'Ors, 35,000 of which had fallen into the Hands of Mr. *Murray of Broughton*, in whom he placed no Confidence, nor had the least Regard for.

And now as many of the remaining Chieftains as could be got together, assembled to consult on what was proper to be done, since so many of them had gone off on board the two Ships, as aforesaid. Every one gave in an Estimate of the Vassals he could raise; and it was actually thought by some, that considering the Supply of Money, Arms, Ammunition, and Provisions they had got from *France*, they would have come to a Resolution of Mustering again: But the active Measures of the Royalists put it out of their Power.

The Duke of *Cumberland* had, immediately after entering *Inverness*, issued out a Proclamation of Pardon and Protection to all such of the common People, as should submit to Mercy. Numbers obeyed, and reaped the Benefit of this Proclamation: And indeed, it is amazing that all in general did not do so; but many were so obstinately attach'd to the Fortune of their Chiefs, and the Cause of the *Chevalier*, that no Considerations could prevail on them to surrender.

This provoked the Duke to publish another Proclamation, (*May 1*.) "Requiring in his Majesty's Name, all Sheriffs, Stewards and their Deputies, Magistrates of Boroughs, Justices of Peace, and other Officers of the Law, to make diligent Search for all Persons of what Rank soever, who have been at any Time against his Majesty in the Course of this wicked and unnatural Rebellion, and who have not deliver'd up their Arms, and submitted to his Majesty's Mercy, in Terms of the Proclamation, dated at *Montrose* the 24th of *February*, 1745. and the Officers of the Law, to take Information from the Ministers of the established Church of *Scotland*, touching the Behaviour of the Inhabitants within their respective Parishes, and of the present Haunts, and Places of Abode of such Rebels as may be lurking in their several Neighbourhoods; and further to make a strict Enquiry after all such Persons as may have, since the Battle of *Culloden*, harboured, concealed or entertained any Rebels, knowing them to be such; and with the Assistance of the Military to seize and commit them to Prison in order to Trial."

This Order threw the Chiefs into a Consternation, and as Numbers had already surrender'd and were dismissed, the private Men, yea some of the Officers, immediately declared their Inclination to follow that Example. The *Frasers* and *Chisholms*, the *M'Intoshes* and other Branches of the *Catti*, applied to the Ministers of their respective Parishes, who went with them to *Inverness*, and deliver'd their Arms; others obtained Certificates, that they had laid down their Weapons, and so were dismissed and allowed to pursue their lawful Business: On the 13th of *May*, *Alexander M'Donald* of *Glenco*, with those of his People who were with him, surrendered to General *Campbell*, as did those of *Appin*, who were then at home; and both *Appin* and *Glenco* gave Notice thereof to such of their Vassals as were absent, ordering them to return to their own Habitations. The mild and gentle Treatment of the Duke, with the dismal Prospect of Desolation in Case of Obstinacy, prevailed upon almost the whole to embrace his Terms before the 20th of *May*, so that none now continued in Arms but the *Camerons*, some of the *M'Donalds* of *Keppoch*, and *John Roy Steuart*.

Another Incident also happened, which I should not have mentioned, but that it had a greater Effect upon the Councils of the *Chevalier* and his Friends, than the Reader perhaps may at first View imagine. And moreover, it serves to illustrate the Folly of national Distinctions. The Story, so far I could learn, was literally thus: About Twenty-six Deserters were found among the Prisoners taken upon the Day of Battle, and being tried and condemned they were accordingly

Executed. One of them being a *Scotchman*, was hanged up. by himself, and as he was swinging, an *English Officer* spoke to a *Scotchman* standing by him, Words to this Effect, “See your Countryman dancing on the Rope; would to God all the *Scotch* were served in the same way: “Damn them, for they are all Rebels.” The *Scotchman*, as inconsiderate as the other, answered with the greatest Warmth, “If all the *Scotch* were Rebels, Things had gone otherwise than they have; and I will lay any Wager that there are more *Scotchmen* in the Army than *Englishmen*, and should they turn out, they would defeat the whole Forces here.” Then some scurrilous Language highly unbecoming the Mouths of Gentlemen to utter, as well as an Author to relate, ensued; the *Scots* were called to draw up on one Side, and the *English* on the other, and perhaps that Day had prov’d fatal to the Royal Cause, for whether the *Scots* or *English* mould get the better, his Majesty certainly must lose.

The Town’s People of *Inverness* had now as terrible a Prospect as their Ancestors had, even on *Cabbach-Day*³² itself. The Duke being timely informed of the dismal Scene that was like to be acted, he quickly rose up and run in among them, just when the *Scots* were about to attack the *English Camp*. Taking off his Hat he demanded to know what was the Matter, and as he walked along the Line, he heard from several, the Particulars of the Affair: Whereupon he order’d them in the Name of his Royal Father, to desist from such Rashness. “Have we, said he, conquered the Rebels? And must we now murder ourselves? How will the Enemies of *Britain* rejoice at the News. Let national Distinctions cease for the future: And here by Virtue of the Power entrusted with me, I declare it shall be Death for either an *Englishman* to reflect upon a *Scotchman*, or for a *Scotchman* to reflect upon an *Englishman* on Account of their Country³³. And tho’ the Rebels who live in the Skirts of this Country, or among the Isles, and are disjoined by Nature from the Continent, differ in Language, Habit, Religion, and Way of Living, have risen up in Arms against my Royal Father, yet I am fully convinced of the Loyalty of the Body of the People in general, (who have as little Connexion with them as any *Englishman*;) And the Services they have done us shall never be forgot, while any Branch of the King’s Family remains.” Having spoke these Words, in a becoming and a princely Manner, he order’d each Colonel to draw up his own Regiment, and so dismiss the whole to their Quarters; which was done with all imaginable Harmony.

When the *Chevalier* heard of this Affair, and the Facility with which his Rival quelled the Tumult, he was no less chagrined than he was on Account of the Effects of the Proclamation I have mentioned. He was now now at the Head of *Knoidart*; and tho’ he had always spoken and written most disrespectfully of King *George’s* Family, yet neither he or his Favourites, could help applauding the Conduct, the Wisdom and Prudence of the Duke. “They are closely united, said *Sullivan* to his Master, but your Highness’s Forces have ever been like a disjointed Body, which cannot stand upright unless it be supported: You was witness to their Animosities and Divisions;

³² A Day ever memorable in that Town for the Fight between the *Camerons* and *M’Phersons*, on Account of so small a Trifle as one Third of a *Scots Penny*, and almost destroyed each other: The Matter was this, a *M’Pherson* asked of a Woman the Price of a Cheese, which he thinking too dear by 1/3rd of a Penny, threw it in a Passion upon the Edge of her Stand. The Cheese taking a Run, she cry’d out to her Husband for Help; who thereupon in a Passion stabb’d the Man; whose Quarrel was espoused by one of his Name standing by, and so successively eight or ten attack’d one another in this Way, till the Action became general.

³³ This Resolution was afterwards ratified by a Court-Martial.

you know how they abused the Trust reposed in them by your Royal Father, as he was pleased to signify by his Letter³⁴ to yourself. Consider that our Body is not only broke and dismember'd, but several of the Parts are scatter'd up and down not to be gather'd again, while our Enemies are more and more closely united even by Divisions. Let us yield to our Misfortune so far as to consult our own Safety, and not be led aside by desperate Fools, who see not into the Event of Things: The *Chevalier* acquiesced, and immediately agreed to go in Quest of a Boat to carry them over to *Lewis*, where, by good Fortune, they might possibly find a Vessel to transport them to *France*.

Fully resolved on this Scheme they set but, and in their Way are met by some of *Barisdale's* Stragglers who had been in *Sutherland* with *Cromarty*, the Manner of whose Disaster the *Chevalier* was desirous to know: Upon their Recital of it he seem'd astonish'd at the Imprudence of that Nobleman; but the two Favourites heard it with the utmost Composure, without so much as an Alteration of Countenance. "What, say they, could be expected from a weak imprudent Man, whom every Person the least acquainted with human Nature, must quickly see thro': And now I hope your Highness sees clearly the desperate State of your Affairs; besides *Barisdale* we are told, is taken, or has surrendered himself to the Enemy. The Character of the Man we presume you know too well, and therefore we need not enlarge Upon it³⁵. A prudent Man escheweth Evil; and what can be expected of him: A Man who lived as he has done, can never be thought to continue true to any Master; but rather to embrace such Terms as appear to him most advantageous. Take Care, added *Sheridan*, that he do not proffer to the Usurper's Son to take you up, and make a Merit of it." And indeed I have been prettywell informed that the Conjecture of this able Politician was just; but as I would not affirm any Thing I am not undoubtedly assured of, I am far from asserting that he actually made such an Offer: Tho' this has been roundly asserted to me; but the Truth of it is best known to the Duke.

But, to return to the *Chevalier*. "Come, Come, said he, let us drop our Reflections, and endeavour to make our Escape, for I fear; have had but too many *Barisdale's* about me." Being come to the Sea Shore, they found no Boat was left them, for the *M'Donalds* of *Clanranald's* Family had seized all they could for transporting themselves to *South Uist*; and the Boats were not yet returned: This obliged them to roam up and down among the Mountains till one should appear. Three Days and three Nights they lived among these Places, always shifting their Abode. And as in the Day Time they chose the Tops and Heights of the Hills, they had the cruel Mortification of seeing vast Drovers of Cattle going, before Parties, (who were sent out for Subsistance) to

³⁴ Alluding to a Letter which the old *Chevalier* wrote to his Son after the Battle of *Preston*, in which he desired him always to act in Concert with the Loyal Clans.

³⁵ There were three *Barisdales*; the elder about 90 Years old; who, though ignorant of the *English* Tongue, even in the *Scots* Dialect, yet was so much attached to the Family of *Steuart*, for whom he had fought in almost all the Battles since the Revolution, that he muster'd up his Force for the *Chevalier*, who I have seen take particular Notice of him at *Duddingston*, when reviewing his Troops. The younger, or second *Barisdale*, was one of the *Chevalier's* Colonels. He was once Captain of a Company who robb'd and plunder'd all about *Ross-shire* and *Strathnavern*; and so sensible were the Chieftains of the Captain's great Abilities to protect their Store, that when the *Highland* Independent Companies were regimented, they met and commissioned *Barisdale* to secure their Possessions, and preserve their Cattle from being stolen; and for his Encouragement every Person possessed of a Fold of Cows paid him a Gratuity, which was called *Black Meal*. The youngest was about 20 Years of Age, and bred up in the Principles and Practice of his Ancestors.

Inverness, for the Use of the King's Troops. 'Twas happy for our Wanderers that they had Plenty of Provisions with them, and particularly cold Venison and Usquebaugh, with which *Lochiel* had taken special Care to supply them, otherwise they must have been much straightened; for the Inhabitants had either been killed in the Battles they had fought, or else were lurking among the Caves for their Safety, so that few or none were to be met with but old Men, Women and Children, in their former Places of Abode.

The *Chevalier's* little Company of about ten Persons had separated into smaller Parties, two and two in each, but he himself kept with the two Favourites and *Kinlochmoidart's* Brother, who then was their Guide. By this Means they expected to escape the Search of the Enemy, having agreed to apprise each other of any approaching Distress: Nor did any of them fall into the Hands of the Militia, except one *O Neal* an Officer, supposed to be a Priest, who, thro' Carelessness, or a Spirit of vain Curiosity, had gone beyond the Bounds prescribed. He was seized by the *Campbells*, who were industrious in finding out the Stragglers; and, being a Man of Letters, was invited by a Lieutenant, whom I well knew, to take a Share of his Bed, and to him did he, after a short Time, give a distinct Account of the Motions and Shiftings of the young *Chevalier*; and, by this Means, undeceived the Country in respect to his Rout: For till then it was artfully propagated by his Followers, and inserted in all the News Papers in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, I had almost said in *Europe*, that the young *Chevalier* had gone off with the two *French* Men of War; but after the Truth was known, the Militia set themselves more than ever to trace out his Footsteps. They searched the Mountains where *O Neal* had given out he was hid; and no Doubt both he and his Attendants must have fallen into the Net that was spread for them, had not a Boat come from *South-Uist*, much about the Time that *O Neal* was taken, to seek after some of the People of that Island, who were yet missing.

No sooner did the *Chevalier's* little Company, now diminished by one, observe the Boat, than they instantly made towards the Shore, and set up a Signal for them to draw near. The Crew immediately guessing that some of their Party were in Distress, and made this Signal for Relief, sailed into the Place, *viz.* a small Creek, to the Westward of the Bay of *Barisdale*, whence they set sail for *South-Uist*; at the same Time giving out to one or two that came to see the Boat, that they intended for the *Lewis*, in order to get on board a Vessel for *France*. Night fast advancing favoured their Scheme, for the People could not long observe them after they were put to Sea.

There is a little Island named *Canna* which belongs to *Clanranald*, lying to the Westward of *Mull*, but covered by *Egg* on that Side, for which some of the Crew proposed to sail. The *Chevalier* and his Attendants were glad of this, because they had heard that the Place they designed to make, was inhabited by the Friends of their Religion, and that being of the Family of *Clanranald*, they were the more firmly attached to their Cause. Into this Place the Boat put, and landed her Passengers, who went up to the Houses of the principal Inhabitants, where warm Quarters were instantly assigned them³⁶, and such Refreshments, as Beef, Mutton, and Wild Fowl, Bannocks made of Graddin³⁷ and Usquebaugh, were prepared. Hence they kept a sharp Look-out for fear of

³⁶ It is observable that tho' the Islanders be great Discouragers of Trade, and suffer none to dwell among them but themselves, yet no People upon Earth are kinder to Strangers for a Night or two than they are.

³⁷ That is Meal made in the following Manner, they throw some Sheaves of Corn into a Fire kindled with Straw, and after the whole is burnt, they gather up the Pickles which they put into a Vessel, which a Woman enters bare-footed, and by trampling it severs the Rubbish from the Grain.

the Militia, of whose coming they were under perpetual Apprehensions; and for their greater Security they sailed in the Boat all Day, and at Night returned to their Quarters. In this Way they continued for some Time, till about the 28th of *May* observing several Vessels coming out of the Sound of *Mull*, which they rightly judging belonged to the *Campbells*, the *Chevalier* proposed to shift their Abode. Hereupon they hastened to *South-Uist*, where they landed upon the 20th in the Morning: There they were received by the Lady *Clanranald*, (who was at that Time in perfect Health, and every way right in her Intellects, in which she was subject to be frequently disorder'd, especially when pregnant) in the most hospitable Manner, and entertained in her Husband's Absence, suitably to the Rank and Dignity which the *Chevalier* (and some of his Attendants) had hitherto assumed: For the *M'Donalds* in that Island are a generous Sort of People, and being all Papists, they cultivate the old *Scots* Union with *France*, both in Religion and civil Policy. Few or none of them, tho' born with a Martial Genius, enter into the *British* Army, but rather seek their Fortunes abroad and are much assisted toward Preferment, by the *Chevalier* and his Sons. To procure the Continuation of their Favours, all the Inhabitants set themselves to render the Strangers all possible Service. They brought in Wild Fowl and Venison in Plenty, and as for Wines, they had them of all Sorts. Here the *Chevalier* continued, sometimes visiting the principal Cadets of the Family and the Lady of *Boisdale*. *Clanranald's* Brother, who tho' a Well-Wisher to his Interest, yet had, from a View of the Difficulty of his Undertaking, at the Beginning opposed his Design: But on the 28th of *June* he had Advice that General *Campbell*, who had been informed of this last Retreat of the unhappy Fugitive, was approaching toward the Island, through *North-Uist*; and in all Probability the General must have seized him, had not an extraordinary Expedient (of which more in its Place) been fallen upon for his Preservation and Relief.

'Twas on the 27th of *May* that *Campbell* sailed with 1000 Men from *Dunstaffnage*, the antient Burial-place of the *Scots* Kings, for *Strontian*, so remarkable for its Lead Mines, in order to dispossess the *Camerons*, who still continued in Arms, of that part of the Country, and bring them to Terms; he anchored that Night at *Tobermory Bay*, in *Mull*, famous for the Wreck of the *Florida* Spanish Man of War, on board of which was the Money for Payment of the Troops that came in the Invincible *Armada*, Anno. 1588, and next Day doubled the Point of *Ardnamurchan* and arrived in *Strontian*; here *Cameron of Dungallon*, *Lochiel's* Lieutenant Colonel brought in his Men and Arms, and with them surrendered to the King's Mercy, and were quickly followed by the Inhabitants of *Ardnamurchan* and *Morvem*, where the Religion of the Church of *Rome*, had of late mightily prevailed. But as for *Lochiel* himself, he had a Spirit that would not suffer him to entertain the least Thought of surrendering to any one.

Here the General continued, till getting Intelligence that the Duke of *Cumberland* was arrived at *Fort-Augustus*, and that Lord *George Sackville* and Major *Wilson* were marched along the Coast to scour every Part of the Country, he put to Sea, and sailed for the *Lewis*, where arriving, he diligently searched for the young *Chevalier*, though to no purpose. Hence he marched through the *Harris*, and *North-Uist*, where he got Information of his Abode, and was almost within two Miles of *Benbicula*, (a small Island that is joined to *South Uist*, when there is an Ebb, but separated at full

When they judge it clean, they grind it betwixt two Stones, the one whereof lies upon the Ground, with a smooth Surface, and has a small Piece of Iron for its Axis, upon which the other Stone is fixed, turns round upon that Axis, and grinds the Bear, (which makes better Meal this Way than any other Grains till it be conveniently small; but the utmost Pains cannot make it so fine as the coarsest is rendered by Means of a Water-Mill.

Sea) before those of *Clanranald's* House were apprised. When the News was brought to the *Chevalier* and his Attendants, who were at first greatly struck with Surprize, "Come, said *Sullivan*, there is no Help for it; to yield to Misfortune is not the way to get rid of her; let us rather immediately contrive our Escape:" Let's hear then, said the *Chevalier*, what you have now to propose; you know I always hear you with Pleasure: For my part, I would sooner perish, I would rather die this Moment, than fall into the Hands of the *Campbells*, or any of that Rebel-name." "Yes, added another, or into the Hands of any of the Usurpers Forces;" Then reply'd *Sullivan*, "I think your Highness and I should separate, for certainly if many be found about the House, we shall be discovered; put on Women's Apparel for the present, and I will go with Mr. *Sheridan*, Mr. *Buchanan*, and the other Gentlemen, to the other end of the Island, where, perhaps, we may meet with a Boat, and sail over to *Ireland*, where I am not afraid of being secure, tho' indeed your Highness ought not to venture thither, for as 50,000*l.* is there set upon your Head, I would trust none of them. As for me, if I get off to *France*, I shall represent your Case at the Court of *Vesailles*." The *Chevalier*, ever observant of *Sullivan's* Counsels, which he looked upon as so many Oracles, acquiesced in the Proposal, rather perhaps by a Gesture than any verbal Expression, for I could not learn what he said; but the Person who gave me this Information declared that the *Chevalier's* parting with *Sullivan* was like tearing his Heart from his Body (for that was the Man's Phrase.) Take my Cloak Bag³⁸, said the *Chevalier*, with you, "shew my Pocket Book to my Cousin the King of *France*, as a Token of my Distress, and I hope a Vessel will soon be sent for me if you arrive in *France*, which pray God you may." *Sullivan* made the most solemn Protestations of his inviolable Attachment to his Interest, and of his faithfully observing the Instructions given him. Then all took their Leave of their unhappy Master, and set out with Plenty of Provisions, which *Clanranald's* Lady had prepared on Purpose. They met opportunely with a Boat, in which they sailed for *Ireland*, and from thence incognito to *France*, where *Sullivan* discharged the Trust reposed in him.

Mean Time the *Royalists* are approaching, and perhaps might have been sooner at the Place, had not the half-Flood stopped them for some Time, as there were not a sufficient Number of Boats for ferrying them over. The Lady *Clanranald* now besought the *Chevalier* with Tears in her Eyes, to think of some Method for escaping, if he did not approve of *Sullivan's*: But his Spirits almost failing, he knew not how to behave. Whereupon the Lady said, "Here is a young Gentlewoman, Miss *Flora M'Donald*³⁹, upon whom I will prevail to take your Highness under her Protection." Accordingly she immediately applied to Miss, who readily accepted the Task; for they both said, "if he be taken here, the whole Country may chance to suffer for it." Lady *Clanranald* brought a Gown, and all other Clothes necessary for one of her Sex, to the *Chevalier*, who kept on nothing of his own Apparel but his Breeches and Stockings. He dressed himself with the Help of the Lady, who order'd a Boat to be got ready for them, and a Servant to attend along with the Boatmen, who were directed to conduct Miss *Flora* and her supposed Maid to *Sky*, They continued all Night at

³⁸ This was all the Baggage which he had, for the other Part of it was sent to *Red Castle* about the Time of the Battle, and was plundered by the Country People.

³⁹ A Daughter of one Captain *Hugh McDonald* of *Clanranald's* Family, who was with the Lady as a Companion at that Time. Many false and idle Stories have been published of her, of which the Inventors ought to be ashamed, since it is now publickly known, that instead of being the Brilliant Lady she has been represented, she was no other than a simple modest Girl, remarkable only for befriending a Fugitive in his Distress.

Sea, and next Morning arrived at a Place a little below Sir *Alexander M'Donald's* House: But the *Chevalier* would not allow the Crew to quit the Boat, neither did himself or the Lady stir out of it till the Return of the Servant, whom they sent ashore to discover whether or not they might land in Safety. In less than an Hour's Time the trusty Messenger let them know they might venture ashore, which they accordingly did; and the Lady with her Maid proceeded directly to Sir *Alexander's* House. The Knight⁴⁰ was not at Home; but his Lady received her Visitor with great Politeness, and earnestly press'd her to stay all Night. But this Miss *Flora*, directed by the Looks of her Maid, absolutely refused, under Pretence of pressing Business which call'd her elsewhere; and that she had only done herself the Pleasure to call and see how her Ladyship did.

After a plentiful Dinner they set out for the Laird of *M'Kinnon's* House; where the Maid became a Man. For on communicating the Secret to Mr. *M'Kinnon*, it being now no longer convenient for the *Chevalier* to continue in his Transformation, the Laird furnished him with a short Coat, a Waistcoat, and other Things suitable to his Sex, and which yet sufficiently disguised his Quality.

Here they staid all Night, but in the Morning Miss *M'Donald* returned to her own Home. The *Chevalier* however continued for the Rest of the Day with Mr. *M'Kinnon*: In the Evening he took a Walk toward the Sea Side, and chanced to meet with one *Normand M'Leod*, an old Fisherman, who was perfectly acquainted with all the Western Islands, and all the Creeks upon the Coasts, from *Tongue Bay* in *Strathnavern* to *Ardnamurchan*. The Man happened to know the *Chevalier*, by whom he was offered a Sum of Money to carry him to *Raarsa*. This was agreed to, and safely executed. The Proprietor of that Island very hospitably entertained him; but next Day being apprehensive of a Visit, he advised his wandering Guest to return to *Sky*. This Advice the harass'd *Chevalier* found himself obliged to comply with, and still continued under the Care of *M'Leod* (who thought proper to assume the Name of *M'Kinnon*, the better to skreen himself in Case of a Discovery) till General *Campbell* returned to that Island.

That Commander, some Days after his arrival at *South-Uist*, being informed of the Departure of the *Chevalier*; and of the manner of his Escape, order'd the Lady *Clanranald* into Custody, and marched his Troops through *North-Uist* and the *Harris*, till they came directly opposite to *Sky*, having previoufly sent thither Captain *Ferguson* in the Cutter. That Vessel was pretty soon up at the Place appointed; but the Captain suspecting the *Chevalier* might be hiding among the *M'Kinnons*, order'd the Pilot to steer to that part of the Country that belonged to them. Accordingly they put in within Pistol-shot of the Shore, just at the spot where the Fugitive they were seeking actually was. Here he had certainly been discover'd had it not been for a rising Ground, behind which he retired and made off. The Boatman now observing that General *Campbell* was on the point of landing with his Militia, and that a King's Ship conducted by a Shipmaster of *Inverlochy*, was so near, thought proper to haul his Boat to the other side of the Island, and row the *Chevalier* to the Continent.

About Five o' Clock in the Afternoon they set out for *Glenelge*, and arrived in about three Hours upon the Coast. Here the Fisherman drew the Boat up to a Creek, fenced on all sides, and there landed his Passenger. It was now about Nine o'Clock at Night, and they walk'd along the Shore for some Time, in order to observe what was stirring in the Country. Here it was that the *Chevalier* went through one of the oddest Adventures, that perhaps ever happened to any Man; for at this place a Company of Militia (the *Monroe's*, if I mistake not) were waiting, in hopes the unhappy

⁴⁰ He was in the Government's Interest, and at this Time with the Duke's Army.

Fugitive might fall into their Hands: To make the more sure of their Prize, they had with them a Blood-hound, to trace him out. The Dog was within a Stone's throw of them, and the Men not much farther off, when *M'Kinnon* observed them, and particularly suspected the Animal. Whereupon he advised his Passenger instantly to pull off all his Cloaths, and enter the Water up to the Neck: "For, said he, if you go in with your Cloaths on, you may catch your Death. In the mean time I will divert the smell of the Dog with these Fishes," he having some on a String in his Hand. The affrighted *Chevalier* instantly did as he was directed, and *M'Kinnon* having hid the *Chevalier's* Cloaths in a Cliff of a Rock, began to amuse the Dog with his Fish. The Artifice succeeded so well, as effectually to secure the *Chevalier*; but the Animal would not quit the Fisherman till he was secured by the Militia-Men, who kept him all Night, and Part of the next Day. They examined him, but to no Purpose; and upon his telling his true Name, viz. *M'Leod* they became indifferent about him; and he representing that his Family was starving, having nothing to subsist on but the Product of his Industry as a Fisherman, they dismissed him. When he left them, he set out, as if he designed a very different Course to that he really intended, and afterwards struck into; for when he judged himself out of their Reach, he turned into the Road leading to the Place where he supposed the *Chevalier* yet was. He found him there indeed, and employ'd in such a Manner, as could not but strike even the rough Heart of the hardy Fisherman, innur'd to all the Extremities of Wind and Weather, Hunger and Cold. He found him seeking out Mussels and other small Shell-Fish, upon the Craigs, and breaking them between two Stones, eating the Fish as he opened them, to satisfy the Cravings of an Appetite, never in all Probability so keen before. He told *M'Kinnon* "that he had continued in the Water for several Hours, after he left him; but at last ventured out, and put on his Cloaths; but durst not offer to remove from that desert Spot, judging it too hazardous to go up into the Country, to which he was an utter Stranger." But I must not omit one Circumstance which sufficiently shows the *Chevalier's* forlorn Situation at this Juncture, and how sincerely rejoiced he was, at the Return of his faithful Boatsman. For as soon as he set Eyes on *M'Kinnon*, he fell down on his Knees, and with up-lifted Hands, thank'd Heaven for returning him his Friend; which he did in these Words, as near as could possibly be remember'd by the Fisherman, who heard him, and who repeated them to the Person from whom I had my Information. "O God, said he, I thank thee that I have not fallen into the Hands of my Enemies; and surely thou hast still something for me to do, since in this strange Place thou hast sent me back my Guide."

The Particulars of this Adventure were given me by a Person of undoubted Veracity, and one who, if he had a Mind to have imposed on me, was incapable of Fiction; being not in the least given to. romance: A Man of the plainest Manners, and utmost Simplicity in Conversation, besides an Integrity never questioned by any one that knew him. He was very intimate with *M'Kinnon*, alias *M'Leod*, a Man well known to be of an honest, sincere, well-meaning Disposition, and who never scrupled to relate all he knew of the above Affair, without the least Reserve or Prevarication, tho' he had frequent Occasions to repeat the Story.

The *Chevalier* having met with this surprising Deliverance, and observing the Fidelity of his Guide, resolved entirely to submit to his Directions and Management. "Conduct me, said he to *M'Leod*, where you will, I am resolved to follow you." "Well then, replied the Boat-man, we will go a little farther to the Northward, where your Highness has many Friends, tho' they have not been in Arms for your Interest, which, as Things have happened, makes it so much the better, because they are the less suspected, and the Militia are not upon the Watch among them."

Hereupon they proceeded a few Miles, till they came to the House of one *M'Kenzie*, who

received the *Chevalier* very kindly, and entertained him with such Respect, tho' with all imaginable Privacy, as plainly shewed how much he sympathized with the Wanderer in his Distress.

Here, and in this Neighbourhood, the *Chevalier* continued till about the 21st of July⁴¹, when he heard of General *Campbell's* being landed at *Apple-Cross-Bay*; whereupon he thought proper to quit the Country entirely, tho' he might have remained in it very securely: But the Anxieties of his Mind grew upon him; and he had hardly the Resolution to continue in one Place for two Nights together; but especially whenever he heard that the Enemy were advancing, tho' as yet at a very considerable Distance, he would not stay a Moment, but instantly made off with all the Marks of the greatest Pannick, ever thinking that the *Campbells*, whom he equally abhorr'd and feared, were at his Heels.

He now took the Road towards *Inverness*, but, when within two Miles of *Brahan*, he turned aside and crossed a little above *Beulie*, and, in the Habit of a Peasant went thro' *Strathglass* and so, in the Night Time Time, travell'd through *Glengary* to *Badenoch*, where his faithful *Clunie M'Pherson* provided for his Safety, and furnished him with all Accomodations that could be procured in the forlorn State, not only of the Wanderer, but of all his Followers. Indeed he was now more secure than he thought himself to be; which was owing to the Report that about this Time prevailed of his being *dead*⁴², which being generally believed by those hitherto employed in Search of him, they grew more remiss, and gave themselves the less Trouble about him. A Chain of Centries from *Inverary* almost to *Inverness*, had stood for near two Months, guarding the Passes in Hopes of intercepting him; but to what Purpose Time has shewn, and they might, I should think, have foreseen. For what could they expect, considering the vast Extent of the Country, and the numerous Woods, Lakes, Mountains and Hollows with which it abounds? I remember when, about the Beginning of *August* 1746, a Party of *Kingston's* Horse came to *Edinburgh* from *Fort Augustus*.⁴³ I enquired of some of them about their Huntings after the *Chevalier*, and they declared that more than once they had been in Sight of him, but by Means of some Lake, or the like, he had always escaped.

About this Time several Persons were seized by the *Campbells* and others, for harbouring or affording Assistance to the unfortunate Fugitive. Besides Lady *Clanranald* (already mentioned to have been taken up by General *Campbell*) and Mr. *M'Donald* of *Kingsborough*, the elder *Clanranald* himself, tho' not at Home when his Wife entertained the young *Chevalier*, nor ever concerned in the Rebellion, at least not openly, was also seized by the said General, and sent Prisoner to *London*. His Son, *Clanranald* junior, was indeed active in the *Chevalier's* Service, and was one of the Persons excepted by Name out of the Act of Grace; but the Father positively declared to several, during his Confinement, that at the Time of his being seized, and while,

⁴¹ He now discharged *M'Kinnon*, on this Condition, that at convenient Intervals, while he moved about the Country, following his Employment of sishing, he should visit the *Chevalier*, to see if he had any further Occasion for him.

⁴² Some absolutely said, "he is dead;" others, "he went off with one *M'Kinnon* a Boatman, and has never been seen or heard of since.

⁴³ As a Guard to *Alexander M'Donald* of *Kingsborough*, Factor to Sir *Alexander M'Donald* of *Slate*; who was committed Prisoner to them by the Earl of *Albemarle*, and brought to *Edinburgh Castle*, for sheltering the *Chevalier*.

unknown to him, the *Chevalier* was at his House, he was industriously using his Interest and Authority for the Government's Service in *Arisaig*, and thereabouts. But for this he reproached not the Government, but General *Campbell*, whom he seemed to reflect upon as guilty of some Meanness or Maliciousness in this Affair. — However it may not be improper to remark, that this Laird of *Clanranald* is a Roman Catholick, as well as his Brother *Boisdale*, who was also seized, tho' not openly, in the Rebellion. — Besides these, Miss *Flora M'Donald* herself was likewise taken into Custody for the Part she bore in assisting the Wanderer, and was a long Time in Confinement at *London*; and the elder *Glengary* was sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*.

The Seizure of these and some others upon the same Account, being known throughout the Country, the Inhabitants began to be very backward in receiving or assisting the *Chevalier*, however he had still the good Fortune to find some who would not only run the Risk of entertaining, but even of accompanying him in his solitary Retreats.

One Day as he was complaining to *Clunie M'Pherson* of the Danger of his Situation, and expressing a Desire of shifting his Abode again, *Clunie* told him that he had just heard of the Duke of *Cumberland's* being gone off for *England*, and that the Camp at *Fort Augustus* was very speedily to break up; therefore, continued he, "wait here for some Time longer, and my Life for yours, you are safe." But this generous and salutary Proposal was disregarded by the too apprehensive Adventurer, who, ever wavering, fearful, and terrified almost at the Neighing of a Horse, or the Appearance of but a single Man, tho' at the greatest Distance, could never be prevailed upon to continue long in a Place, tho' certainly by often removing he ran the more Hazards.

There is a Hill, within ten Miles of *Daalnacardich*, and seventeen of *Blair*, standing near a Rivulet that divides the County of *Inverness* from that of *Perth*; and within Sight of the great Road which the Government, at a vast Expence, made in. 1728. This Hill was judged a Place of Safety, and to it the *Chevalier* repaired: But still the most tormenting Fears inseparably haunted him Night and Day; every Thing was perpetually giving him the Alarm, and he, to speak in the Language of that excellent Performance, the Campaign,

In every whistling Wind the Victor heard, And William's form in every Shadow fear'd.

Several who accompanied him in his Wanderings have expressed their Astonishment at the Fright he express'd upon all Occasions. When from this Hill he has perceived any Parties of the Enemy marching along the great Road, his Countenance has been observed to change, and his Hair to stand an End on his Head. Yet still he preserved so much Strength and Vigour as to be able, on every Emergency, to make the best of his Way.

While in *Badenoch* he was in very little Danger, being not in the least suspected to be there, or indeed in any Part of *Scotland*, during all the Interval between the 29th of *June*, to the 8th of *August*, when General *Campbell's* Militia taking some Prisoners in the Course of their Hunting for the *Chevalier*, got Information of the various Shiftings of his Abode. Nay, the Forces had frequently been in Sight of him, or at least the Company in which he was, but never suspected them, looking on them only as poor People of no Consequence, and so would march on without taking further Notice.

General *Campbell* having miss'd the *Chevalier* in *South-Uist*, pursued him to *Sky*, and landed a little below Sir *Alexander M'Donald's*, House, at the very Place where Miss *Flora M'Donald* had before put in with her pretended Maid. The General went strait to Sir *Alexander's*, and strictly

examin'd his Lady concerning her two Guests, and particularly if she knew that one of them was the young *Chevalier*. She acknowledged that there was with her one Miss *M'Donald*, and a young Woman that passed for her Maid; tho' indeed, "if this supposed young Woman was really such, she was certainly one of the tallest that ever was seen; and that her Looks were very confused. That if this Person was the *Chevalier* in Disguise, 'twas more than she knew. All that I am certain of, said she, is, that I earnestly press'd Miss *M'Donald* to stay all Night, which she absolutely refused, and went to the Laird os *M'Kinnon's*; but what is become of them since, I have not enquired. Hereupon the General immediately sent a Party to Mr. *M'Kinnon's* House, which they carefully searched, but to no Purpose; and therefore they seized the *Laird* himself, and carried him off.

About this Time several other Prisoners were made, particularly Captain *Ranald M'Donald*, Brother to *Kinlochmoidart*, and three Priests: But as these had not seen the *Chevalier* for some Time, they could give but little Information about him. Vast Quantities of Arms, Ammunition and Provisions, with many Saddles, Bridles and Boots, were found among the Rocks, and several fine Horses, as they were roving in the Woods. Large Drovers of Cattle belonging to the Fugitive Clans were brought to the Camp by the General's Orders; which produced an Effect not at all disagreeable to the Victors, *viz.* obliging most of the Quondam Owners to fly the Country: And this many the more easily did by the Help of forged Passports, disguising their Habits, and assuming false Names; by which Means they got on board of such Ships as conveyed them into *France*.

But among all the Plunder that fell into the Hands of the Troops, I must not omit , to mention that extraordinary Curiosity, the Engine called a *Barisdale*, from *M'Donald* of *Barisdale*, the Proprietor, in whose House it was found. It was an Iron Machine contrived to torture such poor thievish Highlanders as were not in the Service of this cruel Laird, and extort Confession from them. If any Cattle were missed, and the Persons suspected ever fell into *Barisdale's* Hands, they were threatened with Torture, from which nothing could exempt them but a Confession, either where the Cattle were, or who stole them. 'Twas enough to tell them they should be *Barisdale'd*, and shew them the dreadful Engine, to make the affrighted trembling Wretches confess all they knew, and perhaps more; for some would acknowledge any Thing, even to the Prejudice of their own Property, or that of their Chief, rather than enter those Hellish Manacles. But as for such as either thro' Obstinacy, would not, or being innocent could not give the Satisfaction demanded, they were sure to suffer. When in the Machine, their Hands, Feet, and Neck, were fixed in such a Manner, that the Posture the Man was forced to remain in, was neither sitting, lying, kneeling or standing; but tho' debarred the least Use of his Hands and Feet, his Neck was somewhat more at Liberty, but then he had a great Weight upon the Back of his Neck, to which if he yielded in the least, by shrinking downwards, a sharp Spike would run into his Chin. — The very Name of this Engine kept the whole Country round in Awe, no Word sounding more terrible among, the Inhabitants of those Parts than *Barisdale*, whether meaning the dreaded Machine, or the tyrannical Owner of it himself⁴⁴.

⁴⁴ As Cruelty and Cowardice are said to be inseparable, so those who are well acquainted with *Barisdale*, say, that his Courage is not equal to his great personal Strength, &c. 'Tis notorious that *Clunie M'Pherson*, who is but a low Man, and to all Appearance very incapable of contending with *Barisdale*, once fought with and beat him. They afterwards fought a Duel, in which the latter was wounded in the Arm, and again worsted. He is likewise a Man of no Conduct; for the Family of *Glengary*, of which he is the eldest of a younger Branch, are generally esteemed to be a silly, inconsiderate, vicious Sort of People: And it hath been often observed that whoever is addicted to

But while the Troops and Parties employed by the Government are securing the Country, the *Chevalier* and the few (not above three or four) that were with him, are intent on their own Preservation. Although the *M'Phersons*, by laying down their Arms, had freed themselves from Suspicion, yet the *Chevalier* soon begun to distrust his situation among them. There was with him one who knew the Place where *Lochiel* resorted, and to him he proposed to Conduct the Wanderer, who agreed to the Proposal, hoping that *Lochiel* might inform him of some part of *Lochabar*, wherein the search might by this Time have cool'd. However, *Clunie* and the others insisted on his staying with them yet a little longer, at least while they should send an Express to *Lochiel*. With much difficulty they at last prevailed on him. I am well assured that one of *Clunie's* Arguments to perswade the *Chevalier* to stay was, that he could procure the News-Papers as they came out; which could not but give the *Chevalier* great Satisfaction, as the Fate of the Lords *Cromartie*, *Kilmarnock*, and *Balmerino*, on whose account their Chief felt a good deal of Anxiety, was then depending on the Event of a Trial, they having already been arraigned before the House of Lords. And here a short Account of these Noblemen may not be unacceptable to the *English* Reader, as they have been so miserably misrepresented in all hitherto published,⁴⁵ through the Malice of some, and the Prejudice or the Misinformation of others.

The Earl of *Kilmarnock* was descended from an ancient and noble Family, which had sometimes intermix'd even with the blood Royal.—His Lordship, when but a Boy, discover'd a peculiar Air of Nobility, was Master of a fine Address, a flowing Eloquence, and endow'd with all the Arts of Perswasion. Nature had also been very liberal to him in the Endowments of his Person, he being reckoned one of the handsomest Men of his Time. Nor had she been soaring with Regard to his natural Capacity: But as the most fruitful Fields, if but superficially touch'd with the Plough, will be Productive of little, so the most fertile Genius, when not duly Cultivated, will only produce Whims and Trifles. This Truth was evident in the Earl of *Kilmarnock*, who by the vivacity and sprightliness of his Temper, made a figure in mix'd Companies; and if the Discourse turn'd upon Gallantry, he was heard as an Oracle: But if any Point of solid Learning, or serious Enquiry was the Topic, his weakness would then appear. His Art of Perswasion might in some Degree be owing to his Necessities: For if he knew any one in the Town of *Kilmarnock*, (a small Borough in *Scotland*, from whence he took his Title) who kept any considerable Sum of Money by him, he would be sure to send for the Man, and treat him with so genteel an Air, such insinuating Complaisance, and so much Mildness and Affability, that it was impossible for him to resist his Lordships Sollicitation for a Loan. The Earl was a Man of no Resolution, and therefore easily perswaded into any Thing, though contrary to his Interest. Indeed it has been observ'd, that Men of his Lordship's fine personal Appearance,⁴⁶ seldom prove Proficients in useful Knowledge, and particularly the Knowledge of Mankind, or what is called *Knowing the World*, unless trained up in the School of Adversity, or wisely directed by those to whom the Care of their Education has been committed, and who have also had the Welfare of their Pupils at Heart.

But unhappily for the Nobleman we are speaking of, his Father dying when the Son was but

immoral and dishonourable Actions, never is resolute or truly brave.

⁴⁵ This just Censure is not to be extended to the celebrated Performances of a certain Reverend Gentleman, to whom the World is much obliged for every Thing he has published.

⁴⁶ He was above six Foot high; of an engaging Countenance, fine Blue Eyes, full of Sweetness; his Nose strait, his Forehead high and graceful; and in short, his whole Person faultless.

young, the Estate came to him before he had laid up a sufficient stock of Knowledge, either to manage that or himself He soon became a prey to youthful and sensual Pleasures, and instead of Cultivating his Mind, became fond of Fencing, Dancing and other genteel, but mere out-side Accomplishments, tho' such as generally procure the Esteem of the Fair Sex, among whom he was a Favourite. He married the Lady *Ann Livingston*, who was Heiress apparent to three Estates, *viz.* that of *Errol*, *Callandar*, and *Linlithgow*: So that had his Lordship been capable of managing his own Affairs with proper Oeconomy, he might have proved a Blessing to his Family, (as each of his four Sons had the Prospect of an Earldom) and an Honour to his Friends. Many Stories have gone abroad as to the Cause of his Engaging with the *Chevalier*; which Diversity may be owing to his having acted contrary to all his former Principles; for I have heard him at the Bar of the Assembly plead to have a *Presbyterian* Minister sent to *Falkirk*, of his own chusing, for, said he, "I want him to Converse with as a Companion." Some attributed so inconsistent a Conduct to his Countess (whom almost in his dying Moments he cleared of the Charge;) others imputed it to the Counsels of *Errol*, whom I also believe innocent: For that Lady is not only too closely connected with the Government, but has too much good Sense and Penetration, and too well knew that the Earl was most unfit to engage in such a Design, to have the least hand in disposing him to it. — But to be brief, the Truth is only this, One *Andrew Alves*, a Writer of the Signet, a Man of a most infamous Character, was Agent for the unfortunate *Kilmarnock*; and if I remember right, had been coming from his House to *Edinburgh*, *Sep.* 16, 1745, when the *Chevalier* was advancing to that City with his little Army. The Duke of *Perth* spied him, and calling him to him, asked him if the City of *Edinburgh* intended to stand out against the Prince. "We will shew them the odds of it, said he, but if they let us in Civilly they will be Civilly used; but if otherwise, let them be answerable for the Consequences of their own Conduct." So saying, the *Chevalier* came up and courtoufly did *Alves* the Honour to let him kiss his Hand. He was then employed to carry a Letter from the *Chevalier* to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, which he delivers, but so artfully as not to discover that himself was certainly the Bearer. The Battle of *Preston* happening that very Week, when the King's Forces were routed, many unthinking People looked on the *Chevalier's* Point as now absolutely gained. Among these was *Alves*, who instantly repaired to Lord *Kilmarnock*, and repeated the Words of *Perth*, which he magnified not a little. He then described the Defeat of *Cope's* Forces, and extoll'd the Humanity and Conduct of the *Chevalier*. Dazzled with this glittering appearance of Fortune, and believing the whole of *Alves's* Relation to be just, he fatally, from a Prospect of raising himself to Riches and further Honours, made his Court to the *Chevalier*, and embraced his Party.

Before I quit this Nobleman, I shall give the Reader a Story which I leave him to approve or Censure, as he thinks proper, without delivering my own Sentiments as to the Nature of the Fact; and shall only observe, that never was any Relation of this Kind better attested. In my Hearing it has been very seriously spoken of by Men of the best Sense and Learning in *Scotland*, many of whom have owned that they saw no Reason why they should not admit the Reality of the Fact; which was as follows;

About a Year before the Rebellion, as the Earl of *Kilmarnock* was one Day walking in his Garden, he was suddenly alarm'd with a fearful Shriek; which while he was reflecting on with Astonishment, was soon after repeated. On this he went into the House, and enquired of his Lady and all the Servants, but could not discover from whom or whence the Cry proceeded; but missing his Lady's Woman, he was inform'd that she was gone into an Upper Room to inspect some Linnen; Whereupon the Earl and his Lady went up and open'd the Door, which was only latch'd: But no sooner did the Gentlewoman within set Eyes on his Lordship's Face, than she fainted away. When with proper Assistance she was brought to herself, they ask'd her the Meaning of what they

had heard and seen. She replied that while she sat sewing some Linnen she had taken up to mend, the Door opened of itself and a bloody Head enter'd the Room, and roll'd on the Floor. That this dreadful Sight had made her cry out, but it instantly disappeared. That in a few Moments she saw the same Apparition again, on which she repeated her Shrieks; and at the third Time she fainted away: But was just recover'd when she saw his Lordship coming in, which had made the Impression on her they had been witness to.

This Relation given by the affrighted Gentlewoman, was only laughed at and ridiculed as the Effect of Spleen, Vapours, or the Strength of a deluded Imagination; and. was thought no more of, till one Night when my Lord *Kilmarnock* happened to tell the Story to the Earl of *Galloway*, the Subject of their Lordships Conversation happening to be on Spectres and Apparitions, the vulgar Notions of which they were ridiculing. But after *Kilmarnock* had engag'd in the Rebellion, and Lord *Galloway* was told of it, he instantly recollected this Story, and said, "I'll lay a Wager that *Kilmarnock* will lose his Head."

I come now to fay something of the E-l of C-y, whose Character I shall truly display, without the least Regard to the Approbation or Resentment of any one. In his Youth he was given to the most monstrous and unaccountable Extravagancies; such as an excessive Indulgence in sensual Pleasures, the most luxurious Entertainments and Midnight Revels, accompanied with the most shocking, unheard of, new-coin'd Oaths and Execrations; drinking the Devil's Health⁴⁷, with others equally detestable and ridiculous. But happily for him he married a very virtuous Lady, who, with her Mother, the Lady *Invergordon*, was greatly instrumental in reforming him from his Debaucheries and mad Pranks⁴⁸: So that before he entered into the *Chevalier's* Interest, he was not only esteemed a sober, but a very amiable Man; and becoming a zealous Presbyterian, he on all Occasions exerted his utmost Influence and Authority in *Ross-shire* and elsewhere, for promoting that Interest.

Whoever they were that engaged him to enter into that Undertaking, so destructive to himself and his Family, I can hardly think they were either his Friends, or Wellwishers to the Cause of the *Chevalier*: For surely no one who knew him could imagine him capable of behaving with all that Industry and Prudence necessary in so nice and critical an Affair. And as for the Troops he brought with him, they; were the very Refuse and Dregs of the *Highlanders*.

But not to dwell any longer on a Character which can afford no real Delight to the Reader, I shall only further observe, that being condemn'd with *Kilmarnock* and *Balmerino*, so great Interest was made for him, that his Life was spared: And indeed I think the Lenity of the Government is highly to be commended, as it could not be said they had rid themselves of a *dangerous* Enemy, had they put him to Death. And in my Opinion had they restored to him his Possessions, and sent him back to *New Tarbet*, they would have had no more to fear from him than now while in Custody at

⁴⁷ Particularly on a *Sunday* Morning, the Devil was the favourite Toast.

⁴⁸ Of these one Instance may not be omitted. He and his Cousin, a Son of the Lord *Boyflon*, then one of the Senators of the College of Justice at *Edinburgh*, one Time making a Debauch together, in which they gaye a Loose to the utmost Excesses; they seized one *R—d—k M'K—nzie*, whom they bound and fix'd in a Posture proper for their Purpose. They then took a burning Candle, and applying it to the Orifice of the *Anus*, put the Man to the most horrid Pain. How they treated the fair Sex, I do not chuse to mention: Tho' I have heard many Particulars on that Subject both in "*Ross* and elsewhere.

London. In Truth the same may be said of the other two Lords: For *Kilmarnock's* Interest was sunk, and *Balmerino's* was nothing at all. Besides, the former was certainly a true Penitent; and would surely have been bound by Principle and Gratitude to be faithful for the future. But doubtless the Government thought that something was due to Justice, which indeed the whole *English Nation* aloud demanded, as the least Satisfaction that could be made them for what they had suffered from a People, (*i. e.*) the *Highlanders*, with whom they had less Connection than with the *Muscovites, Turks* or *Tartars*.

It remains now to say something of *Arthur Lord Balmerino*; but in Truth little can be said on so barren a Subject; for his Lordship never made any Figure in the World, and was scarce known till he fell into the Hands of the Government. When but a Child there appeared in him many early Symptoms of a stubborn and froward Disposition, which grew upon him with his Years. An early Impression being deeply stamp'd in his Mind, in favour of the *Chevalier's* Pretensions to the Throne, he became so immoderately zealous, that many People whose Politics differ'd from his, thought it unsafe to be in his Company; and indeed not without Reason, as will appear from the following Instance of his imprudent Zeal. He was once riding out in Company with some Gentlemen, among whom was one *Clerk*, a Writer to the Signet; a Man well-affected to the *Hanoverian* Succession, and a strict, tho' not immoderate Presbyterian. They had all taken a Glass very sociably together, and no Party Altercations had been started among them. But at last some one acquainted Mr. *Elphinstone* (for he was no Lord till a little before the Battle of *Culloden*) with Mr. *Clerk's* Principles; whereupon, as they were riding between *Leith* and *Musselburgh*, *Elphinstone* said to one of his Intimates, "What for a damned Scoundrel is that *Clerk*?" This was overheard by *Clerk* himself, who replied, "'tis true, Sir, I am not a Nobleman, but then I am no more a damned Scoundrel than you are." On this some high Words arose between them, and a Duel had probably ensued had they not been parted: On which Mr. *Clerk* quitted the Company.

In the Year 1715 we find Mr. *Elphinstone* in the Quality of Captain in a Regiment of Dragoons; but he deserted the Service of *George I* and went over to the *Chevalier*, who made much worse of his Undertaking than his Son has done 30 Years after, with nothing like the favourable Opportunities which the Father had. After the Ruin of his Master's Affairs in that same Year, Mr. *Elphinstone* went over to *France*, where he tarried till the Year 1734, when his Brother obtained a Pardon for him, that he might return to his Native Country; which, however, Mr. *Arthur* would not accept till he had first ask'd the old *Chevalier's* Leave. This having obtained, with 120 Guineas paid him by his Order, he set out for *Scotland*, and lived sometimes in one Place, sometimes in another, till at last he settled at *Leith*, and had 80*l. per Annum* allow'd him by his Brother: But, while here, he was so far from endeavouring to live like a Gentleman (which he might have done, as his Brother, whose Heir Apparent he was, would have enabled him to do so, by making him his Companion, and entertaining him daily at his Table) that he sunk below the Level of a creditable Tradesman. The most trifling People about the Parliament House, such as Pettyfoggers, and Hackney Writers, with some of the meanest Inhabitants of *Leith*; tho' doubtless all Men of his own Principles were his dearest Companions; and hence he greatly lessened the Regard his Brother and his Sister-in-Law might otherwise have had for him. In 1745 he joined, the *Chevalier* at *Perth*, and acted as a Volunteer at the Battle of *Prefton-Pans*: After which he was made Captain of the LifeGuards. In the Beginning of *January* following, he became Lord *Balmerino*, by the Death of his Brother, who is said to have broke his Heart on Account of his Brother *Arthur's* having again appeared in Arms against the Government. I have already mentioned his Surrender to *Bandallach*, and his being sent to *London*, where his Fate is well known, as indeed it is in every Part of *Great Britain*. Therefore I shall only observe, that from the whole of his Conduct while in the *Tower*,

especially after Sentence of Death, he seems to have feared nothing so much as *not to dye*. He knew very well that the small Estate which by his Brother's Death fell to him, was forfeited to the Crown, and consequently the only Source whence he could draw his Subsistance would be drain'd; so that he must inevitably fall into Poverty and Contempt: Wherefore he, as it were, courted Death, and embraced it with Pleasure: And perhaps with the more Pleasure, from the Reflection that by this Means he should at his Death make a greater Figure than ever he had done in his Life: That thus he mould attain the Glory of Martyrdom in the Eyes of his own Party at least, and by his Behaviour in his last Moments adorn a Life which had pass'd in the greatest Obscurity. — I shall now return to the *Chevalier*, whom we left in *Badenoch*, under the Protection of his faithful *Clunie M'Pherson*.

The News of the Execution of the two Lords was received by the *Chevalier* about the 20th of *August*. He seem'd very deeply affected with their Fate; and spoke of *Kilmarnock* with Pity, of *Balmerino* with the greatest Warmth and Affection, but of *Cromarty* with the utmost Contempt. Just about this Time the *Chevalier* received an Invitation from *Lochiel*, to repair to him, appointing a certain Cave for the meeting Place. Accordingly he with his few Attendants set out one Evening about Twilight, and travelled all Night, dressed in the *Highland* Habit, and wearing black Cockades, except the *Chevalier*, who could not be prevailed with to put on that Part of the Disguise. When they arrived at the Place where *Lochiel* was, they mutually embraced each other: and without Loss of Time, begun to consult on the most likely Means for facilitating their Escape out of *Scotland*.

After mature Deliberation, it was agreed that they should separately repair to the Sea-Coast by different Roads, and observe if any Ship from *France* should appear, on board of which they might embark: That the Person who should first discover any Ship should immediately go on board, and direct the Vessel how to proceed for the others; and set up a Signal agreed on, by which she might be known. This being fully settled, they accordingly separated, and march'd off by different Routs. The *Chevalier* with three or four Attendants made for the Country of the *M'Kenzies*, cross'd that large Tract of Land which belongs to them, and came to *Kintail*. Here they enter'd the House of one *M'Ra*, hoping for a kind Reception; but the Man, whether from a natural Churlishness⁴⁹, or from his Fear of being called to an Account concerning his Guests, or from his Desire of having some Money put into his Hands, received them but coldly, and told them, "he did not believe it was safe to entertain such Guests." Hereupon the *Chevalier* left the House with very little Ceremony, and went towards the Water-side, in Hopes of meeting with his faithful Boatman *M'Kinnon*. But as no Boat appeared, he was obliged to wait for 48 Hours in the most anxious Expectation. All Night he shelter'd himself on the Sides of the Hills, for he never would sleep two Nights in one Place, and in the Day Time he walk'd along the Shore, or sat down by the Sides of the Rocks. At last *M'Kinnon* came with his Boat, and meeting with the *Chevalier* embrac'd him with the most affectionate Tenderness: Indeed the then Circumstances of the unhappy Fugitive could not but raise Pity in every generous Breast; for his Linnen was very foul, and his Cloaths worn extremely, by lying out in the open Air; his Shoes were broken in the upper Leathers, and the Soles worn thro': Add to all this that he had the Itch; which might, in a great Measure, be owing to his not being able to keep himself clean. However 'tis no great Wonder that this Distemper seized him in that Country, especially as he was red-hair'd, and his Complexion white. While at *Edinburgh* he

⁴⁹ The Northern Clans have nothing of the hospitable and generous Spirit of the Western *Highlanders*.

did not seem to be of a very wholesome, or a very durable Constitution; so that it is the more surprising that the Fatigue he underwent, with all the Anxieties of his Mind, had not a greater Effect upon him.

The Fisher-Man, *M'Leod*, received him into his Boat with the greatest Satisfaction, and conducted him to the House of a Gentleman who gave him the heartiest Welcome, supplied him with Cloaths, Linnen, Shoes, and what other Necessaries he wanted. And here he might have continued in undoubted Safety, but this he could not do for above a Day or two, on Account of his Agreement with *Lochiel*, and those that were with him, when they separated to look for a Ship. His next Removal was for the Isle of *Sky*, after dismissing his other Attendants, and writing a Line to *Lochiel*, informing him of his present Situation, and declaring his Resolution of pursuing the Scheme agreed on at parting. Being come to *Sky*, the Boat-Man conducted his Passenger to his own House, where the *Chevalier* was entertained with a fine hot Supper of fresh Fish and Sauce, which is a noble Dish in the *Scotch Highlands*: He was also accommodated with a clean, wholesome, warm Bed, tho' composed of no better Materials than Straw and good Blankets.

It was now about the 3rd of *September*, and the Nights beginning to lengthen, were the more favourable to the *Chevalier*; who was desired to remain at the Fisherman's House, while his Host himself went with his Boat towards *Uist*, to see if any Vessel was arrived in those Parts: For, said *M'Kinnon* "Whether they be *English* or *French*, I run no Hazard by speaking with them. If they be Friends I shall be sure to conduct them to you, or else inform them of your Situation, and make them Stay till I bring you to them" But this Proposal, tho' salutary and generous, was however rejected; the *Chevalier* declaring, "That he would not part from *M'Kinnon*, and that he looked upon his Boat as the best Place of Safety. If, said he, you leave me here you may never see me again. The *English* Men of War are not far to the Northward of us, and who knows how soon they may approach this Place." To this *M'Leod* replied, that he was entirely devoted to the *Chevalier's* Pleasure, and was willing to go wherever he should order: "Only, said he, "I wish you may not repent rejecting my Proposal,"

Having taken in a little Provisions, and a Bottle of *Usquebaugh*, they set sail for the *Harris*, where they staid all Night, and next Day steered their Course for *North-Uist*, where they were kindly entertained. In short, all the Day Time they spent at Sea, and at Night took Care to get a Lodging in such Houses, and Places of Retreat, as the Boat-Man knew of. Doubtless the *Chevalier's* Dress contributed not a little to screen him from a Discovery: For who that saw him in any of these his Wanderings, rambling about in a Fishing-Boat, with a coarse grey Plaid thrown about him, and an old Bonnet on his Head, would have imagined that this was the daring Youth that but a little before made the whole Island of *Great Britain* tremble at his Motions, and shook the very Throne of one of the greatest Princes in *Europe*!

From *North-Uist* they set sail for *Ardnamurchan*, where the *Chevalier* was of Opinion he might safely venture, on the Supposition that the Enemy would not keep so sharp a Look-out in a Country they had, in a Manner, destroyed with Fire and Sword. In about twelve Hours they arrived near the Place called *M'Lean's Nose*, which lies near *Cambusnageaul*, and *Mingry Castle*. From hence the *Chevalier* desired *M'Kinnon* to conduct him to *Scallisdale Bay* in *Mull*; "for there, said he, we may possibly find some of my faithful Friends." All that Night they sailed on, and next Morning arrived at the Place intended. Here being apprehensive that he might be discovered, he set sail for *Tobermory*, where they landed that Night, and went strait to the young Laird of *M'Kinnon's* House in *Muisnish*, where his Lady, a Sister of *Clanranald's*, being then in one of her Intervals, for

sometimes she is crazy,⁵⁰ kindly received and entertained him. And here it appeared that the *Chevalier's* Fears were far from being groundless; for the People of the Trial Sloop of War having Intelligence of him, sailed to *Tobermory* after him; and getting Intelligence where he was, they sent one Party to the House, while a Boat, well-man'd with Sailors fell down about three Miles lower. These landed in a Village (the Name of which I cannot recollect, tho' I have been at it) which they instantly surrounded, that they might make sure of him in Case he should be there. And now, in all Likelihood, the Adventurer must have been taken after all his Escapes, had not Lady *M'Kinnon's* Maid furnish'd him with Woman's Cloaths, to which he was again obliged for his Safety. In this Disguise he pass'd the Guard, in Company with the Lady and her Maid, who gave the Men Money for their Civility, in letting them go unmolested. The *Chevalier* and his Protectors hastened down to that End of *Mull* which is nearest to *Coll*, where a Boat, well-mann'd, was ready to receive him. In this Boat he went over to *Coll*, where he readily found Entertainment, as the better Part of the Island belonged to one *Hector M'Lean*, who held the two Ends of it by Tack from the Duke of *Argyle*. But being pursued hither, the *Chevalier* fled, in the same Boat, to *Egg*; whither his Pursuers also following him, he removed from thence to *Barra*. But hither they likewise followed and here he had certainly been taken, had not the Boat-Men brought up the Boat to a Place which the Enemy could not observe; and, the very Moment the King's Men landed, the others again put to Sea, and wafted the *Chevalier* over to *South-Uist*; and that very Night he went to the Harbour of *Flota*, where, to his inexpressible Joy, he found a *French* Schooner, of about 18 or 20 Tons, that had been waiting for him. Besides the *Chevalier* this Vessel also took on board about seven Persons, who had been Partakers in his Adversity; among these was his faithful and beloved *Lochiel*; the others, except Capt. *M'Leod* and one *M'Kinnon*, I could not get the Names of, nor is it material, as they were only private Men. The next Morning, viz. *Sept. 17*, they set sail for *Boulogne*, and, after a few Days Passage, arrived safe in that Harbour, to the Amazement of all who saw them.

F I N I S



⁵⁰ The Reader is desired not to Confound this Lady's Case with that of Lady *Clanranald* mention in Page 67.