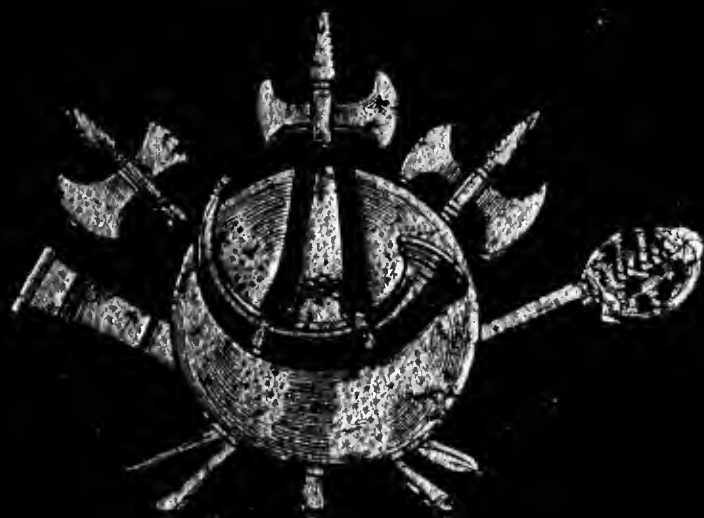




THE
SCOTTISH
HIGHLANDS





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HISTORY
OF THE
SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS
HIGHLAND CLANS
AND
HIGHLAND REGIMENTS

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE GAELIC LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND MUSIC
BY THE REV. THOMAS MACLAUHLAN, LL.D., F.S.A.(SCOT.), AND
AN ESSAY ON HIGHLAND SCENERY BY THE LATE
PROFESSOR JOHN WILSON

EDITED BY
JOHN S. KELTIE, F.S.A.(SCOT.)

A NEW EDITION

WITH THE REGIMENTAL PORTION BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES
BY WILLIAM MELVEN, M.A., GLASGOW

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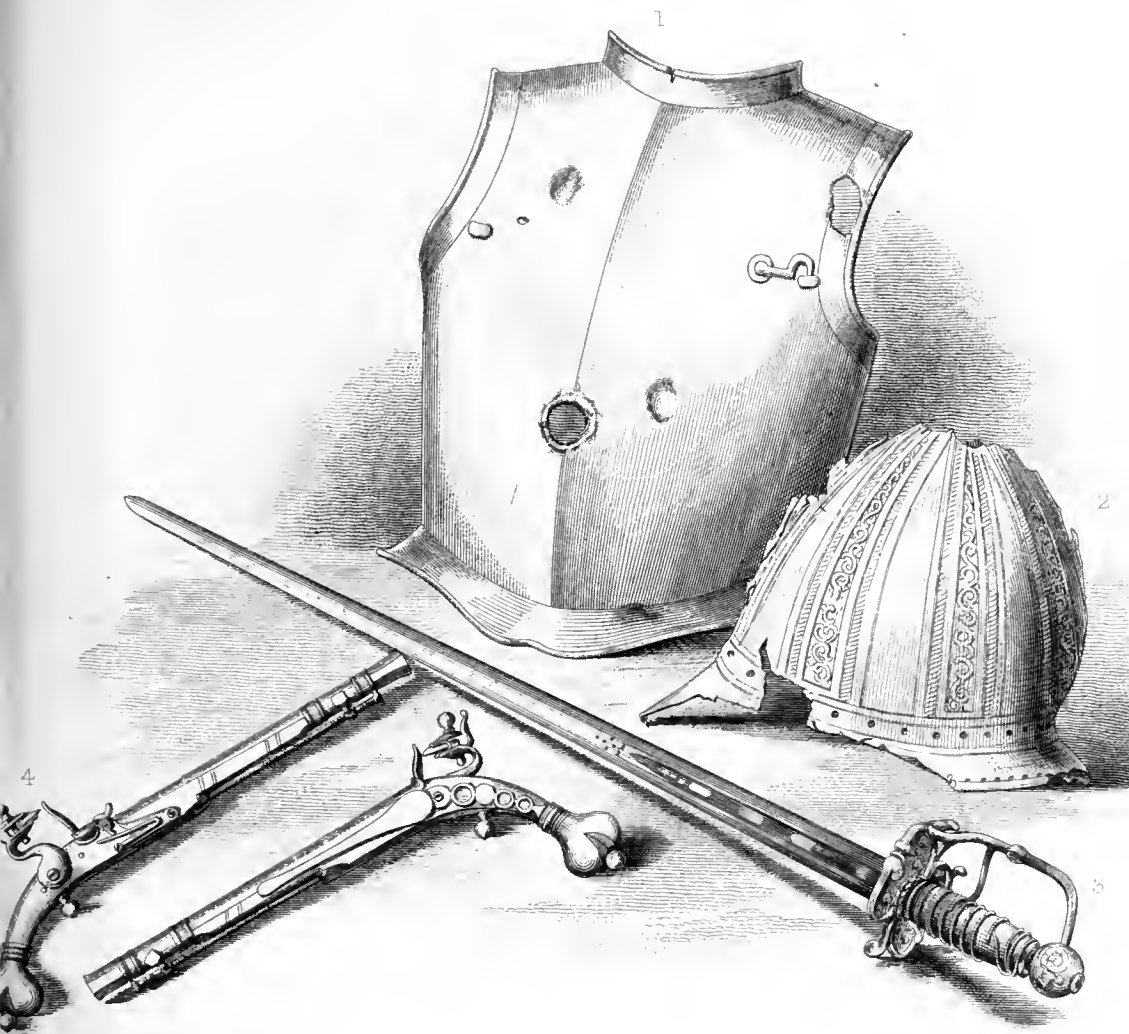




From the original by Joly

GRAHAM, GEORGE, EARL OF MONTROSE,
VISCOUNT DUNDEE





ARMOUR WORN BY VISCOUNT DUNDEE AT KILLIECRANKIE

1. Breast Plate, in possession of his Grace the Duke of Athole.
2. Remains of Helmet, taken out of Dundee's grave.
in the church of Blair Athole in 1794.
3. Sword given to Lachlan 21st Laird of Macantosh by Dundee's Relations
The hilt is silver and bears the Graham Arms. The date on the blade is A D 1604
4. Pistol, in possession of a representative of the Claverhouse family
In the plate both sides of the Pistol are shown the stock is of iron
and is richly inlaid with silver



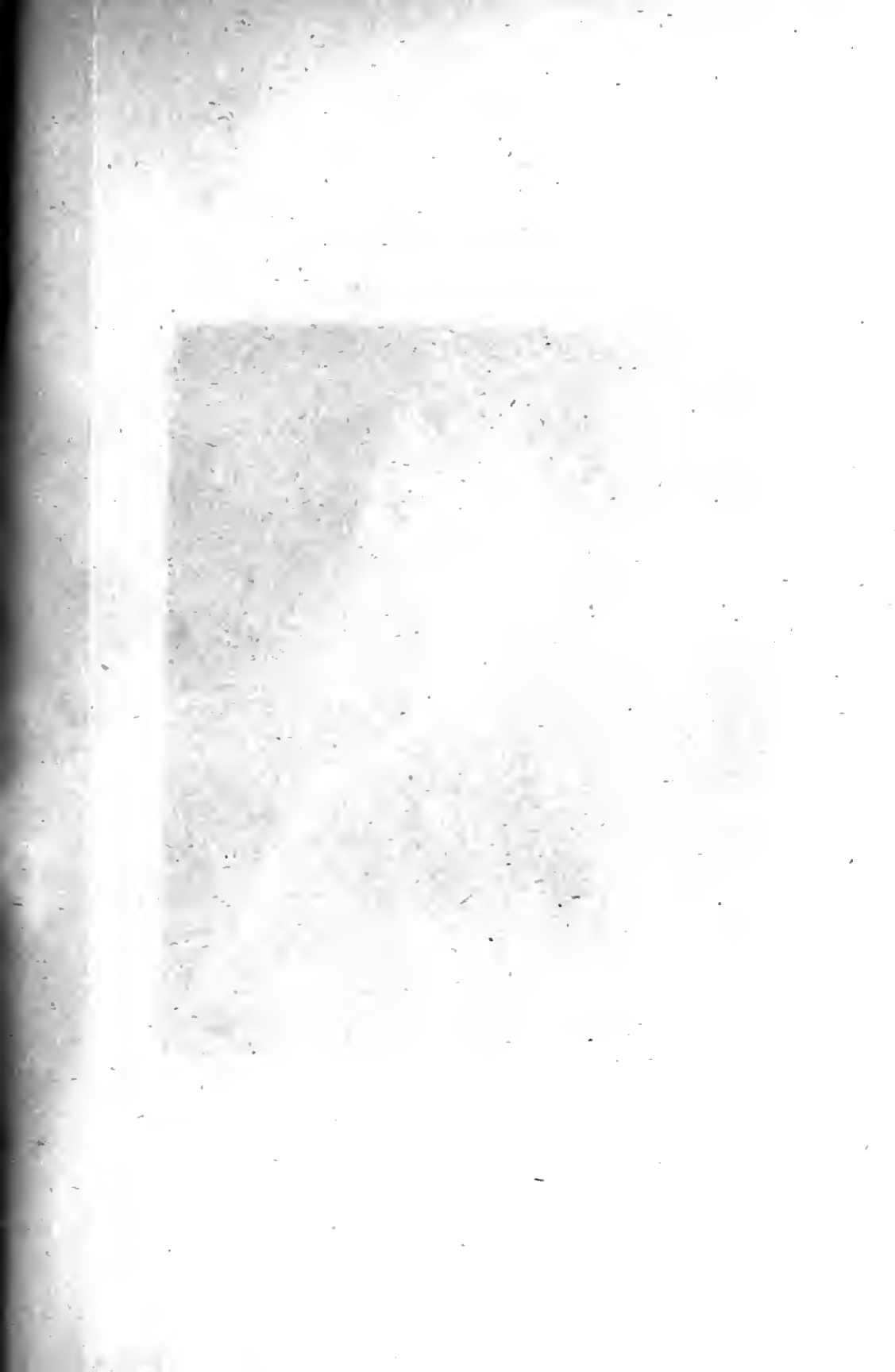




JAMES STUART,
THE CHEVALIER DE ST GEORGE.

WILLIAM MACPENZIE, LONDON, EDINBURGH & GLASGOW.









Sir Godfrey Kneller

J. Freeman

JOHN ERSKINE, EARL OF MAR.







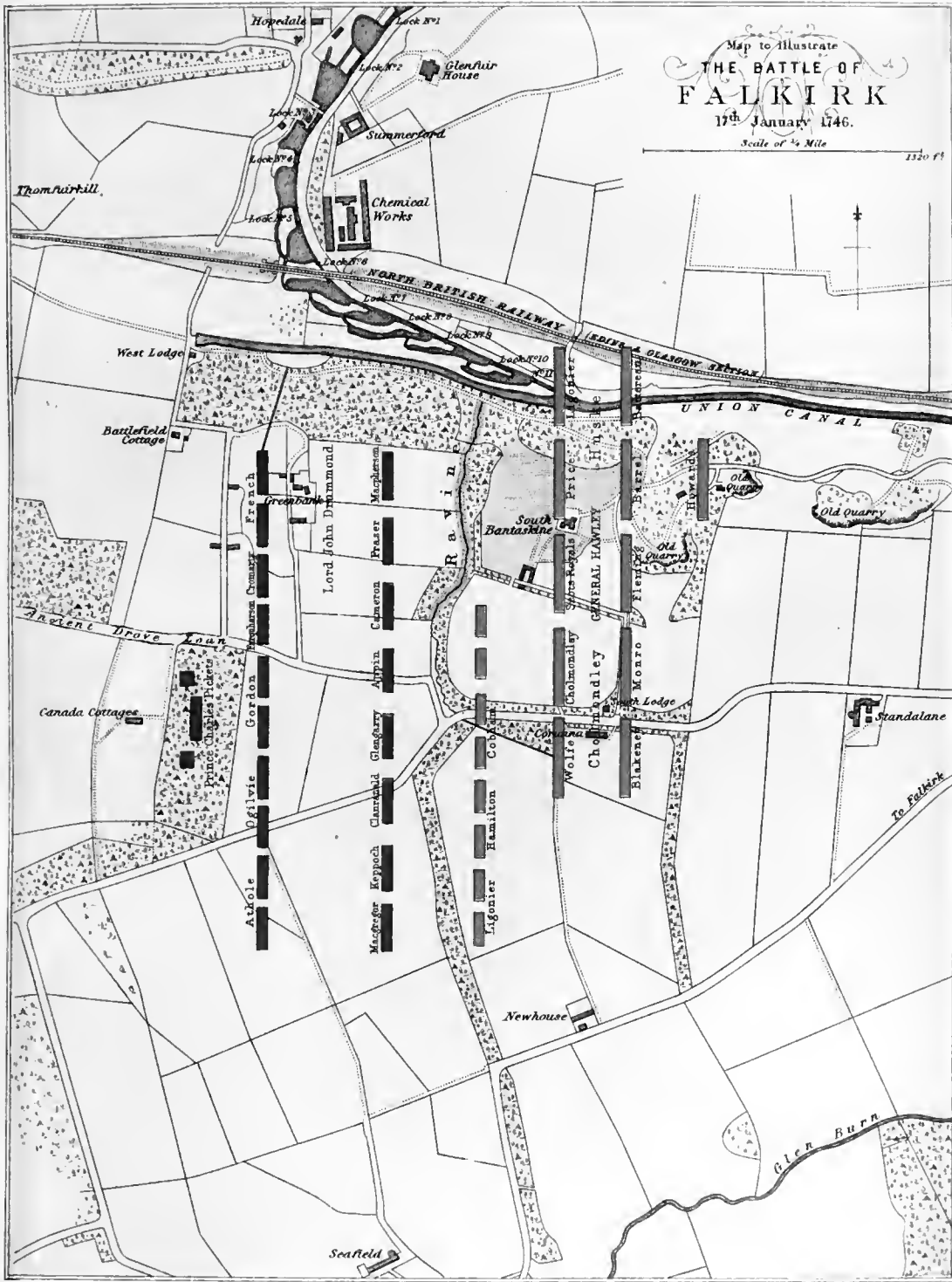


NATURAL-SCIENCE OF SHEPHERDING.



Map to illustrate
THE BATTLE OF FALKIRK
 17th January 1746.
 Scale of 1/4 Mile

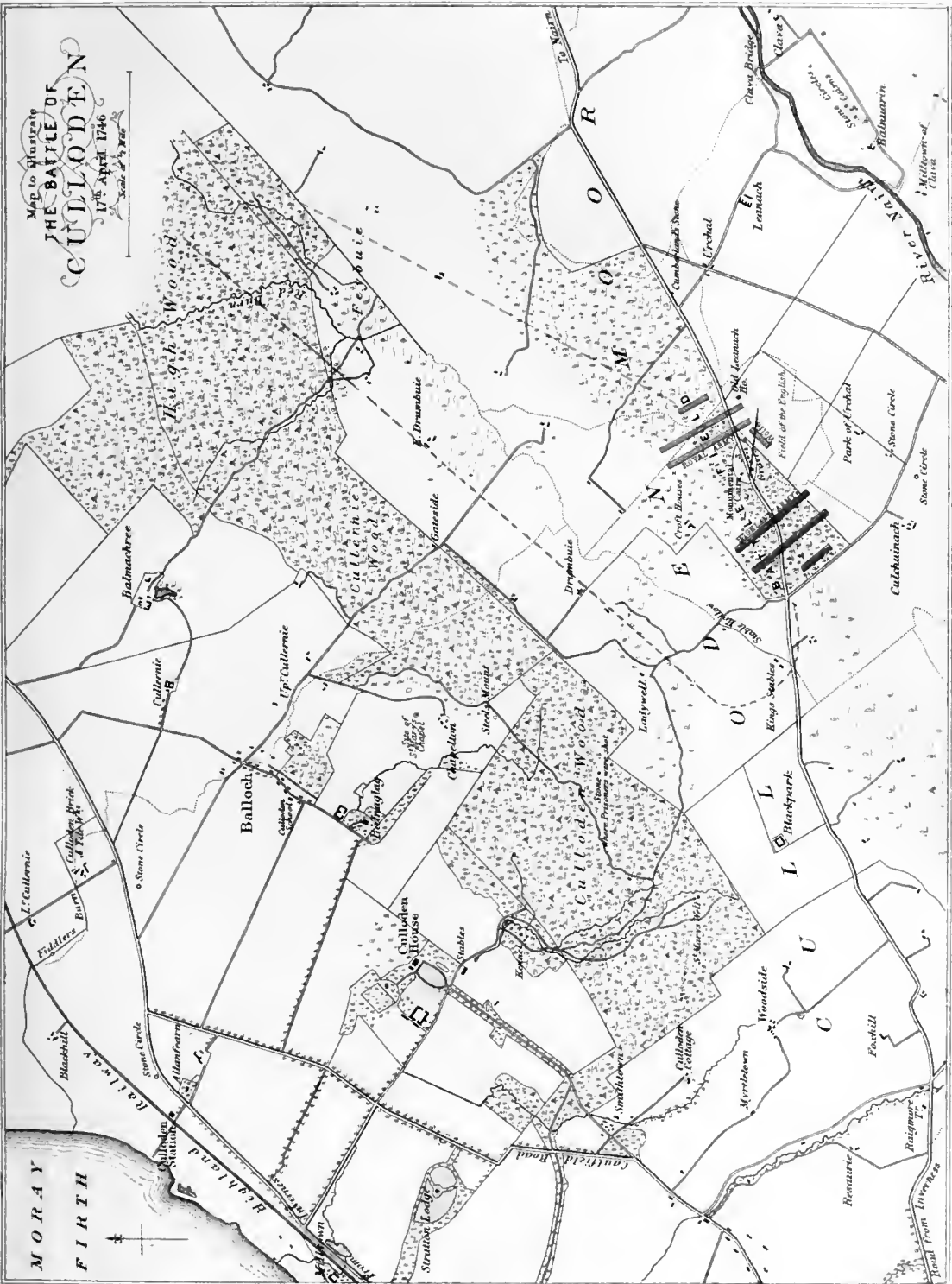
1120 ft





Map to illustrate THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN 17 April 1746

Scale of 1/25000
Scale of 1/10000



MORAY
FIRTH





COLOURS OF THE
74th HIGHLANDERS,
*Now the 2nd Battalion
Highland Light Infantry.*

CARRIED IN THE KAFFIR WAR, 1851-52.

NOW IN
ST GILES' CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH.





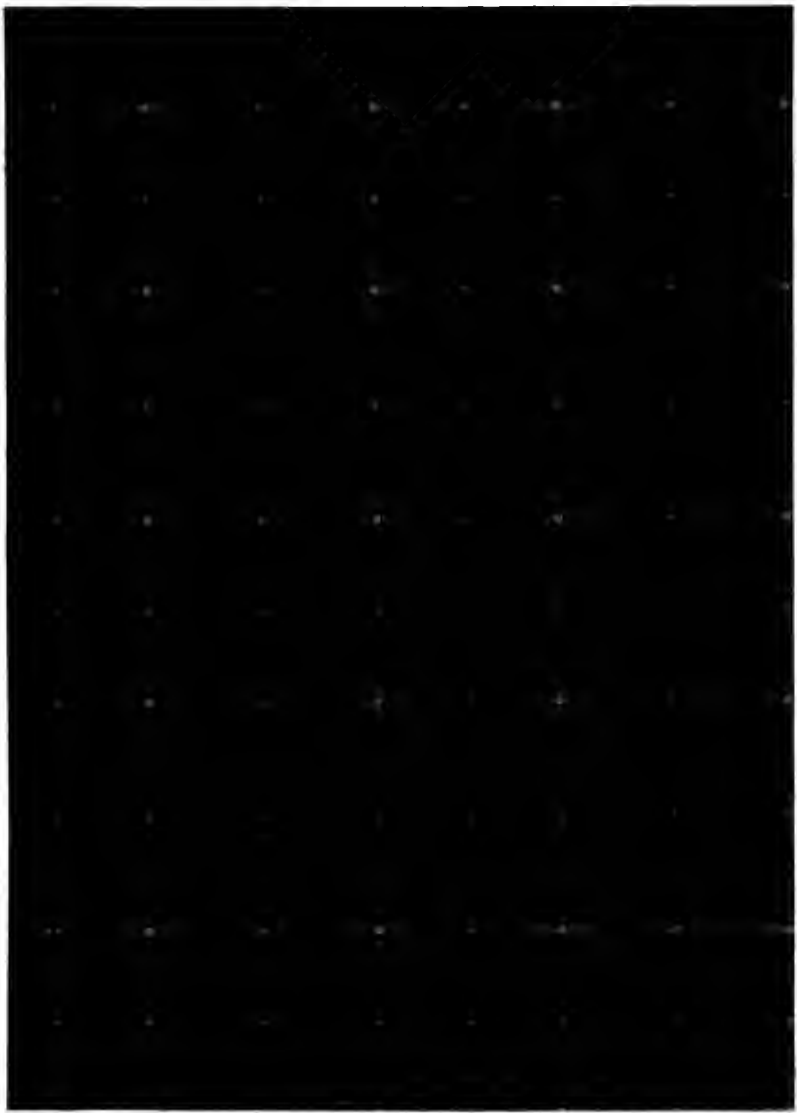
COLOURS OF THE
78th HIGHLANDERS (Ross-shire Buffs),
*Now 2nd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders (Ross-shire Buffs,
Duke of Albany's).*

CARRIED DURING THE SERVICE OF THE REGIMENT
IN INDIA. RETIRED 1854.

NOW IN

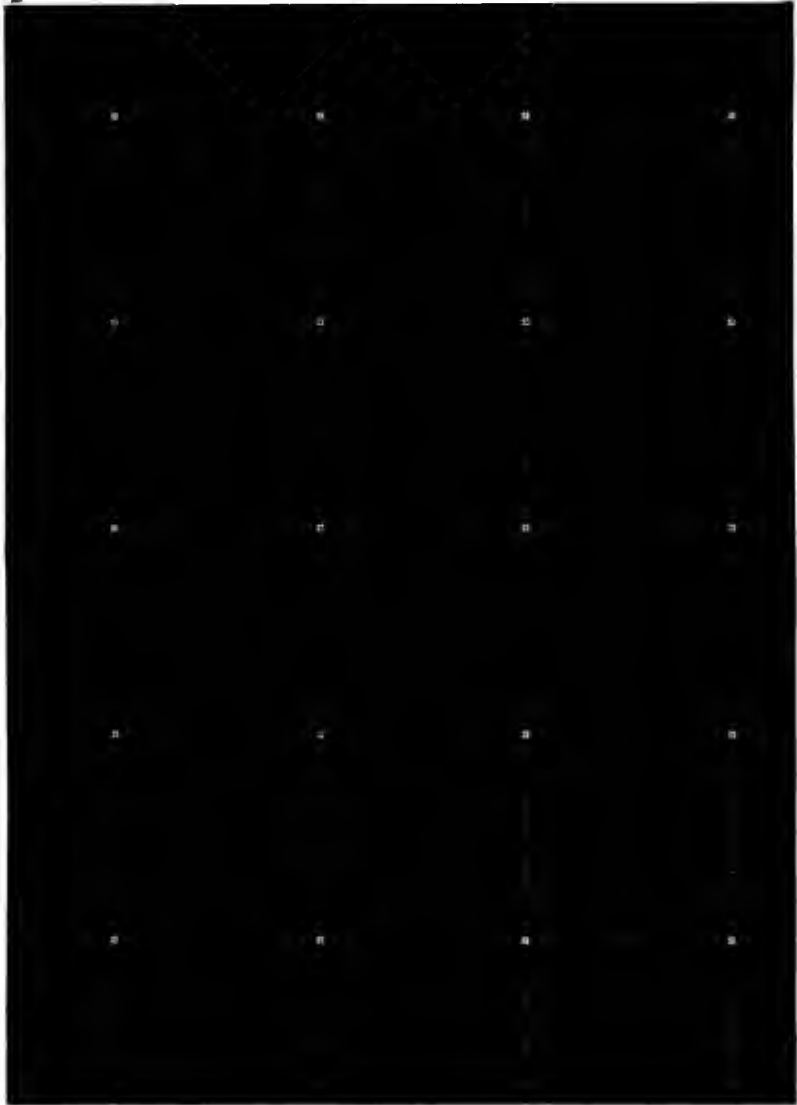
ST GILES' CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH.





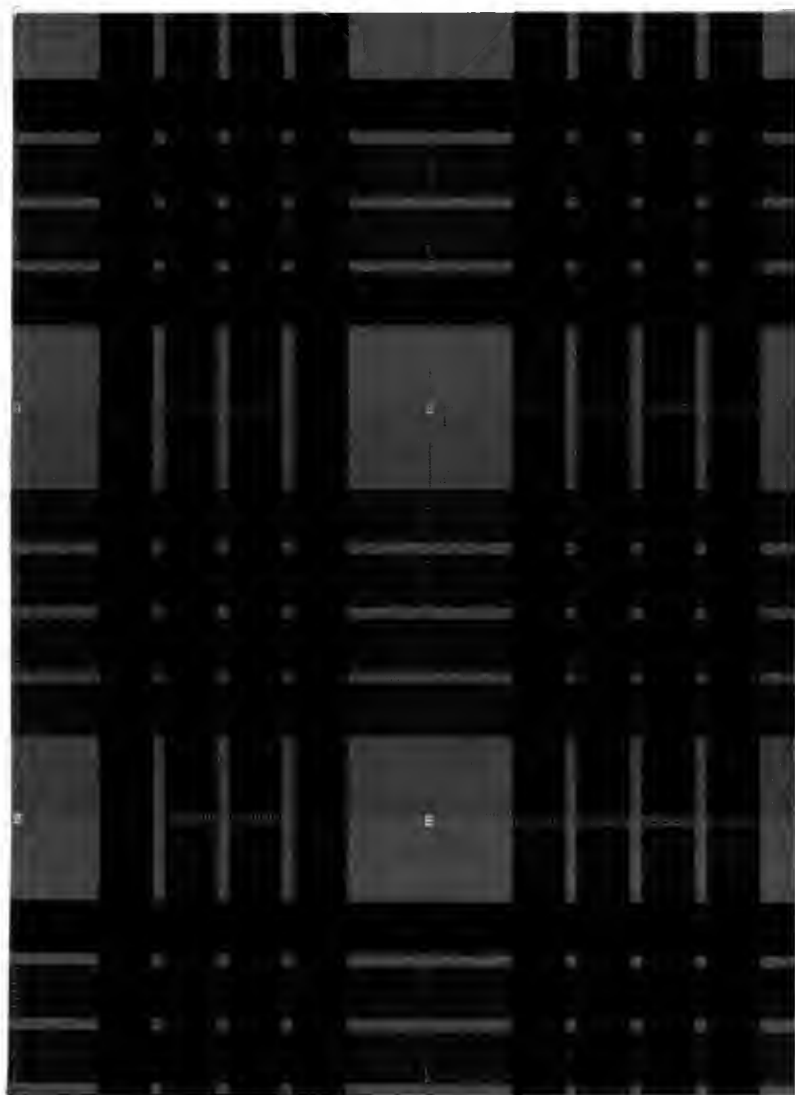
FARQUHARSON.





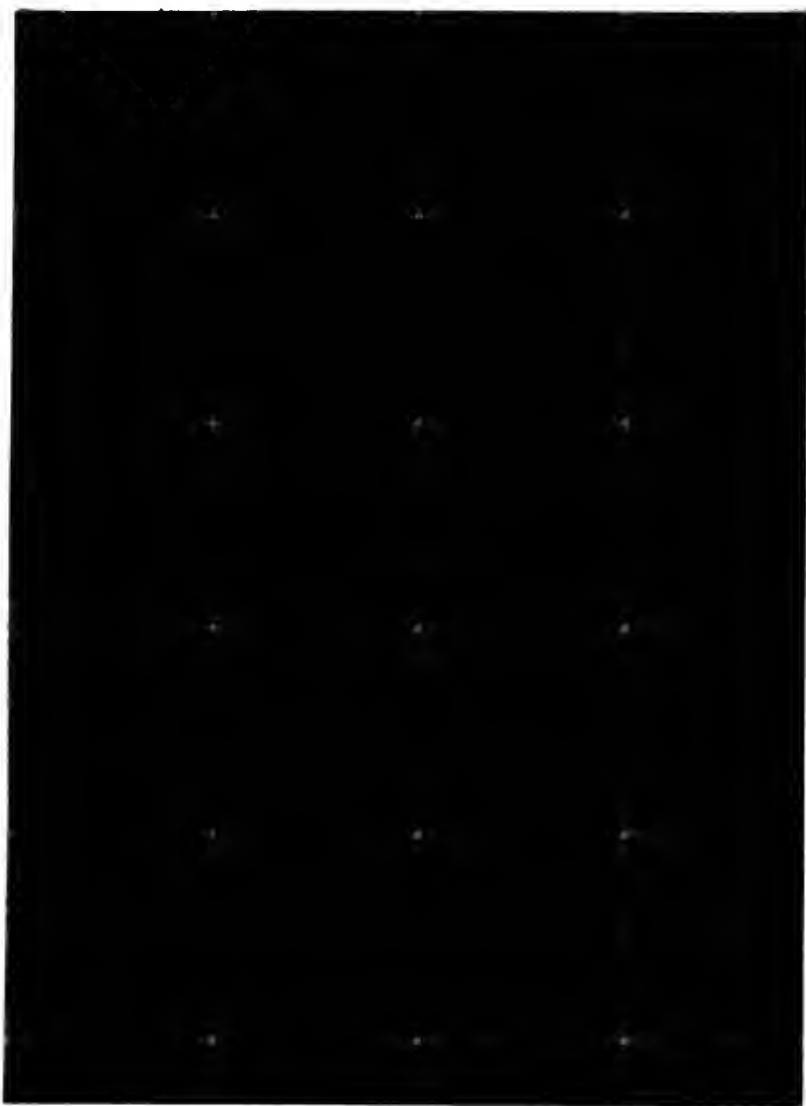
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FRASER.



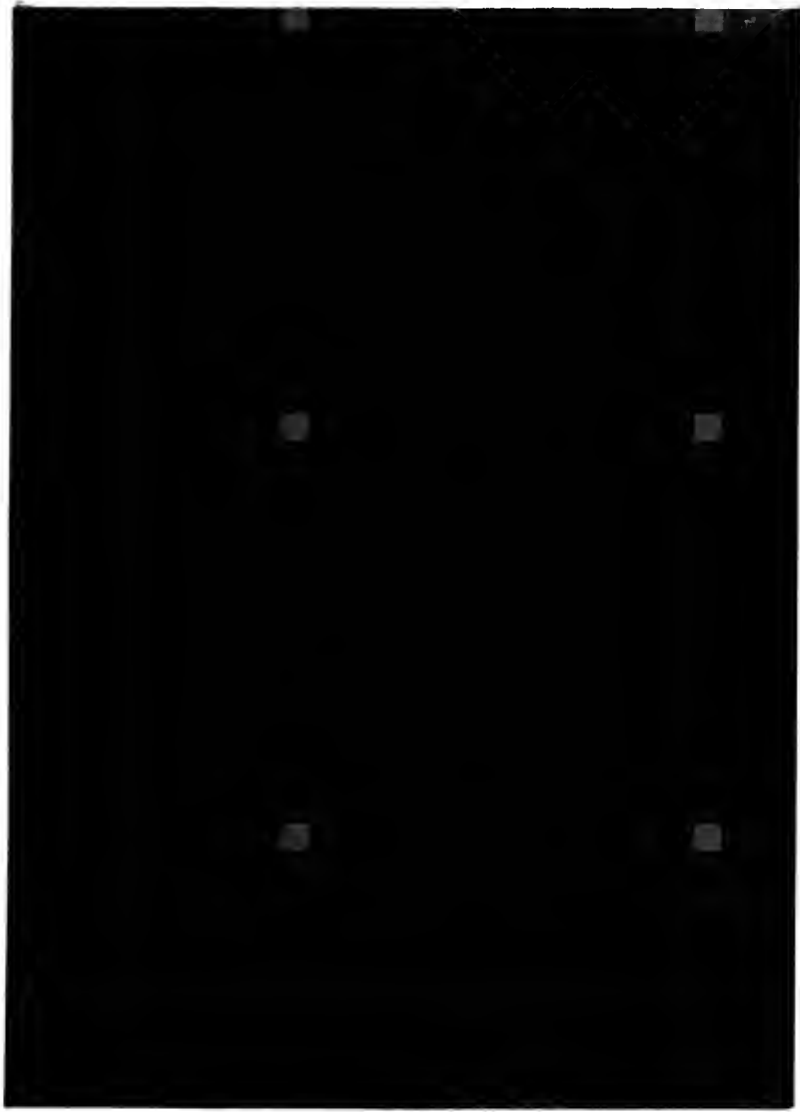


	GORDON .	
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GRANT.





—|—————|—
GUNN.
—|—————|—



the Marquis of Montrose, cousin-german to Argyle, was chancellor, found him guilty. Intelligence of Argyle's condemnation was immediately sent to the king, but the messenger was anticipated in his arrival by an express from the earl himself to the king, who, although he gave orders that sentence should be passed against Argyle, sent positive injunctions to delay the execution till his pleasure should be known. Argyle, however, did not wish to trust to the royal clemency, and as he understood preparations were making for his execution, he made his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, disguised as a page carrying the train of Lady Sophia Lindsay, his step-daughter, daughter of Lord Balcarres, whose widow Argyle married.² He went to London, where he lay some time in concealment, whence he went over to Holland. On the day of his escape, being the 21st of December, he was proclaimed a fugitive at the market cross of Edinburgh, and, on the 24th, the Court of Justice passed sentence of death against him, ordered his arms to be reversed and torn at the market cross of Edinburgh, and declared his titles and estates forfeited.

² "He was lying a prisoner in Edinburgh castle in daily expectation of the order arriving for his execution, when woman's wit intervened to save him, and he owed his life to the affection of his favourite step-daughter, the sprightly Lady Sophia, who, about eight o'clock in the evening of Tuesday, the 20th of December, 1681, effected his escape in the following manner, as related to Lady Anne Lindsay, by her father, Earl James, Lady Sophia's nephew:—"Having obtained permission to pay him a visit of one half-hour, she contrived to bring as her page a tall, awkward, country clown, with a fair wig procured for the occasion, who had apparently been engaged in a fray, having his head tied up. On entering she made them immediately change clothes; they did so, and, on the expiration of the half-hour, she, in a flood of tears, bade farewell to her supposed father, and walked out of the prison with the most perfect dignity, and with a slow pace. The sentinel at the drawbridge, a sly Highlander, eyed her father hard, but her presence of mind did not desert her, she twitched her train of embroidery, carried in those days by the page, out of his hand, and, dropping it in the mud, "Varlet," cried she, in a fury, dashing it across his face, "take that—and that too," adding a box on the ear, "for knowing no better how to carry your lady's garment." Her ill-treatment of him, and the dirt with which she had besmeared his face, so confounded the sentinel, that he let them pass the drawbridge unquestioned." Having passed through all the guards, attended by a gentleman from the castle, Lady Sophia entered her carriage, which was in waiting for her; 'the Earl,' says a contemporary annalist, 'steps up on the hinder part of her coach as her lackey, and, coming for against the weighhouse, slips off and shifts for himself.'—*Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii. p. 147.

In exculpation of their infamous proceedings, the persecutors of Argyle pretended that their only object in resorting to such unjustifiable measures, was to force him to surrender his extensive hereditary jurisdictions, which, they considered, gave him too great authority in the Highlands, and the exercise of which in his family, might obstruct the ends of justice; and that they had no designs either upon his life or fortune. But this is an excuse which cannot be admitted, for they had influence enough with the Crown to have deprived Argyle of these hereditary jurisdictions, without having recourse to measures so glaringly subversive of justice.

The only advantage taken by the king of Argyle's forfeiture was the retention of the heritable jurisdictions, which were parcelled out among the friends of the court during pleasure. Lord Lorn, the earl's son, had the forfeited estates restored to him, after provision had been made for satisfying the demands of his father's creditors.

During the latter years of Charles II., a number of persons from England and Scotland had taken refuge in Holland, to escape state prosecutions with which they were threatened. Among the Scottish exiles, besides Argyle, were Sir James Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair, the celebrated Fletcher of Salton, and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth,—all of whom, as martyrs of liberty, longed for an opportunity of vindicating its cause in the face of their country. The accession of James II., in 1685, to the crown of his brother, seemed an event favourable to their plans, and at a meeting which some of the exiled leaders held at Rotterdam, they resolved to raise the standard of revolt in England and Scotland, and invited the Duke of Monmouth, also an exile, and the Earl of Argyle, to join them.³ Monmouth, who was then living in retirement at Brussels, spending his time in illicit amours, accepted the invitation, and having repaired to Rotterdam, offered either to attempt a descent on England, at the head of the English exiles, or to go to Scotland as a volunteer, under Argyle.⁴ The latter, who had never ceased since his flight to keep up a correspondence with his

³ Hume's *Narrative*, pp. 5-9.

⁴ Hume's *Nar.*, p. 15. Wellwood App., p. 323.

friends in Scotland, had already been making preparations, and by means of a large sum of money he had received from a rich widow of Amsterdam, had there purchased a ship and arms, and ammunition. He now also repaired to Rotterdam, where it was finally arranged that two expeditions should be fitted out,—one for England, under Monmouth, and the other for Scotland, under the command of Argyle, who was appointed by the council at Rotterdam captain-general of the army, “with as full power as was usually given to generals by the free states in Europe.”⁵

On the 2d of May, 1685, the expedition under Argyle, which consisted of three ships and about 300 men, left the shores of Holland, and reached Cairston in the Orkneys on the 6th, after a pleasant voyage. The seizure, by the natives, of Spence, the earl's secretary, and of Blackadder, his surgeon, both of whom had incautiously ventured on shore, afforded the government the necessary information as to the strength and destination of the expedition. A proclamation had been issued, on the 28th of April, for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, hostages had been taken from the vassals of Argyle as sureties for their fidelity, and all persons whose loyalty was suspected were either imprisoned or had to find security for their fidelity to the government; but as soon as the council at Edinburgh received the intelligence of Argyle's having reached the Orkneys, they despatched troops to the west, and ordered several frigates to cruise among the Western Isles. After taking four Orcadians as hostages for the lives of his secretary and surgeon, Argyle left the Orkneys on the 7th of May, and arrived at Tobermory in the isle of Mull on the 11th, whence he sailed to the mainland, and landed in Kintyre. Here he published a declaration which had been drawn up in Holland by Sir James Stuart, afterwards king's advocate, full of invective against the government, and attributing all the grievances under which the country had laboured in the preceding reign to a conspiracy between popery and tyranny, which had, he observed, been evidently disclosed by the cutting off of the late king and the ascension of

the Duke of York to the throne. It declared that the object of the invaders was to restore the true Protestant religion, and that as the Duke of York was, from his religion, as they supposed, incapable of giving security on that head, they declared that they would never enter into any treaty with him. The earl issued, a few days thereafter, a second declaration, from Tarbet, reciting his own wrongs, and calling upon his former vassals to join his standard. Messengers were despatched in all directions, bearing aloft the fiery cross, and in a short time about 800 of his clan, headed by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, rallied around their chief. Other reinforcements arrived, which increased his army to 2,500 men; a force wholly insufficient to meet a body of about 7,000 militia and a considerable number of regular troops already assembled in the west to oppose his advance.

Although Argyle's obvious plan was at once to have dashed into the western Lowlands, where the spirit of disaffection was deeply prevalent, and where a great accession of force might have been expected, he, contrary to the advice of some of his officers, remained in Argyle a considerable time in expectation of hearing of Monmouth's landing, and spent the precious moments in chasing out of his territories a few stragglers who infested his borders. Amid the dissensions which naturally arose from this difference of opinion, the royalists were hemming Argyle in on all sides. Whilst the Duke of Gordon was advancing upon his rear with the northern forces, and the Earl of Dumbarton with the regular troops pressing him in front, the Marquis of Athole and Lord Charles Murray, at the head of 1,500 men, kept hanging on his right wing, and a fleet watched his ships to prevent his escape by sea. In this conjuncture Argyle yielded to the opinion of his officers, and, leaving his stores in the castle of Allangreg, in charge of a garrison of 150 men, he began his march, on the 10th of June, to the Lowlands, and gave orders that his vessels should follow close along the coast. The commander of the castle, on the approach of the king's ships under Sir Thomas Hamilton, abandoned it five days thereafter, without firing a single shot, and the warlike stores which it contained, consisting of 5,000 stand of arms and

⁵ Hume's *Nar.*, pp. 9, 12-14, 15 18.

300 barrels of powder, besides a standard bearing the inscription "Against Popery, Prelacy, and Erastianism," fell a prey to the royalists. The vessels also belonging to Argyle were taken at the same time.⁶

On the 16th of June Argyle crossed the Leven near Dumbarton, but finding it impracticable, from the numerous forces opposed to him, and which met him at every point, to proceed on his intended route to Glasgow by the ordinary road, he betook himself to the hills, in the expectation of eluding his foes during the darkness of the night; but this desperate expedient did not succeed, and next morning Argyle found his force diminished by desertion to 500 men. Thus abandoned by the greater part of his men, he, in his turn, deserted those who remained with him, and endeavoured to secure his own safety. Disguised in a common dress he wandered for some time in the company of Major Fullarton in the vicinity of Dumbarton, and on the opposite side of the Clyde, but was at last taken prisoner by a few militiamen in attempting to reach his own country.⁷ About 100 of the volunteers from Holland crossed the Clyde in boats, but being attacked by the royalists were dispersed. Thus ended this ill concerted and unfortunate expedition.⁸

Argyle was carried to Glasgow, and thence to Edinburgh, where he underwent the same ignominious and brutal treatment which the brave Montrose had suffered on being brought to the capital after his capture. As the judg-

ment which had been pronounced against Argyle, after his escape from the castle of Edinburgh, was still in force, no trial was considered necessary. He was beheaded accordingly on the 26th of June, evincing in his last moments the fortitude of a Roman, and the faith of a martyr. "When this nobleman's death," observes Sir Walter Scott, "is considered as the consequence of a sentence passed against him for presuming to comment upon and explain an oath which was self-contradictory, it can only be termed a judicial murder." His two sons, Lord Lorn and Lord Neill



Ninth Earl of Argyle.

⁶ Hume's *Narrative*, pp. 46-56. *Gazette*, 2044.

⁷ He was attacked by two troopers who were ignorant of his quality, till the exclamation "Unfortunate Argyle," uttered as he fell, betrayed him. "The clan of the Riddells," says Dr Burns, editor of *Wodrow*, "have taken the honour, or the disgrace of having furnished one of these two militiamen. A person of this name from Lochwinnoch, within forty years ago, had gone to the Balloch fair, near Dumbarton, in the capacity of a horse-dealer. The Campbells from Argyleshire heard his hated name, which called up to their imaginations one of the principal murderers of their chief, and they were preparing themselves for a feudal clan battle, when the companions of the Lowlander interposed and prevented bloodshed by a cunning device or *ruse de guerre*, transforming his name from *Riddell* to *Ridel*."—"The spot where Argyle was taken [commonly said to have been near Inchinnan in Renfrewshire] is marked out by a stone, which passes among the country-people by the name of 'Argyle's Stone.'" *Hist. &c.*, tom. iv. p. 297.

⁸ Hume's *Narrative*, pp. 56-67. *Wodrow*, vol. ii. pp. 533-537. *Gazette*, 2015.

Campbell, were banished. Monmouth, who did not land in England till the 11th of June, was equally unfortunate, and suffered the death of a traitor on Tower Hill on the 15th of July.

The ill-fated result of Argyle's expedition, and the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, enabled James to turn the whole of his attention to the accomplishment of an object more valuable, in his opinion, than the crown itself—the restoration of the Catholic religion. In furtherance of this design, the king adopted a series of the most unconstitutional and impolitic measures, which destroyed the popularity

he had acquired on his accession, and finally ended in his expulsion from the throne.

It was not, however, till the Scottish parliament, which met on the 28th of April, 1686, and on the obsequiousness of which the king had placed great reliance, had refused to repeal the test, that he resolved upon those desperate measures which proved so fatal to him. This parliament was prorogued by order of the king on the 15th of June, and in a few months thereafter, he addressed a succession of letters to the council,—from which he had previously removed some individuals who were opposed to his plans,—in which he stated, that in requiring the parliament to repeal the penal statutes, he merely meant to give them an opportunity of evincing their loyalty, as he considered that he had sufficient power, by virtue of his prerogative, to suspend or dispense with those laws; a most erroneous and dangerous doctrine certainly, but which could never be said to have been exploded till the era of the revolution. In these letters the king ordered the council to allow the Catholics to exercise their worship freely in private, to extend the protection of government to his Protestant as well as Catholic subjects, to receive the conformist clergy in general to livings in the church, and to admit certain individuals whom he named to offices in the state without requiring any of them to take the test.⁹

But these letters, though disapproved of in part by the council, were merely preparatory to much more important steps, viz., the issuing of two successive proclamations by the king on the 12th of February and the 5th of July in the following year, granting full and free toleration to Presbyterians, Catholics, and Quakers, with liberty to exercise their worship in houses and chapels. He also suspended the severe penal statutes against the Catholics, which had been passed during the minority of his grandfather; but he declared his resolution to preserve inviolate the rights and privileges of the then established (Episcopal) church of Scotland, and to protect the holders of church property in their possessions.

By the Presbyterians who had for so many

years writhed under the lash of persecution, these proclamations were received with great satisfaction; and at a meeting which was held at Edinburgh of the Presbyterian ministers, who had assembled from all parts of the country to consider the matter, a great majority not only accepted the boon with cheerfulness, but voted a loyal address to his majesty, thanking him for the indulgence he had granted them. Some there were, however, of the more rigorous kind, who denounced any communication with the king, whom they declared “an apostate, bigoted, excommunicated papist, under the malediction of the Mediator; yea, heir to the imprecation of his grandfather,” and who found warm abettors in the clergy of the Episcopal church in Scotland, who displayed their anger even in their discourses from the pulpit.¹

Although the Presbyterians reaped great advantages from the toleration which the king had granted, by being allowed the free and undisturbed exercise of their worship, and by being, many of them, admitted into offices of the state, yet they perceived that a much greater proportion of Catholics was admitted to similitude employments. Thus they began to grow suspicious of the king's intentions, and, instead of continuing their gratitude, they openly declared that they did not any longer consider themselves under any obligation to his majesty, as the toleration had been granted for the purpose of introducing Catholics into places of trust, and of dividing Protestants among themselves. These apprehensions were encouraged by the Episcopal party, who, alarmed at the violent proceedings of the king against the English universities, and the bishops who had refused to read his proclamation for liberty of conscience in the churches, endeavoured to instil the same dread of popery and arbitrary power into the minds of their Presbyterian countrymen which they themselves entertained. By these and similar means discontent spread rapidly among the people of Scotland, who considered their civil and religious liberties in imminent danger, and were, therefore, ready to join in any measure which might be proposed for their protection.

¹ Wodrow, vol. ii. p. 624, App. 187, 192, 194, 195. Fountainhall, *State Trials*, vol. x. p. 785, vol. xi. p. 1179. Balcarras's Account, p. 3.

⁹ Fountainhall, p. 1177.

William, Prince of Orange, who had married the Princess Mary, the eldest daughter of James, next in succession to the Crown, watched the progress of this struggle between arbitrary power and popular rights with extreme anxiety. He had incurred the displeasure of his father-in-law, while Duke of York, by joining the party whose object it was to exclude James from the throne, by the reception which he gave the Duke of Monmouth in Holland, and by his connivance, apparent at least, at the attempts of the latter and the Earl of Argyle. But, upon the defeat of Monmouth, William, by offering his congratulations on that event, reinstated himself in the good graces of his father-in-law. As James, however, could not reconcile the protection which the prince afforded to the numerous exiles from England and Scotland who had taken refuge in Holland, with the prince's professions of friendship, he demanded their removal; but this was refused, through the influence of the prince with the States, and though, upon a hint being given that a war might ensue in consequence of this refusal, they were removed from the Hague, yet they still continued to reside in other parts of Holland, and kept up a regular communication with the Prince. Another demand made by the king to dismiss the officers of the British regiments serving in Holland, whose fidelity was suspected, met with the same evasive compliance; for although William displaced those officers, he refused commissions to all persons whom he suspected of attachment to the king or the Catholic faith. The wise policy of this proceeding was exemplified in the subsequent conduct of the regiments which declared themselves in favour of the prince's pretensions.²

Early in the year 1687, William perceived that matters were approaching to a crisis in England, but he did not think that the time had then arrived for putting his intended design of invasion into execution. To sound the dispositions of the people, he sent over in February, that year, Dyckvelt, an acute statesman, who kept up a secret communication with those who favoured the designs of his master. Dyckvelt soon returned to Holland, with letters from several of the nobility addressed to the prince,

all couched in favourable terms, which encouraged him to send Zulestein, another agent, into England to assure his friends there that if James attempted, with the aid "of a packed parliament," to repeal the penal laws and the test act, he would oppose him with an armed force.³

Although the king was aware of the prince's intrigues, he could never be persuaded that the latter had any intention to dispossess him of his crown, and continued to pursue the desperate course he had resolved upon, with a pertinacity and zeal which blinded him to the dangers which surrounded him. The preparations of the prince for a descent on England went on in the meantime with activity; but a temporary damp was cast on his hopes by reports of the pregnancy of the queen, an event which, if a son was the result, might prevent the accession of his wife, the Princess Mary. On the 10th of June, 1688, the queen gave birth to a prince, afterwards known as the Pretender.

It was not till the month of September, when James was on the verge of the precipice, that he saw the danger of his situation. He now began, when too late, to attempt to repair the errors of his reign, by a variety of popular concessions; but although these were granted with apparent cheerfulness, and accepted with indications of thankfulness, it was evident that they were forced from the king by the necessity of his situation, and might be withdrawn when that necessity ceased to exist, an idea which appears to have prevailed among the people.

Being now convinced that the Prince of Orange contemplated an invasion of England, James began to make the necessary preparations for defence. In September, 1688, he sent down an express to Scotland to the members of the Privy Council, acquainting them with the prince's preparations, and requiring them to place that part of his dominions on the war establishment. The militia was accordingly embodied, the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, &c. provisioned, and orders were sent to the chiefs of the Highland clans to be ready to assemble their men on a short notice. Many

² D'Avaux.

³ Dalrymple, pp. 200—210.

persons at first discredited the report of an invasion from Holland, and considered that it was a mere device of the king either to raise money or to collect an army for some sinister purpose; but their suspicions were allayed by intelligence being brought by some seamen from Holland of the warlike preparations which were making in the Dutch ports. The jealousies which were entertained of the king's intentions were dissipated by the dread of a foreign invasion, and addresses were sent in to the Privy Council from the different towns, and from the country gentlemen, with offers of service.⁴

Whilst the Privy Council were engaged in fulfilling the king's instructions, they received an order from his majesty to concentrate the regular army, and despatch it without delay into England. This force, which did not exceed 3,000 men, was in a state of excellent discipline, and was so advantageously posted throughout the kingdom that any insurrection which might break out could be easily suppressed. As the Prince of Orange had many adherents in Scotland, and as the spirit of disaffection to the existing government in the western counties, though subdued, had not been extinguished, the Privy Council considered that to send the army out of the kingdom under such circumstances would be a most imprudent step; and they, therefore, sent an express to the king, representing the danger of such a movement, of which the disaffected would not fail to avail themselves, should an opportunity occur. They proposed that the army should remain as it was then stationed, and that, in lieu thereof, a body of militia and a detachment of Highlanders, amounting together to 13,000 men, should be despatched to the borders, or marched into the north of England, to watch the movements of the king's enemies in that quarter, and to suppress any risings which they might attempt in favour of the prince. But, although the Council were unanimous in giving this advice, the king disregarded it altogether, reiterated the order he had formerly given, and intimated, that if any of them were afraid to remain in Scotland, they might accompany the army into England.

Accordingly, the Scottish army began its

march early in October, in two divisions. The first, consisting of the foot, at the head of which was General Douglas, brother of the Duke of Queensberry, who had the chief command of the army, took the road to Chester; and the second, consisting of the horse, under the direction of Graham of Claverhouse, as major-general, marched by York. These detachments, on their arrival at London, joined the English army under the command of the Earl of Feversham, about the end of October.

To supply the absence of the regular troops, and to prevent the disaffected from making the capital the focus of insurrection, a large body of militia, under the command of Sir George Munro, was quartered in Edinburgh and the suburbs; but no sooner had the army passed the borders, than crowds from all parts of the kingdom congregated, as if by mutual consent, in the metropolis, where they held private meetings, which were attended by the Earls of Glencairn, Crawford, Dundonald, and others. The objects of these meetings were made known to the council by spies, who were employed to attend them; and although they were clearly treasonable, the council had not the courage to arrest a single individual. Among other things, the leaders of these meetings resolved to intercept all correspondence between the king and the council, a task which Sir James Montgomery undertook to see accomplished, and which he did so effectually that very few despatches reached their destination.⁵

For several weeks the Privy Council, owing to this interruption, was kept in a state of painful uncertainty as to the state of the king's affairs in England; but at last an express arrived from the Earl of Melfort, announcing the important intelligence that the Prince of Orange had landed in England with a considerable force, and that his majesty had gone to meet him at the head of his army.

The landing of the prince, which was effected without opposition on the 5th of November 1688, at Torbay in Devonshire, excited the greatest alarm in the mind of the king, who had entertained hopes that a well appointed fleet of thirty-seven men-of-war, and

⁴ Balcarras, p. 9.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 19.

seventeen fire-ships which had been stationed off the Gun-fleet under the Earl of Dartmouth, an old and experienced commander, would have intercepted the prince in his voyage. Unfortunately, however, for the king, the cruisers which the admiral had sent out to watch the approach of the enemy had been driven back by the violence of the wind, and when the fleet of the prince passed the Downs towards its destined place of disembarkation, the royal fleet was riding at anchor abreast of the Long-sand, several miles to leeward, with the yards and topmasts struck; and as twenty-four hours elapsed before it could be got ready to commence the pursuit, the commander, on the representation of his officers, desisted from the attempt.

As soon as the king had recovered from the panic into which the news of the prince's arrival had thrown him, he ordered twenty battalions of infantry and thirty squadrons of cavalry to march towards Salisbury and Marlborough, leaving six squadrons and six battalions behind to preserve tranquillity in the capital.⁶ The prince, who had been led to expect that he would be received with open arms by all classes on his arrival, met at first with a very cold reception, and he felt so disappointed that he even threatened to re-embark his army. Had James therefore adopted the advice given him by the King of France, to push forward his troops immediately in person and attack the invader before the spirit of disaffection should spread, he might, perhaps, by one stroke, have for ever annihilated the hopes of his son-in-law and preserved his crown; but James thought and acted differently, and he soon had cause to repent bitterly of the course he pursued. Owing to the open defection of some of his officers and the secret machinations of others, the king soon found, that with the exception perhaps of the Scottish regiments, he could no longer rely upon the fidelity of his army. On the 20th of November he arrived at Salisbury, and reviewed a division of the army stationed there; and intended to inspect the following day, another division which lay at Warminster; but being informed that General Kirk, its commander,

Lord Churchill and others, had entered into a conspiracy to seize him and carry him a prisoner to the enemy's camp, he summoned a council of war, at which these officers were present, and without making them aware that he was in the knowledge of such a plot, proposed a retreat beyond the Thames. This proposition met with keen opposition from Churchill, but was supported by the Earl of Feversham, his brother the Count de Roze, and the Earl of Dumbarton, who commanded one of the Scottish foot regiments. The proposal having been adopted, Churchill and some other officers went over to the prince during the night.⁷

The army accordingly retired behind the Thames, and the king, without leaving any particular instructions to his officers, proceeded to London, to attend a council of peers which he had summoned to meet him at Whitehall. The departure of the king was a subject of deep regret to his real friends in the army, and particularly to the Earl of Dumbarton, and Lord Dundee, who had offered to engage the enemy with the Scots troops alone. This offer his majesty thought proper to decline, and in a conference which Dundee and the Earl of Balcarras afterwards had with him in London, when he had made up his mind to retire to France, he gave them to understand that he meant to intrust the latter with the administration of his civil affairs in Scotland, and to appoint the former the generalissimo of his forces.

In the Scottish Privy Council there were several persons who were inimical to the king, and who only waited for a favourable opportunity of offering their allegiance and services to the Prince of Orange. These were the Marquis of Athole, the Viscount Tarbet, and Sir John Dalrymple, the Lord-president of the Court of Session. The two latter, in conjunction with Balcarras, had been appointed by the council to proceed to England, to obtain personally from the king the necessary instructions how to act on the landing of the prince, but on some slight pretext they declined the journey, and Balcarras, a nobleman of undoubted loyalty, was obliged to go alone, and

⁶ Barillon.

⁷ James' *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 222. &c. Burnet, vol. iii. p. 316.

had the meeting with his majesty to which allusion has been made. These counsellors were duly apprised of the advance of the prince, the defection of some of the king's officers, and of his return to London; but as the result of the struggle seemed still to be dubious, they abstained from openly declaring themselves. In order, however, to get rid of the chancellor, the Earl of Perth, and get the government into their own hands, as preliminary to their designs, Viscount Tarbet proposed that, with the exception of four companies of foot and two troops of horse to collect the revenue, the remainder of the troops should be disbanded, as he considered it quite unnecessary to keep up such a force in time of peace, the Prince of Orange having stated in a declaration which he had issued, that that was one of the grievances complained of by the nation. The chancellor, not foreseeing the consequences, assented to the proposal, and he had the mortification, after the order for dismissal had been given, to receive an intimation from the Marquis of Athole and his party, who waited personally upon him at his lodgings, that as they considered it dangerous to act with him and other Catholic counsellors who were incapacitated by law, they meant to take the government into their own hands in behalf of the king, and they demanded that he and his party should retire from the administration of affairs. The Duke of Gordon and the other Catholic members of the council, on hearing of this proceeding, assembled in the chancellor's house to consult with him as to the nature of the answer which should be given to this extraordinary demand. As they saw resistance hopeless, they advised the chancellor to submit, and, probably to avoid personal danger, he retired immediately to the country.

The Marquis of Athole called a meeting of the council, and proposed an address of congratulation to the Prince of Orange, strongly expressive of gratitude to him for his generous undertaking to relieve them from popery and arbitrary power, and offering a tender of their services; but this address was warmly opposed by the two archbishops, Sir John Dalrymple, Sir George Mackenzie and others, and was finally negatived. They even opposed the voting of any address under existing circum-

stances, but the marquis and his party succeeded in carrying a short address, drawn up in general terms. Lord Glamis was sent up with it, but it was so different from what the Prince expected, that it met with a very cold reception.

The fate of the unfortunate monarch had by this time been decided. Before his return to London a great defection had taken place among the officers of the army, and he had at last the mortification to see himself deserted by his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, and by his daughter the Princess Anne, the wife of the Prince. "God help me! my very children have forsaken me;" such was the exclamation uttered by the unhappy monarch, his countenance suffused with tears, when he received the afflicting intelligence of the flight of Anne from Whitehall. When the king saw he could no longer resist the torrent of popular indignation, and that an imperious necessity required that he should leave the kingdom, his first solicitude was to provide for the safety of the queen and his son, whom he managed to get safely conveyed to France.

The resolution of the king to quit the kingdom was hastened after a fruitless attempt at negotiation with the Prince of Orange, by the appearance of an infamous proclamation against Catholics, issued under the signature of the prince, and which, though afterwards disowned by him, was, at the time, believed to be genuine. Having, therefore, made up his mind to follow the queen without delay, the king wrote a letter to the Earl of Feversham, the commander of the forces, intimating his intention, and after thanking him and the army for their loyalty, he informed them that he did not wish them any longer to run the risk of resisting "a foreign army and a poisoned nation." Shortly after midnight, having disguised himself as a country gentleman, he left the palace, and descending by the back stairs, entered into a hackney coach, which conveyed him to the horse-ferry, whence he crossed the river, into which the king threw the great seal. Having arrived at Emley ferry near Feversham by ten o'clock, he embarked on board the custom-house hoy, but before she could be got ready for sea the king was apprehended, and placed under a strong guard.

When the king's arrest was first reported in London, the intelligence was not believed; but all uncertainty on the subject was removed by a communication from James himself in the shape of a letter, but without any address, which was put into the hands of Lord Mulgrave by a stranger at the door of the council chamber at Whitehall. A body of about thirty peers and bishops had, on the flight of the king, formed themselves into a council, and had assumed the reins of government, and many of these, on this letter being read, were desirous of taking no notice of it, lest they might, by so doing, displease the prince. Lord Halifax, the chairman, who favoured the prince's designs, attempted to quash the matter, by adjourning the meeting, but Mulgrave prevailed on the members of the council to remain, and obtained an order to despatch the Earl of Feversham with 200 of the life-guards to protect the person of the king.

On the arrival of Feversham the king resolved to remain in the kingdom, and to return to London, a resolution which he adopted at the urgent entreaty of Lord Winchelsea, whom, on his apprehension, he had appointed lord-lieutenant of Kent. James was not without hopes that the prince would still come to terms, and to ascertain his sentiments he sent Feversham to Windsor to invite the prince to a personal conference in the capital, and to inform him that St. James's palace would be ready for his reception. The arrival of the earl with such a proposal was exceedingly annoying to William and his adherents, the former of whom, on the supposition that the king had taken a final adieu of the kingdom, had begun to act the part of the sovereign, while the latter were already intriguing for the great offices of the state. Instead of returning an answer to the king's message, William, on the pretence that Feversham had disbanded the army without orders, and had come to Windsor without a passport, ordered him to be arrested, and committed a prisoner to the round tower, an order which was promptly obeyed.

At Rochester, whence he had despatched Feversham, the king was met by his guards, and thence proceeded to London, which he entered on the 16th of December amidst the acclamations of the citizens, and the ringing

of bells, and other popular manifestations of joy, a remarkable proof of the instability and inconstancy of feeling which actuate masses of people under excitement.

As James conceived that the only chance he now had of securing the confidence of his subjects and preserving his crown, consisted in giving some signal proof of his sincerity to act constitutionally, he made the humiliating offer to Lewis and Stamps, two of the city aldermen, to deliver himself up into their hands on receiving an assurance that the civil authorities would guarantee his personal safety, and to remain in custody till parliament should pass such measures as might be considered necessary for securing the religion and liberties of the nation. But Sir Robert Clayton dissuaded the common council from entering into any engagement which the city might possibly be unable to fulfil, and thus a negotiation was dropt, which, if successful, might have placed William in a situation of great embarrassment.⁸

But although James did not succeed in his offer to the city, his return to Whitehall had changed the aspect of affairs, and had placed William in a dilemma from which he could only extricate himself by withdrawing altogether his pretensions to the crown, or by driving his uncle out of it by force. William considered that the most safe and prudent course he could pursue would be to force James to leave the kingdom; but in such a manner as to induce the belief that he did so freely and of his own accord. Accordingly, to excite the king's alarms, a body of Dutch guards, by order of the prince, marched into Westminster, and, after taking possession of the palace of St. James's, marched with their matches lighted to Whitehall, of which they also demanded possession. As resistance, owing to the great disparity of numbers, was considered by the king to be unavailing, he, contrary to the opinion of Lord Craven, the commander of his guards, who, though eighty years of age, offered to oppose the invaders, ordered the guards to resign their posts, of which the Dutch took possession. This event

⁸ *James (Memoirs)*, vol. ii. p. 271.—*Great Britain's Just Complaint*, p. 8.

took place late on the evening of the 16th of December.⁹

The king now received orders from William to quit Whitehall by ten o'clock next morning, as the latter meant to enter London about noon, and that he should retire to Ham, a house in Surrey belonging to the dowager duchess of Lauderdale, which had been provided for his reception. The king objected to Ham as a residence being uncomfortable, but stated his willingness to return to Rochester. Permission being granted by the prince, James left Whitehall about twelve o'clock noon, after taking an affectionate adieu of his friends, many of whom burst into tears. He embarked on board the royal barge, attended by Viscount Dundee and other noblemen, and descended the river, surrounded by several boats filled with Dutch guards, in presence of an immense concourse of spectators, many of whom wit-

nessed with sorrow the humiliating spectacle.¹

The king arrived at Rochester the following day from Gravesend, where he had passed the previous night. Having remained four days at Rochester, he, accompanied by two captains in the navy, his natural son the Duke of Berwick, and a domestic, went on board the Eagle fireship, being unable to reach, on account of the unfavourable state of the weather, a fishing smack which had been hired for his reception. On the following morning he went on board the smack, and after a boisterous voyage of two days, arrived at Ambletuse, in France, on the 25th of December, and joined his wife and child, at the castle of St. Germain's, on the 28th. Thus ingloriously and sadly ended the reign of the last of the unfortunate and seemingly infatuated royal race of Stuarts.

Considering the crisis at which matters had arrived, the course which the king pursued, of withdrawing from the kingdom, was evidently the most prudent which could be adopted. All his trusty adherents in England were without power or influence, and in Scotland the Duke of Gordon was the only nobleman who openly stood out for the interests of his sovereign. He had been created a duke by Charles II. James had appointed him governor of the castle of Edinburgh, and he had been thereafter made a privy-counsellor and one of the lords of the treasury. Though a firm and conscientious Catholic, he was always opposed to the violent measures of the court, as he was afraid that however well meant, they would turn out ruinous to the king; not indeed that he did not wish to see the professors of the same faith with himself enjoy the same civil privileges as were enjoyed by his Protestant countrymen, but because he was opposed to the exercise of the dispensing power at a time when the least favour shown to the professors of the proscribed faith was denounced as an attempt to introduce popery. The king, influenced by some of his flatterers, received the duke coldly on his appearance at court in March, 1688, and curtailed some of his rights and privileges over the lands of some of his vassals in Badenoch. Even his fidelity appeared

⁹ "A day or two after his return, Earl Colin (of Balcarras) and his friend Dundee waited on his Majesty. Colin had been in town but three or four days, which he had employed in endeavours to unite his Majesty's friends in his interest. 'He was received affectionately,' says his son, 'but observed that there were none with the king but some of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber. L—— came in, one of the generals of his army disbanded about a fortnight before. He informed the king that most of his generals and colonels of his guards had assembled that morning upon observing the universal joy of the city upon his return; that the result of their meeting was to appoint him to tell his Majesty that still much was in their power to serve and defend him; that most part of the army disbanded was either in London or near it; and that, if he would order them to beat their drums, they were confident twenty thousand men could be got together before the end of next day.—'My lord,' says the king, 'I know you to be my friend, sincere and honourable; the men who sent you are not so, and I expect nothing from them.'—He then said it was a fine day—he would take a walk. None attended him but Colin and Lord Dundee. When he was in the Mall, he stopped and looked at them, and asked how they came to be with him, when all the world had forsaken him and gone to the Prince of Orange? Colin said their fidelity to so good a master would ever be the same; they had nothing to do with the Prince of Orange.—Lord Dundee made the strongest professions of duty;—'Will you two, as gentlemen, say you have still attachment to me?'—'Sir, we do.'—'Will you give me your hands upon it, as men of honour?' they did so,—'Well, I see you are the men I always took you to be; you shall know all my intentions. I can no longer remain here but as a cypher, or be a prisoner to the Prince of Orange, and you know there is but a small distance between the prisons and the graves of kings; therefore I go for France immediately; when there, you shall have my instructions,—you, Lord Balcarras, shall have a commission to manage my civil affairs, and you, Lord Dundee, to command my troops in Scotland.'—*Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii. pp. 161, 162.

¹ *James*, vol. ii. pp. 265—267.

to be questioned, by various acts of interference with the affairs of the castle, of which he disapproved. He resented these indignities by tendering his resignation of the various appointments he held from the crown, and demanded permission from the king to retire beyond seas for a time; but James put a negative upon both proposals, and the duke returned to his post at Edinburgh.²

Notwithstanding the bad treatment he had received, the duke, true to his trust, determined to preserve the castle of Edinburgh for the king, although the Prince of Orange should obtain possession of every other fortress in the kingdom. He requested the privy council to lay in a quantity of provisions and ammunition, but this demand was but partially attended to, for though the garrison consisted only of 120 men, there was not a sufficiency of materials for a three months' siege. The duke shut himself up in the castle, and invited the Earl of Perth, the chancellor, to join him; but the earl declined the offer, and, in attempting to make his escape to the continent, was seized near the Bass, in the Frith of Forth, by some seamen from Kirkealdy, under a warrant from the magistrates of that burgh, and committed to Stirling castle, where he remained a close prisoner for nearly four years.³ A few days after the duke had retired to the castle, an attempt was made by some of the prince's adherents to corrupt the fidelity of the garrison, by circulating a false report that the duke meant to make the whole garrison, who were chiefly Protestants, swear to maintain the Catholic religion. A mutiny was on the eve of breaking out, but it was detected by the vigilance of some officers. The duke, thereupon, drew out the garrison, assured them that the report in question was wholly unfounded, and informed them that all he required of them was to take the oath of allegiance to the king, which was immediately done by the greater part of the garrison. Those who refused were at once dismissed. To supply the deficiency thus made, the duke sent notice to Francis Gordon of Midstrath to bring up from the north 45 of the best and most reso-

lute men he could find on his lands; but, on their arrival at Leith, a hue and cry was raised that the duke was bringing down Papists and Highlanders to overawe the Protestants. To calm the minds of the people, the duke ordered these men to return home.⁴

As soon as the news of the arrival of the Prince of Orange in London, and the departure of the king, was received in Edinburgh, an immense concourse of persons, "of all sorts, degrees, and persuasions," who "could (says Balcarras) scrape so much together" to defray their expenses, went up to London, influenced by motives of interest or patriotism. The Prince of Orange took the wise expedient of obtaining all the legal sanction which, before the assembling of a parliament, could be given to his assumption of the administration of affairs in England; obtaining the concurrence of many of the spiritual and temporal peers, and of a meeting composed of some members who had sat in the House of Commons during the reign of Charles II., as also of the Lord-Mayor of London, and 50 of the common council. He now adopted the same expedient as to Scotland, and taking advantage of the great influx into the capital of noblemen and gentlemen from that country, he convened them together. A meeting was accordingly held at Whitehall, at which 30 noblemen and 80 gentlemen attended. The Duke of Hamilton, who aimed at the chief direction of affairs in Scotland, was chosen president. At this meeting a motion was made by the duke that a convention of the estates should be called as early as possible, and that an address should be presented to the prince to take upon him the direction of affairs in Scotland in the meantime; but this motion was unexpectedly opposed by the Earl of Arran, the duke's eldest son, who proposed that the king should be invited back on condition that he should call a free parliament for securing the civil and religious liberties of Scotland. This proposition threw the assembly into confusion, and a short adjournment took place, but on resuming their seats, the earl's motion was warmly opposed by Sir Patrick Hume, and as none of

² Gordon's *Hist. of the Family of Gordon*, vol. ii. pp. 585, 586.

³ Balcarras, p. 29.

⁴ Gordon's *Hist. of the Family of Gordon*, vol. ii. pp. 587, 588.

The members offered to second it, the motion was consequently lost, and the duke's being put to the vote, was carried.

A convention of the estates, called by circular letters from the prince, was accordingly appointed to be held at Edinburgh, on the 14th of March, 1689, and the supporters of the prince, as well as the adherents of the king, prepared to depart home to attend the ensuing election. But the prince managed to detain them till he should be declared king, that as many as might feel inclined might seal their new-born loyalty by kissing his hand; but William had to experience the mortification of a refusal even from some of those whom he had ranked amongst his warmest friends. The Earl of Balcarras and Viscount Dundee, the former of whom had, as before mentioned, been invested by the king with the civil, the latter with the military administration of affairs in Scotland, were the first of either party who arrived in Scotland, but not until the end of February, when the elections were about to commence. On their arrival at Edinburgh they found the Duke of Gordon, who had hitherto refused to deliver up the castle, though tempted by the most alluring offers from the prince, about to capitulate, but they dissuaded him from this step, on the ground that the king's cause was not hopeless, and that the retention of such an important fortress was of the utmost importance.

The elections commenced. The inhabitants of the southern and western counties (for every Protestant, without distinction, was allowed to vote), alarmed for the extinction of their religious liberties, and excited by the recollection of the wrongs they and their forefathers had suffered, gave their suffrages to the popular candidate, and the adherents of the king soon perceived that the chances were against him. Yet, when the convention met, a respectable minority seemed, notwithstanding, to be in favour of the king, but they had neither the courage nor address to oppose the popular current. To overawe, as is supposed, the friends of the king, or to prevent the convention from being overawed by the troops in the castle, the Duke of Hamilton and his friends, a few days before the meeting of the convention, introduced a considerable number of

armed men into Edinburgh, some of whom were concealed in cellars and houses, ready to act as occasion might require. The first trial of strength between the two parties took place on the election of a president. To the Duke of Hamilton the adherents of the king opposed the Marquis of Athole, who, in consequence of being slighted by the prince, had promised his support to the royal party; but the duke was elected by a considerable majority. This vote sealed the fate of the Tory party, and many who had hitherto wavered in their allegiance now openly abandoned the cause of James. The consequence was, that within a few days, the number of the adherents of the king was greatly reduced.

The first act of the convention was to send the Earls of Tweeddale and Leven, with an order to the Duke of Gordon to deliver up the castle within twenty-four hours. The duke, overcome by the smooth and insinuating behaviour of Tweeddale, reluctantly yielded, and promised to surrender the castle next morning at ten o'clock. When this answer was brought to the convention, Balcarras and Dundee were alarmed, and immediately despatched a confidential servant to the duke reminding him of his promise to hold out, and imploring him not to give way. The duke wavered, but on obtaining a writing which he required under the hands of these noblemen that the retention of the castle was absolutely necessary for the success of the king's affairs, and being visited the following morning by Lord Dundee, who impressed on him the importance of holding out, he resolved to break with the convention. To prepare matters in the north he despatched thither the Earl of Dunfermline, his brother-in-law, to whom he granted a written commission, authorising him to raise his friends and vassals in support of the king.⁵

In consequence of the refusal of the duke to deliver up the castle, he was, by order of the convention, summoned by the heralds at the gate of the castle to surrender, and a proclamation was read at the same time prohibiting all persons from having any communication with him, and promising a reward of six

⁵ Balcarras, pp. 41—2. Gordon's *Hist. of the Family of Gordon*, p. 592.

months' pay to the Protestants in the garrison who should seize him and deliver him and the castle up to the convention. The duke addressed the heralds from within the gate, and told them, that he kept the castle by commission from their common master, and would defend it to the last extremity; and after handing them some guineas, which he requested they would spend in drinking the king's health, and the healths of all his loyal subjects, he facetiously advised them not to proclaim men traitors with the king's coats on their backs till they had turned them. Upon the departure of the heralds, the duke drew out the garrison and gave them their option, either to remain in the castle and share with him the dangers that awaited them, or to depart. Upwards of a third of the garrison took advantage of the permission to depart, and left the castle on that and the following day.⁶

As the king's friends saw that any efforts they could make in the convention would be quite unavailing, they agreed at a private meeting which they held on the 17th of March, to repair to Stirling and there hold a convention by themselves. This resolution was adopted agreeably to the wish of the king himself, who had sent a written authority, dated from Ireland, empowering the Archbishop of St. Andrews, the Earl of Balcarras, and Viscount Dundee, to call a meeting of the estates at Stirling. Balcarras and Dundee received an assurance from the Marquis of Athole, who, ever since the cold reception he had met with from William, had been wonderfully loyal, that he would accompany them, and a similar promise was obtained from the Earl of Mar, governor of Stirling castle. Athole, however, began to waver, a circumstance which deferred the departure of the king's friends.

Here it may not be improper to notice a circumstance which probably had its weight in the deliberations preceding the departure of Dundee. On the morning of 16th March, just as Lord Dundee was on the point of going to the convention, he was waited upon by James Binnie, a dyer, who informed him that

he had overheard a conversation the day before among some persons of their intention of murdering him and Sir George Mackenzie, and Binnie offered, if a warrant were granted him, to apprehend them. Dundee immediately went to the convention and applied for protection, but they refused to act in the matter, and passed to the order of the day. Whether this affair was the device of the Whig party, as has been supposed, to get quit of two individuals particularly obnoxious to them, there are no means of ascertaining; but when the circumstances of the times, and the opinions then held by many of the people are considered, the design of assassinating them is far from improbable.⁷

But be this as it may, Dundee resolved to remain as short as possible in a place where he might be every moment exposed to the dagger of the assassin; and, accordingly, he and his friends fixed on Monday the 18th of March for their departure for Stirling. With the exception of Dundee, they all assembled at the appointed place of rendezvous in the city at the hour which had been fixed; but as the Marquis of Athole, who had promised to accompany them and to protect them on their arrival at Stirling with a body of his vassals, wished them to postpone their departure till the following day; they consented to remain, and were in the act of dispersing and proceeding to the convention when Dundee made his appearance. Such an unexpected resolution greatly surprised him, but he told Balcarras, that whatever were the views of his friends, he would not remain another day in Edinburgh. Balcarras remonstrated with him, and represented, that his departure would give the alarm to their enemies, who would not fail to take advantage of the discovery; but he replied, that as he had a select body of between forty and fifty troopers ready mounted and prepared to start, he would not remain any longer within the city, but would clear the walls with his party and wait without for such friends as might choose to join him. Dundee accordingly left the city at the head of his troopers, to go, as he is said to have emphati-

⁶ Gordon's *Hist. of the Family of Gordon*, pp. 593-4.

⁷ Balcarras, p. 24.—*Minutes of Convention*, 16th March.

cally replied to a friend who put the question to him, wherever the spirit of Montrose should direct. After passing the Nether Bow port, he turned to the left down Leith Wynd, and after clearing the suburbs of the Calton, he faced to the west, and proceeded along the line of road known at the time by the name of the Lang-gate, and which now forms the splendid terrace of Princes' street. On arriving opposite the castle, Dundee ordered his men to halt, and alighting from his horse, he clambered up the steep precipice on the west side of that fortress, and from the bottom of the wall held a conference with the Duke of Gordon, who stood in an adjoining postern gate immediately above. No account has been preserved of the nature of the conversation which passed between these two devoted adherents of the king, but it is understood that the viscount entreated the duke to hold out the castle as long as he could, and that he would endeavour to raise the siege as soon as he had collected sufficient forces.⁸

The convention despatched a Major Bunting with a party of horse in pursuit, but although he overtook Dundee, he had not the courage to attack him, alarmed by a threat with which, it is said, Dundee menaced him, that he would send him (Bunting) back to the convention, in a pair of blankets, did he dare to molest him.⁹ Dundee crossed Stirling bridge the second day

⁸ It is to this interview that Sir Walter Scott alludes in his well-known and stirring ballad of "Bonnie Dundee."

—"The Gordon has asked of him whither he goes?
'Wherever shall guide me the soul of Montrose!
Your grace in short space shall have tidings of me,
Or that low lies the bonnet of Bonnie Dundee!

'There's lands beyond Pentland, and hills beyond Forth,
If there 's lords in the South-land, there 's chiefs in the
North,
And wild dunnie-wassels three thousand times three,
Will cry hoigh! for the bonnet of Bonnie Dundee!

'Away to the hills, to the woods, to the rocks—
Ere I own an usurper I'll couch with the fox;
So, tremble, false Whigs, though triumphant ye be,
For ye've not seen the last of my bonnet or me!

He waved his proud arm and the trumpets were blown,
The kettle-drums clashed, and the horsemen rode on,
Till by Ravelston crags and on Clermiston-Jea
Died away the wild war-note of Bonnie Dundee.

—"Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
Come saddle my horses and call up my men,
Fling all your gates open and let me go free,
For it 's up with the bonnets of Bonnie Dundee!"

⁹ *Life of Dundee.*

of his departure, and proceeded to his residence of Dudhope, near Dundee, to ruminate over the events which had just passed, and to concoct his plans, under the new and extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed, for the restoration of James.

CHAPTER XX.

March to July, 1639.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—William III., 1688—1703.

Viscount Dundee—Proceedings of the convention—General Hugh Mackay—Attempt to apprehend Dundee, who retires to the north—Mackay follows Dundee—Dundee joined by Keppoch—Movements of the two commanders—Movements of Colonel Ramsay—Disaffection among Mackay's troops—Ruthven Castle surrenders to Dundee—Mackay retreats down Strathspey—Followed by Dundee—Retreat of Dundee, who disbands his forces—Mackay returns to Edinburgh—Probabilities of success—Dundee solicits aid from Ireland—Preparations of Mackay—Lord Murray and the Athole-men—Departure of Mackay to Perth—Dundee marches into Athole—Battle of Killiecrankie—Death and character of Dundee.

BEFORE giving the details of Dundee's insurrection, the following short sketch will not be out of place. John Graham, Viscount Dundee, descended from the royal line of the Stuarts by the marriage of William, Lord Graham of Kincardine, his ancestor, with the Princess Mary, second daughter of King Robert III., was the eldest son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse in Angus or Forfarshire, and was born in 1643. Besides a royal descent, Viscount Dundee also claimed to be descended, through the family of Morphy in Mearns, from the illustrious house of Montrose, and was also allied to the noble family of Northesk by his mother, Lady Jean Carnegie, who was fourth daughter of the first earl. Young Graham entered the university of St. Andrew's in the year 1660, where, according to his partial biographer, he made "very considerable progress" in "Humanity and Mathematics." He was chiefly remarkable for his enthusiastic predilection for Highland poetry and the established order of things. He left the university in 1670 and went to France, where he entered as a volunteer. He afterwards transferred his services to Holland, and received the commission of a cornet in

one of the Prince of Orange's troops of guards. He distinguished himself at the battle of Seneffe, in the year 1674, by saving the life of the prince, who had been dismounted, and carrying him off upon his own horse. Having been refused the command of one of the Scottish regiments in the employment of the States, he left the Dutch service and returned to Scotland in the year 1677, and was appointed by Charles II. captain of one of the regiments then raising in Scotland for the suppression of the Whigs.

He was sent to the west country and invested with full powers to put to death all who were found in arms, and to disperse all field meetings for public worship. Armed with this authority he marched from Glasgow to disperse a field meeting held on the 1st June, 1679, at Drumclog, near Loudon Hill; but the Covenanters, who were armed, offered a stout resistance, and he was defeated after a fierce struggle, with the loss of forty of his men. He retreated to Glasgow, and after repulsing an attack which the victors made on that city, finally withdrew to Edinburgh, leaving the west in the hands of the Covenanters.

He returned, however, with the royal forces under the Duke of Monmouth, took part in the battle of Bothwell Bridge, where the Covenanters were defeated, and was said to have made great slaughter among the fugitives, 400 of these being cut down by Graham's dragoons alone.

Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge are the only two severe contests in which Graham was engaged in Scotland previous to the abdication of James II., but in pursuing, detecting, and hunting down the Covenanters he evinced the utmost zeal.

In 1682 Graham was appointed Sheriff of Wigtown, and two years later he was sworn a privy councillor, made captain of the royal regiment of horse, and received a gift from the king of the estate of Dudhope and the constabularyship of Dundee. His severity towards the Covenanters, however, caused his name to be held in detestation in the south-west of Scotland, where he was popularly known as "bloody Claver'sc."

The confidence which Charles had bestowed on Captain Graham was continued by his successor James, who, after promoting him successively to the ranks of brigadier and major-general, raised him to the peerage under the title of Vis-

count Dundee, on the 12th of November, 1688, seven days after the invasion of the Prince of Orange.

The idea of setting up a counter convention at Stirling was immediately abandoned on the departure of Dundee from the capital. The Marquis of Athole, whom the adherents of the king had chosen for their leader, showed no disposition to follow Dundee, and the Earl of Mar, who to save his loyalty made a feint to escape by the only guarded way, was apprehended, not unwillingly, as is supposed, by the sentinels, and brought back, but was released on giving his parole that he would not leave the city without the permission of the convention. The ambiguous conduct of these two noblemen tended to cool the ardour of the few remaining adherents of the king, some of whom resolved to support the new order of things, whilst others, less pliant, absented themselves wholly from the convention. That assembly, after approving of the conduct of the English convention, in requesting the Prince of Orange (now declared King of England) to take upon him the administration of the affairs of that kingdom, acknowledged their obligations to him as the assertor of their liberties, and also entreated him to assume the management of the affairs of Scotland.

Popular as the steps were which the convention were about to take for settling the government of the nation, with the great body of the people, they were not insensible to the probability of a formidable opposition being raised to their plans by a determined band of royalists in the north, who, headed by such a warlike and experienced commander as Dundee, might involve the whole kingdom in a civil war. To prepare, therefore, against such an emergency, the convention before proceeding to the important business for which it had assembled issued a proclamation, requiring all persons from sixteen to sixty, and capable of bearing arms, to put themselves in readiness to take the field when called upon; they deprived all militia officers suspected of attachment to the king of their commissions, and filled up the vacancies thus occasioned by others on whom they could rely. Sir Patrick Hume, who lay under an attainder for the part he took in Argyle's rebellion, was appointed to the command of the horse militia, and the

Earl of Leven was nominated to the command of a body of 800 men, raised for a guard to the city of Edinburgh.

Backed by these, and by about 1100 men of the Scotch brigade from Holland, which arrived at Leith from England, on the 25th of March, under General Mackay, as major-general of all the forces in Scotland,¹ and by a force of 200 dragoons which were also sent from England; the leaders of the convention proposed that a committee of eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgesses, should be appointed to prepare and report upon a plan of settling the government.

The throne having been declared vacant, the convention, on the motion of the Duke of Hamilton, appointed the committee to draw up an act for settling the crown of Scotland upon William and Mary, and they were also instructed to prepare an instrument or declaration for preventing a recurrence of the grievances, of which the nation complained. The Earl of Argyle on the part of the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the burghs, were thereupon despatched to London to offer the crown to William and Mary, on the conditions stipu-

¹ General Hugh Mackay, third son of Colonel Hugh Mackay of Scowry, was born about 1640. Soon after the Restoration in 1660, he obtained an ensign's commission in the Royal Scots, now the Scots Greys, and accompanied it to France on that corps being lent by Charles II. to the French king. In 1669 he entered the Venetian service, in which he distinguished himself. Leaving the service of that republic, he again went to France, where he obtained a captaincy in Douglas's regiment. After serving under Marshal Turenne, in the campaign in the Netherlands, in 1672, Captain Mackay offered his services to the Prince of Orange, who gave him the commission of Major in one of the Scotch regiments, then serving in Holland. After reaching the rank of Colonel in the Dutch service, Mackay was invited to England by James II., from whom, on the 4th of June, 1685, he received the appointment of major-general, or commander in chief, of the forces in Scotland; and was admitted a member of the Scottish Privy Council, by virtue of a warrant from the king, dated the 18th of the same month. But disliking the arbitrary proceedings of James, or preferring the service of his son-in-law, Mackay resigned his commission in 1686, and returned to Holland. The prince raised him to the rank of Major-general, and gave him the command of the British regiments, with which he invaded England. By a warrant signed by William and Mary, dated from Kensington, 4th January, 1689, Mackay was appointed "Major-general of all forces whatever, within our ancient Kingdom of Scotland." Mackay was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-general in 1690, and was killed at the battle of Steinkirk, 3d August, 1692.

lated by the convention. The commissioners were introduced to their majesties at Whitehall, on the 11th of May, and were of course well received, but on the coronation oath being presented to them by the Earl of Argyle, William, who was rather disposed to support episcopacy in Scotland, demurred to take it, as it appeared by a clause which it contained, importing that their majesties should root out heresy, and all enemies to the true worship of God, to lay him under an obligation to become a persecutor. This difficulty, which it is evident was well founded, was however got over by the commissioners declaring that such was not the meaning or import of the oath.

The convention having thus completed the object for which it was assembled, adjourned to the 21st of May, not however till it had passed an act at utter variance with those principles of constitutional liberty, which it professed to establish. By this act the Duke of Hamilton was vested with full power and authority to imprison any person he might suspect of disaffection to the new government, a violent and arbitrary measure certainly, which nothing but the extraordinary circumstances of the times could justify. The Earl of Balcarras and Viscount Dundee were marked out as the first victims of this unconstitutional law. The latter had been already proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel by the convention, for absenting himself from its meetings, but he had hitherto made no movement, in consequence of instructions from the king, desiring him not to take the field till a force of 5,000 foot, and 300 horse, which he promised to send him from Ireland, should land in Scotland.

These instructions having come to the knowledge of Hamilton, hastened his determination to arrest Balcarras and Dundee. Balcarras was seized at his country seat, carried to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the common jail, from which he was afterwards transferred to the castle after its surrender; but Dundee, who had received notice of the approach of the party, retired from his house at Dudhope and took refuge in the mountains.

The favourable reception which James had met with in Ireland, and the discovery which the adherents of William in Scotland had made of his intention to land an army in Scotland,

joined to the fact that the great body of the Highlanders, and almost the whole of the episcopal party in the north, were hostile to the recent change in the government, could not fail to excite alarm in the minds of the partisans of the new dynasty. The brilliant achievements of Montrose had shown how inadequate the peaceful inhabitants of the south, though impelled by the spirit of religious fanaticism, were to contend with the brave and hardy mountaineers of the north; and as Dundee, as they were aware, was desirous of emulating his great predecessor, and was engaged in an active correspondence with the Highland chiefs, they must necessarily have looked forward to a long and bloody, and perhaps a doubtful contest.

As Dundee possessed the confidence of the Highland clans,² and as he looked chiefly to them for support in his attempt to restore the exiled monarch, Viscount Tarbat, one of the ablest politicians of the period, proposed a plan

² "To the regular trained officers, such an army as he commanded was as unstable and capricious as a giddy mob. If he did not study the peculiarities of the race, and of each individual clan, some untoward accident was ever occurring to vex his disciplinarian spirit, and make him suspect that the cause was ruined; and if he did not at once recognise and yield to the peculiarities as they occurred, a trifle might readily sacrifice the army or the cause,—for the Highland soldier's immediate cause was his leader or his clan. The succession to the crown of Britain, or the preservation of the constitution were distant and secondary objects, to be sacrificed without hesitation to any question of precedence or etiquette."—Burton's *Scotland from the Revolution*, vol. i. pp. 101—103. — "If anything good was brought him (Dundee) to eat, he sent it to a faint or sick soldier. If a soldier was weary, he offered to carry his arms. He kept those who were with him from sinking under their fatigues, not so much by exhortation, as by preventing them from attending to their sufferings. For this reason he walked on foot with the men; now by the side of one clan, and anon by that of another. He amused them with jokes. He flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies. He animated them by a recital of the deeds of their ancestors, and of the verses of their bards. It was one of his maxims, that no general should fight with an irregular army, unless he was acquainted with every man he commanded. Yet, with these habits of familiarity, the severity of his discipline was dreadful. The only punishment he inflicted was death. 'All other punishments,' he said, 'disgraced a gentleman, and all who were with him were of that rank; but that death was a relief from the consciousness of crime.' It is reported of him, that, having seen a youth fly in his first action, he pretended he had sent him to the rear on a message. The youth fled a second time. He brought him to the front of the army, and saying, 'That a gentleman's son ought not to fall by the hands of a common executioner,' shot him with his own pistol."—Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, part ii. p. 47.

for detaching the chiefs from the cause of James, some of whom he averred were not so inimical to William nor so attached to James, as was supposed; but who, jealous of the power of Argyle, were justly apprehensive that if, as appearances indicated, that nobleman acquired an ascendancy in the national councils, he would make use of his power to oppress them, and would obtain a revocation of the grants of certain lands which belonged to his family, and which had been forfeited in the reign of Charles II. Besides these reasons, there was another which was supposed to influence others in their determination to restore the fallen dynasty, and thereby crush the rising power of Argyle, viz. that they were greatly in arrears to him as their superior. Tarbat, therefore, suggested to General Mackay, that an attempt should be made, in the first place to obtain the submission of these last by making them an offer to discharge Argyle's claims against their lands, which he computed would amount to £5,000 sterling, and that a separate offer should be made to the chief of the Macleans to make good a transaction which had been in part entered upon between him and the late earl for adjusting their differences. This plan was approved of by the English government, but the affair is said to have been marred by the appointment of Campbell of Cawdor as negotiator, who was personally obnoxious to the chiefs. Mackay attempted to open a correspondence with Cameron of Locheil on the subject, but could obtain no answer, and Macdonell of Glengary, to whom he also made a communication, heartily despising the bribe, advised the general, in return, to imitate the conduct of General Monk, by restoring James.³

Dundee crossed the Dee, and entered the Duke of Gordon's country, the inhabitants of which were friendly to the cause of James, and where he was joined by about 50 horse under the Earl of Dunfermline, who, as has been stated, was sent north by the Duke of Gordon to raise his vassals in support of his royal master. Whilst Dundee was occupied in raising forces in this district, Mackay was despatched from Edinburgh with a considerable body of troops in pursuit. Mackay appointed

³ Mackay's *Memoirs*.

the town of Dundee as the rendezvous for his troops, being the best station he could select for keeping the adjoining country, which was disaffected to the new government, in awe, and whence he could send parties to the north to watch the motions of Dundee. On arriving at Dundee, Mackay, leaving a part of his troops there under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Livingston, proceeded north with a body of about 500 men, consisting chiefly of dragoons, in quest of the Viscount. At Brechin he received intelligence that Dundee, ignorant of course of Mackay's movements, was on his return to his seat of Glenogilvie in the braes of Angus, that he had already passed the Cairn-a-mount, and that he was expected to pass the night at Fettercairn, only a few miles north from Brechin. The viscount, however, having been apprized of Mackay's movements, recrossed the Dee.

As soon as Mackay was informed of this retrograde movement, he resolved to pursue Dundee, and, if possible, to overtake him before he should have time to collect any considerable body of forces. With a small but select body of horse and foot, therefore, he crossed the Dee at Kinecardine, in the expectation of being joined in the course of his march by some country gentlemen who had given him assurances of support before leaving Edinburgh. In this expectation, however, he was sadly disappointed, for, with the exception of the Master of Forbes, who met him after he had crossed the Dee, with a party of 40 gentlemen of his name on horseback and a body of between 500 and 600 men on foot, chiefly raw peasantry, not one of them showed any inclination to join him. The fact was, that, with few exceptions, the people residing to the north of the Tay, were either indifferent to the course of events, or were opposed upon principle to any change in the hereditary succession to the crown, which many of them considered an infraction of the Divine law, and which they believed no misconduct on the part of the king could justify. No man knew these things better than Dundee, who calculated that by means of this feeling he would soon be able to arouse the warlike north against the more peaceful south. But valuable as such a body of auxiliaries as

that brought by the Master of Forbes may be supposed to have been under these circumstances, Mackay, who had been accustomed to the finest troops in Europe, considered that they would be of no service to him, as, according to his own account, they were "ill armed," and appeared "little like the work" for which they were intended. He therefore declined the services of the Forbeses in the meantime, and after thanking the master for having brought them together, he ordered him to dismiss them to their homes, with instructions that they should re-assemble whenever a necessity occurred for defending their own country against the inroads of Dundee.

Having received intelligence of Dundee's route through Strathdon towards Strathbogie, Mackay continued his march in that direction through Aberdeenshire and Moray. On arriving at Strathbogie, he was informed that Dundee had crossed the Spey with about 150 horse without opposition, although Mackay had given particular instruction to the laird of Grant, while in Edinburgh, to occupy all the fords of that river. Mackay also learned, on the following day, by a letter sent to him by the magistrates of Elgin, which had been addressed to them by Dundee, that the Viscount was at Inverness, that he had been there joined by Macdonald of Keppoch at the head of 1,000 Highlanders, and that he intended to make Elgin his headquarters preparatory to an attack upon Mackay. The accession of the Macdonalds was of immense importance to Dundee, and was as seasonable as unexpected. A deadly feud had for some time existed between Macdonald and Mackintosh, arising out of certain claims by the former upon the lands of the latter; and to such a pitch of armed violence did Keppoch carry his pretensions, that James II. felt himself called upon to interfere, by issuing a commission of fire and sword against him as a rebel. Keppoch, taking advantage of the unsettled state of the government, renewed his claims against Mackintosh; and having defeated the Mackintoshes in battle, he had advanced to Inverness, the inhabitants of which had supported the Mackintoshes against him, and was threatening to wreak his vengeance upon them if they did not purchase forbearance

by paying him a large pecuniary fine. It was at this critical moment that Dundee arrived, who, anxious at once to secure the aid of Keppoch and the friendship of the citizens of Inverness, who had only a few days before proclaimed the Prince of Orange, interposed between them and their exasperated foe, and satisfied the latter's supposed claims by collecting the amount of his demands by subscription among the inhabitants.⁴

The news of the junction of the Keppoch Highlanders with Dundee, and of their intention to march to the south, was exceedingly disconcerting to Mackay, who had advanced into a hostile country with a handful of troops quite incapable of resisting the powerful force now opposed to them. The obvious and apparently most prudential course which presented itself, was, on the approach of the enemy, to make a sure and as slow a retreat as possible, and to bring up the forces which he had left behind him; but Mackay, rightly judging that a retreat, besides giving Dundee the command of a large tract of country favourable to his views, might create an impression that his adversary was much stronger than he really was, resolved not only to stand firm, but even to cross the Spey, and take possession of Elgin before Dundee should arrive there. Accordingly, after despatching a courier to bring up his reserves from Brechin without delay, he crossed the Spey and advanced upon Elgin, with his dragoons at a hard trot, followed by 200 veteran foot, who were so desirous of coming to action that they kept up with the horse the whole way from the river to the town. From Elgin, Mackay despatched messengers to some of the principal Whig proprietors in Moray, Ross, and Sutherland, desiring them to prepare themselves for joining him as soon as they should receive his orders.

Mackay lay a few days at Elgin in expectation of Dundee's advance; but as the latter did not appear, Mackay, who had just received a reinforcement of horse from Brechin, left Elgin and took the road to Inverness. When he reached Forres, he ascertained that Dundee had left Inverness, and had crossed the heights of Badenoch on his way to Athole. It is said

that Dundee intended to have advanced upon Elgin, and to have engaged Mackay, but he was counteracted in his design by the refusal of a party of Camerons, who were under Keppoch, to march without the consent of their chief, their real motive apparently being that they were desirous of securing what booty they had taken. Mackay continued his march to Inverness, where he was joined by 500 of the Mackays, Grants, and Rosses. From Inverness, he despatched couriers to the adherents of the new government in the north to join him; and at the same time sent an express to Colonel Balfour at Edinburgh, to despatch Colonel Ramsay north with a select body of 600 men to be drawn from the Dutch regiments. To effect as speedy a junction with him as possible, Mackay directed that Ramsay should march through Athole and Badenoch. These transactions, Burton⁵ thinks happened probably about the beginning of May.

Dundee, on the other hand, was no less busy in his preparations for the ensuing campaign. He never ceased to carry on an active correspondence with many of the Highland chieftains whose confidence he possessed; and on his march through Badenoch he received the most gratifying assurances of support from the gentlemen of that country, with the exception of Mackintosh, who had taken offence at Dundee. Having fixed upon Locheaber as the most central and convenient district for mustering his forces, Dundee appointed the friends of King James to assemble there on the 18th of May, and in the meantime he descended into Athole, with a body of 150 horse, where he met with a cordial reception from Stewart of Ballechan, factor or steward to the Marquis of Athole, and from the other vassals of the marquis. Whether Stewart and the other gentlemen of the district, in taking this decided part, acted from a private understanding with their chief, who still remained at Edinburgh, where he had given in an equivocal adherence to the government, or whether they were yet ignorant of the course he meant to follow, are questions which, for want of information, do not admit of solution. The omission on the part of the marquis to send instructions to

⁴ *Memoirs of Dundee*.—Burton's *Scotland from the Revolution*, vol. i. p. 112.

⁵ *Scotland from Revolution*, vol. i. p. 114.

Stewart to raise a body of 400 Athole Highlanders, to oppose the passage of Dundee through his bounds to the south, should he attempt it, to which effect he had pledged himself to Mackay, before the latter left Edinburgh for the north, raises a suspicion that the gentlemen of Athole acted agreeably to the understood wishes of their chief.⁶

Being informed that the lairds of Blair and Pollock were lying in Perth with a troop of horse, which they had raised for the service of the government, Dundee determined to surprise them, and accordingly left Athole, and proceeded with celerity during the night towards Perth, which he entered unawares early next morning, and seized both these gentlemen and two other officers in their beds, carrying them off prisoners. He also took away 30 horses, and a sum of 9,000 merks of the public revenue which he found in the office of the collector. Leaving Perth, Dundee ranged through Angus, augmenting his cavalry, and after an ineffectual attempt to surprise Lord Rollo, who was raising a troop of horse, he appeared before the town of Dundee, then guarded by two troops of Livingston's dragoons. Their commander, unwilling to encounter Dundee, shut himself up in the town, and the Viscount, after spending two nights at Dudhope, his country seat, returned to the Highlands, to meet his friends at the appointed place of rendezvous.

During all this time, Mackay remained at Inverness, waiting for the arrival of Ramsay's detachment from the south, which he had long and anxiously looked for. In conformity with Mackay's orders, Colonel Balfour immediately put the troops under Colonel Ramsay in readiness to march, but just as they were about to pass across the Frith of Forth, from Leith to Burntisland, an alarm was created by the appearance of a large number of vessels at the mouth of the Frith, which were at once supposed to be a French fleet with troops on board for the purpose of making a descent upon the coast in support of Dundee. As the

⁶ "Lord Athole, Lord Tarbet, and Lord Breadalbane, men of great power in the North, were prevailed upon to give him no disturbance: The two first because they thought themselves neglected by the new government; the last to make himself necessary to it."—Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, Part ii. p. 45.

seizure of the capital, it was naturally supposed, would be the first object of the invaders, the embarkation of Ramsay's detachment, which in such an event would be necessary for its defence, was countermanded; but in two or three days the fears of the government were dispelled, by having ascertained that the fleet in question consisted of a number of Dutch herring vessels which were proceeding on their annual voyage to the fishing stations on the northern coast. This delay occasioned great embarrassment to the operations of Mackay, and almost proved fatal to him, as Dundee was thereby enabled to throw himself with a large force between Mackay's and Ramsay's corps, and to threaten both with annihilation.

In terms of his instructions, Ramsay, after reaching Perth, proceeded through Athole, on his way to Inverness. Though the Atholmen, many of whom he found armed, offered no opposition to his march, yet as every thing around him assumed a warlike appearance, and as reports were continually brought to him that Dundee had placed himself between him and Mackay, with a very large force, he grew alarmed, and so strong had his fears become when within a dozen of miles of Ruthven in Badenoch, that he resolved to return to Perth. He had previously despatched a letter to Mackay, informing him of his advance, and appointing a meeting at Ruthven on a given day, but he neglected to send another express acquainting Mackay of his design to return to Perth. The retreat of Ramsay was disorderly, and some of his men deserted. The Atholmen, who kept hovering about him, were desirous of attacking him, but they were prevented, though with difficulty, by the gentlemen of the district. Mackay having received Ramsay's despatch, was so anxious to form a speedy junction with the latter's detachment, that he left Inverness the following (Sunday) morning, taking with him only two days' provisions. When about half-way between Inverness and Ruthven, he received an express from the governor of the castle, informing him of Ramsay's retreat, and that Dundee acting on information contained in an intercepted despatch of Mackay's, had entered Badenoch on Sunday morning, (the morning of Mackay's march from Inverness,) with an im-

mense force, and was within a few miles of the castle.

The first person who had met Dundee in Loehaber on the appointed day was Glengary, who had with him a body of between 200 and 300 men. He was followed by Macdonald of Morer, at the head of nearly 200 of Clan Ranald's men, and by Appin and Glencoe, with about the same number. Dundee had been subsequently joined by Loehiel (now 60 years of age), who had 600 men under him, and by Keppoch, at the head of 200; but Sir Alexander Maclean, who had promised also to attend, failed to appear.

The intelligence communicated by the commander of Ruthven castle was exceedingly perplexing to Mackay, who must have felt keenly the disappointment of Ramsay's flight. He saw himself with a handful of men surrounded by a warlike and hostile population, and within a short march of a powerful force, which he could not singly resist—with few friends on whom he could place much reliance. He had, in the unfortunate situation in which he was placed, only a choice of evils before him. To have proceeded on his march with the view of cutting his way through the enemy, would have been, even if practicable, an imprudent and very dangerous step, and to have taken up a position in a district where he would have been exposed to be surrounded and cut off from his resources, would have been equally rash. He had, therefore, no alternative which he could prudently adopt, but either to fall back upon Inverness, or retire down the vale of the Spey. He preferred the latter course; for, although such a movement would leave Inverness quite exposed to Dundee's army, that disadvantage would be more than counterbalanced by the protection which would be thereby afforded to the laird of Grant's lands, near the borders of which Dundee was now hovering, and by the obstruction which the interposition of Mackay's troops would present to any attempt on the part of Dundee to recruit his army in the Duke of Gordon's country. Besides, by making Strathspey the scene of his operations, Mackay expected to be able to keep up a communication with the south through Angus and Aberdeenshire, and the adjoining parts of Moray,

which he could not maintain if he returned to Inverness.

Accordingly, after despatching an express to Inverness, apprising the garrison of his intentions, and promising assistance, should Dundee venture to attack the town, Mackay began a rapid march towards Strathspey, which he continued during the night, and did not halt till he had descended a considerable way down that vale. Dundee, who had closely pursued him, afraid of exposing his men to the attacks of Mackay's cavalry, did not follow him after he had gained the flatter part of the Strath, but kept aloof at the distance of some miles in a more elevated position where he encamped. Notwithstanding his inferiority in point of numbers, the revolutionary general determined to endeavour to allure Dundee from his stronghold by offering him battle, and having refreshed his men, wearied by a long march of twenty-four hours, he advanced next morning to within a mile of Dundee's camp, and, after reconnoitring the position of the enemy, made preparations for receiving them; but Dundee, secure from danger, by the nature of the ground he occupied, showed no disposition to engage. It is probable that, in acting thus passively, he was influenced by the conduct of the Highlanders, who were averse to engage with cavalry, and some of whom (the Camerons, according to Mackay,) fled to the neighbouring hills on Mackay's approach. Seeing no hope of drawing the Viscount out of his trenches, Mackay returned in the evening to his camp, which he removed the following day to Colmakill, about six miles lower down the Spey, where he considered himself more secure from any sudden surprise or attack, and where he was speedily joined by two troops of Livingston's dragoons from Dundee. The ground occupied by Mackay was a spacious plain, bounded on the south by the Spey, which effectually protected his rear, whilst his front was covered by a wood and some marshes which skirted the plain on the north. The right of Mackay's position was protected by a small river with a rough and stony bottom. The general himself took up his quarters at Belcastle, a summer-house in the neighbourhood belonging to the laird of Grant, whence he despatched ten or twelve of Grant's tenants,

selected by Grant himself as the most intelligent and trustworthy, to watch and bring him notice of Dundee's motions. These scouts kept up a constant communication with Mackay, who received a report from one or other of them almost every alternate hour. In the meantime, he kept his whole army under arms, and to prevent surprise, small parties of horse and dragoons patrolled the neighbouring woods, and some foot were stationed along the banks of the little river on the right. But these precautions would probably have been unavailing, if the government general had not timeously been made acquainted with the fact, that there were enemies in his camp who were watching an opportunity to betray him.

For some time, a report had been current that Livingston's regiment of dragoons was disaffected to the government; but as Mackay could not trace the rumour to any authentic source, he disbelieved it, and to mark his confidence in its fidelity, he had ordered the two troops which were stationed at Dundee to join him in the north. But two days after two deserters from Dundee's camp informed Mackay that, with few exceptions, all the dragoon officers had entered into a conspiracy to betray him. They said that they had heard Dundee frequently assure the chiefs of the clans that he could depend upon the dragoons, and heard him inform the chiefs, that till he saw a favourable opportunity for requiring the services of the dragoons, he would allow them to remain in the enemy's camp, where they might be useful to him. The deserters likewise informed Mackay that they had not left Dundee's camp altogether of their own accord, but partly at the instigation of the lairds of Blair and Pollock, who had been carried about by Dundee as prisoners ever since their capture at Perth, and who were anxious to prevent Mackay from engaging, under these circumstances, with such a small party of troops as he then had.

This information, though calculated to shake the general's confidence in the fidelity of these dragoons, was too vague and unsatisfactory to be relied upon. Mackay appears at first to have had some doubts of the truth of the statement; but his unwillingness to believe the

accusation gave place to an opposite impression when, after ordering the deserters to be confined in Belcastle, and threatening them with exemplary punishment should it turn out that they were spies sent by Dundee, they expressed themselves quite satisfied to abide the result of any investigation he might institute.

Mackay, though now satisfied that there were traitors in his camp, took no steps to secure them, but continued to remain in his position waiting for the arrival of Barclay's dragoons and Leslie's foot from Forfar and Couper Angus. Mackay might have retreated down the river, but he was advised to remain at Coltnakill by Sir Thomas Livingston and the laird of Grant; because by retaining his ground, his expected succours would be every day drawing nearer to him, and every day thus spent would be lost to Dundee, who was prevented, by his presence, from communicating with those places in the low country from which he expected reinforcements, particularly in horse, of which he stood in most need. Besides, by retiring, Mackay considered that he might probably be forced to recross the Grampians before the two regiments could join him, in which case he would leave the whole of the north exposed to Dundee, who would probably avail himself of the opportunity to raise a force too formidable to be encountered.

In the meantime, Dundee sent a detachment of his army to lay siege to the old castle of Ruthven, in which Mackay, on his arrival at Inverness, had placed a garrison of about 60 of Grant's Highlanders, under the command of John Forbes, brother to Culloden. The garrison being in want of provisions, capitulated on the condition that their lives should be spared, and that they should be allowed to return to their homes on their parole. While conducted through Dundee's camp, Forbes observed all the horses saddled, and his army preparing as if for an immediate march. In proceeding towards Coltnakill, he met, at the distance of about a mile from Dundee's lines, two men on horseback, one in a red, the other in a blue uniform. The latter immediately challenged him with the usual parole, "Qui vive?" on which Forbes returning the "Vive le Roi Guillaume," as indicative of his loyalty to the existing government, the man in red informed

him that they had been despatched from Mackay's camp to obtain intelligence of the enemy. Captain Forbes then cautioned the men of the risk they would run if they proceeded farther, but regardless of his advice, they rode forward in the direction of Dundee's camp. Forbes having mentioned this occurrence to Mackay the same day, the latter immediately suspected that the officers of dragoons were in communication with Dundee, as he had given no such order as the man clothed in red had pretended. He, thereupon, desired inquiry to be made if any dragoons had been sent out, and by whom; and as blue was the uniform of Livingston's men, he desired them to be instantly mastered to ascertain if any were absent; but the general had scarcely issued these instructions, when some of his scouts brought him intelligence that Dundee's army was moving down the Strath towards Colmakill. This movement, combined with the information which had been communicated to him by Forbes, left no doubt of the treachery of the dragoons.

Under these circumstances, Mackay had no alternative but an immediate retreat. Calling, therefore, his commanding officers together, he ordered them to put their men under arms, and to form them upon the plain in marching order. He next addressed himself to the laird of Grant, and after expressing his regret at the step he was about to take, by which Grant's lands would be left for a short time exposed to the ravages of Dundee's army, he requested him to order his tenants to drive their cattle down the country out of the reach of the enemy, who would probably overlook them in their anxiety to follow him in his retreat. Grant listened to this advice with becoming attention, but to show how little he regarded his own personal interest, as opposed to what he conceived his duty to his country, he observed, that though he might lose every thing by Dundee's invasion of his country, he would not take one step prejudicial to the government.

In fixing the order of his retreat, Mackay adopted the plan he had been accustomed to follow, that he might not excite the jealousy of the dragoons, or make them suspect that he was distrustful of them. Accordingly, as was his usual practice, he divided the dragoons

into two bodies, one of which, consisting of Major and Captain Balfour's companies, he placed in the rear, and the other four companies commanded by the disaffected officers he placed in the front, that he might overawe them by his own presence. Immediately before the two troops of dragoons which formed the rear-guard, Mackay placed 200 foot, chiefly grenadiers of the three Scoto-Dutch regiments, and next to them the English horse, then scarcely 70 men strong, and between those horse and the four companies of dragoons which were led by Sir Thomas Livingston, he posted 200 of Lord Reay's and Balnagowan's Highlanders, having previously dismissed Grant's men, whom he had informed their chief he would leave behind to protect their own country from Dundee's stragglers.

There were three ways by which Mackay could retreat,—either towards Inverness, or through Strathdown and Glenlivet, a movement which would bring him near his expected reinforcements, or down Strathspey. Of these routes Mackay would have preferred the southern; but as the population of Strathdown and Glenlivet was Catholic, and of course hostile to him, and as the ground in those districts was unfavourable to the operations of cavalry in case of attack, he resolved to march down Strathspey. But as he was desirous to conceal his route from Dundee, he did not begin his march till nightfall, at which time Dundee was within three miles of his camp. In his course down Speyside he passed by the house of Grant of Ballindalloch, who was serving under Dundee, and arrived early the following morning at Balveny, where he halted to refresh his men and procure a supply of provisions. There he met Sir George Gordon of Edin-glassie, from whom he obtained some men to act as intelligencers. Some of these he despatched back in the direction he had come, to ascertain if Dundee still remained in the Strath; but apprehensive that Dundee would take a southerly course, by crossing the Strath, with the view of throwing himself between Mackay and his reinforcements, he sent off others in that direction. These scouts soon returned with intelligence that Dundee was still in Strathspey. This information was satisfactory to Mackay, and relieved him from

a state of the most painful anxiety; but he was still greatly perplexed by the want of provisions, which, though hourly expected, had not yet arrived.

Desirous, however, to wait for supplies as long as consistent with safety, he again despatched some of Gordon's men in the direction he supposed Dundee would take, and at the same time sent a sergeant with a party of 12 dragoons back by the course he had marched, to bring him notice of Dundee's motions. Mackay waited with the greatest impatience till about five o'clock in the evening for the return of the dragoons, without any signs of their appearance, a circumstance which alarmed him so much, that although a quantity of provisions and oats had just reached his camp, he would not allow time for baking bread or feeding the horses, but gave orders for an immediate march. Accordingly, the whole party moved off in the same order as before, and passed a small river about a mile above the place where they had been encamped; but they had scarcely advanced half a mile when Sir Thomas Livingston, who happened to be a little behind, observed the enemy on the other side of the river they had just passed, marching towards the ford by which Mackay's men had crossed. On being informed of this, Mackay, after ordering Lieutenant-colonel Livingston, who was at the head of the vanguard, to continue at a pretty quick pace; galloped to the rear, and having despatched Sir Thomas Livingston to the front to lead the party, with instructions to keep up a constant pace, but without wearying the troops, he posted himself upon a rising ground with about 50 or 60 horse and dragoons in view of Dundee's army, where he was joined by the Master of Forbes with about 50 horse.

When Dundee observed the party of dragoons drawn up on the hillock he immediately halted, drew in his stragglers, and marshalled his men into battalions, keeping up the usual distinction of the clans. In the meantime Mackay sent off his nephew, Major Mackay, to a hill which lay about a quarter of a mile to his left, from which he could obtain a nearer and more correct view of Dundee's force and his motions. The Viscount's horse immediately passed the river, and drew up along the

bank to protect the passage of the foot, who in their turn also formed till the baggage was brought over. It was now after sunset, but the Viscount continued to advance. Mackay, who was nearly two miles behind his rear; thereupon began to ride off with his party, but he had not proceeded far when a cry of "halt!" met his ears. On turning round he observed galloping after him, Major Mackay, who, having observed a party of horse which he supposed to belong to Dundee, moving along the face of a hill to the General's left, and which from the twilight appeared more numerous than it really was, had hastened to acquaint the General of the circumstance. It turned out, however, that this party which had occasioned such alarm was no other than the sergeant with the 12 dragoons of Livingston's regiment which had been sent out by Mackay in the morning to reconnoitre. It was afterwards ascertained that this sergeant was concerned in the plot, and that he was the same individual in blue, whom Captain Forbes had met with within a mile of Dundee's camp. This man pretended, however, that he had run great danger of capture; and that he had taken such a round-about way merely to avoid the enemy, though he and his party had been with Dundee the whole day, and had conducted him over the ground which Mackay had passed on the preceding day. The government forces continued their march all night till they crossed the river of Bogie, where, from pure exhaustion, they halted at four o'clock in the morning. The General then ordered the provisions which had reached the camp previous to his retreat, to be distributed among his troops, and desired the horsemen to lead their horses into an adjoining corn-field and feed them. When the men were refreshing themselves Mackay received the agreeable intelligence that Barclay and Leslie's regiments would join him that day, but "to play sure game," as he himself says, after allowing his men two hours' rest, he marched three miles further down towards his succours, and took up a position at the foot of Suy-hill upon the common road from the south to the north, by which he expected the two regiments would march.

Having sent a pressing order to Barclay and

Leslie to hasten their march, Mackay had the satisfaction of being joined by the former at twelve o'clock noon, and by the latter at six o'clock in the evening, after a long and fatiguing march. Resolved that no time should be lost in turning the chase upon Dundee before he should be aware of these reinforcements, Mac-



General Hugh Mackay of Scourie.

kay put his army in marching order, and advanced towards him after ten o'clock at night. But his designs were made known to Dundee by two dragoons who had been despatched by their officers. These men, on the departure of Dundee, were discovered in a wood, and the general being satisfied that the sergeant before mentioned had had a conference with Dundee, and the two dragoons having confessed nearly as much themselves, he immediately put Lieutenant-colonel Livingston and the other suspected officers under arrest. He thereupon continued his march, and arrived at Balveny that night, and on the following day reached Colmakill, which he had left only five days before. Here having received notice that a party of Dundee's men was on the other side of the adjoining river, he sent orders to Sir Thomas Livingston to cross with 200 dragoons

and drive them away; but Sir Thomas having been previously informed that the laird of Grant was sorely pressed by the retiring forces of Dundee, had anticipated the general's orders, and had advanced two miles beyond the river with a greater force, in pursuit of a body of Highlanders. These were, according to Balcarras, Sir John Maclean's men, who were on their way to join Dundee, and who, alarmed at the appearance of such a large number of dragoons, threw away their plaids and betook themselves to an adjoining hill, where they formed. They are stated by the last-mentioned author to have amounted only to 200 men, but Mackay, in his memoirs,⁷ states the number at 500. Mackay observes, that but for the indiscretion of Livingston's adjutant, who by riding a quarter of a mile in advance, gave the Highlanders timely notice of the approach of the dragoons, not one of them would have escaped, but being thereby enabled to gain the top of the hill before the dragoons came up with them, they sustained a loss of only 80 or 100 men. In this skirmish, a captain of Barclay's regiment and six dragoons were killed, and some wounded.

Having been joined by Ramsay's detachment, which during the occupany of Strathspey by the hostile armies, had, unknown to Mackay, penetrated through Athole and Badenoch and reached Inverness, Mackay continued to pursue Dundee into Badenoch; but as the latter retired into Lochaber, Mackay gave over the pursuit on learning that Dundee had dismissed the greater part of his forces. Mackay, thereupon, marched to Inverness with Livingston's dragoons, Leslie's foot, and a party of Leven's and Hastings' regiments, and 200 Highlanders, and sent Barclay's regiment to Strathbogie, and the three Dutch regiments to Elgin. From Inverness, Mackay despatched an express to the Duke of Hamilton, urging upon him the necessity of placing "a formidable garrison" at Inverlochy, and small ones in other places in the north, without which he considered that it would be utterly impossible to subdue the Highlanders, who, on the approach of an army, for which a fortnight's subsistence could not be found in their mountain

⁷ P. 38, of Bannatyne club edition.

ous regions, could easily retire to difficult passes and other places inaccessible to regular troops. He, therefore, requested that his grace and the parliament would consider the matter before the season was farther spent, and provide the necessary means for carrying such a design into effect against his arrival in the south, whither he intended to proceed in a few days.

On his way to the south, Mackay despatched 50 horse, as many of Barclay's dragoons, and 60 foot, to take possession of the house of Braemar, into which he intended to place a garrison to keep the Braemar men in check, and to cover the county of Aberdeen; and he ordered the captain of dragoons, after putting 20 of his men into the house, to march forward, without halting, before break of day, to the house of Inverey, about three miles farther off, for the purpose of seizing Inverey and some other gentlemen who had lately been with Dundee. But, fortunately for Inverey and his guests, the officer trifled off his time in Braemar house, refreshing his horses, till the dawn of the morning, and the approach of him and his party being perceived, Inverey and his friends escaped in their shirts to a neighbouring wood. Disappointed of their prey, the party retired to the house of Braemar, where, after setting their horses loose to graze, they laid themselves down to repose; but they were soon wakened from their slumbers by some firing from a party on a rock above, which had so alarmed the horses that they were found galloping to and fro in the adjoining fields. As soon as the dragoons had caught their horses, which they had some difficulty in doing, they galloped down the country. The party on the rock was headed by Inverey, who had collected a number of his tenantry for the purpose of expelling the dragoons from his bounds, and who, on their retreat, set fire to Braemar house, which was consumed.

The party of foot, which, having charge of a convoy of provisions and ammunition for the intended garrison, had not yet arrived, on hearing of the retreat of the dragoons, shut themselves up in a gentleman's house, to secure themselves from attack, and the commanding officer sent an express after Mackay, who was then on his way to the south, acquainting him

with the failure of the enterprise. On receiving this intelligence, Mackay, although he had not a day's bread on hand, and was in great haste to reach Edinburgh, "to put life in the design of Inverlochy," turned off his course and crossed the hills towards Braemar, with his foot, after giving directions to Barclay's dragoons to march up Deeside. Finding Braemar house destroyed, and the vaults of it incapable of holding a garrison, Mackay, after burning Inverey's house and laying waste all his lands, descended the river to Abergeldie, where he left a detachment of 72 men as a check upon the Farquharsons. And having placed the other troops which he had brought from the north in quarters farther down the Dee, he posted off to Edinburgh, where he arrived in the beginning of July, about a fortnight after the surrender of the castle of Edinburgh, which capitulated on the 14th of June, after a siege of three months.

On his arrival at Edinburgh, Mackay was exceedingly mortified to find that no steps whatever had been taken by the government for putting his design into execution, of erecting a fort at Inverlochy. As the season was now too far advanced to collect materials for such an erection, he proposed that a body of 1,500 pioneers should be levied in the northern counties, each of whom should be obliged to carry a spade, shovel, or pickaxe, along with him, and that a month's provisions of meal, with horses to carry it, should be furnished, along with a force of 400 men. But this plan, the general himself confesses, "considering the inability, ignorance, and little forwardness of the government to furnish the necessary ingredients for the advance of their service, was built upon a sandy foundation, and much like the building of castles in the air."⁸ As an instance of the slowness and irresolution of government, Mackay mentions, that after his return from the north, they took three weeks to deliberate upon the mode of conveying a fortnight's provisions for 400 men; by which delay he says he lost the opportunity of preventing Dundee from occupying Athole, Badenoch, and other parts of the southern Highlands.

The return of Mackay to the capital, after a

⁸ *Memoirs*, p. 46.

fruitless and exceedingly harassing series of marches and countermarches, seems to have abated the ardour of some of the supporters of the government, who, disappointed in their expectations, and displeased at the preference shown by the court to others they considered less deserving than themselves, had become either indifferent about the result of the struggle, or secretly wished for a restoration. That such an event might occur was indeed far from improbable. James was already in possession, with the exception of two cities, of all Ireland, and William was by no means popular in England. To give, therefore, a decided and favourable turn to James's affairs in Scotland, nothing was wanting but to aid Dundee immediately with a few thousand men from Ireland; but although the necessity of such a step was urged by Dundee in his communications with the exiled monarch, the latter did not, unfortunately for himself, consider the matter in the same light. The expectation of such a reinforcement, which they confidently looked for, had, however, its due effect upon the minds of the Highlanders, who gladly endured during the recent campaign all those painful privations which necessarily attend an army scantily provided with the means of subsistence. No man was better fitted by nature than Dundee for command under such difficulties, and at the head of such troops. Whilst by his openness, frankness, and disinterestedness he acquired an ascendancy over the minds of the chiefs, he was equally successful by attending personally to their wants, by mixing frequently among them, and by sharing their privations and fatigues, in securing the obedience of the clans. But valuable and important as the services were of such a bold and devoted band, it was evident that without a sudden and powerful diversion from Ireland, or a considerable rising in the lowlands, it would be impossible for Dundee, from the paucity of his forces, and the want of cavalry, to carry the war into the south with any possible chance of success.

As the Irish reinforcements were daily expected, Dundee enjoined the chiefs of the clans, who, with their men, had taken a temporary leave of absence on the departure of Mackay, to rejoin him as soon as possible, and from his head-quarters at Moy, in Lochaber,

he sent expresses to the other chiefs who had not yet joined him to hasten to the approaching muster.⁹

About the same time he despatched a letter to the Earl of Melfort, in which, after adverting to various circumstances, he advises him to send over from Ireland a body of 5,000 or 6,000 men to Inverlochy, which he considered the safest landing-place that could be selected as being "far from the enemy," and whence an easy entrance could be obtained for an army into Moray, Angus, or Perthshire. On the return of the transports from Inverlochy, Dundee advised Melfort to send over as many foot as he conveniently could to the point of Cantyre, on hearing of whose landing he would

⁹ The following letter to Macleod of Macleod shows Dundee's notion of his prospects at this time:—

"For the LAIRD OF MACLEOD.*

"MOY, Jun 23, 1689.

"SIR,—Glengaire gave me an account of the substance of a letter he received from yow: I shall only tell yow, that if yow heasten not to land yow men, I am of opinion yow will have little occasion to do the king great service; for if he land in the west of Scotland, yow will come too late, as I believe yow will think yourself by the news I have to tell yow. The Prince of Orange hath wreaten to the Scots councill not to fatig his troops any more by following us in the hills, but to draw them together in a body to the west; and, accordingly, severall of the forces that were in Pearthshire and Angus, are drawn to Edinr., and some of Mackay's regments are mareht that way from him. . . . Some of the French fleet hath been seen amongst the islands, and hath taken the two Glasgow frigats. The king, being thus master by sea and land, hath nothing to do but bring over his army, which many people fancy is landed alraidy in the west. He will have little to oppose him there, and will probably march towards England; so that we who are in the graitest readiness will have ado to join him. I have received by Mr. Hay a commission of lieutenant-general, which miscarried by Breidy. I have also received a double of a letter miscarried by Breidy to me, and a new letter, dated the 18th of May; both which are so kind, that I am asham'd to tell. He counts for great services, which I am conscious to myself that I have hardly done my deutie. He promises not only to me, but to all that will join, such marks of favor, as after ages shall see what honour and advantage there is, in being loyall. He sayes, in express terms, that his favours shall vy with our loyalty. He hath, by the same letters, given full power of councill to such cancellors here, as shall be joined in the king's service, and given us power, with the rest of his freends, to meet in a convention, by his authority, to counteract the mock convention at Edinr., whom he hath declaired traitours, and comanded all his loyall subjects to make warr against them; in obedience to which, I have called all the clannes. Captain of

* The original of this letter, which is addressed to John Macleod of Macleod, is in possession of the present Laird of Macleod, his descendant.

advance as far as the neck of Tarbert to meet them, and that on the junction taking place, Dundee would march "to raise the country," and afterwards proceed to the passes of the Forth to meet the king, who, it was supposed, would follow the expedition. To deceive Mackay and the Scottish council, and to induce them to withdraw their forces from the north, and thus leave him at greater liberty to organize it, Dundee industriously circulated a report that the forces from Ireland would land altogether in some quarter south of the Clyde. To give an appearance of certainty to the rumour, he wrote a letter to Lady Errol, a warm supporter of James's interest, acquainting her of the expected landing in the west, and to prevent suspicion of any *ruse* being intended, he inclosed some proclamations, which, it is presumed, he intended to issue when the Irish arrived. As wished and anticipated, this despatch was intercepted and sent to Edinburgh. The device appears to have in part

Gleurrannald* is near us these several days; the laird of Baro† is there with his men. I am persuaded Sir Donald‡ is there by this. M'Clean§ lands in Morven to-morrow certainly. Apen,|| Glenco,** Lochell,†† Glengaire,‡‡ Keppoch,§§ are all raidy. Sir Alexander||| and Largo*** have been here with these men all this while with me, so that I hope we will go out of Loehaber about three thousand. Yow may judge what we will gett in Strathharig, Badenock, Athol, Marr, and the duke of Gordon's lands, besides the loyall shires of Bamf, Aberdeen, Merns, Angus, Perth, and Stirling. I hope we will be masters of the north, as the king's army will be of the south. I had almost forgot to tell you of my Lord Broadalban,††† who I suppose will now come to the fields. Dumbeth, with two hundred hors and eight hundred foot, are said to be endeavouring to join us. My L. Seaforth††† will be in a few dayes from Irland to raise his men for the king's service. Now, I have layd the whole business before yow, yow will easily know what is fitt for yow to do. All I shall say further is, to repeat and renew the desyre of my former letter, and assure you what I am,

"Sir

"Your most humble servant,

"DUNDIE.

"Yow will receive the king's letter to yow."

* Allan Macdonald, captain of Clanranald, then under age. Ronald Macdonald of Benbecula, his tutor, attended him.

† R. Macneil of Barra.

‡ Sir Donald Macdonald of Slate.

§ Sir John Maclean of Dowart and Morven.

|| Stewart of Appin.

** Alexander Macdonald, or MacIan of Glenco.

†† Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochell.

††† Alexander Macdonell, younger of Glengary.

§§ Dundee "used to call him Coll of the Cowes, because he found them out when they were driven to the hills out of the way."—*Deposition of Lieutenant Coll* in appendix to acts of parliament, 1690.

||| Sir Alexander Maclean of Otter.

*** Alexander Macdonald of Largo.

††† John, first Earl of Breadalbane.

†††† Kenneth, fourth Earl of Seaforth.

succeeded, as Dundee informs Melfort, that the government forces were afterwards withdrawn from Cantyre.¹

Whilst Dundee was thus maturing his plans, preparatory to another campaign, Mackay was urging the privy council to supply him with a sufficient force, for carrying into effect his

¹ "For the EARL of MELFORT.*

"MOY IN LOCHABER, June 27, 1689.

After exculpating himself from a charge made against him by the Earl, of his name having been 'made use of for carrying on designs against the Earl,' Dundee thus proceeds:—

"When we first came out I had but fifty pounds of powder; more I could not get, all the great towns and seaports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder, and would sell none. But I had one advantage, the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then take to the broadsword . . . The advocate† is gone to England, a very honest man, firm beyond belief; and Athol is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Hume, who is very frank, is taken prisoner to Edinburgh, but he will be let out on security. Earl Breadalbin keeps close in a strong house; he has and pretends the gout. Earl Errol stays at home; so does Aberdeen. Earl Marshall is at Edinburgh, but does not meddle. Earl Lauderdale is right, and at home. The Bishops, I know not where they are. They are now the kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter, and send copies attested to them, and keep the original, till I can find out our primates. The poor ministers are sorely oppressed over all. They generally stand right. Duke Queensberry was present at the cross, when their new mock King was proclaimed, and I hear, voted for him, though not for the throne vacant. His brother the Lieutenant General, some say is made an Earl. He has come down to Edinburgh, and is gone up again. He is the old man, and has abused me strangely, for he swore to me to make amends. Tarbat is a great villain. Besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to seduce Lochiel, by offers of money, which is under his hand. He is now gone up to secure his faction, which is melting, the two Dalrymples and others against Skelmarly.‡ Polwart, Cardross, Ross, and others now joined with that worthy prince, Duke Hamilton. M. Douglas is now a great knave, as well as beast; as is Glencarne, Morton, and Eglinton, and even Cassillis is gone astray, misled by Gibby.§ Panmure keeps right, and at home, so does Strathmore, Southesk, and Kinnaird. Old Airly is at Edinburgh under caution, so is Balcarras and Dunmore. Stormont is declared fugitive for not appearing. All these will break out, and many more, when the King lands, or any from him. Most of the gentry on this side the Forth, and many on the other, will do so too. But they suffer mightily in the mean time; and will be forced to submit, if there be not relief sent very soon. The Duke of Gordon, they say, wanted nothing for holding out but hopes of relief. Earl of Dunfermling stays constantly with me, and so does Lord Dunkell, Pitcur, and many other gentlemen, who really deserve well, for they suffer great hardships. When the troops land there must be blank commissions sent for horse and foot, for them and others that will join."

* This letter was printed by Macpherson from the Nairne papers.

† Sir George Mackenzie.

‡ Sir James Montgomery.

§ Dr. Gilbert Burnet, the historian.

favourite plan of erecting a strong fortification at Inverlochy. This leads to the supposition that "the General," a term by which Mackay distinguishes himself in his memoirs, had not taken the bait which had been prepared for him by his artful rival, for it is improbable, had Mackay believed the story invented by Dundee, that he would have insisted on carrying such a large force as 4,000 men, the number he required, into Lochaber, so very remote from the scene of the threatened invasion.

Having collected his forces, Mackay made the necessary preparations for his departure, but he was detained nearly a fortnight in Edinburgh, beyond the time he had fixed for his march, by the delays of the government, in furnishing meal for his troops, and horses for transporting it. In the meantime he was informed by Lord Murray, eldest son of the Marquis of Athole, that Stewart of Ballochlin, his father's chamberlain, and other gentlemen of the county of Angus, had taken possession of the castle of Blair Athole, belonging to the Marquis, and were fortifying it for behoof of King James. Lord Murray offered to go immediately to Athole, and do everything in his power to obtain possession of the castle of Blair, before Dundee should arrive. As Lord Murray's wife was known to be very zealous for the presbyterian interest, and as his lordship and the Marquis his father, who was secretly hostile to the government, were at variance, Mackay gave a ready assent to the proposal, and pressed his lordship eagerly to depart for Athole without loss of time, informing him that all he required from him, was to prevent the Athole-men from joining Dundee.²

Lord Murray accordingly proceeded to Athole, where he arrived about the beginning of July, and lost no time in summoning his father's vassals to meet him. About 1,200 of them assembled, but no entreaties could induce them to declare in favour of the government, nor could a distinct pledge be obtained from them to observe a neutrality during the impending contest. His lordship was equally unsuccessful in an application which he made to Stewart of Ballochlin, for delivery of Blair

castle; Stewart telling him that he held the castle for behoof of King James, by order of his lieutenant-general. The failure of Lord Murray's mission could certainly occasion no disappointment, as it was not to be imagined that a body of men who had all along been distinguished for their attachment to the exiled family, were, at the call of a young man, who by marriage, and the disagreement with his father, may be supposed to have made himself obnoxious to the men of Athole, all at once to abandon long-cherished ideas and to arm in support of a cause in which they felt no interest.

About the period of Lord Murray's arrival in Athole, intelligence was brought to Dundee that a body of 500 Irish troops, under an officer of the name of Cannon, had reached Mull. The viscount immediately proceeded to Inverlochy to give orders respecting their landing, but, although they all reached the mainland in perfect safety, the ships which carried their provisions being unnecessarily detained at Mull, were all captured by some English frigates which were cruising amongst the western islands. The loss of their stores was a serious evil; and it embittered the disappointment felt by Dundee and the chiefs, to find that instead of an efficient force of 5,000 or 6,000 men, as they had been led to expect, not more than a tenth part had been sent, and even this paltry force was neither properly disciplined, nor sufficiently armed; so that, according to Balcarras, their arrival did "more harm than good." Such also was the opinion of Mackay at the time, as expressed in a letter to Lord Melville.³

Having given the necessary orders for bringing up the Irish troops, Dundee returned to Strowan, where he had fixed his head quarters. Here he received a letter which had arrived during his absence at Inverlochy, from Lord Strathnaver, eldest son of the Earl of Sutherland, couched in very friendly terms, and advising him to follow the example of the Duke of Gordon, as the course he was following, if persisted in, would lead inevitably to his ruin. But Dundee was not the man who would allow his personal interest to interfere with the

² Mackay's *Memoirs*.

³ No. 14 of Appendix to Mackay's *Memoirs*, p. 245.

allegiance which he considered he owed to his exiled sovereign, and while in his answer he expressed a deep sense of the obligation he lay under to his lordship for his advice and offers of service, which he imputed to his lordship's "sincere goodness and concern" for him and his family, he assured him that he (Dundee) had no less concern for him, and that he had been even thinking of making a proposal to him, but delayed doing so till his lordship should see things in a clearer point of view.

At Strowan, Dundee was made acquainted by Stewart of Ballochlin, with Lord Murray's proceedings, and with a demand made by his lordship for possession of Blair castle, a demand to which Ballochlin had given the most decided refusal. The possession of this place was of vast importance to Dundee, as it commanded the entrance into the southern Highlands, and lay in the line of Mackay's intended route to Inverlochy. To reward his fidelity, and to counteract Lord Murray's influence in Athole, Dundee sent a commission to Ballochlin, appointing him colonel of the Athole-men. The appointment, however, would probably have been conferred on Lord Murray, to whom Dundee had, on the 19th of July, two days before the date of Ballochlin's commission, despatched a letter, stating the happiness which he felt on hearing that his lordship had appointed a rendezvous of the Athole-men at Blair, and expressing a hope that he would join the viscount with his men; but, instead of answering this letter, his lordship sent it to Lord Melville, the secretary of state for Scotland. Such also was the fate of other letters, which Dundee sent to Lord Murray. Along with the last, which was written on the 25th of July, Dundee despatched Major Graham and Captain Ramsay for the purpose of obtaining a personal interview with Lord Murray; but he declined to see them, or to give any answer to Dundee's communication. It appears that up to this time the Athole-men, who had, at the call of the son of their chief, assembled to the number of about 1,200, were ignorant of Lord Murray's intentions; but when he refused to receive Dundee's officers, they at once began to suspect his designs, and demanded with one voice an immediate explanation, intimating at the same time, that if

he would join Dundee they would follow him to a man; but if on the contrary he refused, they would all leave him. His lordship remonstrated with them, and even threatened them with his vengeance if they abandoned him; but regardless of his threats, they left him to join Dundee, having previously filled their bonnets with water from the rivulet of Banovy, in the neighbourhood of Blair castle, and pledged themselves to King James by drinking his health.⁴

In the meantime the government general was busily engaged at Edinburgh, making the necessary preparations for his march. He appointed his troops to rendezvous at Perth, and after completing his arrangements at Edinburgh, he went to Stirling to inspect the castle, so as to make himself acquainted with its means of defence. In a letter⁵ dated 24th July, written to Lord Melville on his arrival at Stirling, Mackay alludes to the distracted state of the government in Scotland, and the difficulty he would experience in executing the commission which the king had given him, to keep the kingdom peaceable, in consequence of the divisions which existed even between the adherents of the government. The removal from office of Stair the president of the court of session, and his son, who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the ultra whig party, by their attempts to stretch the royal prerogative too far, appears to have been considered by that party of more importance than keeping Dundee in check. So high did the spirit of party run, that the Earl of Annandale and Lord Ross, who had just been appointed colonels of two newly raised regiments of horse, refused to accompany their regiments, and offered to resign their commissions rather than quit the parliament. This state of matters was highly favourable to James's interests in Scotland, and if Melfort had followed Dundee's advice, by sending over a large force from Ireland, the cause of his royal master might have triumphed, but with that fatality which attended the unfortunate monarch in all his undertakings, he allowed to slip away the golden opportunity which was here offered him, of recovering his crown.

⁴ Balcarras, p. 68. Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 62.

⁵ No. 15 of Appendix to Mackay's *Memoirs*, p. 246.

From Stirling Mackay proceeded to Perth, after ordering the troops of horse and dragoons of the expedition to follow him. On arriving at Perth, a letter was shown him from Lord Murray, from which he learned, that Dundee, who had been solicited by Stewart of Ballochlin to hasten into Athole, was already marching through Badenoch, and so anxious was he to anticipate Mackay's arrival in Athole, that he had left behind him several chiefs and their men, whose junction he daily expected. Lord Murray added, that if Mackay did not hasten his march so as to reach Athole before Dundee, he would not undertake to prevent his men from joining the Viscount. As Mackay informs us, that before leaving Edinburgh he had begun "already to have very ill thoughts of the expedition in gross," and as on reaching Stirling, the idea that he would be straitened for provisions haunted his mind, this information was assuredly by no means calculated to relieve these fearful apprehensions. He had gone too far, however, to retrace his steps with honour, and although four troops of dragoons and two of horse had not yet joined him, he resolved, for reasons that to him, in the position in which he was then placed, seemed most forcible, to proceed immediately on his march to Athole.

The last and perhaps most important reason given by himself for this step, is that, as the possession, by Mackay, of the castle of Blair, was in his opinion the only means of keeping in awe the Athole-men, (who, from their numbers and strict attachment to the house of Stewart, were more to be dreaded than any other body of Highlanders,) and preventing them from joining Dundee, he had no alternative but to allow Dundee to roam uncontrolled through the disaffected district of Athole, gathering strength at every step, or to attempt to gain the important fortress of Blair.

Such were the grounds, as stated by Mackay in his own exculpation, which made him resolve upon marching into Athole, and which, he observes, "more capable commanders might readily be deceived in." Those who make the unfortunate result of this movement the rule of their judgment, will be apt to condemn Mackay's conduct on this occasion as rash and injudicious, but when his own reasons are

duly weighed, it is difficult to see how he could have acted otherwise than he did. There can be no doubt, that had he been as successful at Killiecrankie as he was unfortunate, he would have been applauded for the exercise of a sound discretion, and regarded as a tactician of the highest order.

On the 26th of July, Mackay left Perth at the head of an army of 4,500 men. Of this force, notwithstanding that the four troops of dragoons and two of horse already alluded to, had not yet arrived, a fair proportion consisted of cavalry. At night Mackay encamped opposite to Dunkeld, and here, at midnight, he received an express from Lord Murray announcing the alarming intelligence, that Dundee had entered Athole, in consequence of which event he informed him that he had retreated from before the castle of Blair, which he had for some time partially blockaded; and that although he had left the narrow and difficult pass of Killiecrankie between him and Dundee, he had posted a guard at the further extremity to secure a free passage to Mackay's troops through the pass which he supposed Dundee had already reached. Mackay seems to have doubted the latter part of this statement, and his suspicions were in some degree confirmed by the fact, that Lieutenant-colonel Lauder, whom he despatched with a party immediately on receipt of Murray's letter, to secure the entrance into the pass from the vale of Blair, did not see a single man on his arrival there.

Discouraging as this intelligence was, Mackay still determined to persevere in his march, and having despatched orders to Perth to hasten the arrival of the six troops of cavalry he had left behind, he put his army in motion next morning, July 27th, at day-break, and proceeded in the direction of the pass, the entrance to which he reached at ten o'clock in the morning. Here he halted, and allowed his men two hours to rest and refresh themselves before they entered upon the bold and hazardous enterprise of plunging themselves into a frightful chasm, out of which they might possibly never return. To support Lauder in case of attack, the general, on halting, despatched through the pass a body of 200 men under the command of the Lieutenant-colonel of the Earl of Leven's regiment,

whom he instructed to send him any intelligence he could obtain of Dundee's motions. A short way below the pass Mackay fell in with Lord Murray, who informed him, that with the exception of 200 or 300 men, who still remained with him, the whole had gone to the hills to secure their cattle, an answer which Mackay, with the open and unsuspecting generosity of a soldier, considered satisfactory, and made him, as he observes, "not so apt to judge so ill of Murray as others did."

Having received a notice from Lauder that the pass was clear, and that there was no appearance of Dundee, Mackay put his army again in motion, and entered the fatal pass. Hastings's regiment (now the 13th), and Annandale's horse were placed behind to protect the baggage, from an apprehension that Dundee's Highlanders might make a detour round the hill to attack it, or that the country people might attempt to plunder it if not so guarded. The idea that no opposition would be offered to their passage through this terrific defile, which seemed to forbid approach, and to warn the unhappy soldier of the dangers which awaited him should he precipitate himself into its recesses, may have afforded some consolation to the feelings of Mackay's troops as they entered this den of desolation; but when they found themselves fairly within its gorge, their imaginations must have been appalled as they gazed, at every successive step, on the wild and terrific objects which encompassed them on every side. They however proceeded, at the command of their general, on their devious course, and finally cleared it, with the loss of only a single horseman, who, according to an Athole tradition, was shot by an intrepid adventurer, named Ian Ban Beg MacRan, who had posted himself on a hill, from which he fired across the rivulet of the Garry and brought down his victim. A well, called in Gaelic, *Fuaran u trupar*,—*Anglicé*, the "Horseman's well,"—is shown as the place where the horseman fell.

As soon as the five battalions and the troop of horse which preceded the baggage had debouched from the further extremity of the pass, they halted, by command of the general, upon a corn field, along the side of the river to await the arrival of the baggage, and of Hastings's re-

giment and the other troop of horse. Mackay then ordered Lieutenant-colonel Lauder to advance with his 200 fusileers and a troop of horse in the direction he supposed Dundee might be expected to appear. Lauder had not advanced far when he discovered some parties of Dundee's forces between him and Blair. Being immediately apprised of this by Lauder, Mackay, after giving orders to Colonel Balfour to supply the troops with ammunition, and to put them under arms without delay, galloped off to the ground, from which Lauder had espied the enemy, to observe their motions before making choice of the field of battle. On arriving at the advanced post, Mackay observed several small parties of troops, scarcely a mile distant, marching slowly along the foot of a hill in the direction of Blair, and advancing towards him. Mackay, thereupon, sent orders to Balfour to advance immediately up to him with the foot. But these orders were no sooner despatched than he observed some bodies of Dundee's forces marching down a high hill within a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, in consequence of which movement, he immediately galloped back to his men to countermand the order he had just issued, and to put his army in order of battle.⁵

Dundee, who had been duly advertised of Mackay's motions, had descended from the higher district of Badenoch into Athole on the previous day, with a force of about 2,500 men, of whom about one-fifth part consisted of the Irish, which had lately landed at Inverlochry under Brigadier Cannon. Some of the clans which were expected had not yet joined, as the day appointed for the general rendezvous had not then arrived; but as Dundee considered it of paramount importance to prevent Mackay from establishing himself in Athole, he did not hesitate to meet the latter, whose force numbered about 4,000.⁶

On his arrival at the castle of Blair, intelligence was brought Dundee that Mackay had reached the pass of Killiecrankie, which

⁵ Mackay's *Memoirs*, p. 51.

⁶ "Mackay's force was certainly not double that of his adversary; but had it borne a far greater proportion, the trained warriors and command of the ground, when in the hands of one well fitted to use them, were advantages outweighing a large numerical preponderance."—Burton's *Scotland from Revolution*, vol. i. p. 131

he was preparing to enter. Dundee, against the advice of most of his officers, resolved to allow Mackay to enter the pass undisputed. He appealed to the feelings of the Highlanders, whose ancestors, he said, acting upon their national maxim never to attack a foe who could not defend himself on equal terms, would have disdained to adopt the course proposed, (and in saying so he did not, he observed, mean to insinuate that the persons he addressed had degenerated from the honour and courage of their ancestors). One principal reason stated by Dundee for allowing Mackay to advance through the Pass unmolested, was the great advantage they would gain by engaging him on open ground before he should be joined by his English dragoons, who, from their being so formidable to the Highlanders, would, if allowed by him to come up, more than compensate for any accession of force which Dundee might receive.⁷ Another reason not less important was, that in the event of Mackay sustaining a defeat, his army would probably be ruined, as he could not retreat back through the Pass without the risk of evident destruction, whereas should the Highlanders suffer a defeat, they could easily retreat to the mountains. He added, that in anticipation of Mackay's defeat, he had already given orders to his friends in the neighbourhood, to cut off the few remaining stragglers that might attempt to escape.⁸

The forces which had been descried by Lauder, appear to have been a body of 400 men under the command of Sir John Maclean, whom Dundee, on learning that the advanced guard of Mackay's army, after traversing the pass, had taken up a position near its northern extremity, had despatched from Blair castle to keep them in check. But his scouts having shortly thereafter brought him notice that the whole of Mackay's army was preparing to enter the pass, he resolved to make a detour with the main body of his army round the hill on which the castle of Ludo stands, in the vicinity of the pass, and fall upon Mackay as soon as he should clear that defile. Having made himself acquainted, by inquiries among the most intelligent of the country people, with

the localities in the immediate neighbourhood of the pass, and of the suitability of the ground for the operations of such a force as his, he advanced at double-quick time from Blair along the present line of road, and on arriving at the river Tilt, turned off to the left round the back of the hill, and crossed that river near its confluence with the rivulet of Ald-Chluan. This movement will account for the sudden and unexpected appearance of Dundee on the face of the high hill on Mackay's right.

Immediately above the ground on which Mackay had halted his troops is an eminence, the access to which is steep and difficult, and covered with trees and shrubs. Alarmed lest Dundee should obtain possession of this eminence—which being within a carabine shot from the place on which Mackay stood, would give him such a command of the ground as would enable him, by means of his fire, to force Mackay to cross the river in confusion—he, immediately on his return from the position occupied by his advanced guard, “made every battalion form by a Quart de Conversion to the right upon the ground where they stood,”⁹ and then made them march each in succession before him up the hill till they reached the eminence, of which they took possession. Within a musket shot of this ground is another eminence immediately above the house of Urrard, which Dundee had reached before Mackay had completed his ascent, and on which he halted.

At this conjuncture, neither Hastings's regiment nor Annandale's troop of horse had yet come out of the pass, but Mackay, nevertheless, at once proceeded to arrange his men in fighting order on a plain between the edge of the eminence and the foot or commencement of the ascent to Dundee's position, which, from its extent, enabled him to form his men in one line along the eminence. In making his dispositions, Mackay divided every battalion into two parts, and as he meant to fight three deep, he left a small distance between each of these sub-battalions. In the centre of his line, however, he left a greater interval of space, behind which he placed the two troops of horse, with the design, when the Highlanders, after the

⁷ Balcarras, p. 69.

⁸ Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, part ii. p. 56.

⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 51.

fire of the line had been spent, should approach, to draw them off by this larger interval, and flank the Highlanders on either side, as occasion should offer. Mackay assigns as his reason for placing his cavalry in his rear till the fire should be exhausted on both sides, a dread he entertained of exposing them to Dundee's horse, with whom it could not be supposed that these newly-raised levies could cope. Hastings's regiment, which arrived after Mackay had taken up his ground, was placed on the right; and, for greater security, there was added to it a detachment of firelocks from each battalion. On the extreme left on a hillock covered with trees, Lieutenant-colonel Lauder was posted, with his party of 200 men, composed of the *élite* of the army. Mackay having been recognised by Dundee's men busily employed riding along his line, from battalion to battalion, giving orders, was selected by some of them for a little ball practice; but although "their popping shot," which wounded some of his men, fell around him wherever he moved, he escaped unhurt.

After his line had been fully formed, Mackay rode along the front, from the left wing, which he committed to the charge of Brigadier Balfour, to the right, and having ascertained that every thing was in readiness to receive the enemy, he addressed the battalions nearest him in a short speech. He requested them to reflect that their own personal safety was involved in the issue of that day's contest; and assured them that if they maintained their ground, and kept firmly and closely united together, their assailants would quickly flee before them for refuge to the hills—that the reason for which the Highlanders stripped themselves almost naked before battle was rather to enable them to escape, than from any hopes they entertained of pursuing their foes. Should, however, his men unfortunately give way before the rabble of Highlanders whom they saw marshalled on the adjoining heights—an event which he by no means expected—there was an absolute certainty, as these naked mountaineers were more nimble-footed than they were, and as all the Athole-men were in arms, ready to take advantage of their defeat, that few or none of them would escape with their lives. In conclusion, he warned them that the only

way to avoid ruin was to stand firm to their posts, and, like brave men, to fight to the last in defence of their religion and liberties, against the invaders of both, to secure which, and not the desire of a crown, was the sole reason which had induced his majesty to send them on the present service.

Whilst Mackay was thus occupied on the lower platform, his gallant rival was equally busy flying about on the eminence above, ranging his men in battle array. He was particularly distinguished amongst his officers by a favourite dun-coloured horse which he rode, and by his plated armour, which glittered in the sun-beams. Dundee, who had arrived upon the higher platform about the same time that Mackay had gained the ground he now occupied, ranged his men in one line in the following order:—On the right, he placed Sir John Maclean, with his regiment divided into two battalions. On the left, he posted the regiment of Sir Donald Macdonald, commanded by the young chief and Sir George Barclay, and a battalion under Sir Alexander Maclean. In the centre were placed four battalions, consisting of the Camerons, the Macdonells of Glengary and Clanranald, and the Irish regiment, with a troop of horse under the command of Sir William Wallace, who had early that morning produced a commission, to the great displeasure of the Earl of Dunfermline and other officers, appointing him colonel of a horse regiment which the earl commanded.¹ It may be observed, that neither Mackay nor Dundee placed any body of reserve behind their lines.

The great extent of Mackay's line, which reached considerably beyond Dundee's wings,² compelled the latter, to prevent the danger of being outflanked, to enlarge the intervals between his battalions. A general movement from right to left accordingly took place along Dundee's line. Before Dundee's left halted, Mackay, imagining that the object of the movement in that quarter was to get between

¹ Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 369.

² Mackay's army is said to have outwinged Dundee's by nearly a quarter of a mile, which obliged the latter to leave large intervals between each clan. On this account there was a deficiency of troops in Dundee's centre.—Memoir of Dundee in *Miscellanæ Scotica*, vol. iii.

him and the pass, for the purpose of cutting off all communication between him and Perth, made his line make a corresponding movement to his right, but on observing that Dundee's left wing halted, Mackay brought his line to a stand. These different movements necessarily occupied a considerable time, and both armies being now finally arranged, they gazed upon each other with great composure for the space of two whole hours.

During this interval of care and anxious suspense, the feelings of both parties—their hopes or their fears—would probably be tinged by a deeper hue of confidence or despondency as they reflected on the events of former days. Though more than forty years had elapsed since the brilliant achievements of Montrose, the Highlanders,³ naturally brave, had lost none of their military ardour, and the descendants of the heroes of Tippermuir, Aldearn, and Kilsyth, who now stood in battle array on the upper plain, whence, with a scowl of scorn and defiance, they looked down upon the *Sassenachs* below, calling to mind the recital of the heroic deeds of their fathers, to which they had listened with wonder and enthusiasm in their childhood, would burn for the moment when, at the command of their chief, they should measure their broad swords with the bayonets of their Lowland foes. On the other hand, Mackay's men had no such recollections to inspire confidence or to cheer them in their perilous enterprise, and when they beheld the Highland host ready at a moment's notice to burst like a mountain torrent upon their devoted heads, and called to mind the tales they had heard of the warlike prowess of the Highlanders, they could not but recoil at the idea of encountering, in deadly strife, such determined antagonists. There were, it is true, many men in Mackay's army to whom the dangers of the battle field were familiar, and in whose minds such reflections would doubt-

less find no place, but the great majority of his troops consisted of newly raised levies, who had never before seen the face of an enemy.

Mackay himself, though an old and experienced officer, and a brave man, was not without his misgivings; and as the evening advanced without any movement on the part of Dundee to commence the action, his uneasiness increased. Nor were his apprehensions likely to be allayed by the reply made by the second son of Lochiel, who held a commission in his own regiment of Scots fusiliers, in answer to a question put to him by Mackay. "Here is your father with his wild savages," said Mackay to the young man, on seeing the standard of the Camerons, putting on at the same moment an air of confidence, "how would you like to be with him?" "It signifies little," answered the son of the chief, "what I would like, but I recommend to you to be prepared; or perhaps my father and his wild savages may be nearer to you before night than you would like."⁴ The apparent irresolution of the Highlanders to begin the battle was considered by Mackay as intentional, and he supposed that their design was to wait till nightfall, when, by descending suddenly from their position, and setting up a loud shout, according to their usual custom, they expected to frighten his men, unaccustomed to an enemy, and put them in disorder. As Mackay could not, without the utmost danger, advance up the hill and commence the action, and as the risk was equally great should he attempt to retreat down the hill and cross the river, he resolved, at all hazards, to remain in his position, "though with impatience," as he observes, till Dundee should either attack him or retire, which he had better opportunities of doing than Mackay had. To provoke the Highlanders, and to induce them to engage, he ordered three small leather field pieces to be discharged, but they proved of little use, and the carriages being much too high, broke after the third firing.

Towards the close of the evening, some of Dundee's sharpshooters, who had kept up, during the day, an occasional fire in the direction in which they observed Mackay moving, by

³ "The night before the battle, Dundee having reflected that the Highlanders had not been tried in general actions since the battle of Philiphaugh, which had been fought 40 years before, and being desirous to put their courage to the test, gave an alarm, and caused a false attack to be made upon his own camp. In an instant he found every man at his post and firm in it. The event of the stratagem removed the diffidence of the general, and confirmed the confidence of the soldiers."—Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, part ii. p. 57.

⁴ Stewart's *Sketches*, vol. i. p. 63.

which they had wounded some of his men, as already stated, took possession of some houses upon the ascent which lay between the two armies, for the purpose of directing their aim with surer effect. But they were immediately dislodged by a party of musketeers despatched by Mackay's brother, who commanded the general's regiment, and chased back to their main body with some loss. This skirmish Mackay supposed would soon draw on a general engagement, and his expectations were speedily realized.

It was within half an hour of sunset, and the moment was at hand, when, at the word of command, the Highlanders and their allies were to march down the hill, and with sword in hand, fall upon the trembling and devoted host below, whom, like the eagle viewing his destined prey from his lofty eyry, they had so long surveyed. Having determined, as much to please his men as to gratify his own inclination, to lead the charge in person, at the head of the horse, Dundee exchanged his red coat, which he had worn during the day, and by which he had been recognised by Mackay's troops, for another of darker colour, to conceal his rank, and thereby avoid the risk of being singled out by the enemy. Dundee, after the manner of the ancient Greek and Roman generals, is said to have harangued his men in the following enthusiastic strain:—⁴

"You are come hither to fight, and that in the best of causes; for it is the battle of your king, your religion, and your country, against the foulest usurpation and rebellion. And having therefore so good a cause in your hands, I doubt not but it will inspire you with an equal courage to maintain it; for there is no proportion betwixt loyalty and treason, nor should there be any betwixt the valour of good subjects and traitors. Remember that to-day begins the fate of your king, your reli-

⁴ "Among the papers of the exiled prince's secretary is a very well composed document, called "Lord Dundee's speech to his troops before the battle of Killiecrankie," which he certainly never delivered, for the excellent reason that not a tenth of his audience could have understood a word of it, and he was not a man tempted either by capacity or inclination to the useless composition of flowing sentences." Burton's *Scotland from Revolution*, vol. i. p. 132. Burton, however, thinks we may readily believe General Mackay's statement as to the few homely sentences which he says he dropped to his men.

gion, and your country. Behave yourselves, therefore, like true Scotsmen, and let us by this action redeem the credit of this nation, that is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of some of our countrymen, in making which request, I ask nothing of you that I am not now ready to do myself. And if any of us shall fall upon this occasion, we shall have the honour of dying on our duty, and as becomes true men of valour and conscience; and such of us as shall live and win the battle, shall have the reward of a gracious king and the praise of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go on, and let this be your word—King James and the church of Scotland, which God long preserve!"⁵

A pause now ensued, and a death-like silence prevailed along the line, when, on a sudden, it appeared in motion, marching slowly down the hill. The Highlanders, who stript themselves to their shirts and doublets, advanced, according to their usual practice, with their bodies bent forward, so as to present as small a surface as possible to the fire of the enemy, the upper part of their bodies being covered by their targets.

To discourage the Highlanders in their advance by keeping up a continual fire, Mackay had given instructions to his officers commanding battalions, to commence firing by platoons, at the distance of a hundred paces. This order was not attended to, as Balfour's regiment, and the half of Ramsay's, did not fire a single shot, and the other half fired very little. The Highlanders, however, met with a very brisk fire from Mackay's right, and particularly from his own battalion, in which no less than 16 gentlemen of the Macdonells of Glengarry fell; but, undismayed by danger, they kept steadily advancing in the face of the enemy's fire, of which they received three rounds. Having now come close up to the enemy, they halted for a moment, and having levelled and discharged their pistols, which did little execution, they set up a loud shout and rushed sword in hand upon the enemy, before the latter had time to screw on their bayonets to the end of their muskets. The shock was too impetuous to be long resisted by men who, according to their

⁵ Macpherson's *Original Papers*, vol. i. p. 371.

own general, "behaved, with the exception of Hastings's and Leven's regiment, like the vilest cowards in nature." But even had these men been more stout-hearted, their courage would not have availed them, as their arms were insufficient to parry off the tremendous strokes of the axes, and the broad and double-edged swords of the Highlanders, who, with a single blow, either felled their opponents to the earth or struck off a member from their bodies, and at once disabled them. While the work of death was thus going on towards the right, Dundee, at the head of the horse, made a furious charge on Mackay's own battalion, and broke through it, on which the English horse which were stationed behind, fled without firing a single shot. Dundee, thereupon, rode off to attack the enemy's cannon, but the officer (Sir William Wallace) who had that morning produced his commission as colonel of the horse, appears to have misunderstood Dundee, who, on arriving near the enemy's cannon, found himself alone. He, therefore, gave the horse a signal to advance quickly, on which the Earl of Dunfermline, who then served only as a volunteer, overlooking the affront which had been put upon him, rode out of the ranks, followed by 16 gentlemen, attacked the party who guarded the cannon, and captured them.

As soon as Mackay perceived that Dundee's grand point of attack was near the centre of his line, he immediately resolved to attack the Highlanders in flank with the two troops of horse which he had placed in the rear of his line, for which purpose he ordered Lord Belhaven to proceed round the left wing with his own troop, and attack them on their right flank; he ordered at the same time the other troop to proceed in the contrary direction, and assail them on their left. Mackay himself led round Belhaven's troop, but it was scarcely in front of the line when it got into disorder, and instead of obeying the orders to wheel for the flank of the enemy, after some confused firing it turned upon the right wing of Lord Kenmure's battalion, which it threw into disorder, and which thereupon began to give way.

At this critical moment Mackay, who was instantly surrounded by a crowd of Highlanders, anxious to disentangle his cavalry, so as to get them formed, called aloud to

them to follow him, and putting spurs to his horse galloped through the enemy, but with the exception of one servant whose horse was shot under him, not a single horseman attempted to follow their general. When he had gone sufficiently far to be out of the reach of immediate danger, he turned round to observe the state of matters, and to his infinite surprise he found that both armies had disappeared. To use his own expression, "in the twinkling of an eye, in a manner," his own men as well as the enemy were out of sight, having gone down pell-mell to the river where his baggage stood. The flight of his men must have been rapid indeed, for although the left wing, which had never been attacked, had begun to flee before he rode off, the right wing and centre still kept their ground.

Mackay now stood in one of the most extraordinary predicaments in which the commander of an army was ever placed. His whole men had, as if by some supernatural cause, disappeared almost in an instant of time, and he found himself standing a solitary being on the mountain side, not knowing what to do, or whither to direct his course. Whether had they had the courage to follow him, the timid troop would have turned the tide of victory in his favour, may indeed be well doubted; but it is obvious that he adopted the only alternative which could render success probable. Judging from the ease with which he galloped through the Highlanders, who made way for him, he thinks that if he had had but 50 resolute horse such as Colchester's, he "had certainly," as he says, "by all human appearance recovered all," for although his whole line had begun to give way when he ordered the horse to follow him, the right of the enemy had not then moved from their ground.⁶ While ruminating upon the "sad spectacle" which he now beheld, his mind preyed upon by the most gloomy reflections, he fortunately espied to the right, "a small heap of red coats," which he immediately galloped for, and found it to consist of a part of the Earl of Leven's regiment, mixed with a few stragglers from other regiments who had escaped from the swords of the Highlanders. The Earl himself, his Lieuten-

⁶ *Memoirs*, p. 57.

ant-colonel, the Major, and most of the other officers of the regiment, were with this body. Mackay perceived a part of Hastings's regiment marching up to the ground it had occupied at the commencement of the action. Having rode up to this party, he was informed by the Colonel that he had left his ground in pursuit of the enemy, a detachment of which had attempted to outflank him, but having wheeled to the right upon them with his pikes, they abandoned the idea of attacking him, and repaired to their main body, which they observed among the baggage at the river-side.

The plunder which the baggage offered was too tempting a lure for the Highlanders, whose destructive progress it at once arrested. It was in fact solely to this thirst for spoil that Mackay and the few of his men who escaped owed their safety, for had the Highlanders continued the pursuit, it is very probable that not a single individual of Mackay's army would have been left alive to relate their sad disaster.⁷

As soon as Mackay had got up Hastings's battalion and joined it to that of Leven's, he despatched his nephew, Captain Mackay,—who, though he had received eight broadsword wounds on his body, was still able to ride his horse,—in quest of such of his officers as might be within his reach, about the bottom of the hill, with orders to collect as many of their men as they could, and join the general.

This mission was totally unsuccessful, for although he had fallen in with several officers, few of them took any notice of him; and all who had survived the battle were now scattered far beyond Mackay's reach. While receiving this afflicting intelligence, Mackay descried in the twilight, a large body of men, who appeared to form themselves along the edge of a wood on Balfour's left, where Lieutenant-colonel Lauder had been posted with 200 men. As

⁷ In a conversation respecting the battle between General Wade and an old Highlander, who had fought at Killiecrankie, the latter is reported to have spoken lightly of Mackay as a commander, calling him a great fool, because he did not put his baggage in front of his army at Killiecrankie. Wade dissented, of course, but the old man insisted that the baggage should have been placed before the line, in which case Mackay, he observed, would have gained the battle, as the Highlanders would have first attacked the baggage, and would have thus fallen an easy prey to Mackay's army.

he was not yet aware of the fate of Lauder's corps, which was among the first that fled, he supposed that the body he had observed might either be that party or another body of his men who had retired to the wood on the descent of the Highlanders, and he therefore rode off to reconnoitre them, after directing his officers to endeavour to put their men in a condition to fire one discharge, at least, if attacked. Mackay approached the party sufficiently near to discover that they were Dundee's men, and having turned his horse's head he walked slowly back, that he might not excite the apprehensions of the Highlanders. The ground on which Mackay stood with the wreck of his army, amounting to scarcely 400 men, was the farthest removed of any other part of the position he had selected in the morning, from the point to which he was necessarily obliged to direct his retreat, and over the intervening space he could not but expect to fall in with parties of the Highlanders, who would fall upon him, and kill or disperse his tired followers. But he extricated himself from the difficulties which beset him, with considerable adroitness. He advised them on no account to show any inclination to run, as it could not add to their personal safety, but, on the contrary, might endanger it the more, as the Highlanders, observing their terror, would certainly break in among them, and pursue them with the greater avidity. When about to retire down the hill the party was joined by Lord Belhaven, and a few other horsemen, who proved very serviceable as scouts during the retreat. Mackay then led his men slowly down the hill, and evaded the enemy so completely that he did not meet with the least interruption in his march. He retired across the Garry without molestation, and made a short halt to ascertain whether he was pursued. Seeing no disposition on the part of the Highlanders to follow him, he began to think of the best way of retiring out of Athole. All his officers advised him to return to Perth through the pass of Killiecrankie, but he saw proper to reject this advice, and resolved to march several miles up Athole and cross over the hills to Stirling.

Giving orders, therefore, to his men to march, he proceeded to the west along the



Pass of Killiecrankie in last century. From an old crayon drawing.

bank of the river, and had the satisfaction, when about two miles from the field of battle, to come up with a party of about 150 fugitives almost without arms, under the command of Colonel Ramsay, who was quite at a loss what direction to take. Mackay then continued his march along the edge of a rivulet which falls into the Garry, till he came to some little houses. Here he obtained from one of the inhabitants, information as to the route he meant to follow, and having made himself acquainted, as far as he could, by an examination of his map, with the situation of the country through which he had to pass, he crossed the stream and proceeded across the hills towards Weem castle, the seat of the chief of the clan Menzies, whose son had been in the action with a company of 100 Highlanders he had raised for the service of the government. After a most fatiguing journey, he reached the castle before morning. Here he obtained some sleep and refreshment, of which he stood greatly in need, having since his departure from Dunkeld, on the morning preceding, marched about 40 miles.

The news of Mackay's defeat had preceded his retreat; and on his march during the following day, he found the country through which he passed in an uproar, and every

person arming in favour of King James. The people of Strathgairn alarmed at the approach of Mackay's men, whom they took to be Highlanders, and considering their houses and cattle in danger, set up a dreadful shout, which so frightened Mackay's men that they began to flee back to the hills under an apprehension that the Highlanders were at hand. Mackay and some of his officers on horseback, by presenting their pistols and threatening the fugitives, succeeded in rallying them, but owing to the thickness of the morning more than 100 escaped, all of whom were killed, stripped, or taken prisoners by the country people. Mackay continued his march with very little halting all that day, being Sunday the 28th, and arrived late at night at Drummond castle, in which he had a garrison. Next day he reached Stirling with about 400 men.

On the morning after the battle—for night had thrown its curtain over the horrors of the scene, before the extent of the carnage could be ascertained—the field of battle and the ground between it and the river, extending as far as the pass, presented an appalling spectacle in the vast numbers of the dead which strewed the field, whose mutilated bodies attested the savage and unrelenting ferocity with

which Mackay's men had been hewn down by the Highlanders. Here might be seen a skull which had been struck off above the ears by a stroke from a broad-sword—there a head lying near the trunk from which it had been severed—here an arm or a limb—there a corpse laid open from the head to the brisket; while interspersed among these lifeless trunks, *dejectaque membra*, were to be seen broken pikes, small swords and muskets, which had been snapt asunder by the athletic blows of the Lochaber axe and broad-sword.⁹

If the importance of a victory is to be reckoned by the comparative numbers of the slain, and the brilliant achievements of the victors, the battle of Killiecrankie may well stand high in the list of military exploits. Considering the shortness of the combat, the loss on the part of Mackay was prodigious. Not less than 2,000 of his men were either killed or captured. Among the slain were Lieutenant-colonel Mackay, brother of the General, Brigadier Balfour, and several other officers. Highland tradition reports that Balfour was cut down by the Reverend Robert Stewart, a Catholic clergyman, nephew to Stewart of Ballochin, for having contemptuously refused to receive quarter when offered him by the priest. The same tradition relates that Stewart, who was a powerful muscular man, followed the enemy in their flight down to the river, and towards the pass, wielding a tremendous broad-sword, with which he cut down numbers of the fugitives, and so much did he exert himself in the use of his fatal weapon, that, at the conclusion of the carnage, his hand had swollen to such an extent, that it could only be extricated from the basket-hilt of his sword, by cutting away the net-work.

⁹ In allusion to this battle, the author of the memoirs of Viscount Dundee, (in *Mis. Scot.*, vol. iii.) says, "Then the Highlanders fired, threw down their fusils, rushed in upon the enemy with sword, target, and pistol, who did not maintain their ground two minutes after the Highlanders were amongst them; and I dare be bold to say, that were scarce ever such strokes given in Europe as were given that day by the Highlanders. Many of General Mackay's officers and soldiers were cut down through the skull and neck to the very breast; others had skulls cut off above their ears like night-caps; some soldiers had both their bodies and cross-belts cut through at one blow; pikes and small swords were cut like willows; and whoever doubts of this, may consult the witnesses of the tragedy."

But as the importance of a victory, however splendid in itself, or distinguished by acts of individual prowess, can only be appreciated by its results, the battle of Killiecrankie, instead of being advantageous to the cause of King James, was, by the death of the brave Dundee, the precursor of its ruin. After he had charged at the head of his horse, and driven the enemy from their cannon, he was about to proceed up the hill to bring down Sir Donald Macdonald's regiment, which appeared rather tardy in its motions, when he received a musket shot in his side, through an opening of his armour, the ball probably passing out in front through the centre of his breastplate (See Plate of Dundee's Armour).¹ He attempted to ride a little, but was unable, and fell from his horse mortally wounded, and almost immediately expired.² The loss on the side of Dundee was never properly ascertained, but is supposed to have been about 900.

¹ Balcarras.

² The authenticity of the letter alleged to have been written by Dundee after he received his wound, may well be doubted. 1st. No contemporary writer mentions its existence. 2d. It is probable that Dundee died as stated in the text. King James says, that "when crossing over the plains to give some orders on the left where the enemy made the most opposition, he was most unfortunately killed by a random shot." Clarke's *James II.*, vol. ii. p. 352. See the authorities referred to by Mr Smythe of Methven, in a note on the letter in the Bannatyne collection of Dundee's letters. These are supported by the following note, written on a copy of Balcarras's *Memoirs*, in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, upon the passage relative to a bundle of papers found lying near Dundee on the field.

"N. B.—I spoke with some that were at that fight, and saw the Viscount of Dundee's corpse naked upon the ground, and was of the number that wrapt it in a pladd, and brought it off the field to the Blair of Athole; they said they saw no papers, nor was there any such rumour among them."

His Grace the Duke of Athole has kindly sent us the following note on this matter. "Lord Dundee is reported to have been watering his horse at a apring within gunshot of Urrard House, and at the same time lifted his left arm to point or give some directions. At this instant he was shot out of a window through the chinks of his armour, *i.e.* between back- and breast-plates, which must have gaped open. The left side of the breastplate, inside, is stained apparently with blood, and the ball must have passed out from back to front through the hole in the centre (See Plate). An old woman who died near here (Blair) within the memory of persons still living, used to relate how her grandfather was skulking on the hill above and saw Lord Dundee fall; and his brother, who was the hostler at the inn at Blair, saw him carried in *there*, and said that Lord Dundee died in the middle room, upstairs, of the inn. I think I have seen it stated elsewhere that he was taken to the Castle, but I should be inclined to believe the country tradition."

Among the slain, Alister Dhu (black Alexander) the chief of Glengarry, who, at the head of his battalion, mowed down two men at every stroke, with his ponderous two-handed sword, had to lament the loss of a brother, several other relatives, and still nearer and dearer to him, of his son, Donald, surnamed Gorm, from the blueness of his eyes. This youth, who had exhibited early proofs of bravery worthy of his name, and the race whence he sprung, killed, it is said, 18 of the enemy with his own hand. No less than five cousins of Sir Donald Macdonald of the isles fell, together with the tutor of Macdonald of Largo and his sons. Colonel Gilbert Ramsay, and the brave laird of Piteur, "who, like a moving castle in the shape of men, threw fire and sword on all sides,"³ were also numbered with the dead on this eventful day.⁴

The alleged letter from DUNDEE to the KING is as follows:—

"SIR,

"It hath pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them are fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action, if I had not the honour to command it; but of 5,000 men, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there have not escaped 1,200. We have not lost full out 900. This absolute victory made us masters of the field and enemy's baggage, which I gave to the soldiers; who, to do them all right, both officers and common men, Highlands, Lowlands, and Irish, behaved themselves with equal gallantry to what I ever saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies; and this M'Kay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, Sir, be more particular; but take leave to assure your majesty the kingdom is generally disposed to your service, and impatiently wait for your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all their assurance for it, except the notorious rebels. Therefore, Sir, for God's sake, assist us, though it be with such another detachment as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons; and you will crown our beginning with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient hereditary kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, I beseech your Majesty to believe, whether I live or die,

"I am entirely yours,

DUNDEE."

"The letter is so happily expressed as to be a forgery on its face; for it is not to be imagined that he who vainly struggled after grammar with all his senses with him, would command it when mortally wounded, and utterly unfit for that species of command with which he was familiar."—Burton, vol. i. p. 134.

³ *Memoirs of Dundee.*

⁴ "In this battle Lochiel was attended by the son of his foster-brother. This faithful adherent followed him like his shadow, ready to assist him with his

In the Viscount Dundee, King James lost the only man in Scotland possessed of all the qualifications necessary for conducting to a successful issue the great and important charge which had been committed to him by his sovereign. Educated in the strictest principles of torism, he could never divest his mind of the abstract ideas of passive obedience and hereditary right, and to him, therefore, any attempt to resist the authority of the sovereign, no matter how far that authority was abused, appeared highly treasonable. Though a sincere Protestant Episcopalian, the heresy of the successor of Charles II. as the religion of James must have appeared to him, in no respect altered his ideas of implicit fidelity to the sovereign, nor did his views undergo any change when the arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings of James seemed to the leading men of the nation to have solved the great political problem, when resistance should commence and obedience end.⁵ In his eye, therefore, the revolution which drove the unfortunate James from his throne, was a great national sin, which could only be atoned for by restoring to him his crown, an object, in the accomplishment of which, he conceived all good men were bound to lend a helping hand. These ideas ingrafted upon a temperament peculiarly sanguine, made him an enthusiast in favour of hereditary right, and his appointment by the fallen monarch as the chosen one by whose instrumentality his restoration was to be effected, imparted a charm to his enthusiasm which dispelled every

sword, or cover him from the shot of the enemy. Soon after the battle began, the chief missed his friend from his side, and turning round to look what had become of him, saw him lying on his back, with his breast pierced by an arrow. He had hardly breath before he expired to tell Lochiel, that, seeing an enemy, a Highlander in General Mackay's army, aiming at him with a bow and arrow from the rear, he sprung behind him, and thus sheltered him from instant death. This is a species of duty not often practised, perhaps, by an aid-de-camp of the present day."—*Stewart's Sketches.*

⁵ "He became a fanatic of the order he found himself in,—the order of the cavalier who is devoted to his monarch and his monarch's allies, aristocratic and hierarchical. His fanaticism was that of the gentleman. It is not common, perhaps, to associate the reproachful term, 'fanatic,' with a word so expressive of estimable social qualities as this word 'gentleman;' but as there is no hesitation in applying it to religious opinions carried to excess, surely there can be no desecration in applying it to social qualities when they become offensively prurient."—Burton's *Scotland from Revolution*, vol. i. p. 99.

difficulty that appeared to obstruct the grand object of his ambition and his hopes. With an inflexibility of purpose, which no temptation could overcome, he steadily pursued the course which the duty he conceived he owed to his sovereign and the natural inclination of his own mind directed him to follow. But Dundee had not merely the will, but, what was of no less importance, the ability, had he lived, to have executed the commission intrusted to him, one of his highest qualifications for such a purpose—considering the fickle and unruly bands he had to command—being that he stood unrivalled among his contemporaries in the art of gaining the affections of his troops, and communicating to them a full measure of the spirit which animated himself. His death, therefore, was a fatal blow to James's prospects, and with him the cause of the Stuarts may be said to have perished. Dundee and his friend Pitcur were interred in the church of Blair-Athole. "Never vaulted roof or marble monument covered the last abode of a more restless and ambitious heart than that which has slept in this quiet spot amidst peasant dust."⁶

CHAPTER XXI.

A. D. 1689—1691.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—William III., 1688—1703.

Mackay's movements—Advances to Perth—Colonel Cannon marches north and is joined by several clans—Followed by Mackay—Cannon returns south—The Cameronians at Dunkeld—Movements of Mackay—Major-General Buchan arrives from Ireland and marches north—Skirmish at Cromdale—Mackay marches to Inverlochy—Erection of Fort-William—Movements of Buchan and Cannon—Mackay marches to the north—Earl of Scaforth imprisoned—Cessation of hostilities—Departure of Dundee's officers for France.

THE news of Mackay's defeat reached Edinburgh on Sunday the 28th of July, the day after the battle, and threw the partizans of the government, who were there assembled, into the greatest consternation. In the absence of official details, the most gloomy accounts were given by a few terrified stragglers who arrived in the capital, and who gave out that, with the exception of themselves, the whole of Mac-

kay's army had been destroyed. In the state of disorder and confusion which prevailed, the Duke of Hamilton, the Commissioner to the revolution parliament, summoned a meeting of the privy council, at which orders were issued to raise all the fencible men in the west, and to concentrate all the forces in the south at Stirling, to which point it was supposed Dundee (of whose death they were not aware) would be rapidly hastening; and on the supposition that Mackay was either killed or made prisoner, Sir John Lanier was ordered west to take the command.

During two entire days the ferment continued in the capital, and every hour added to the fears of those who had most to dread from a counter-revolution. At length, when the minds of men were wrought up to the highest pitch of terror and dismay, intelligence was received of the death of Dundee, and shortly thereafter a despatch from General Mackay, giving an account of the battle, and of his safe retreat to Stirling. An event so unlooked for and so important as the death of the only man in whom the hopes of King James rested, and from the decision of whose character the supporters of the revolution settlement anticipated the most fearful consequences, was hailed by the Duke of Hamilton and his friends with transports of joy. They had indeed good reason to rejoice, for although the battle had been disastrous to their forces, the loss which King James had sustained in the person of Dundee was irreparable.

On arriving at Stirling, Mackay met Sir John Lanier, who communicated to him the orders that had been issued by the government on receiving the news of his defeat. So decisive had the battle of Killiecrankie appeared to them that they had given up all idea of maintaining a position on the north of the Forth, all the country beyond which they meant to abandon to the victorious arms of Dundee, and to confine their operations to a defence of the ferts of the Forth, and the pass and bridge of Stirling. In pursuance of this design orders had been sent to Barclay's regiment, which was quartered in the county of Aberdeen, to retire upon Dundee, and Lanier had despatched an express to his own regiment, which lay partly at Alnwick and partly at

⁶ Burton, vol. i. p. 134.

Morpeth, to hasten down to Scotland. This plan, however, was disapproved of by Mackay, and he, therefore, as he says, "resolved to alter these measures, knowing how hard a pull we would have, if he left the north, which are absolutely the best men of that kingdom for the war, to the discretion of the enemy, where he would not only get great numbers to join him, but also take possession of towns and seize upon the public revenues, whereby they could form a fashion of government, and so have more plausible ways, not only to maintain but also to engross their party, than ever they have had."⁷

For these reasons Mackay determined to take the field again without delay, and to give, as he observes, "some eclat to the service, and hinder the disaffected of the shires of Perth and Angus to rise in arms against the government," he resolved to march direct to Perth with the forces which were at hand, and place a garrison there. Fortunately some of the troops which the privy council had ordered to rendezvous at Stirling were already there, and others were at hand. Preparatory to his march he sent Sir John Lanier to Edinburgh to hasten the advance of his own regiment, consisting of nine troops of horse, and also of Hayford's dragoons, consisting of eight troops, and ordered eight troops of horse, and four of dragoons, both of which had been newly levied, and Lord Colchester's regiment of horse, not above 500 men in all, to join him at Stirling on the morning of Wednesday, the 31st of July. Many thousands of men in the western counties were now assembling of their own accord in consequence of Mackay's defeat; but disliking such auxiliaries, "whose pretensions," he says, "appeared already exorbitant enough," and who, if employed, might think that the government could not be maintained without their assistance, he intimated that he would not require their services, and ordered them to return to their homes.

The horse and dragoons having come to Stirling as directed, with these he departed for Perth at two o'clock in the afternoon, giving orders to a newly-raised battalion of foot, consisting of Mar and Bargeny's regiments, to

follow him. On his way he could obtain no intelligence respecting the motions of the enemy, as he found the houses mostly deserted by their inhabitants, who had taken up arms and had gone to join the standard of King James. On approaching the river Earn, however, Mackay's scouts, who, to prevent notice of his approach, kept only a musket-shot in advance, were saluted with a loud "qui vivo" by two horsemen. The scouts, four in number, answered this challenge by a discharge from their carabines, which brought down the two horsemen, one of whom was shot dead. The other was mortally wounded, and though he spoke a few words, was not able to answer some questions put to him for eliciting information. As Mackay conjectured from this occurrence, that the main body of the enemy was not far off, he altered his line of march, and crossing a pretty steep hill to the north, reached the field of Tippermuir, a few miles west from Perth.

Having been informed at Tippermuir, that the enemy lay encamped at Dunkeld, and that a party of their horse and foot was in Perth for the purpose of carrying off some meal which had been sent thither by the council for the use of Mackay's army, the general drew off his men to the left to throw himself between Dunkeld and Perth, and thereby cut off the party. He himself marched down upon Perth, but on coming within sight of the town was disappointed to observe that about 30 of the enemy's horse had already crossed the Tay, and were beyond his reach. He proceeded on his march, and when within half a mile of the town observed the foot party, which consisted of about 300 Athole-men, approaching. The Highlanders, who had not the most distant idea that there was a single enemy nearer than Stirling, were almost petrified with horror when they beheld such a large body of cavalry ready to pounce upon them, and for a time they stood quite motionless, not knowing what to do. Apprehensive that they might attempt to escape by a ford near the place where they stood, Mackay despatched four troops of dragoons at full gallop to prevent their passage. The Athole-men seeing that their retreat would be cut off, threw themselves into the Tay, whither they were followed by the horse and dragoons,

⁷ *Memoirs*, p. 62.

who cut them down in the water without mercy. About 120 of the Athole-men were killed and 30 made prisoners. In this affair Mackay lost only one man, who had imprudently pursued to a distance a small party of the Highlanders.⁸

This disastrous skirmish, whilst it raised the expectations of the revolutionists, threw a damp over King James's supporters, and augured ill for the success of Colonel Cannon, who had assumed the command of James's army on the death of Dundee. This officer, though a faithful adherent of his royal master, was altogether unfit for the command of such an army. He seems to have possessed none of Dundee's genius, and his regular military experience rendered him totally unfit to deal with such an irregular and capricious race as were the Highlanders, with whose habits, feelings, and dispositions, he was totally unacquainted. Had Dundee lived he would probably have carried his victorious army across the Forth, seized upon the capital and dispersed the government; but his successor did not know how to take advantage of the victory which had been obtained, and instead of marching instantly south, he merely advanced to Dunkeld, about 16 miles from the field of the recent battle, where he remained encamped for several days, when the party he had sent to Perth was attacked and almost destroyed by the dogged and steady Mackay.

At Dunkeld, Cannon was joined by the Stewarts of Appin, the Macgregors and the Athole-men under Lord James Murray, of which circumstance Mackay was informed soon after his arrival at Perth. In the meantime he took care to secure the town against attack by erecting pallisades, and sent out patrols during the night to bring notice of the enemy should they approach the town. Cannon, however, made no attempt to disturb Mackay, and after passing several days at Dunkeld in inactivity, he raised his camp and proceeded northwards along the skirts of the Grampians with a force of about 3,000 men. It was the intention of Mackay to have returned to Edinburgh to consult with the privy council as to the best means of speedily settling the peace

of the kingdom, and to leave Mar and Bargeny's regiments and six troops of cavalry in garrison at Perth; but on hearing of Cannon's movement to the north he abandoned his intention, and after despatching orders to Sir John Lanier to proceed to Perth with all possible haste along with the horse and dragoons which were expected from England, he crossed the Tay with his whole cavalry force, consisting of nearly 1,500 men, leaving two battalions of foot behind, and advanced towards Coupar-Angus. At Coupar he received intelligence from some prisoners who had been taken at Killiecrankie, and who had escaped on the march north, that Cannon had marched as far as Glen Isla, about eight miles from Forfar, where he had encamped. Mackay in consequence continued his march to Forfar, where he learned that Cannon had made another movement to Clova.

After passing two nights at Forfar, he received notice that Cannon had crossed the mountains and entered Braemar. As Mackay considered that these movements of Cannon were intended by him as a *ruse* to draw him north, and that when Cannon had accomplished his object he meant immediately to recross the mountains and enter Angus, where he expected some reinforcements to join him, Mackay sent orders to Lanier to advance to Forfar, to serve as a check upon Cannon should he again enter Angus, and proceeded himself to Aberdeen, which he reached the second day, to the great joy, he says, of most of the inhabitants, who were in dread of a visit from the Highlanders that very night.⁹

On arriving at the Braes of Mar, Cannon was joined by the Farquharsons, the Frasers, the Gordons of Strathdown and Glenlivet, and by 200 of the Macphersons. Keppoch and young Lochiel also met him.¹ At Aberdeen, Mackay received an express from the Master of Forbes, informing him that Cannon had taken up a very strong position upon his father's lands, having the Highlands at his back and a wood to cover him in front; the position being so well chosen that he could keep up a free communication with his friends in the lower parts of the shires of Aberdeen and Banff.

⁸ Mackay, pp. 63, 64.

⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 66.

¹ *Memoirs of Dundee*.

Judging that Cannon's object in selecting such a position was to strengthen himself in horse from the adjoining low country, of which species of force he stood in most need, Mackay, with the view of obstructing his levies, ordered Sir Thomas Livingston to leave the command of the forces at Inverness with Sir James Leslie, and to repair immediately to Strathbogie with his regiment of dragoons, with instructions, should the enemy appear in that quarter, to march farther to the left across the low country, and to send him despatches from time to time, announcing the state of matters. At the same time he ordered Sir John Lanier to send Hayford's regiment of dragoons to Aberdeen to strengthen him.

After remaining a day at Aberdeen, Mackay marched up Dee-side to beat up Cannon's quarters, but learning on his march that the Highlanders had left Lord Forbes's lands and had gone north in the direction of the Duke of Gordon's territory, he drew off his men next morning at break of day towards Strathbogie, for the purpose of covering Livingston's march. Mackay having nothing but cavalry, got the start of Cannon, and reached Strathbogie before Cannon arrived at the castle of Auchindoun, where he intended to fix his head quarters. At Auchindoun, Cannon was informed that Mackay was already at the castle of Strathbogie, a distance of about six miles. He, thereupon, called a council of war to discuss the expediency of giving battle to Mackay. A preliminary question was agitated by the Highland chiefs as to the right of the Lowland officers to sit in the council, the former contending that as none of these officers had any troops under their immediate command, and were wholly unacquainted with the discipline of the Highlanders and their mode of fighting, they had no right to deliberate on the subject, and were unable to form a correct judgment on the question they were called upon to discuss. The decision of this point lay with Cannon, who, by the advice of the Earl of Dunfermline, decided the question against the Highlanders. A judgment more unfortunate to the cause of King James could not have been pronounced, as it gave rise to jealousies and strifes among the officers, and when the question whether a battle should be

hazarded was put to the vote, the clans who were for fighting Mackay immediately, found themselves in a minority. This was followed by a resolution to return to Athole. As matters stood, the chances of victory on either side may be considered to have been pretty fairly balanced, but subsequent events showed that Cannon in the present instance omitted the best opportunity he was ever destined to have of gaining a victory which might have decided the fate of Scotland.

Although Mackay's men were almost worn out with extreme fatigue, being kept under arms every night for a considerable time, and only allowed an occasional repose by turns during the day-time, the general resolved to follow Cannon with all possible despatch.

The cause of Cannon's movement was owing to the following circumstances. The privy council wishing to obtain possession of the castles of Blair and Finlarig, had sent a letter to Mackay at Strathbogie with instructions to proceed to these places before the rainy season should set in, for the purpose of reducing and putting garrisons into them. Mackay, in answer, stated his inability to undertake such a service in the face of the formidable force which lay so near him, and that he did not conceive there was any necessity for being in such a hurry, as, from the proximity of these castles to the low country, he could make himself master of them at any time if sufficiently strong. But he observed, that if the council was bent upon the undertaking, they might direct Sir John Lanier to order some foot and Barclay's regiment to join him from Forfar, and with these and three battalions of the Dutch regiments, then at Perth, and which had not been at the battle of Killiecrankie, execute that piece of service. Upon receiving Mackay's answer, the council ordered the Earl of Angus's regiment, known by the name of the Cameronian regiment—a band of stern, fearless, religious enthusiasts from the west—to advance to Dunkeld, with the view, it is supposed, of supporting Lanier. Mackay was quite averse to the employment of these men, and disapproved of the plan of posting them so near the Highlands, the effect of which, he observed, would be, that they would be instantly attacked, "because the enemy had

not such prejudice at any of the forces as at this regiment, whom they called the Cameronian regiment, whose oppression against all such as were not of their own sentiments, made them generally hated and feared in the northern counties."² Accordingly, no sooner had they encamped at Dunkeld, than some of King James's friends in Athole resolved to put them off, and a notice was sent to Cannon to return south with that view, in consequence of which, he raised his camp and proceeded suddenly towards the Dee, as already mentioned.

Mackay followed him, and on arriving at Aberdeen, warned Sir John Lanier of the advance of Cannon, and to prevent the Highlanders from making any inroads, he sent out small parties of his men to scour the neighbouring country. When Lanier was informed of Cannon's approach, he left Forfar, where he was posted with his own and Barclay's regiment, for Brechin, near to which town the enemy had advanced. Some skirmishing took place between the advanced posts, with less on both sides. The Highlanders, thereupon, retired to the hills, and Lanier, who was ignorant of the object of Cannon's march, returned to Forfar. Here he received orders from the privy council to march to the castles of Blair and Finlarig, in consequence of which he proceeded to Coupar-Angus the following day, where intelligence was brought him from Colonel Ramsay, that the Highlanders were marching upon Dunkeld. He was informed at the same time that the Cameronian regiment, which was disadvantageously posted, would assuredly be defeated, if not immediately supported. Instead of sending any instructions to Ramsay, who required his advice, Lanier delayed forwarding an answer till he should arrive at Perth the following day, "in which interim," says Mackay, "if the providence of God had not blinded Cannon, and disheartened his Highlanders from continuing their attack, the regiment had certainly been lost, for they had two full days' time to carry them, and all their defence was but low gardens, in most places not above four feet high."³

On Sunday morning, the 18th of August, the Cameronians, in expectation of an attack,

began to entrench themselves within some inclosures about the Marquis of Athole's house at Dunkeld. The country people, in parties of ten and twenty, appeared during the morning on the neighbouring hills, and about four in the afternoon a body of about 300 men drew up on a hill to the north of Dunkeld, whence they despatched a messenger, who carried a halbert surmounted by a white cloth as a flag of truce, with a letter without any subscription, addressed to Lieutenant-colonel Cleland, the commanding officer, of the following tenor:—"We the gentlemen assembled being informed that ye intend to burn the town, desire to know whether ye come for peace or war, and do certify you, that if ye burn any one house, we will destroy you." To which communication Lieutenant-colonel Cleland replied as follows:—"We are faithful subjects to King William and Queen Mary, and enemies to their enemies; and if you, who send these threats, shall make any hostile appearance, we will burn all that belongs to you, and otherwise chastise you as you deserve."

On the first alarm of the Highlanders' approach to Dunkeld, Colonel Ramsay sent up some troops of horse and dragoons under Lord Cardross to assist the Cameronians in case of attack. This party arrived at Dunkeld on Tuesday morning, but the Highlanders not being yet sufficiently numerous, showed no disposition to attack the Cameronians that day. At night, Cleland received intelligence that the fiery cross had been sent round, and that a considerable gathering had taken place, and next morning the Highlanders began to appear in large parties among the hills, between whom and some detached parties of horse and foot which Cleland sent out to scour the country, some brisk skirmishing took place during the day. The Highlanders having retired, Cleland's forces returned to Dunkeld in the evening, where Lord Cardross received an order from Colonel Ramsay to return instantly to Perth, from an absurd apprehension that the cavalry could be of little use in defending the position occupied by the Cameronian regiment. When Cleland, who appears to have been a determined, sensible, clear-headed enthusiast of about 30 years of age, was informed of this extraordinary mandate, he remonstrated with

² *Mcmoires*, p. 69.

³ *Idem*.

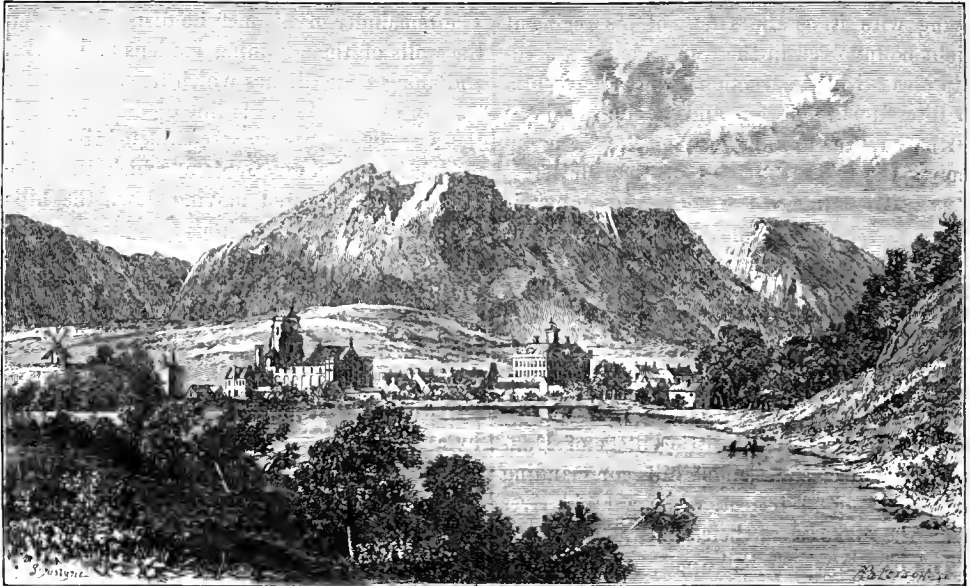
Cardross in the strongest manner against complying with it, as the safety of his regiment might be involved in the result; but his lordship pleaded his instructions, which gave him no discretionary power, and he departed for Perth the same evening, leaving the Cameronians to the tender mercies of their bitterest enemies, the Highlanders. Cleland's obvious course was to have followed the cavalry, but though the danger was imminent, he disdained to abandon the post which had been assigned him, and easily prevailed upon the Cameronians to remain and meet the enemy at all hazards. Burton⁴ truly says that it is difficult to imagine a position more dangerous for a Lowland force than the little village of Dunkeld, being deep sunk among hills commanding it, and cutting off retreat, while a rapid river forms the diameter of their semicircle.

The parties which had appeared during the day consisted entirely of Athole-men, whose numbers probably did not exceed 500 or 600; but in the evening they were joined by the whole of Cannon's force, amounting to nearly 4,000. To the great surprise and dismay of the Cameronians, this formidable body appeared at six o'clock next morning, Wednesday the 21st of August, on the hills about Dunkeld formed in order of battle. The situation of the Cameronians was now critical in the extreme. They had no alternative but to fight or surrender, for retreat was not in their power. A capitulation would have been the obvious course, but the great abhorrence in which the Cameronians were held by the Highlanders, gave faint hopes of obtaining the usual terms of civilized warfare from the inveterate host which hung over them on the surrounding heights. They, therefore, adopted the desperate resolution of defending themselves to the last extremity, and they hoped, that by posting themselves advantageously behind the walls and enclosures adjoining the village and Dunkeld-house, they would be able to keep the Highlanders in check till some relief might arrive.

The Cameronian commander accordingly made the necessary preparations for defence. He first posted parties of his men in the

cathedral and steeple, and in Dunkeld-house. The remainder of his men he disposed behind the walls of the adjoining gardens and parks, and along some ditches which he caused to be thrown up to extend his line of defence. All these arrangements were completed before 7 o'clock in the morning, about which time the Highlanders appeared moving down the hills towards Dunkeld. Desirous to gain possession of the town, to dislodge the Cameronians, or to draw off their attention from the points where he meant to direct his main attack, Cannon despatched a small train of artillery down a little hill near the town, accompanied by 100 men clad in armour, who were followed by a party of Highlanders on foot. To prevent the Cameronians from escaping by the ford across the Tay, he sent two troops of horse round the town, who took up a position betwixt the ford and the church, while two other troops were placed at the opposite end of the town. When the party arrived at the bottom of the hill, they were opposed by a small body of men whom Cleland had posted behind a stone wall, but after some smart firing, this body was obliged to give way and to retire to Dunkeld-house. Another party of the Cameronians, which had been posted at the other end of the town, was obliged also to retire. Having forced the outposts, the whole body of the Highlanders rushed furiously into the town, which they entered at four different points at once. The Cameronians, however, firmly maintained their ground within the enclosures, from which they kept up a galling and destructive fire upon the Highlanders, who in vain attempted to dislodge them. Finding their broad-swords of little avail against the pikes and halberts of an enemy protected by stone walls, the Highlanders retired to the houses, and some to the heights near the town, from which they kept up a sharp though ineffectual fire upon the Cameronians, who returned it with much better effect. The Cameronians, however, soon sustained a heavy loss in the death of Cleland, their brave commander, who, in the act of exhorting his men to stand firm to their posts, was, within an hour after the engagement commenced, mortally wounded by two bullets, one of which pierced his liver, the other entering his head at the same instant.

⁴ *Scotland*, vol. i. p. 141.



Dunkeld in the 17th century.—From Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*.

Aware of his fate, he attempted to gain Dunkeld-house, lest his men, seeing him expire, might become dispirited; but he was unable to reach the threshold, and expired in their presence.

During three hours an incessant firing was kept up on both sides, which might have continued for several hours longer without producing any definite result, unless, indeed, the ammunition of either party had become exhausted. Probably from the dread of such a contingency, which would have been fatal to the Cameronians, Captain Munro, to whom, on the death of Cleland, the command had fallen, resolved to attempt to dislodge the Highlanders from the houses by setting the town on fire. He accordingly sent into the town several small parties of pikemen with burning faggots upon the points of their pikes to set fire to the houses in which the Highlanders were posted. This order was executed with such promptitude, that in a short time the whole town was in a conflagration. The scene which the town now presented was one of the most heart-rending description. The din of war was indeed no longer heard, but a more terrific sound had succeeded, from the wild shrieks of despair which issued from the dense mass of smoke and flame which

enveloped the unfortunate sufferers. To add to the calamity, the pikemen had coolly locked the doors of such of the houses as had keys standing in them, and the unhappy intruders being thus cut off from escape, perished in the flames. No less than 16 Highlanders were, in consequence, burnt to death in one house. With the exception of three houses, possessed by the Cameronians, the whole of the town was consumed.

The Highlanders finding their ammunition all spent,⁵ and seeing that they could no longer maintain their position among the ruins of the town, began to retire to the hills about eleven o'clock, after having sustained a loss of about 300 men. The Cameronians, whose loss was trifling, on seeing the Highlanders depart, set up a loud shout, threw up their caps, beat their drums, and waved their colours in token of triumph, demonstrations which must have been exceedingly galling to the feelings of the Highlanders, who only four hours before had assured themselves of an easy conquest. It is stated in the Cameronian account of the battle that an attempt was made by Cannon to induce the Highlanders to renew the attack, but they declined, for this reason, that although still

⁵ Balcarras.

ready to fight with men, they would not again encounter devils.⁶ To show their gratitude to God for "so miraculous a victory," the Cameronians spent a considerable part of the afternoon in singing psalms of praise and thanksgiving.

The Highlanders were greatly discouraged by the repulse which they sustained at Dunkeld, and they attributed the misfortune to the incapacity of Cannon, in whom they consequently lost all confidence. Perceiving that they could no longer keep the field with any probability of success under such a commander, they retired to Blair, and after entering into a bond of association to support the cause of King James, and for mutual protection, they departed for their homes, leaving Cannon and his Irish troops and the few lowland gentlemen to shift for themselves. Cannon went to Mull, and resided with the chief of Maclean.⁷

⁶ *Life and Diary of Colonel Blackader.*

⁷ "We, Lord James Murray, Patrick Stewart of Ballechan, Sir John M'Lean, Sir Donald M'Donald, Sir Ewen Cameron, Glengarie, Benbecula, Sir Alexander M'Lean, Appin, Enveray, Keppoch, Glencoe, Strowan, Calochele, Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor, Bara, Large, M'Naughten, do hereby bind and oblige ourselves, for his Majesty's service and our own safeties, to meet at the day of September next, and bring along with us fencible men. That is to say, Lord James Murray and Ballechan Sir John M'Lean 200, Sir Donald M'Donald 200, Sir Ewen Cameron 200, Glengarie 200, Benbecula 200, Sir Alexander M'Lean 100, Appin 100, Enveray 100, Keppoch 100, Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor 100, Calochele 50, Strowan 60, Bara 50, Glencoe 50, M'Naughten 50, Large 50; but in case any of the rebels shall assault or attack any of the above-named persons betwixt the date hereof and the said day of rendezvous, we do all solemnly promise to assist one another to the utmost of our power, as witness these presents, signed by us at the castle of Blair, the 24th of August, 1689 years.—Al. Robertson, D. M'Neil, Alex. M'Donald, Do. M'Gregor, Alex. M'Donell, D. M'Donald, D. M'D. of Benbecula, Al. M'Donald, Tho. Farrison, Jo. M'Leane, E. Cameron of Lochiel, Al. Stuart."—*Records of Parliament.*

Seven days before the date of this bond, these associates, and other friends, sent the following characteristic letter to Mackay, in answer to a friendly invitation from him to lay down their arms:—

"Birse, 17th August, 1689.

"Sir,

"We received your letter from Strathbogy, and we saw that you wrote to Brigadier Cannon from St Johnstoun, to which we gave a civil return, for by telling that you support yourselves by fictions and stories (a thing known all the world over), is no railing. The Christian means (as you say in your last) you make use of to advance the good cause by, is evident to all the world, and the argument you use to move us to address your government, is consequential

In the meantime Mackay left Aberdeen for the purpose of joining Lanier, leaving behind him Sir Thomas Livingston, with his regiment and nine troops of cavalry, to keep the adjoining northern counties in awe. At Brechin he learnt that Lanier had received an order from the privy council to march into Athole, in consequence of which information he joined him at Perth on the 26th of August. He thereafter left Perth, with the greater part of the forces which he found there assembled, and took the route to Blair. It was clearly the interest of James's party to have burned the castle of Blair, so as to prevent Mackay from placing a garrison in it to overawe the neighbouring country; but if such was the intention of the Highlanders, they were deterred from putting it in execution by a message from Mackay, who threatened, in the event of the castle being burnt, to raze every house in Athole to the ground, and to burn and destroy all the corn in that district. Mackay remained ten days at the castle of Blair,

to the whole; for instead of telling us what good Christians, men of honour, good subjects, and good neighbours, ought to do, you tell us in both your letters, that his Majesty has hot wars in Ireland, and cannot in haste come to us, which, though it were as true as we know it is not, is only an argument from safety and interest. And that you may know the sentiments of men of honour, we declare to you and all the world, we scorn your usurper, and the indemnities of his government; and to save you farther trouble by your frequent invitations, we assure you that we are satisfied our king will take his own time and way to manage his dominions and punish his rebels; and although he should send no assistance to us at all, we will die with our swords in our hands before we fail in our loyalty and sworn allegiance to our sovereign. Judge, then, what effect Duke Hamilton's letter has upon us; but you have got an honourable father for this story from Ireland, and although we can better tell you how matters go in Ireland, and that we pity those on whom such stories have influence, yet we have no orders to offer conditions to any rebels; we allow them and his grace to believe on and take your measures by your success, till his Majesty's farther orders. Sir, We thank you for the good meaning of your invitation, (though we are confident you had no hope of success.) And we will shortly endeavour to give you a requital—and those of us who live in islands have already seen and defied the Prince of Orange his frigates. We are, Sir, your affectionate and humble servants, Jo. MacLeane, E. Cameron of Lochiel, C. M'Kenzie, D. Mackdonald, John Grant of Balnadaloch, Pa. Steuart, J. M'Nachtane, Alexr. M'Donald, A. M'Nachtan, Jo. Cameron, Tho. Farrison, H. M'Lean of Lechbuey, Alexr. M'Donell, D. M'D. of Benbecula, R. MacNeill of Bara, D. M'Neill, Ra. M'Donald, J. M'Donald, Alexr. MacLaine. We have returned your letter from Duke Hamilton, because you have more use for it than we."—*Parliamentary Records.*

during which time many of the Athole people took advantage of an indemnity which he offered them, and delivered up their arms. Having placed a garrison of 500 men in the castle, and given orders to raise a pallisade and breast-work round it, he was forced to return to Perth in consequence of continual rains, which made him also forego a resolution he had entertained of marching to the head of Loch Tay, and placing a garrison in the castle of Finlarig, belonging to the Earl of Breadalbane, who, according to him, was "one of the chiefest and cunningest fomenters of the trouble of that kingdom (Scotland), not for love of King James, but to make himself necessary to the government."⁸ The subsequent conduct of this nobleman fully corroborated this opinion. After the rains had subsided, a detachment of 200 men under Lord Cardross, took possession of Finlarig castle, notwithstanding that the proprietor had, shortly before, taken the oaths to the government, and found bail for his allegiance.

While the death of Dundee seemed to give stability to the government in Scotland on the one hand, its safety appeared to be endangered on the other, by the jealousies and dissensions which agitated the parliament. Among the persons who had been instrumental in bringing about the revolution, there were some extreme Presbyterians, who, seeing that their expectations were not to be realized, and that all the offices of trust were monopolized by a few favourites about court, became factious and impatient, and were ready to seize the first opportunity that offered of overturning the government. Sir James Montgomery was at the head of this disaffected party, which, during the ensuing winter, held several private meetings. The result was, that a most extraordinary and unnatural coalition took place between the Jacobites and the discontented Presbyterians for the restoration of King James. By uniting their votes in parliament they expected to embarrass the government, and make it odious to the people, and thereby pave the way for the return of the exiled monarch; but their designs were disconcerted by a discovery of the plot.

⁸ *Memoirs*, p. 72.

Mackay had now grown heartily tired of the service, and as his plans for the subjugation of the Highlands had been treated with indifference or neglect by the government, he became desirous to resign his commission, and retire to Holland, his adopted country, there to spend the remainder of his days in peace. There was certainly nothing in the situation of his native country at the period in question to induce him to remain. An unpaid, disorderly, and mutinous army; an oppressed people, a discontented nobility, a divided parliament and council; "church divided into two more irreconcilable factions, though both calling themselves Protestants, than Rome and Geneva," matters deemed of so little importance by the first reformers as scarcely to be mentioned in their writings, preferred by the "religious zealots" of those days to the well-being of the whole Protestant church, the Episcopal ministers who had been ejected preaching "King James more than Christ, as they had been accustomed to take passive obedience more than the gospel for their text:"—these considerations all tended to disgust a man of a moderate and conciliating disposition like Mackay, and made him "look upon Scotsmen of those times in general, as void of zeal for their religion and natural affection, seeing all men hunt after their particular advantages, and none minding sincerely and self-deniedly the common good, which gave him a real distaste of the country and service; resolving from that time forward to disengage himself out of it as soon as possible he could get it done, and that the service could allow of."⁹ Mackay, however, failed in obtaining even a temporary leave of absence during the winter, by the intrigues of Lord Melville and Viscount Tarbet, who, as he says, suspecting an interview with William, who was then in Holland, to be the object of his proposed visit thither, were afraid that he would induce William to adopt a system different from that hitherto followed in the management of Scottish affairs.

Mackay finding that he would not succeed in his application for leave of absence, began to apply himself with great perseverance to accomplish his long-desired project of erecting a

⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 77.

fort at Inverlochy, capable of containing 1,000 or 1,200 men, to keep the western Highlanders in check. In a communication which he made to King William on the subject, he requested to be supplied with three frigates of about 30 guns each, 10 or 12 ships of burden, and 3 or 4 dozen of large boats, 3,000 muskets, 400 *chevaux de frise*, and 2,000 spades, shovels, and pickaxes, with money sufficient to purchase two months' provisions for 3,000 or 4,000 men. On receiving these supplies he proposed to march with this force through Argyle about the end of March, as far as Dunstaffnago, where he meant to embark his men in the ships, and thence proceed to Inverlochy, and land them under the protection of the guns of the ships of war. No notice, however, was taken of this proposal either by William or his ministers, notwithstanding that its importance was urged in repeated letters from Mackay, who, in consequence, grew quite impatient, and threatened to throw up his commission. At length the privy council having, at his request, written a letter to the king on the subject, he ordered the frigates to be sent down, with some arms and ammunition, and implements for commencing the work; but the required supply of money was not forthcoming, without which the expedition could not be undertaken. Anxious, however, to get the fort erected with as little delay as possible, Mackay offered to the privy council to proceed to Inverlochy with a select detachment of 600 men, provided they would give him provisions for three months; but although a sum of five or six hundred pounds would have almost sufficed for this purpose, the council pleaded the impossibility of raising the money.¹ In this emergency he applied to the city of Glasgow, the magistrates of which undertook to hire vessels for transporting the detachment, and to furnish him with the necessary provisions, and such articles as he might require for completing the fort, in addition to those sent down from England.² Major Ferguson, who was appointed to command this expedition, repaired to Glasgow; but he was detained there about five weeks waiting for the provisions. The news, however, of such an armament being in preparation,

and a report purposely circulated by Mackay, that it was much larger than it actually was, having reached the Highlands, had the effect of preventing many of the Islanders and the inhabitants of the adjoining mainland from joining Major-general Buchan, who took the field in April 1690.

Before the arrival of this officer, the Highlanders had resolved to place themselves under the command of Sir Ewen Cameron of Loehiel, having, in consequence of their defeat at Dunkeld, lost confidence in Cannon as a commander. After that disaster, Loehiel and the other Jacobite chiefs had represented to James the precarious state of his affairs in Scotland, and the necessity there was for sending them aid; but James was too much occupied with preparations for resisting a threatened invasion of Ireland, by his son-in-law, to attend much to his Scottish concerns. He, however, sent over a vessel with some clothes, arms, ammunition, and provisions, and a few Irish officers, among whom was Major-general Buchan, with a commission, as commander-in-chief of all the Jacobite forces in Scotland.

On Buchan's arrival, a meeting of the chiefs and principal officers was held at Keppoch, to deliberate upon the course they ought to pursue. As no reinforcement had arrived from Ireland, and as the plot between the Jacobites and the disappointed chiefs of the Presbyterians, which had raised the expectations of King James's partizans, had been discovered, the meeting was divided in opinion, upon the expediency of renewing hostilities. Some, thinking the cause quite desperate, proposed to submit to the government, which they knew was quite disposed to grant them the most favourable terms; but this proposition was warmly resisted by Loehiel, who had great influence with his fellow chiefs. He stated that he had adhered to the cause of Charles II. at a time when it was more desperate than that of his royal brother now was, who was still at the head of an army in Ireland, and who had many friends in Britain, ready to declare themselves, when a fit opportunity offered; that under these circumstances, he considered they would disgrace themselves, if they abandoned the cause they had pledged themselves to defend, and that for his own part he would

¹ Mackay's *Memoirs*, p. 85. ² *Idem*, page 86.

neither listen to terms from the government, nor lay down his arms, without an express order from King James himself. In consequence of this declaration, the meeting unanimously resolved to continue the war; but as the labours of the spring season were not over, they postponed the muster of the clans, till those should be completed; and in the mean time directed Major-general Buchan, to employ the interval in beating up the enemy's quarters, along the borders of the lowlands, for which purpose a detachment of 1,200 foot was to be placed at his disposal.³

When Mackay heard that Buchan had taken the field, he ordered Sir Thomas Livingston,—whom he had despatched north from Aberdeen to Inverness, with his regiment, in the month of January, to watch the motions of the Highlanders,—to keep a sharp outlook after Buchan, who, it was supposed, would probably make a descent upon the lowlands of Moray or Banff. Sir Thomas had at this time, besides his own regiment of dragoons, three regiments of foot, and some troops of horse, under his command, posted in and about the town of Inverness. Hearing that Buchan was marching through Lochaber and Badenoch, Livingston made two successive marches up the country, in the direction Buchan was said to be advancing, but on both occasions, from the great difficulty he experienced in obtaining provender for his horses, and provisions for his troops, he was obliged to return to Inverness without seeing Buchan, or hearing anything concerning him. Having ascertained that the feeling of hostility towards the government was rapidly extending, and that it had even reached the clans, who had hitherto, in appearance at least, shown themselves favourably inclined to the revolution, Livingston, thereupon, despatched a letter to Mackay, acquainting him of the circumstance, and stating that if Buchan was not speedily opposed, he was afraid that by far the greater part of the northern counties would join him. That he might obtain early intelligence of Buchan's motions, and avoid the difficulties he had experienced in his former marches for want of provisions, Livingston took up a position eight miles from Inverness,

³ Balcarras.

with a select body of 1,200 men, consisting of his own regiment, which amounted to 300 men, 400 of Leslie's regiment, a company of 100 of Lord Reay's Highlanders, 300 of Grant's Highlanders, and two troops of horse.⁴

On receiving Livingston's despatch, Mackay sent orders to the different detachments which lay at Stirling, Glasgow, Dundee, and other places, amounting together to 3,000 men, to assemble without delay at Perth, that they might be in readiness, should a general rising in favour of King James take place in the north, to support Livingston, and to serve as a check upon the southern Highlands. He, at the same time, directed Lieutenant-colonel Buchan, brother of King James's general, who commanded the forces in the city and county of Aberdeen, consisting of a battalion of Ramsay's regiment, the Cameronian regiment, and five troops of horse and dragoons, to march upon any point Livingston should direct.⁵

In the mean time Major-general Buchan was advancing through Badenoch with the design of marching down Speyside into the Duke of Gordon's country, where he expected to be joined by some of the vassals of that nobleman. At Culnakill he held a council of war to determine whether to take up a position in that neighbourhood, where they would be secure from the attacks of Livingston's cavalry, or proceed farther down the Spey. As Buchan's force did not exceed 800 men, and as they were aware that a large force of horse and foot lay at Inverness, the Highland officers were unanimously of opinion that they should not advance beyond Culnakill, but should march the following day to Glenlochy, and encamp among the adjoining woods. Buchan, who appears to have been as incapable of conducting a Highland force, and as ignorant of the mode of warfare pursued by the Highlanders as Cannon, his predecessor, now second in command, rejecting the Highland officers' advice, on the following day marched down the Spey as far as Cromdale, where he encamped on the last day of April.⁶

⁴ Mackay's *Memoirs*, p. 93. Mackay's account says, "six companies of Grant's regiment, making about 800 men,"—an evident error.

⁵ Mackay's *Memoirs*, p. 94.

⁶ *Memoirs of Dundee*.

Livingston was, at this time, lying within eight miles of Strathspey, on the grounds of the laird of Grant, where he received notice the same day from a captain in Grant's regiment, who, with a company of men, held possession for the government of Balloch, now Grant castle, in the vicinity of Cromdale, that Buchan was marching down Strathspey. Desirous of attacking him before he should have an opportunity of being joined by the country people, Livingston marched off towards the Spey, in the afternoon, and continued his march till he arrived within two miles of Balloch castle. As it was already dark, and the night far advanced, and as a difficult pass lay between him and the castle, Livingston proposed to encamp during the night; but not finding a convenient place, he, by the persuasion of one of his officers who was acquainted with the pass, and who undertook to conduct him safely through it, renewed his march, and arrived at the top of the hill above the castle at two o'clock in the morning. Buchan's men were then reposing in fancied security near Lethindie, on the adjoining plain of Cromdale, and the fires of their camp, which were pointed out by the captain of the castle to Livingston, showed him that he was much nearer the enemy than he had any idea of. Mackay says, that had Livingston been aware that the Highlanders were encamped so near the pass, he would not have ventured through it during the night, having little confidence in the country people; nor would the enemy, had they suspected Livingston's march, left their former station and encamped upon an open plain, a considerable distance from any secure position, "just as if they had been led thither by the hand as an ox to the slaughter."⁷

As several gentlemen of the adjoining country had sought an asylum in the castle on hearing of Buchan's advance, the commander, in order to prevent any knowledge of Livingston's approach being communicated to the Highlanders, had taken the precaution to shut the gates of the castle, and to prohibit all egress; so that the Highlanders were as ignorant of Livingston's arrival as he had previously been

of their encampment at Cromdale. Such being the case, the commander of the castle advised him to attack the Highlanders without delay, and he himself offered to conduct the troops into the plain. This proposition having been acceded to, the troops were allowed half an hour to refresh themselves, after which they marched down through the valley of Auchinarrow to the river. Finding a ford below Dellachaple, guarded by 100 Highlanders, Livingston left a detachment of foot and a few dragoons to amuse them, while, with his main body, led by some gentlemen of the name of Grant on horseback, he marched to another ford through a covered way, a mile farther down the river, which he crossed at the head of three troops of dragoons, and a troop of horse, a company of his Highlanders forming the advanced guard. After he reached the opposite bank of the Spey, he perceived the Highlanders, who had received notice of his approach from their advanced guards at the upper ford, in great confusion, and in motion towards the hills. He thereupon sent orders to a part of his regiment, and another troop of horse to cross the river and join him; but, without waiting for them, he galloped off at full speed towards the hills, so as to get between the fugitives—the greater part of whom were almost naked—and the hills, and intercept them in their retreat. The cavalry were accompanied by the company of Highlanders which had crossed the river, and who are said to have outrun their mounted companions, a circumstance which induced the flying Highlanders, on arriving at the foot of the hill of Cromdale, to make a stand; but, on the approach of Livingston and the remainder of his dragoons and horse, they again took to their heels. They turned, however, frequently round upon their pursuers, and defended themselves with their swords and targets with great bravery. A thick fog, which, coming down the side of the mountain, enveloped the fugitives, compelled Livingston to discontinue the pursuit, and even to beat a retreat. According to Mackay, the Highlanders had 400 men killed and taken prisoners, while Livingston did not lose a single man, and only 7 or 8 horses; but Balcarras states his loss at about 100 killed, and several prisoners; and the

⁷ *Memoirs*, p. 95.

author of the "Memoirs of Dundee" says, that many of Livingston's dragoons fell.⁸ A party of the Camerons and Macleans, who had in the flight separated from their companions in arms, crossed the Spey the following day, but, being pursued by some of Livingston's men, were overtaken and dispersed on the moor of Granish near Aviemore, where some of them were killed. The rest took shelter in Craigealachie, and, being joined by Keppoch and his Highlanders, made an attempt to seize the castle of Lochinclan in Rothiemurehus, but were repulsed with loss by the proprietor and his tenants.⁹

The news of the disaster at Cromdale was received with feelings of dismay by the partisans of King James at Edinburgh, who began to regret that they had not embraced an offer which had been made by King William for a cessation of arms. On the other hand, the friends of the government were elated with Livingston's success, and hastened the long delayed expedition to Inverlochy, under Major Ferguson, which accordingly set sail from Greenock on the 15th of May. Having obtained the consent of King William to march into Lochaber, Mackay made preparations for the expedition; and, although the Earl of Melville, the commissioner to the Scottish parliament, gave him notice of some dangerous plots against the government both in England and Scotland, which might require the presence of a large force in the lowlands to check, yet, as he considered the subjugation of the Highlands of primary importance, he resolved to proceed on his expedition; and, accordingly, on the 18th of June, marched from Perth at the head of about 3,000 horse and foot. As his route to Inverlochy would bring him within a short day's march of the enemy, and as he was desirous—agreeably, as he says, to a military maxim, "without necessity, to put nothing to an apparent hazard when the success is of great

importance,"—to avoid an engagement in a country full of defiles and difficult passes till he should join the forces in the north under Sir Thomas Livingston, he resolved to march towards Strathspey, and thence through Badenoch into Lochaber. To conceal from the enemy his design of marching north, after entering Athole, he made a movement as if he intended to enter Badenoch by the nearest route, and then turning suddenly to the right, took the road to Strathspey. Having joined Livingston in Strathspey on the 26th of June, the united forces, after a day's rest, marched towards Badenoch.

The Highlanders who, after their dispersion at Cromdale, had returned to their homes, had re-assembled on hearing of Mackay's approach; but, from the fewness of their numbers, they made no attempt to obstruct his passage through Badenoch. Being informed that they had taken possession of a strait and difficult pass through which they expected him to march, he, on the 1st of July,—the very day on which the celebrated battle of the Boyne was fought,—made a feint with four troops of horse and dragoons as if he intended to pass that way, for the purpose of deceiving the enemy; after which he suddenly changed his march to the left. After traversing mountains and bogs, he entered Lochaber by Glenspear the same night, and arrived at Inverlochy on the 3d of the month.¹

The site of the old fort, which had been erected by Oliver Cromwell, did not please Mackay, as it was commanded by a neighbouring hill; but, as a more eligible one could not be found, he commenced the work on the 5th of the month, and, in eleven days the wall was raised to its full intended height of twenty feet from the bottom of the fosse, and pallisaded round with a *chemin couvert* and glacis. Having finished the fort, which was named Fort-William, in honour of the king, he was about proceeding to send a detachment into Mull to reduce that island, but received despatches from the privy council announcing the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets, and requiring his return to the South as soon as possible, with as many of his forces as could be spared, in con-

⁸ Shaw (*History of Moray*) says that above 100 of Buchan's men were killed, and about 60 made prisoners, who were found in the castle of Lethindie and the mill; and he adds, as a thing deserving of remark, that "Colonel Maedonald of Keppoch, who was ever keen for plunder, had never once fought for his king, would not encamp with the other rebels, but with his men quartered at Garvlin, half-a-mile distant, and thereby escaped without loss."

⁹ Shaw's *Moray*.

¹ *Memoirs*, p. 93.

sequence of an expected invasion from France. He therefore marched from Inverlochy for the South on the 18th, leaving behind him 1,000 men in garrison in the new fort. He arrived in Badenoch on the 20th by easy marches, and leaving his army in camp the whole of the 21st to rest themselves, he went with a party of 150 horse and dragoons to inspect Ruthven castle which the Jacobite forces had burnt the preceding year. Here he left the company of Lord Reay's Highlanders with instructions to the commander to raise a breastwork round an old square wall, within which the garrison might remain secure against surprise or attack. He then descended into Athole, and arrived at Perth on the 26th of July, being little more than five weeks since he set out on his long projected expedition.

During his absence Major-general Buchan and Colonel Cannon, each at the head of a select body of cavalier horse, had been scouring the low country. The latter, in particular, with 200 horse, had attacked Lord Cardross's dragoons who were stationed in Menteith, and had pursued them down as far as the park of Stirling. On his arrival at Perth, Mackay being informed of the proceedings of Cannon's party, sent orders to the troops at Stirling to march out in quest of them, while he himself, after receiving a supply of biscuit from Dundee, resolved to march from Perth with a detachment for the purpose of intercepting them; but Cannon had passed through the heights of Athole towards Braemar before the troops at Stirling left that town. Mackay followed after them for two days with a force of 1,000 men, but was unable to overtake them. Being unprovided for a longer march, he returned on the third day to Stirling, whence he despatched three troops of Cardross's dragoons, and one of horse, to support the Master of Forbes who was guarding Aberdeenshire.

Buchan and Cannon having united their forces, and being joined by Farquharson of Inverey, at the head of 500 or 600 of the Braemar Highlanders, descended into the adjoining low parts of Aberdeenshire, Mearns, and Banff, to unite themselves to some of the country Jacobite gentlemen, leaving behind them a body of 160 men, to block up Abergeldie, in

which Mackay still kept a garrison. They were at first opposed on their descent into the low country, by the Master of Forbes, and Colonel Jackson, with eight troops of cavalry, which was fully more than sufficient to have repulsed in a level country, any body the Highlanders could then bring into the field. Buchan, however, having purposely magnified the appearance of his forces, by ranging his foot over a large extent of ground, and interspersing his baggage and baggage horses among them, inspired the Master of Forbes and Jackson with such dread, that they considered it prudent to retire before a foe apparently so formidable in appearance, and their fears increasing after they had begun their retreat, they set off towards Aberdeen at full gallop, and never looked behind, till they had entered the town, after a race of upwards of 20 miles.² Buchan, who had no immediate design upon Aberdeen, followed the alarmed cavalry, and such was the effect of the retreat upon some of the neighbouring noblemen and gentlemen, that they joined Buchan in the pursuit. The inhabitants were thrown into a state of the greatest alarm at this occurrence, and the necessary means of defence were adopted, but Buchan made no attempt to enter the town.

When Mackay received intelligence of this "disorder," as he terms the flight of Forbes and Jackson, he instantly despatched Colonel Cunningham with 300 men, and two troops of cavalry, to the north to join Jackson; but Cunningham was unable to effect a junction, as Cannon lay encamped between him and Jackson. As the fears of a French invasion had subsided, Mackay, on hearing of Cunningham's failure, marched north himself in such haste that he carried neither baggage nor provisions along with him; but on his way north he learned that Buchan had left the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, and was marching southward. On hearing of Mackay's advance, Buchan drew off his men to the right, and crossed the hills. On arriving at the Dee, he left Cunningham with a detachment at the

² "His mastership (of Forbes) understanding the word of command, *wheel*, better than *advance*, turned the battle into a race, and won; for he was first at Aberdeen, and alarmed the town with a frightful outcry, *The enemy, the enemy's coming.*"—*Memoirs of Dundee.*

castle of Aboyne, and proceeded with his own division to raise the siege of Abergeldie. In the course of this march, a party of 60 dragoons, under Major Mackay, fell in among the hills, with a body of 200 Highlanders, under Inverey, all of whom were either killed or made prisoners. The chief himself made a very narrow escape, having been trampled under the horses' feet, and left for dead on the field. Mackay also laid waste the fertile country about Abergeldie, to the extent of twelve miles round, and burnt from 1,200 to 1,400 houses, by way of reprisal, for having blocked up the garrison.³

Having united all his forces in the north, with the exception of those which lay at Inverness, Mackay marched as far north as Strathden, where he was told that the greater part of the north was hostile to the government, and was ready to rise in arms, which information made him at once resolve to proceed north with all possible haste in order to get Buchan's force dispersed, before any general rising should take place. Leaving therefore his foot behind, he proceeded north with his cavalry in great haste, and in the course of his march was informed that Buchan was not only on his way north, but that he expected to be joined by several thousand Highlanders. He, therefore, continued his march with great celerity, allowing his men no more time than was absolutely necessary for refreshing their horses, and arrived within four hours' march of the enemy, before they received any notice of his approach. Buchan had reached Inverness, and was only waiting for the Earl of Seaforth's and other Highlanders, whom he expected to join him in attacking the town; but on hearing of Mackay's advance, he crossed the river Ness, and retired along the north side of the Loch.

The Earl of Seaforth, afraid of the consequences which might result to him personally, for the part he had acted, sent his mother, the Countess Dowager of Seaforth, and Mackenzie of Coul, to Mackay, to inform him that he would accede to such conditions as might be agreed upon between them and Mackay. An agreement was accordingly entered into, by

which it was stipulated, that the earl should deliver himself into Mackay's hands, to be kept as a prisoner at Inverness, till the privy council should decide as to his future disposal; and to conceal this arrangement from the Jacobite party, it was farther agreed that the earl should allow himself to be seized as if by surprise, by a party of horse under Major Mackay, at one of his seats during the night. The earl, however, disappointed the party sent out to apprehend him, in excuse for which, both he and his mother, in letters to Mackay, pleaded the state of his health, which they alleged would suffer from imprisonment. The earl cannot certainly be blamed for having demurred placing himself at the unconditional disposal of such a body as the privy council of Scotland, some of whom would not have hesitated to sacrifice him, if by doing so they could have obtained a share of his estates.

Mackay was so irritated at the deception which had been practised upon him, that he resolved to treat the earl's vassals "with all the rigour of military execution." Having, however, a warm feeling for the earl's friends, on account of their being "all Protestants, and none of the most dangerous enemies," as he says, and being more desirous to obtain possession of the earl's person than to ruin his friends, he caused information of his intentions upon the earl's lands to be sent to Seaforth's camp, by some of his own party, as if from a feeling of friendship to him. Contrary to Mackay's anticipations, Seaforth surrendered himself, and was committed prisoner to the castle of Inverness.⁴ About this time the

⁴ "I believe it shall fare so with the Earl of Seaforth, that is, that he shall haply, (perhaps) submit, when his country is ruined, and spoyled, which is the character of a true Scotsman, *wyse behinde the hand!*"—*Letter to the Privy Council, 1st Sept. 1690. Appendix to Memoirs, No. 73.* Mackay was directed by the privy council, by warrant, dated 7th Oct. 1690, "to transport the person of Colin, Earl of Seaforth, with safety from Inverness to Edinburgh, in such way and manner, as he should think fit." In consequence of this removal, he was entered a prisoner within the castle of Edinburgh, on 6th Nov. following, whence he was liberated on 7th Jan. 1692, on finding caution to appear when called upon. He was bound not to go ten miles beyond Edinburgh. He was again imprisoned, but made his escape, and was apprehended at Peneatland, on 7th May 1692, and again kept in close confinement, within the castle of Edinburgh. He was afterwards liberated, on giving security for his peaceable behaviour. — *Records of the Privy Council.*

³ Mackay's *Memoirs*, p. 101.

Earl of Argyle—who had fled to Holland in 1685, on his father's execution, but returned with the Prince of Orange, and was reinstated by the Convention in his father's estates and title—with a force of 1,900 foot, and 60 dragoons, invaded Mull, the inhabitants of which took the oaths of allegiance to the government, and delivered up their arms. He was, however, from the state of the weather, obliged to leave the island, before effecting the reduction of Duart castle, and left 300 men behind him to keep it in check. Maclean himself, with a few of his friends, took refuge on Carnburrow, an inaccessible rock near Mull.

King James's affairs had now become utterly desperate in Scotland, and his defeat at the battle of the Boyne, on the 1st of July, 1690, almost annihilated his hopes in Ireland. Unable to collect any considerable body of men together, Buchan, after wandering through Lochaber, dismissed the few that still remained with him, and along with Sir George Borel, Lieutenant-colonel Graham, and other officers, took up his abode with Macdonell of Glengary, Cannon and his officers retiring to the isles, under the protection of Sir Donald Macdonald. In their retreats, these officers who had displayed the most heroic attachment to the cause of the unfortunate king, under the most trying circumstances, still continued to cherish some distant hopes of his restoration, and were prepared to enter upon any service, however hazardous, which might lead to such a consummation.

At length, seeing no chance of making a successful effort in favour of James, they, in connexion with the chiefs, sent over the Earl of Dunfermline to France in the spring of 1691, to represent to him the state of matters, and to receive his commands. Having received instructions from his majesty to enter into a negotiation with the government, a meeting of the principal officers and the Jacobite chiefs was held at Achallader in Glenorchy on the 30th of June, which was attended by the Earl of Breadalbane on the part of the government, at which a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon till the 1st of October. To get the chiefs to submit to the government, money and other inducements were held out to them by Breadalbane, at whose disposal a sum of

about £15,000 or £20,000 had been placed by King William. They, however, declined to come to any definite arrangement at this time, and requested liberty to send Sir George Borel and Major Menzies to France, to obtain the sanction of King James, to enter into a treaty with the government, a request which was reluctantly granted. After learning from these officers the miseries to which the clans were reduced, and the utter hopelessness of attempting another campaign under existing circumstances, James allowed them to make the best terms they could with the government. Accordingly, and in terms of a proclamation issued by the government on the 27th of August, 1691, promising an indemnity to all persons who had been in arms, and who should take an oath of allegiance to the government before the 1st of January 1692; all the chiefs, with one unfortunate exception, which will be afterwards noticed, gave in their adherence, and took the oath within the prescribed time. Buchan and Cannon with their officers, in terms of an agreement with the government, were transported to France, to which country they had asked and obtained permission from their royal master to retire, as they could no longer be serviceable to him in their native land.

We are sorry that it is beyond the province of the present work, even did space permit, to give a detailed account of the heroic and almost quixotically chivalrous conduct of Dundee's officers, after their emigration to France. In order that they might not be a burden on their royal master King James, they entered the French service, forming themselves into a company of "private sentinels" or common soldiers, four of their number being appointed officers, whose conduct gives "no opportunity of speaking well of them."⁵ They numbered only about 150, and so effectively performed their duty in the service of France, that, unsuited as they were for the hard life of common soldiers, and cheated by their heartless officers of the few comforts provided for them, in a very short time "the earth closed over the last remains of the gentlemen-adventurers

⁵ For details, see *An Account of Dundee's officers after they went to France in Miscellanea Scotica.*

who followed the banner of Dundee."⁶ They bore all their hardships with cheerfulness and even gaiety, winning the tears and love of the women wherever they passed, and the respect of their French comrades. The following incident must suffice as an example of their fearless hardihood.

"The Germans had made a lodgement in an island in the Rhine (near Strasburg). The French, from an opinion that the river was impassable without boats, had ordered a number for the passage. Among other troops intended for the service, this company was ordered to keep a station opposite to the island until the boats should arrive; but finding, upon examination, the ford, though difficult, not impassable, they, according to the custom of the Highlanders in wading through rivers, joining their hands together, and entering the river in a line with its current, the strongest men in the upper part, and the weaker in the under, so that those who were highest up the stream broke all its force, and tying their arms and clothes on their shoulders, passed to the island in sight of both armies on the opposite bank, and drove ten times their number from the lodgement. The French cried out in admiration, 'A gentleman, in whatever station, is still a gentleman.' 'Le gentilhomme est toujours gentilhomme.' The place is called *l'Isle d'Ecosse* to this day."⁷

CHAPTER XXII

A.D. 1691—1702.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—William III., 1688—1702.

Negotiations with the Highland chiefs—Massacre of Glencoe—Master of Stair—King William—Subsequent enquiry—State of Highlands during William's reign—Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat.

DURING 1690 and 1691 the Jacobites caused the government much trouble and anxiety by their ceaseless plotting to get up an insurrection, in which they were to be assisted by supplies from France. Many men, professedly loyal to King William, gave, from various motives, their secret countenance to these

attempts; and the Highlanders especially proved a galling and distracting thorn in the side of the government. As early as 1690, Lord Tarbet, (subsequently Earl of Cromarty,) proposed a scheme for the quieting of the Highlands, which Lord Breadalbane offered to carry into execution; but it was at the time abandoned. In 1691, however, negotiations were again renewed, and, as has been seen, Breadalbane was intrusted with a sum of money to distribute among the chiefs, or rather to buy up the claims which Argyle and other superiors had over their feudal vassals, and



First Earl of Breadalbane.

From Original Painting in possession of Lady Elizabeth Pringle.

which was the real cause of the strife and dissatisfaction existing in the Highlands. The Secretary of State, Sir John Dalrymple, known as the Master of Stair, son of the Earl of Stair, appears latterly to have been at the bottom of the scheme, and was certainly most anxious that it should be successfully and speedily carried out, having at first apparently no thought of resorting to measures of cruel severity.

Not much appears to have resulted from the meeting which Breadalbane had with the chiefs

⁶ Burton's *Scotland from Revolution*, vol. i. p. 153.

⁷ Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, vol. i. part ii. p. 61.

at Achallader; indeed, he showed very little of an earnest desire for conciliation, as his threatening conduct induced Alexander Macdonald, or MacIan, of Glencoe, to leave the meeting abruptly for his own safety. Between Breadalbane, who was a Campbell, and Macdonald much bad blood appears to have existed; indeed, nothing but the bitterest hatred was cherished by the whole tribe of the Macdonalds to the Campbells, as the latter had from time to time, oftener by foul than by fair means, ousted the former from their once extensive possessions. The Macdonalds of Glencoe especially, still considered the lands and property of the Campbells as their own, and without hesitation supplied their wants out of the numerous herds of the latter. It was some recent raid of this sort which roused the wrath of Breadalbane; and on poor Macdonald's head lighted all the blame and the punishment of the ineffectual negotiation. What became of the money has never been clearly ascertained; but much can be inferred from Breadalbane's answer when asked afterwards by Lord Nottingham to account for it, "The money is spent, the Highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of accounting among friends."

Like many of his contemporaries, Breadalbane attached himself openly to King William's government only because it was for the time the winning side; while at the same time he professed secretly to be attached to the interest of the exiled King James. He told the Highland chiefs that in urging them to enter into terms with the government, he had their own interests and those of King James at heart; for there being then "no other appearance of relief, he thought they could not do better than sue for a cessation, which would be a breathing to them, and give them time to represent their circumstances to King James."⁸ A contemporary characterises him as being "cunning as a fox; wise as a serpent; but as slippery as an eel. No government can trust him but where his own private interest is in view."⁹

As the chiefs did not seem in any hurry to come to terms, a proclamation was issued, in

August 1691, requiring them to take the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January 1692, threatening all those who did not comply with "letters of fire and sword." This had the proper effect, as, one by one, the chiefs swore fealty to the government, Macdonald of Glencoe, from pride or some other reason, being the last to comply with the terms of the proclamation. The difficulty in getting the chiefs to come to terms, and thus allowing the government to pursue its other schemes without anxiety, seems at last to have irritated Sir John Dalrymple so much against them, that latterly he eagerly desired that some, and especially the various tribes of Macdonalds, might hold out beyond the time, in order that an example might be made of them by putting into execution the penalty attached to the non-fulfilment of the terms of the proclamation. In a letter to Breadalbane of Dec. 2d, he thinks "the clan Donald must be rooted out and Lochiel," and is doubtful whether the money "had been better employed to settle the Highlands, or to ravage them." In another written on the following day he mentions with approval Breadalbane's "mauling scheme," artfully rousing the latter's indignation by speaking of the chiefs' ungratefulness to him, using at the same time the significant phrase *delenda est Carthago*. He and Breadalbane seemed however likely to be cheated of their vengeance, for even the obstinate and hated Mac Ian himself, after holding out to the very last day, hastened to fulfil the requirements of the proclamation, and thus place himself beyond the power of the strong arm of the law.

On the 31st of December, 1691, Glencoe made his way to Fort-William, and presented himself to Colonel Hill the governor, asking him to administer the required oath of allegiance. The Colonel, however, declined to act, on the ground, that according to the proclamation, the civil magistrate alone could administer them. Glencoe remonstrated with Hill on account of the exigency of the case, as there was not any magistrate whom he could reach before the expiration of that day, but Hill persisted in asserting that it was out of his power to act in the matter. He, however, advised Glencoe to proceed instantly to Inverary, giving him at the same time a letter to

⁸ Carstares' Papers, p. 138.

⁹ Memoirs of Mackay's Secret Services, p. 199. Quoted by Burton.

Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkinglass, sheriff of Argyleshire, begging him to receive Glencoe as "a lost sheep," and to administer to him the necessary oaths. Hill also gave Glencoe a letter of protection, and an assurance that no proceedings should be instituted against him under the proclamation, till he should have an opportunity of laying his case before the king or the privy council.

Glencoe left Fort-William immediately, and so great was his anxiety to reach Inverary with as little delay as possible, that although his way lay through mountains almost impassable, and although the country was deeply covered with snow, he proceeded on his journey without even stopping to see his family, though he passed within half a mile of his own house. On arriving at Inverary, Sir Colin Campbell was absent, and he had to wait three days till his return, Sir Colin having been prevented from reaching Inverary sooner, on account of the badness of the weather. As the time allowed by the proclamation for taking the oaths had expired, Sir Colin declined at first to swear Glencoe, alleging that it would be of no use to take the oaths; but Glencoe having first importuned him with tears to receive from him the oath of allegiance, and having thereafter threatened to protest against the sheriff should he refuse to act, Sir Colin yielded, and administered the oaths to Glencoe and his attendants on the 6th of January. Glencoe, thereupon, returned home in perfect reliance that having done his utmost to comply with the injunction of the government, he was free from danger.

Shortly after this, Campbell transmitted to Colin Campbell, sheriff-clerk of Argyle, who was then in Edinburgh, the certificate of Glencoe's oath on the same paper with other certificates, sending at the same time the letter which he had received from Hill. Campbell showed this paper with Hill's letter to several privy councillors, among whom was the Earl of Stair, all of whom were of opinion that the certificate could not be received without a warrant from the king. Instead, however, of laying the matter before the privy council, or informing Glencoe of the rejection of the certificate, that he might petition the king, Campbell gave in the paper to the clerks of

the council with Glencoe's certificate "delete and obliterate."

Whether this was done at the instigation of Secretary Dalrymple, it is impossible to say; but it is not improbable that this man—who, a few weeks before, had exulted¹ that as the winter was the only season in which the Highlanders could not escape, they could easily be destroyed "in the cold long nights"—was not an indifferent spectator to Campbell's proceedings. In fact, it appears that the secretary contemplated the total extirpation of the clans, for, in a letter to Sir Thomas Livingston, commander of the forces in Scotland, dated January 7th, he says, "You know in general that these troops posted at Inverness and Inverlochic, will be ordered to take in the house of Innergarie, and to destroy entirely the country of Lochaber, Lochiel's lands, Keppoch's, Glen-garie's, and Glencoe," and he adds, "I assure you your power shall be full enough, and I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners." The Macdonalds were chiefly marked out by him for destruction, and after saying, in a letter of the 9th, that he could have wished that they "had not divided" on the question of taking the oath of indemnity, he expresses his regret to find that Keppoch and Glencoe were safe. When he heard two days after from Argyle, that Glencoe had not managed to take the oaths within the time prescribed, he expressed a joy which might be called fiendish, and set himself busily to take proper advantage of the opportunity."² *Delenda est Carthago.*

That no time might be lost in enforcing the penalties in the proclamation, now that the time allowed for taking the oath of allegiance had expired, instructions of rather an equivocal nature, signed and countersigned by the king on the 11th of January, were sent down by young Stair to Sir Thomas Livingston, enclosed in a letter from the secretary of same date. By the instructions, Livingston was ordered "to march the troops against the rebels who had not taken the benefit of the indemnity, and to destroy them by fire and sword;" but lest such a course might render them desperate, he was

¹ Letters to Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, &c. 1st and 3d Dec. 1691.

² Burton's *Scotland*, 1689—1748, vol. i. p. 160.

allowed to "give terms and quarters, but in this manner only, that chieftains and heritors, or leaders, be prisoners of war, their lives only safe, and all other things in mercy, they taking the oath of allegiance, and the community taking the oath of allegiance, and rendering their arms, and submitting to the government; are to have quarters, and indemnity for their lives and fortunes, and to be protected from the soldiers." As a hint to Livingston how to act under the discretionary power with which these instructions vested him, Dalrymple says in his letter containing them, "I have no great kindness to Keppoch nor Glencoe, and it is well that people are in mercy, and then just now my Lord Argyle tells me that Glencoe hath not taken the oath, at which I rejoice. It is a great work of charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable sect, the worst of the Highlands."

The purport of this letter could not be misunderstood; but lest Livingston might not feel disposed to imbrue his hands in the blood of Glencoe and his people, additional instructions bearing the date (in Stair's handwriting) of January 16th, and also signed and countersigned by King William, were despatched to Livingston by the Master of Stair, ordering him to extirpate the whole clan. In the letter containing these instructions, Dalrymple informs Livingston that "the king does not at all incline to receive any after the diet but in mercy," but he artfully adds, "but for a just example of vengeance, I entreat the thieving tribe of Glencoe may be rooted out to purpose." Lest, however, Livingston might hesitate, a duplicate of these additional instructions³ was

³ These instructions are as follow:

WILLIAM R.

16th January, 1692.

1. The copy of the paper given by Macdonald of Aughtera to you has been shown us. We did formerly grant passes to Buchan and Cannon, and we do authorize and allow you to grant passes to them, and ten servants to each of them, to come freely and safely to Leith; from that to be transported to the Netherlands before the 15th of March next, to go from thence where they please, without any stop or trouble.

2. We doe allow you to receive the submissions of Glengarry and those with him upon their taking the oath of allegiance and delivering up the house of Invergarry; to be safe as to their lives, but as to their estates to depend upon our mercy.

3. In case you find that the house of Invergarry cannot probably be taken in this season of the year, with the artillery and provision you can bring there;

sent at the same time by Secretary Dalrymple to Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort-William, with a letter of an import similar to that sent to Livingston. From the following extract it would appear that not only the Earl of Breadalbane, but also the Earl of Argyle, was privy to this infamous transaction. "The Earls of Argyle and Breadalbane have promised that they (the Macdonalds of Glencoe) shall have no retreat in their bounds, the passes to Rannoch would be secured, and the hazard certified to the laird of Weems to reset them; in that case Argyle's detachment with a party that may be posted in Island Stalker must cut them off."

Preparatory to putting the butchering warrant in execution, a party of Argyle's regiment, to the number of 120 men, under the command of Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, was ordered to proceed to Glencoe, and take up their quarters there, about the end of January or beginning of February. On approaching the Glen, they were met by John Macdonald, the elder son of the chief, at the head of about 20 men, who demanded from Campbell the reason of his coming into a peaceful country with a military force; Glenlyon and two subalterns who were with him explained that they came as friends, and that their sole object was to obtain suitable quarters, where they could conveniently collect the arrears of cess and hearth-money,—a new tax laid on by the Scottish parliament in 1690,—in proof of which, Lieutenant Lindsay produced the instructions of Colonel Hill to that effect. They thereupon received a hearty welcome, and were hospitably entertained by Glencoe and his people till the fatal morning of the massacre. Indeed, so familiar was Glenlyon, that scarcely a day

in that case we leave it to your discretion to give Glengarry the assurance of entire indemnity for life and fortune, upon delivering of the house and arms, and taking the oath of allegiance. In this you are to act as you find the circumstances of the affair do require; but it were much better that those who have not taken the benefit of our indemnity, in the terms within the diet prefix by our proclamation, should be obliged to render upon mercy. The taking the oath of allegiance is indispensable, others having already taken it.

4. If M'Ean of Glencoe and that tribe can be well separated from the rest, it will be a proper vindication of the public justice to extirpate that set of thieves. The double of these instructions is only communicated to Sir Thomas Livingston.

W. REX.

passed that he did not visit the house of Alexander Macdonald, the younger son of the chief, who was married to Glenlyon's niece, the sister of Rob Roy, and take his "morning drink," agreeably to the most approved practice of Highland hospitality.

If Secretary Dalrymple imagined that Livingston was disinclined to follow his instructions he was mistaken, for immediately on receipt of them he wrote Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who had been fixed upon by the secretary to be the executioner, expressing his satisfaction that Glencoe had not taken the oath within the period prescribed, and urging him, if he wished to approve himself to the government, to execute his commission with the utmost rigour, and "not to trouble the government with prisoners." In the meantime, the Master of Stair was taking every precaution that the deed should be done suddenly and effectively, and accordingly, on the 13th of January he wrote two letters, one to Livingston, and the other to Hill, urging them on. Addressing the former, he says, "I am glad Glencoe did not come in within the time prefixed; I hope what is done there may be in earnest, since the rest are not in a condition to draw together help. I think to harry (plunder) their cattle and burn their houses is but to render them desperate lawless men to rob their neighbours, but I believe you will be satisfied, it were a great advantage to the nation that thieving tribe were rooted out and cut off; it must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift for both their men and their cattle." And in his letter to Hill he says, "Pray, when the thing concerning Glencoe is resolved, let it be secret and sudden, otherwise the men will shift you, and better not meddle with them than not to do it to purpose, to cut off that nest of robbers who have fallen in the mercy of the law, now when there is force and opportunity, whereby the king's justice will be as conspicuous and useful as his clemency to others. I apprehend the storm is so great that for some time you can do little, but so soon as possible I know you will be at work, for these false people will do nothing, but as they see you in a condition to do with them."

In pursuance of these fresh instructions from the secretary, Hill, on the 12th of February,

sent orders to Hamilton, forthwith to execute the fatal commission. Accordingly, on the same day, Hamilton directed Major Robert Duncanson of Argyle's regiment to proceed immediately with a detachment of that regiment to Glencoe, so as to reach the post which had been assigned him by five o'clock the following morning, at which hour Hamilton promised to reach another post with a party of Hill's regiment. Whether Duncanson, who appears to have been a Campbell,⁴ was averse to take an active personal part in the bloody tragedy about to be enacted, is a question that cannot now be solved; but it may have been from some repugnance to act in person that immediately on receipt of Hamilton's order, he despatched another order from himself to Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, then living in Glencoe, with instructions to fall upon the Macdonalds precisely at five o'clock the following morning, and put all to the sword under seventy years of age.⁵

⁴ See note at p. 165, vol. i. of Burton's *Scotland*, 1689—1748.

⁵ Colonel HILL's Order to Lieut.-Col. JAMES HAMILTON.

"Fort William, 12th Feb., 1692.

"SIR,

"You are, with 400 of my regiment, and the 400 of my Lord Argyle's regiment under the command of Major Duncanson, to march straight to Glencoe, and there put in due execution the orders you have received from the commander-in-chief. Given under my hand at Fort William, the 12th February 1692.

"J. HILL."

"To Lieut.-Col. James Hamilton."

Order from Lieut.-Col. HAMILTON, to Major ROBERT DUNCANSON.

"Ballechyls, 12th Feb., 1692.

"SIR,

"Persuant to the commander-in-chief and my colonel's order to me for putting in execution the King's commands against those rebels of Glencoe, wherein you with the party of the Earl of Argyle's regiment under your command, are to be concerned; you are therefore forthwith to order your affair so, as that the several posts already assigned you be by you and your several detachments fall in activeness precisely by five of the clock to-morrow morning, being Saturday; at which time I will endeavour the same with those appointed from this regiment from the other places. It will be most necessary you secure well those avenues on the south side, that the old fox, nor none of his cubbs get away. The orders are, that none be spared of the sword, nor the government troubled with prisoners; which is all until I see you from,

"SIR,

"Your most humble Servant,
"JAMES HAMILTOUNE."

Glenlyon appears to have been a man equal to any kind of loathsome work, especially against a Macdonald; one who

“ Could smile, and murder while he smiled.”

With this sanguinary order in his pocket, and with his mind made up unhesitatingly and rigorously to execute it, he did not hesitate to spend the eve of the massacre playing at cards with John and Alexander Macdonald, the sons of the chief, to wish them good night at parting, and to accept an invitation from Glencoe himself to dine with him the following day. Little suspecting the intended butchery, Glencoe and his sons retired to rest at their usual hour; but early in the morning, while the preparations for the intended massacre were going on, John Macdonald, the elder son of the chief, hearing the sound of voices about his house, grew alarmed, and jumping out of bed threw on his clothes and went to Inverriggen, where Glenlyon was quartered, to ascertain the cause of the unusual bustle which had interrupted his nocturnal slumbers. To his great surprise he found the soldiers all in motion, as if preparing for some enterprise, which induced him to inquire at Captain Campbell the object of these

“ Please to order a guard to secure the ferry, and boats there; and the boats must be all on this side the ferry after your men are over.

“ For their Majesty's service.

“ *To Major Robert Duncanson of the Earl of Argyle's Regt.*”

Order from Major DUNCANSON to Captain ROBERT CAMPBELL of Glenlyon.

“ 12th Feb., 1692.

“ Sir,

“ You are hereby ordered to fall upon the rebels the Macdonalds of Glenco, and put all to the sword under seventy. You are to have a special care that the old fox and his sons do not escape your hands; you are to secure all the avenues that no man escape. This you are to put in execution at five of the clock precisely; and by that time, or very shortly after it, I will strive to be at you with a stronger party. If I do not come to you at five, you are not to tarry for me but to fall on. This is by the king's special commands, for the good and safety of the country, that these miscreants be cut off, root and branch. See that this be put in execution without fear or favour, or you may expect to be dealt with as one not true to king or government, nor as man fit to carry commission in the king's service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself, I subscribe this with my hand at Ballychylls, the 12th February, 1692.

“ ROBERT DUNCANSON.”

extraordinary preparations at such an early hour. The anxiety with which young Macdonald pressed his question, indicating a secret distrust on his part, Campbell endeavoured by professions of friendship to lull his suspicions, and pretended that his sole design was to march against some of Glengarry's men. As John Macdonald, the younger son of Glencoe, was married to Glenlyon's niece, that crafty knave referred to his connexion with the family of Glencoe, and put it to the young man, whether, if he intended any thing hostile to the clan, he would not have provided for the safety of his niece and her husband. Macdonald, apparently satisfied with this explanation, returned home and retired again to rest, but he had not been long in bed when his servant, who, apprehensive of the real intentions of Glenlyon and his party, had prevented Macdonald from sleeping, informed him of the approach of a party of men towards the house. Jumping immediately out of bed he ran to the door, and perceiving a body of about 20 soldiers with muskets and fixed bayonets coming in the direction of his house, he fled to a hill in the neighbourhood, where he was joined by his brother Alexander, who had escaped from the scene of carnage, after being awakened from sleep by his servant.

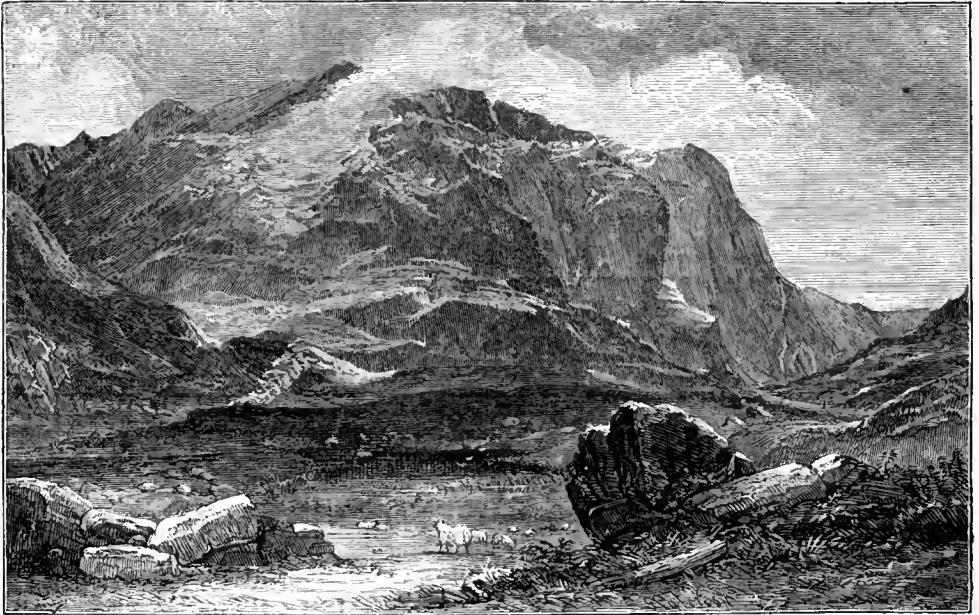
The massacre commenced about five o'clock in the morning at three different places at once. Glenlyon, with a barbarity which fortunately for society has few parallels, undertook to butcher his own hospitable landlord and the other inhabitants of Inverriggen, where he and a party of his men were quartered, and despatched Lieutenant Lindsay with another party of soldiers to Glencoe's house to cut off the unsuspecting chief. Under the pretence of a friendly visit, he and his party obtained admission into the house. Glencoe was in bed, and while in the act of rising to receive his cruel visitors, was basely shot at by two of the soldiers, and fell lifeless into the arms of his wife. The lady in the extremity of her anguish leaped out of bed and put on her clothes, but the ruffians stripped her naked, pulled the rings off her fingers with their teeth, and treated her so cruelly that she died the following day. The party also killed two men whom they found in the house, and wounded

a third named Duncan Don, who came occasionally to Glencoe with letters from Braemar.

While the butchery was going on in Glencoe's house, Glenlyon was busily doing his bloody work at Inverriggen, where his own host was shot by his order. Here the party seized nine men, whom they first bound hand and foot, after which they shot them one by one. Glenlyon was desirous of saving the life of a young man about twenty years of age, but one Captain Drummond shot him dead. The same officer, impelled by a thirst for blood,

ran his dagger through the body of a boy who had grasped Campbell by the legs and was supplicating for mercy.

A third party under the command of one Sergeant Barker, which was quartered in the village of Auchnaion, fired upon a body of nine men whom they observed in a house in the village sitting before a fire. Among these was the laird of Auchintriaten, who was killed on the spot, along with four more of the party. This gentleman had at the time a protection in his pocket from Colonel Hill, which



Glencoe.

he had received three months before. The remainder of the party in the house, two or three of whom were wounded, escaped by the back of the house, with the exception of a brother of Auchintriaten, who having been seized by Barker, requested him as a favour not to despatch him in the house but to kill him without. The sergeant consented, on account of having shared his generous hospitality; but when brought out he threw his plaid, which he had kept loose, over the faces of the soldiers who were appointed to shoot him, and thus escaped.

Besides the slaughter at these three places, there were some persons dragged from their beds and murdered in other parts of the Glen, among whom was an old man of eighty years

of age; in all, 38 persons were slaughtered. The whole male population under 70 years of age, amounting to 200, would in all likelihood have been cut off, if, fortunately for them, a party of 400 men under Lieutenant-colonel Hamilton, who was principally charged with the execution of the sanguinary warrant, had not been prevented by the severity of the weather from reaching the Glen till eleven o'clock, six hours after the slaughter, by which time the whole surviving male inhabitants, warned of their danger and of the fate of their chief and other sufferers, had fled to the hills. Ignorant of this latter circumstance, Hamilton, on arriving at the pass, appointed several parties to proceed to different parts of the Glen, with orders to take no prisoners, but to

kill all the men that came in their way. They had not, however, proceeded far when they fell in with Major Duncanson's party, by whom they were informed of the events of the morning, and who told them that as the survivors had escaped to the hills, they had nothing to do but to burn the houses, and carry off the cattle. They accordingly set fire to the houses, and having collected the cattle and effects in the Glen, carried them to Inverloch, where they were divided among the officers of the garrison. That Hamilton would have executed his commission to the very letter, is evident from the fact, that an old man, above seventy, the only remaining male inhabitant of the desolate vale they fell in with, was put to death by his orders.

After the destruction of the houses, a heart-rending scene ensued. Ejected from their dwellings by the devouring element, aged matrons, women with child, and mothers, with infants at their breasts and followed by children on foot, clinging to them with all the solicitude and anxiety of helplessness, were to be seen wending their way, almost in a state of nudity, towards the mountains in quest of some friendly hovel, beneath whose roof they might seek shelter from the pitiless tempest and deplore their unhappy fate. But as there were no houses within the distance of several miles, and as these could only be reached by crossing mountains deeply covered with snow, a great number of these unhappy beings, overcome by fatigue, cold, and hunger, dropt down and perished miserably among the snow.

While this brutal massacre struck terror into the hearts of the Jacobite chiefs, and thus so far served the immediate object of the government, it was highly prejudicial to King William. In every quarter, even at court, the account of the massacre was received at first with incredulity, and then with horror and indignation; and the Jacobite party did not fail to turn the affair to good account against the government, by exaggerating, both at home and abroad, the barbarous details. The odium of the nation rose to such a pitch, that had the exiled monarch appeared at the head of a few thousand men, he would, probably, have succeeded in regaining his crown. The ministry, and even King William, grew alarmed,

and to pacify the people he dismissed the Master of Stair from his councils, and appointed a commission of inquiry to investigate the affair.

As for the Master of Stair, at whose door the chief blame of the infamous transaction was laid by the commission of inquiry, and who is popularly considered to have been a heartless and bloodthirsty wretch, he could not understand the indignant astonishment expressed on all hands at what he considered a most patriotic, beneficial, and in every respect highly commendable proceeding. He considered that he had done his ungrateful country excellent service in doing a little to root out a band of pestilential banditti, whom he regarded in as bad a light as the Italian government of the present day does the unscrupulous robbers who infest the country, or as the American government did the bloodthirsty Indians who harassed the frontiers. Letters of "fire and sword" against the Highlanders were as common, in the days of the Stewarts, as warrants for the apprehension of house-breakers or forgers are at the present day. They were looked upon as semi-civilized aborigines, characterised by such names as "rebellious and barbarous thieves, lammers, sorners," &c.; and the killing of a Highlandman was thought no more of than the killing of a "nigger" was in the slave-states of America. In various acts of the privy council of Scotland, the clan Gregor is denounced in the above terms, and was visited with all the terrors of "fire and sword." "Their habitations were destroyed. They were hunted down like wild beasts. Their very name was proscribed."⁶ We have already referred to, in its proper place, a mandate from King James V. in 1583, against the clan Chattan, in which he charges his lieges to invade the clan "to their utter destruction by slaughter, burning, drowning, and otherways; and leave no creature living of that clan, except priests, women, and bairns." Even Captain Burt, in the beginning of the next century, writes of the Highlanders as if they were an interesting race of semi-barbarians, many of whom would cut a man's throat for the mere sake of keeping their hands in practice.⁷ In

⁶ *Mailland Club*, vol. containing Papers on the Condition of the Highlands, 1686—1696. Preface.

⁷ *Letters from a Gentleman in the North*.

a letter of the 5th March, 1692, after referring to the universal talk in London about the transaction, Dalrymple says, "All I regret is, that any of the sort got away; and there is a necessity to prosecute them to the utmost." Again, writing to Colonel Hill in April of the same year, he tells him that "as for the people of Glencoe, when you do your duty in a thing so necessary to rid the country of thieving, you need not trouble yourself to take the pains to vindicate yourself. When you do right, you need fear nobody. All that can be said is, that, in the execution, it was neither so full nor so fair as might have been." Indeed we think that any one who examines into the matter with unbiassed and cool mind, which is difficult, cannot fail to conclude that neither private spite nor heartless bloodthirstiness actuated him in bringing about the transaction; but that he sincerely thought he was doing his country a service in taking the only effectual means of putting down a public pest and a hindrance to progress.

Had the clan been proceeded against in open and legitimate warfare, resulting in its utter extinction, the affair might have occupied no more than a short paragraph in this and other histories. There can be no doubt that what gives the deed its nefarious stamp, is the fiendishly deliberate and deceitful way in which it was accomplished, in violation of laws of hospitality which are respected even by cut-throat Arabs. And after all it was a blunder.

As to whether King William knew the full significance of the order which he signed, and what was the extent of his knowledge of the circumstances, are points which can never be ascertained. It is mere meaningless declamation to talk of it as a foul and indelible blot on his character and reign. "The best that can be done for the cause of truth, is to give the facts abundantly and accurately. The character of the revolution king is one of the questions which political passion and partizanship have not yet let go, so that reason may take it up. And with those who believe that, by his very act of heading the revolution which drove forth the Stewarts, he was the man to order and urge on the murder of an interesting and loyal clan, it would be quite useless to

discuss the question on the ground of rational probabilities."⁸

Though the nation had long desired an inquiry into this barbarous affair, it was not until the 29th of April, 1695, upwards of three years after the massacre, that a commission was granted. A commission had indeed been issued in 1693 appointing the Duke of Hamilton and others to examine into the affair, but this was never acted upon. The Marquis of Tweeddale, lord high chancellor of Scotland, and the other commissioners now appointed, accordingly entered upon the inquiry, and, after examining witnesses and documents, drew up a report and transmitted it to his majesty. The commissioners appear to have executed their task, on the whole, with great fairness, although they put the very best construction on William's orders, and threw the whole blame of the massacre upon Secretary Dalrymple.

The report of the commissioners was laid before the parliament of Scotland on the 24th of June, which decided that the execution of the Glencoe-men was a murder, resolved *nemine contradicente*, that the instructions contained in the warrant of the 16th January, 1692, did not authorise the massacre. After various sittings on the subject, "the committee for the security of the kingdom" was appointed to draw up an address to the king on the subject of the massacre, which being submitted to parliament on the 10th of July, was voted and approved of.

No active measures in the way of punishing either principals or subordinates, however, were taken in consequence of the findings of the commission and the recommendations of parliament, except that Breadalbane, who they found had laid himself open to a charge of high treason, was imprisoned for a few days in Edinburgh castle. A curious and interesting incident came out during the sitting of the commission, tending to show that Breadalbane was conscious of a very large share of guilt, and was fully aware of the heinous and nefarious character of the bloody transaction. Some days after the slaughter, a person sent by Breadalbane's steward waited upon Glencoe's

⁸ Burton's *Scotland*, 1689—1748, vol. i. p. 174.

sons, and told them that if they would declare that his lordship had no concern in the slaughter, they might be assured that the earl would procure their "remission and restitution."

As the surviving Macdonalds, who on their humble petition and promise of good behaviour were allowed to return to the glen, had been reduced to great poverty and distress by the destruction of their property, and as they had conducted themselves with great moderation under their misfortunes, the estates solicited his majesty to order reparation to be made to them for the losses they had sustained in their properties. Whether the "royal charity and compassion" invoked by the estates in behalf of these unfortunate people were ever exercised does not appear; but it is highly probable, that this part of the address was as little heeded as the rest.⁹ In fact, the whole matter was

⁹ The following extraordinary anecdote is given by General Stewart (*Sketches*, vol. i.) in reference to the punishment which, in the opinion of the Highlanders, awaits the descendants of the oppressor. "The belief that punishment of the cruelty, oppression, or misconduct of an individual, descended as a curse on his children to the third and fourth generation, was not confined to the common people. All ranks were influenced by it, believing that if the curse did not fall upon the first, or second generation, it would inevitably descend upon the succeeding. The late Colonel Campbell of Glenlyon retained this belief through a course of thirty years' intercourse with the world, as an officer of the 42d regiment, and of marines. He was grandson of the laird of Glenlyon, who commanded the military at the massacre of Glencoe; and who lived in the laird of Glencoe's house, where he and his men were hospitably received as friends, and entertained a fortnight before the execution of his orders. He was playing at cards with the family when the first shot was fired, and the murderous scene commenced. Colonel Campbell was an additional captain in the 42d regiment in 1748, and was put on half pay. He then entered the marines, and in 1762 was major, with the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, and commanded 800 of his corps at the Havannah. In 1771, he was ordered to superintend the execution of the sentence of a court-martial on a soldier of marines, condemned to be shot. A reprieve was sent, but the whole ceremony of the execution was to proceed until the criminal was upon his knees, with a cap over his eyes, prepared to receive the volley. It was then he was to be informed of his pardon. No person was to be told previously, and Colonel Campbell was directed not to inform even the firing party, who were warned that the signal to fire would be the waving of a white handkerchief by the commanding officer. When all was prepared, and the clergyman had left the prisoner on his knees, in momentary expectation of his fate, and the firing party were looking with intense attention for the signal, Colonel Campbell put his hand into his pocket for the reprieve, and in pulling out the packet the white handkerchief accompanied it, and catching the eyes of the party, they fired, and the unfortunate prisoner was shot dead.

"The paper dropped through Colonel Campbell's

hushed up, and it now lives in the page of history as a sad and somewhat inexplicable blunder, which has rendered the memories of those who contrived it and those who executed it, for ever infamous.¹

These measures of the government, conciliatory and threatening, seem to have had the effect for the time of suppressing open hostility at least among the Highlanders; but from the nature of that people, and the method in which government treated them, we can readily believe that their obedience was none of the heartiest, and that they would be glad any moment to join in an attempt to oust King William and restore King James. During the whole of William's reign his peace of mind was being continually disturbed by rumours and discoveries of plots, and by threats of a hostile descent on this country from France. In all these the Highland chiefs had their fair share, and were ready to receive with open arms any hostile expedition which might be fortunate enough to effect a landing on their coasts.

The stirring events of the last fifty years, in which the Highlanders played a conspicuous part, appear to have been the means of drawing their attention somewhat away from their hereditary clan-quarrels, and thus rendering their destructive internal strifes less frequent. But now that there was no external outlet for their belligerent propensities, they appear again to have resumed their old clan feuds. "To be at peace, unless they were disarmed and overawed, was not in their nature; and neither the

fingers, and clapping his hand to his forehead, he exclaimed, 'The curse of God and of Glencoe is here, I am an unfortunate ruined man.' He desired the soldiers to be sent to the barracks, instantly quitted the parade, and soon afterwards retired from the service. This retirement was not the result of any reflection or reprimand on account of this unfortunate affair, as it was known to be entirely accidental. The impression on his mind, however, was never effaced. Nor is the massacre and the judgment which the people believe has fallen on the descendants of the principal actors in this tragedy, effaced from their recollection. They carefully note, that while the family of the unfortunate gentleman who suffered is still entire, and his estate preserved in direct male succession to his posterity, this is not the case with the family, posterity, and estates, of those who were the principals, promoters, and actors in this black affair."

¹ Report of Commission on Glencoe: *Carstare's State Papers: Gallienus Redivivus: Dalrymple's Memoirs and Appendix: Papers on the Condition of the Highlands* in Maitland Club.

law nor the military power of the nation was then on a scale sufficient to have accomplished these ends. We even find those chiefs who had ingratiated themselves with the government, obtaining, though not so readily as formerly, the writs known by the savage name of 'letters of fire and sword' against their enemies. These were licenses for civil war, giving the sanction of government aid and encouragement to one side in the conflict. They authorised the favoured clan to burn, waste, and slay, far and wide, within the territory of their enemies, setting forth—such were the words of style used by the clerks of the privy council who prepared these terrible documents—'that whatever slaughter, mutilation, blood, fire-raising, or other violence' may be done by the persons holding the letters, shall be held 'laudable, good, and warrantable service to his majesty and his government.' There is little doubt that the readiness with which these warrants were issued in earlier times, arose from the view that it was a good thing to encourage the Highlanders in slaying each other, and doubtless, even for a few years after such an event as Glencoe, such a feeling would linger in the usual official quarters. Though it was professed that no one could obtain letters of fire and sword but a litigant who could not enforce his just claims, it would be generally a vain task to examine the relative merits of the two sides, expecting to find one of them in the right. Any mitigation which the horrors of such a system may have received in later times, would be from the garrison of Fort-William being associated in arms with the holders of the letters."¹

The materials for the internal history of the Highlands at this period are scanty; doubtless there were many petty strifes carried on between hostile clans, and many cattle-lifting raids made by the Highland borderers upon their lowland neighbours, but no records of these appear to have been kept.

Shortly after the Glencoe massacre, a scheme appears to have been proposed to the king by Breadalbane² for utilizing the Highlanders "in case of any insurrection at home, or invasion from abroad." The gist of it was that

the Highland chiefs should be ordered to raise a body of 4,000 men, who would be so disciplined that they would be ready to be called out when required, and who were to be commanded by "some principal man in the Highlands," who would have the pay of a general officer. This "principal man," Breadalbane doubtless meant to be himself, as he suggests that the *second* in command should be Lochiel, who he said was ambitious to serve his majesty, and was a Protestant. Forty subordinate officers were to be appointed, Breadalbane wisely suggesting that these should be of Highland extraction, and that the soldiers themselves should be allowed to use their own apparel, their own arms, and to be disciplined after their own fashion. As will be afterwards seen, government appears to have acted on this or some similar proposal, and organized a few independent Highland companies. We give below the number of men which, according to Breadalbane's estimate, each of the chiefs to which the proposal referred could raise. It is probably considerably below the number of men capable of bearing arms, who were at the command of the various chiefs named.³

³ List of chieftains to which the proposals relate:—

	Men.
The Earl of Seaforth,	200
The Viscount of Tarbat,	50
The Lord Lovat,	150
The Earl of Sutherland,	100
The Lord Reay,	50
The Laird of Balingoun,	100
The Laird of Foulis,	50
The Laird of Straglasie,	20
The Laird of Glenmoriston,	30
The Laird of M'Intosh,	100
M'Pherson of Clunie,	
The Laird of Kilravock,	150
The Laird of Grant,	200
The Laird of Balindaloch,	20
The Duke of Gordon,	300
The Earl of Mar,	200
The Marquis of Atholl,	300
The Laird of Ashintullie,	30
The Laird of Weem,	50
The Laird of Garntully,	50
The Laird of Strowan,	20
The Earl of Perth,	150
The Earl of Murray,	100
The Earl of Monteath,	100
The Marquis of Montrose,	150
The Laird of Luss,	50
The Laird of Macfarlane,	30
The Earl of Argyle,	500
The Earl of Breadalbane,	250
The Laird of Calder,	100
The Laird of M'Lean,	100
The Laird of Lochiel,	150
The Captain of Clanronald,	100

¹ Burton's *Scotland*, 1689—1748. vol. i., pp. 175, 176.

² Dalrymple's Appendix, vol. ii., part ii. p. 217.

It is about this time that the famous Robert Macgregor, better known as Rob Roy, first emerges into notice. The details of his life will be found in the account of the Clan Macgregor, in Part Second of this work.

During this reign, and shortly after the hushing-up of the Glencoe affair, there came into prominence another character, destined to play a far more important part in the history of the Highlands and of the country generally, than Rob Roy, whom he resembled in the unscrupulous means he took to attain his ends, but whose rude but genuine sense of honour and sincerity he appears to have been entirely devoid of. This was the notorious Simon Fraser, so well known afterwards as Lord Lovat. He was born, according to some authorities, in the year 1670, but according to himself in 1676, and was the second son of Thomas Fraser, styled of Beaufort, near Inverness, fourth son of Hugh, ninth Lord Lovat. Simon's mother was dame Sybilla Macleod, daughter of the chief of the Macleods. He was educated at King's College, Aberdeen, where he is said highly to have distinguished himself, and to have taken the degree of Master of Arts.⁴ "One can easily believe that Simon, with his brain ever at work, and his ambition ever on the stretch, would let no one outstrip him. . . . His subsequent full and free use of the French indicates an aptitude for languages seldom equalled, and his tone of writing and speaking was that of a scholar, always when he thought fit that it should be so."⁵ In 1695, he was induced to leave the university, just as he was about to enter upon the study of law, and accept a company in a regiment raised for the service of King William, by Lord Murray, son of the Marquis of Athole, whose daughter was married to the then Lord Lovat, Simon's cousin. Simon, who pretended the most inviolable loyalty to the exiled King James, gives as his excuse for accepting this

commission, that it was only that "he might have a regiment well trained and accoutred to join King James in a descent he had promised to make in the ensuing summer." While in Lord Murray's regiment, he, in 1696, entered into a plan for surprising Edinburgh castle, and holding it in the interest of James, but this was stifled by the decisive victory at La Hogue.

In 1696, Simon accompanied his cousin Lord Lovat, who appears to have been of a "contracted understanding," and Lord Murray, to London, and while there, endeavoured to worm himself into the colonelcy of his regiment, but was cheekmated by Murray, whom, with the house of Athole, he thenceforth regarded as his enemy.

Lord Lovat died in September 1696, immediately after his return from London, on which Thomas of Beaufort assumed the family title, and Simon that of Master of Lovat. To render his claims indisputable, Simon paid his addresses to the daughter of the late lord, who had assumed the title of baroness of Lovat, and having prevailed on her to consent to elope with him, would have carried his design of marrying her into execution, had not their mutual confidant, Fraser of Tenechiel, after conducting the young lady forth one night in such precipitate haste that she is said to have walked barefooted, failed in his trust, and restored her to her mother. The heiress was then removed out of the reach of Simon's artifices by her uncle, the Marquis of Athole, to his stronghold at Dunkeld. Here it was determined that to put an end to dispute, she should be married to the son of Lord Saltoun, the head of a branch of the Fraser family in Aberdeenshire. As Simon saw in this match the ruin of all his hopes, he determined at all hazards to prevent it. As Saltoun and Lord Mungo Murray were returning, October, 1697, from Castle Dounie, the residence of the late lord's widow, they were met at the wood of Bunchrew, near Inverness, by Simon and his followers, and immediately disarmed and carried to Fanellan, a house of Lord Lovat's, before the windows of which a threatening gallows was erected. They were detained here about a week, when, on a report that Lord Murray and the red coats were coming against him,

Sir Donald M'Donald, of Sleat, . . .	100
The Laird of M'Leod, . . .	100
The Laird of Glengary, . . .	100
The Laird of M'Finzone, . . .	30
M'Donald of Keppoch, . . .	50
The Laird of Appin, . . .	50
The Tutor of Appin, . . .	30
The Laird of Lochbuy, . . .	30

⁴ Anderson's *History of the Frasers*, p. 128

⁵ Burton's *Lord Lovat*, p. 9.

Captain Fraser sent the *fiery cross* and *coronach* through the country of his clan, and immediately had at his command a body of 500 armed men. With this small army, Fraser, accompanied by his prisoners, proceeded to Castle Dounie, of which they took possession, sentinels being placed in all the rooms, particularly Lady Lovat's. The prisoners, after being detained for some time in the Island of Angus in the Beauvy river, were dismissed.

Burton⁶ very justly remarks, that the whole of these wild acts were evidently the result of a series of impulses. What followed appears to have been equally unpremeditated and the result of pure impulse. Simon determined to atone to himself for the loss of the daughter by forcibly wedding the mother, whom he himself describes as a widow "old enough to be his mother, dwarfish in her person, and deformed in her shape."⁷ For this purpose her three waiting maids were carried by force out of the room, and about two in the morning one of them was brought back and found her lady "sitting on the floor, her hair dishevelled, her head reclining backwards on the bed, Donald Beaton pulling off the lady's shoes, and the Captain holding burning feathers and aquavitae to her nose, her ladyship being in a swoon." A mock marriage was performed between Simon and Lady Lovat, by a wretched minister of the name of Munro, and the lady's clothes having been violently pulled off her, her stays being cut off with a dirk, she was tossed into the bed, to have the marriage consummated with violence. Notwithstanding that the bagpipes were kept playing in the next room, the poor lady's cries were heard outside the house.⁸ In the morning the lady was found to be so stupified with the brutal treatment she had received that she could not recognise her dearest friends.

These violent proceedings caused much consternation in the country, and the Athole family immediately set about to obtain redress, or rather revenge. Letters of fire and sword and of intercommuning were passed against the whole of the Frasers, and the Marquis of Tulliebardine organised a force to carry these

threats into execution. "On the whole, the force brought against him cannot have been very large; but in Simon's own history of his conflicts and escapes, the whole affair assumes the aspect of a very considerable campaign, in which his enemies, spoken of as 'the several regiments of cavalry, infantry, and dragoons,' are always defeated and baffled in an unaccountable manner by some handful of Frasers."⁹ There does not appear to have been any downright skirmish, the only approach to such a thing being a meeting that took place at Stratherrick between the Frasers and the Atholmen under the two Lords Murray, in which the latter threw themselves on the mercy of Simon, who made them, after the manner of the ancient Romans, pass through the yoke, and at the same time swear by a fearful oath never again to enter the Lovat territories.

In June, 1698, proceedings were commenced in the court of justiciary against Fraser and his accomplices, and in September they were condemned, in their absence, to be executed as traitors.

In 1699, died old Fraser of Beaufort, at the house of his brother-in-law Macleod of Dunvegan Castle in Skye, and his son thenceforth assumed the title of Lord Lovat. He appears for some time to have led a wandering life, subsisting on pillage and the occasional contributions of the attached mountaineers.¹ Tired of this kind of life, he, at the recommendation of Argyle, who had endeavoured to secure favour for him at head-quarters, sued for a pardon, which King William granted for all his proceedings except the rape. He was willing to stand trial on this last head, and for this purpose appeared in Edinburgh with a small army of 100 followers as witnesses; but as the majority of the judges were prejudiced against him, he found it prudent again to take refuge in his mountains. He was outlawed, and finding his enemies too powerful for him, he fled to France in 1702, and offered his services to King James.

These details show, that amid the growing civilization and rapid progress of the country generally, the Highlanders were yet as barbarous and lawless as ever; the clans still cherishing

⁶ *Lovat*, p. 27.

⁷ *Memoirs*, p. 62.

⁸ Pitcairn's *Trials*, p. 89. Anderson's *Fraser Family*, p. 121.

⁹ Burton's *Lovat*, p. 38.

¹ Anderson, 130.

the same devotion to their chiefs, and the same readiness, in defiance of law, to enter into an exterminating mutual strife. The government appears to have given up in despair all hopes of making the Highlanders amenable to the ordinary law of the country, or of rooting out from among them those ancient customs so inconsistent with the spirit of the British constitution. All it apparently aimed at was to confine the lawless and belligerent propensities of these troublesome Celts to their own country, and prevent them from taking a form that would be injurious to the civilized Lowlanders and the interests of the existing government generally. "From old experience in dealing with the Highlanders, government had learned a policy which suited temporary purposes at all events, however little it tended to the general pacification and civilisation of the people. This was, not to trust entirely to a Lowland government force, but to arm one clan against another. It seemed a crafty device for the extermination of these troublesome tribes, and a real practical adaptation of Swift's paradoxical project for abolishing pauperism, by making the poor feed upon each other. But practised as it had been for centuries, down from the celebrated battle of the antagonist clans on the Inch of Perth, yet it never seemed to weaken the strength or abate the ferocity of these warlike vagrants, but rather seemed to nourish their thirst of blood, to make arms and warfare more familiar and indispensable, and to add every year to the terrors of this formidable people, who, in the very bosom of fast civilizing Europe, were as little under the control of enlightened social institutions, and as completely savage in their habits, as the Bosgesman of the East, or the Black-foot Indian of the West."²

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CHAPTER XXIII.

A. D. 1695—1714.

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS:—William III., 1683—1703.—Anne, 1703—1714.

The Darien Scheme—Hopes of the Jacobites—Death of James II.—Death of King William—Accession of the Princess Anne—The Scottish Parliament—

Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat—Meeting of Scottish Parliament—Union with England—Ferment in Scotland against it—Hooke's Negotiation—Preparations in France to invade Scotland—Unsuccessful result of the expedition—State of Scotland—Proceedings of the Jacobites—Death of Queen Anne.

In the meantime, December 28, 1694, had died Queen Mary, to the great grief of her husband and the sincere regret of the nation generally.

We are not required to enter here into a history of the Darien scheme, which originated in 1695, and was so mismanaged as to involve in ruin thousands of families formerly in comparative opulence. It appears to have had little influence on the Highlands, for although a few natives took part in the expedition out of dissatisfaction with William's government, the great mass of the Highlanders were too far behind the age to resort to such a roundabout means of aggrandizing a fortune.

The attitude assumed by King William and the government to the Darien expedition exasperated the Scottish nation so much that there seemed to be some danger of a counter-revolution. To the bitterness of disappointment succeeded an implacable hostility to the king, who was denounced, in pamphlets of the most violent and inflammatory tendency, as a hypocrite, and as the deceiver of those who had shed their best blood in his cause, and as the author of all the misfortunes which had befallen Scotland. One of these pamphlets was voted by the House of Commons a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and ordered to be burned by the common executioner, and an address was voted to his majesty to issue a proclamation for apprehending the author, printer, and publisher of the obnoxious publication. The king was so chagrined at the conduct of the Scotch that he refused to see Lord Basil Hamilton, who had an address to present to his majesty from the company, praying for his interference on behalf of their servants who were kept in captivity by the Spaniards.

In direct contradiction to the House of Lords, the Scottish parliament voted that the colony of Darien was a lawful and rightful settlement which they would support; a resolution which induced the Duke of Queensberry, the commissioner, to prorogue the session.

² Burton's *Life of Lord Lovat*, p. 36.

But this step only tended to increase the discontents of the nation; and, to show the king that the people would be no longer trifled with, an address to his majesty, containing a detail of national grievances, and representing the necessity of calling an immediate meeting of parliament, was drawn up and signed by a considerable number of the members; and a deputation, with Lord Ross at its head, was appointed to present the address to the king. His majesty, however, evaded the address, by informing the deputation that they would be made acquainted in Scotland with his intentions; and, as if to show his displeasure, he ordered the parliament to be adjourned by proclamation.

The Scottish nation was now fully ripe for a rebellion, but neither James nor his advisers had the capacity to avail themselves of passing events, to snatch the tottering crown from the head of the illustrious foreigner, who was destined to be the happy instrument of placing the liberties of the nation upon a more sure and permanent footing than they had hitherto been. The hopes of the Jacobites were, however, greatly raised by the jarrings between the king and his Scottish subjects, and an event occurred, about this time, which tended still farther to strengthen them. This was the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, the only surviving child of the Princess Anne, on the 29th of July, 1700, in the eleventh year of his age. As the Jacobites considered that the duke was the chief obstacle in the way of the accession of the Prince of Wales to the crown, they could not conceal their pleasure at an occurrence which seemed to pave the way for the restoration of the exiled family, and they privately despatched a trusty adherent to France to assure King James that they would settle the succession upon the Prince of Wales. Such a proposition had indeed been made by William himself at an interview he had with Louis XIV. in 1697, when a prospect opened of James being elected king of Poland on the death of John Sobieski; but this proposal was rejected by James, who told the king of France, that though he could bear with patience the usurpation of his nephew and son-in-law, he would not allow his own son to commit such an act of injustice; that by per-

mitting his son to reign while he (James) was alive, he would, in fact, be held as having renounced his crown, and that the Prince of Wales would also be held as having resigned his own right, if he accepted the crown as successor to the Prince of Orange. As James had now given up all idea of a crown, and was wholly engrossed with the more important concerns of a future life, it is probable that he received the proposal of his friends in a very different spirit from that he evinced when made by William.

The designs of the Jacobites, however, were frustrated by the intrigues of the Princess Sophia, Electress and Duchess Dowager of Hanover, grand-daughter of King James I., who had for several years contemplated the plan of getting the succession to the English crown settled upon herself and her heirs. An act was accordingly passed by the English parliament in June, 1701, at the desire of the king, whom the princess had prevailed upon to espouse her cause, declaring her to be the next in succession to the crown of England, after his majesty and the Princess Anne, in default of issue of their bodies respectively, and that after the decease of William and Anne respectively without issue, the crown and government of England should remain and continue to the Princess Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. This act, which, by one swoop, cut off the whole Catholic descendants of James I., of whom there were fifty-three alive, all nearer heirs to the crown than the princess, gave great offence to all the Catholic princes concerned in the succession.

The act of settlement in favour of the Princess Sophia and her heirs, was a death-blow to the Jacobite interest, but still the hopes of the party were not extinguished. As James had given up all idea of dispossessing William, and even discountenanced any attempt to disturb the peace of the kingdom during his own life-time, the partisans of his family had given up every expectation of his restoration. But the death of King James, which took place at St. Germain's on the 16th of September, 1701, and the recognition of his son by Louis XIV. as king, were events which opened up brighter prospects than they had yet enjoyed. The unfortunate monarch had,

for several years, taken farewell of worldly objects, and had turned his whole attention to the concerns of eternity, dying ardently attached to the creed which, from principle, he had embraced. Of the arbitrary and unconstitutional conduct of James, at the period preceding the revolution, it is impossible for any lover of genuine liberty to speak without feelings of indignation; but it must not be forgotten that in his time the prerogatives of the crown were not clearly defined, and that he was misled by evil counsellors, who advised him to violate the existing constitution.

Nothing but the prospect of an immediate war with England could, it is believed, have induced Louis to recognise, as he did, the Prince of Wales as king of England, Ireland, and Scotland. William remonstrated against this act of the French king, as a violation of the treaty of Ryswick, and appealed to the King of Sweden, as the guarantee for its observance; but Louis was inflexible, and maintained in the face of all Europe, that he was not debarred by the treaty from acknowledging the title of the Prince of Wales, to which he had right by birth. He admitted that by the fourth article of the treaty he was bound not to disturb William in the possession of his dominions, and he declared his intention to adhere to that stipulation; but this explanation was considered quite unsatisfactory by William, who recalled his ambassador from Paris. The conduct of the French king excited general indignation in England, and addresses were sent up from all parts of the kingdom, expressive of attachment to the government. The English parliament passed two separate acts of attainder against the pretended Prince of Wales, as the son of James was termed, and the queen, his mother, who acted as regent. Great preparations were made for entering into a war with France, and William had concerted with his allies the plan of a campaign, but he did not live to see the gigantic schemes which he had devised for humbling the pride of France put into execution. He expired at Kensington on the 8th of March, 1702, in consequence of a fall from his horse about a fortnight before, which fractured his collar-bone. He had reigned thirteen years, and was in the fifty-second year of his age.

The accession of the Princess Anne gave satisfaction to all parties, particularly to the Jacobites, who imagined, that as she had no heirs of her own body, she would be induced to concur with them in getting the succession act repealed, so as to make way for her brother, the Prince of Wales. At first the queen seemed disposed to throw herself into the hands of the Tory faction, at the head of which was the Earl of Rochester, first cousin to the queen, who was averse to a war with France; but the Earl, (afterwards the celebrated Duke) of Marlborough, his rival, succeeded, through the intrigues of his countess, in altering the mind of her majesty, and war was accordingly declared against France on the 4th of May.

The Scottish parliament, to which the Duke of Queensberry was appointed commissioner, met on the 9th of June; but before his commission was read, the Duke of Hamilton objected to the legality of the meeting, the parliament having been virtually dissolved, as he maintained, by not having met within the statutory period; and having taken a formal protest against its proceedings, he withdrew from the house, followed by seventy-nine members of the first rank in the kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the people. The seceding members, thereupon, sent up Lord Blantyre to London with an address to the queen, but she refused to see him. This refusal highly displeased the people, whose resentment was still farther increased by a prosecution raised by the lord advocate against the faculty of advocates, for having, by a vote, approved of the secession and address. Several acts were passed by the parliament, one of the most important of which was that authorizing the queen to name commissioners for negotiating a treaty of union with England. An attempt was made by the Earl of Marchmont, the lord-chancellor, (better known as Sir Patrick Home of Polwarth) without any instructions from his colleagues, and even contrary to the advice of the commissioner, to alter the succession, by bringing in a bill similar to that which had passed in England for abjuring the Prince of Wales, and settling the succession on the Princess Sophia and her heirs; but as the ministry had no instructions

from the queen, the bill was not supported. It is not improbable that Marchmont intended, by the introduction of this measure, to sound the disposition of the queen in regard of her brother.

The queen, by virtue of the powers conferred on her by the parliaments of England and Scotland, named commissioners to treat about a union, who met at the Cockpit, near Whitehall, on the 22d of October; but after some of the preliminaries had been adjusted, the conference broke off, in consequence of the Scottish commissioners insisting that all the rights and privileges of the Darien company should be preserved and maintained.

A partial change in the Scottish ministry having taken place, the queen resolved upon calling a new parliament, in the spring of 1703, previous to which she issued an act of indemnity in favour of every person who had taken any part against the government since the revolution, and allowed such of them as were abroad to return home. Under the protection of this amnesty many of the Jacobites returned to Scotland, and took the oaths to the government, in the hope of forwarding the interest of the Prince of Wales. At this time Scotland was divided into three parties. The first consisted of the revolutionists, who were headed by the Duke of Argyle. The second of what was called the country party, who were opposed to the union, and who insisted on indemnification for the losses sustained in the Darien speculation, and satisfaction for the massacre of Glencoe and other grievances suffered in the late reign. The Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Tweeddale took the direction of this party. The last, called Mitchell's club, from the house they met in, was composed entirely of the Jacobites or Cavaliers. These were headed by the Earl of Home.³ The two latter parties, by coalescing at the elections, might have returned a majority favourable to their views; but the Earl of Seafield, who had succeeded the Earl of Marchmont as chancellor, had the address to separate the Jacobites from the country party, and, by making them believe that he was their friend, prevailed upon them to throw their interest at

the elections into the scale of the government. The parliament, however, which met on the 6th of May, was not so pliable to ministerial dictation as might have been expected, for although the royal assent was refused to what was called the act of security for limiting the power of the crown, "this session of parliament," to use the words of Lockhart, "did more for redressing the grievances and restoring the liberties of the nation than all the parliaments since the year 1660."⁴ It was in this parliament that the celebrated patriot, Fletcher of Saltoun, first distinguished himself. The Earl of Marchmont again brought in his bill for settling the crown of Scotland upon the house of Hanover; but such was the indignation with which it was received by the house, that some of the members proposed that the bill should be burnt, while others moved that the proposer of the measure should be committed to the castle of Edinburgh. On a division the bill was thrown out by a very large majority.

After the prorogation of the parliament, the courtiers and the heads of the cavaliers repaired to London to pay court to the queen, who received them kindly, and conferred marks of her favour upon some of them. The Marquis of Athole, in particular, who aspired to be leader of the Jacobites, was made a duke, and invested with the dignity of a knight of the order of the Thistle, which she had just revived to enable her to extend the royal favour. Her policy seems to have been to gain over all parties to her interest; but she was soon made to believe that a conspiracy existed against her among the cavaliers to supersede her, and to place her brother upon the throne. The moving spirit in this plot, known as the Scotch Plot, was the now notorious Lovat.

"An indemnity having been granted to those who had left the country with the exiled court, on condition of their returning within a time limited, and taking the oaths, it was observed with alarm, that many persons were taking advantage of this opportunity to return, who were among the most formidable of the Jacobite leaders, and who could not be supposed to be sincerely disposed to support the Protestant line of succession. Among these

³ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. p. 53.

⁴ *Idem*, vol. i. p. 71.

ominous apparitions were Lovat himself, the two Murrays, Sir John Maclean, Robertson of Struan the poet chieftain,—‘a little black man, about thirty years old,’ as he was described by those who kept their eyes on him; and David Lindsay, secretary to the Pretender’s primo minister, Middleton. The fiery Lord Belhaven had just paid a visit to France. He was an opponent of English ascendancy, and a cadet of the house of Hamilton; and his mission could, of course, have no other object but to offer the allegiance of that house to the young prince. Political intriguers, such as the renowned Ferguson, looked busy and mysterious. Mrs. Fox, whose name was connected with the plot for which Sir John Fenwick suffered, had ventured over to Britain, under a feigned name; and sundry young men of good birth, whose avowed mission to France had been to study medicine, had, either in vanity or carelessness, allowed it to transpire that they had been at the court of St. Germain, and had seen those royal personages who created so dangerous an interest throughout the country. The general movement of these parties was northwards, and was accompanied by incidents such as those which happened to Lovat. Captain Hamilton, an officer stationed at Inverness, wrote to Brigadier-general Maitland, governor of Fortwilliam, on the 23d of July, that a great hunting match had been planned for the 2d of the month, at which many of the Highland chiefs were to assemble their vassals.

“The Duke of Hamilton is to be there, the Marquis of Athol: and our neighbour the Laird of Grant, who has ordered 600 of his men in arms, in good order, with tartane coats, all of one colour and fashion. This is his order to his people in Strathspey. If it be a match of hunting only, I know not, but I think it my duty to acquaint you, whatever may fall out of any such body of men in arms, particularly in our northern parts.’

“It will be remembered that this was exactly the form in which the Earl of Mar raised the standard of rebellion at Braemar, in 1715; and we appear to owe the suggestion to the inventive genius of Lovat. At the same time, the British ambassador at the Hague received some mysterious intimations about large sums for-

warded in gold, through a Dutch commercial house, to persons of importance in Scotland.”⁴

Lovat had the address before leaving France, by imposing upon Louis, to whom he was introduced by the pope’s nuncio, to obtain from the widow of King James, acting as regent for her son, a commission of Major-general, with power to raise and command forces in his behalf. As the court of St. Germain had some suspicion of Fraser’s integrity, Captain John Murray, brother of Mr. Murray of Abercairney, and Captain James Murray, brother of Sir David Murray of Stanhope, were sent over to Scotland, under the protection of Queen Anne’s indemnity, as a check upon him, and to sound the dispositions of the people.

On arriving in Scotland, he set off for the Highlands, introduced himself into the society of the adherents of the exiled family, and, by producing his commission of major-general, induced some of them to give him assurances that they would rise in arms when required, though they regretted that such a character should have been intrusted with so important a command. Others, however, apprehensive of his real designs, refused to hold any intercourse with him on the subject of his mission.

On Lovat’s return to Edinburgh, late in September, he contrived to obtain an interview with the Duke of Queensberry, High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, and revealed to him the whole affair, drawing considerably on his own fertile fancy for startling facts. He also produced a letter, purporting to be from the ex-queen, signed with the initial M., addressed to the Duke of Athole. Its words were, “You may be sure that when my concerns require the help of my friends, you are one of the first I have in my view. I am satisfied you will not be wanting for any thing that may be in your power according to your promise, and you may be assured of all such returns as you can expect from me and mine. The bearer, who is known to you, will tell you more of my friendship to you, and how I rely on yours for me, and those I am concerned for.” Queensberry was delighted with this apparent discovery, and immediately sent the letter unopened to the queen. Lovat, however, by

⁴ Burton’s *Life of Lovat*, pp. 73, 77.

his plotting had made the country too hot to hold him, and a day or two after his letter had been sent to the queen, letters of fire and sword were issued against him, so that he now set himself to get safely back to France. He managed to obtain from Queensberry a pass to London, to which place the duke himself was bound, and after a few more secret interviews in London, with another pass which he contrived to obtain, he safely quitted England about the middle of October.⁵

When this so-called conspiracy became publicly known it excited considerable sensation, and the House of Lords immediately resolved that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the matter; but the queen, who was already well acquainted with the circumstances, sent them a message, intimating, that as the affair was already under investigation, she was desirous that the house should not interfere, and she promised in a short time to inform them of the result. Accordingly, on the 17th of December, she went to the House of Peers, and made a speech to both houses, informing them that she had complete evidence of evil practices and designs against her government, carried on by the emissaries of France in Scotland. The peers, however, proceeded in the inquiry, and after considerable investigation they agreed to the following resolution, "that there had been a dangerous conspiracy in Scotland toward the invading that kingdom with a French power, in order to subvert her majesty's government, and the bringing in the pretended Prince of Wales; that it was their opinion nothing had given so much encouragement to these designs as the succession of the crown of Scotland not being declared in favour of the Princess Sophia and her heirs; that the queen should be addressed to use such methods as she thought convenient, for having the succession of the crown of that kingdom settled after that manner; and that being once done, then they would do all in their power to promote an entire union of the two kingdoms." Mr. Lockhart asserts that the lords thus interfered at the instance of the Duke of Queensberry, as he knew that the Whigs would bring him off, and although they were so clear as to

the existence of a plot, he maintains that "it was all trick and villany." Meanwhile Fraser, for his imposition upon the French king, was committed a prisoner to the Bastille, in which he remained several years.⁶

It was discovered that the address on the letter from the ex-queen was forged by Lovat himself, she having addressed it to no one, although it is supposed to have been meant for the Duke of Gordon. Lovat had also to implicate the Duke of Hamilton, and as he regarded both these noblemen as "impostors" and enemies of the exiled family, he considered that his conduct, in thus attempting to ruin them, "far from being a real crime, ought to be regarded as a good and essential service to the king (James III.), and the sincere, political, and ingenious fruit of his zeal, for his project, and the interests of his sovereign."⁷ Such is a specimen of the morality of this extraordinary personage, who, in his correspondence with the revolution party, always pretended to be a friend to the revolution settlement.

According to Lockhart, the Duke of Queensberry was at the bottom of this sham plot, but he appears really to have been entirely innocent, and to have acted all along for what he thought the best interests of the government. "He was, to use a common but clear expression, made a fool of."⁸ Although he had managed to clear himself of all blame, still as the affair had rendered him very unpopular in Scotland, he was dismissed from his situation as one of the Scottish secretaries of state, and the Marquis of Tweeddale was appointed to succeed him as lord high-commissioner to the Scottish parliament, which met on the 6th of July, 1704.⁹

From the temper displayed in the Scottish parliament, it was obvious that without entering into a treaty with Scotland, it would be utterly impossible for the English ministry to carry the question of the succession in Scotland. To accomplish this the English parliament authorised the queen to nominate commissioners to treat with commissioners from Scot-

⁶ Lockhart, vol. i. pp. 78—83.

⁷ *Memoirs of the Life of Simon, Lord Lovat*. Written by himself, p. 179.

⁸ Burton's *Lovat*, p. 90.

⁹ Lockhart, vol. i. p. 98.

⁵ Maepherson's *Papirs*. Burton's *Lovat*.

land; but the conduct of the parliament was by no means calculated to allay the jealousy entertained by the Scotch, of the interference of England in imposing a foreign sovereign upon them. Instead of simply empowering the queen to appoint commissioners, the English parliament, instigated by the Scottish ministry, directed the Scottish parliament in the choice of its commissioners, and they even prohibited their own commissioners to meet and treat with those of Scotland unless the parliament of Scotland allowed the queen to name these commissioners herself. Moreover all Scotsmen not settled in England, or in its service, were declared aliens, until the succession to the crown of Scotland should be settled on the Princess Sophia and her Protestant heirs. Several prohibitory clauses against the trade of Scotland were also inserted in the act, which were to take effect about eight months thereafter if the Scottish parliament did not, before the appointed time, yield to the instructions of that of England.

To strengthen the government party the Scottish ministry was changed, and the Duke of Queensberry was recalled to office, being appointed to the privy seal. The Cavaliers, thus deprived of the aid of the duke and his friends, applied to the Marquis of Tweeddale—who, with his displaced friends, had formed a party called the *squadron volante*, or “flying squadron”—to unite with them against the court; but he declined the proposal, as being inconsistent with the object for which it was said to be formed, namely, to keep the contending parties in parliament in check, and to vote only for such measures, by whatever party introduced, which should appear most beneficial to the country.

Notwithstanding the exertions of the court party, the Scottish ministry soon found themselves in a minority in the parliament, which was opened on the 28th of June, 1705, by the Duke of Argyle as commissioner. The motion of Sir James Falconer, which had hitherto remained a dead letter, was again renewed; but although the ministry was supported by the “squadron” in opposition to the motion, the Cavaliers carried it by a great majority. The Dukes of Hamilton and Athole were now desirous of pushing on the inquiry into the

alleged plot, but by advice of the Cavaliers, who insisted that such a proceeding would be a violation of the agreement entered into between them and the Duke of Queensberry's friends, they desisted for a time. But the duke having prevailed upon such of his friends as had voted with the Cavaliers in the beginning of the session, to join the court party, the subject was introduced before the house in the shape of a motion, to know what answer the queen had sent to an address which had been voted to her in the preceding session, to send down to Scotland against the next session such persons as had been examined respecting the plot, and the papers connected therewith. The Dukes of Hamilton and Athole vindicated themselves against the charge of being accessory to Fraser's proceedings, and the latter particularly, in a long speech, reprobated the conduct of the Duke of Queensberry, whom he openly accused of a design to ruin him. Neither the duke nor his friends made any answer to the charge, and Athole and Hamilton conceiving that they had cleared themselves sufficiently, allowed the subject to drop. The most important business of the session was the measure of the proposed union with England, an act for effecting which was passed, though not without considerable opposition.

Before the state of the vote upon this measure was announced, the Duke of Athole, “in regard that by an English act of parliament made in the last sessions thereof, entituled an act for the effectual securing England from the dangers that may arise from several acts passed lately in Scotland, the subjects of this kingdom were adjudged aliens, born out of the allegiance of the queen, as queen of England, after the 25th of December 1705,” protested that, for saving the honour and interest of her majesty as queen of Scotland, and maintaining and preserving the undoubted rights and privileges of her subjects, no act for a treaty with England ought to pass without a clause being added thereto, prohibiting and discharging the commissioners that might be appointed for carrying on the treaty from departing from Scotland until the English parliament should repeal and rescind the obnoxious act alluded to. To this protest twenty-four peers, thirty-seven barons, and eighteen of the burgh representatives ad-

hered. When the state of the vote was announced, the Duke of Hamilton, to the surprise of the cavaliers and the country party, moved that the nomination of the commissioners should be left wholly to the queen. From twelve to fifteen members immediately exclaimed that the duke had deserted and basely betrayed his friends, and ran out of the house in rage and despair. A warm debate then ensued, in which Hamilton was roughly handled, and the inconsistency of his conduct exposed; but he persisted in his motion, which was carried by a majority of eight votes. Had the other members remained he would have found himself in a minority. The Duke of Athole protested a second time for the reasons contained in his first protest, and twenty-one peers, thirty-three barons, and eighteen burgh representatives adhered to his second protest. The protesters consisted of most of the cavaliers and the country party, and the whole of the "Squadron." The protesters, however, were not discouraged, and they succeeded so far as to obtain an order of the house prohibiting the Scottish commissioners from treating until the clause in the English act, declaring the subjects of Scotland aliens, should be repealed, a resolution which had the desired effect, the English parliament rescinding the clause before the time fixed for its operation arrived.¹

In terms of the powers vested in her by the parliaments of England and Scotland, the queen nominated commissioners, who met in the council chamber of the Cockpit, near Whitehall, on the 16th of April, 1706. During their sittings they were twice visited by the queen, who urged them to complete with as little delay as possible, a treaty which, she anticipated, would be advantageous to both kingdoms. By the second article of the treaty, it was declared that the succession to the monarchy of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, in default of issue of the queen, should remain and continue to the Princess Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants.

When the terms of the treaty became publicly known in Scotland, a shout of indignation was set up in every part of the kingdom, at a measure which, it was supposed, would destroy

the independence of the nation; and when the Scottish parliament met for the purpose of ratifying the treaty, considerable rioting took place in different parts of the country, and large bodies of armed men threatened to march upon the capital, and disperse the assembly. Numerous addresses were sent to the parliament from every part of the kingdom against the Union, and considerable opposition was made by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athole, Lord Belhaven, Fletcher of Saltoun, and others, but the court party, having obtained the support of the "Squadron," carried the measure by a great majority. The treaty was, however, after strenuous opposition, ratified by the Scotch as well as the English parliament, and ultimately completed on May 1st, 1707.

As the restoration of the son of James II. now appeared to the Scottish nation necessary to preserve its independence, various combinations were entered into among the people to effect it. The inhabitants of the western shires, chiefly Cameronians, formerly the most determined supporters of the Protestant government, all at once became the most zealous partisans of the exiled family, whose Catholicity they showed themselves disposed altogether to overlook. Preparatory to more active measures for accomplishing their object, the ringleaders among them held several meetings, divided themselves into regiments, chose their officers, provided themselves with horses and arms, and, notwithstanding the religious asperity which had long existed between them and the inhabitants of the northern shires, offered to unite with them in any measure which might be devised for accomplishing the restoration of the young prince, who had now assumed the title of the Chevalier de St. George.² The court of St. Germain's, fully aware of the strong national feeling which existed in favour of the prince, sent, in concert with the French king, one Hooke into Scotland to obtain intelligence, and to treat with the people for his restoration. This gentleman had been one of the Duke of Monmouth's chaplains when he invaded England; but after the execution of that unfortunate nobleman, Hooke went to France, where he became a Catholic, and entered into the

¹ Lockhart, vol. i. pp 131, 132, 133, 137, 140.

² Lockhart, vol. i. p. 196.

French service, in which he rose to the rank of Colonel. He had been in Scotland in 1705 on a mission to the heads of the Jacobite chiefs and the country party; but though a man of sense, he conducted himself with such indiscretion, that he could only obtain general promises, from the parties he consulted, of their readiness to advance the prince's interest. The cavaliers, however, sent Captain Henry Straton, a gentleman in whom they placed great confidence, to France, in July the following year, to ascertain the extent of the aid they might expect from Louis.

Hooke, on this occasion, landed in the north of Scotland, about the end of February or beginning of March, 1707, and took up a temporary abode in Slains Castle, the seat of the Earl of Errol, high-constable of Scotland, where he was waited upon by the countess-dowager, the mother of the earl, her son being then absent from home. Instead of consulting, as he should have done, the principal chiefs upon the subject of his mission, Hooke at first confined himself to interviews with some gentlemen in the counties of Perth and Angus, by whom he was received with great favour and hospitality, and looked upon as a person of no ordinary importance. The attention thus paid him, flattered his vanity, in return for which he made them his confidants, and proceeded, in concert with them, to deliberate upon the mode of accomplishing a restoration. This party, however, had not the wisdom to conceal the negotiation with Hooke, whose presence in the country became consequently generally known. The result was, that the Duke of Hamilton and others, conceiving themselves slighted, and alarmed at the imprudence of Hooke's friends, declined to correspond with him, and entered into direct communication with the court of St. Germain's itself.

As the French king was desirous of ascertaining the exact situation of the affairs in Scotland, M. de Chamillard, his minister of war, had furnished Hooke with a paper of instructions, in the shape of questions, to which he was desired to obtain distinct answers, to enable his majesty to judge of the extent of the assistance required from him, and the probability of success. In answer to these questions, a memorial, addressed to the king

of France, was drawn up, and signed by several noblemen and gentlemen, in which they stated that the greater part of the Scottish nation had always been disposed for the service of "its lawful king" ever since the revolution; but that this disposition had now become universal, and that the shires of the west, which used to be the most disaffected, were now zealous to serve him. That to reap the benefit of so favourable a disposition, and of so happy a conjuncture, the presence of the king (the Chevalier) would be absolutely necessary, the people being unwilling to take arms without being sure of having him at their head—that the whole nation would rise upon his arrival—that he would become master of Scotland without opposition, and that the existing government would be entirely abolished—that of the numbers that they would raise, the memorialists would immediately despatch 25,000 foot, and 5,000 horse and dragoons into England, while the other peers and chiefs would assemble all their men in their respective counties, and that the general rendezvous of the troops on the north of the river Tay should be at Perth, those of the western counties at Stirling, and those of the south and east at Dumfries and Dunse. As to the subsistence of the troops, they informed his majesty that they would require nothing from him, as the harvests of two years were to be found in the granaries, and that so great was its abundance, that a crown would purchase as much flour as would maintain a man two months—that there was also great plenty of meat, beer and brandy in the kingdom, and cloth, linen, shoes and bonnets, sufficient to clothe a considerable number of troops. The principal articles they stood in most need of were arms and money. Of the former, the memorialists begged his majesty to send them as many as would equip 25,000 foot, and 5,000 horse or dragoons, together with a proportionate quantity of ammunition, and also some pieces of artillery, bombs, &c. Of money, of which the country had been almost drained by the Darien speculation, by five years of famine, and by the constant residence of the nobility at London, they required a remittance of 100,000 pistoles, to enable them to march into England, and also a regular monthly subsidy during the war.

In addition to these demands, they required that the Chevalier should be accompanied to Scotland by a body of 8,000 troops, to protect his person against any sudden attempt by the government forces. The memorialists concluded, by assuring his most Christian Majesty of their resolution to bind themselves by the strictest and most sacred ties, to assist one another in what they deemed a common cause, to forget all family differences, and to concur sincerely, and with all their hearts, "without jealousy or distrust, like men of honour in so just and glorious an enterprise."³

Having finished his negotiation, Hooke returned to France in the month of May, after assuring his friends that "the Pretender" would land in Scotland about August following. On arriving at the court of St. Germain, Hooke gave the most flattering account of his reception, and of the zeal of the people in behalf of the Chevalier, and accused the Duke of Hamilton and the other persons who had refused openly to commit themselves, of lukewarmness in the cause. The armament, promised by the king of France, should have been ready in August; but the court of Versailles contrived to put it off, from time to time, under various pretences. The fact appears to be, that Louis was indifferent about the matter, and, although he pretended that his object was to place the Chevalier upon the throne of his ancestors, his real object was to create a diversion in his own favour by embroiling Great Britain in a civil war. His reverses at Ramillies and Turin had induced him to send Hooke into Scotland to obtain information, but, having afterwards defeated the allies at Almanza, he was in hopes that he would be able to retrieve his affairs without the aid of the intended descent on Scotland.

To hasten the enterprise, the cavaliers sent the Honourable Charles Fleming, brother of the Earl of Wigton, over to France with letters to his most Christian Majesty and the Chevalier, in consequence of which, preparations for the expedition were commenced at Dunkirk, where a squadron was collected under the command of the Chevalier de Forbin. When the news of these preparations reached Eng-

land, the greatest exertions were made to meet the threatened danger. Both houses of parliament joined in an address to the queen, in which they pledged themselves to defend her with their lives and fortunes against the "pretended Prince of Wales," and all her other enemies. They suspended the habeas corpus act, and passed a bill enacting, that all persons should take the oath of abjuration under the pain of being held as convicted recusants. They also passed another bill, releasing the Scottish clans from all vassalage to those chiefs who should appear in arms against her majesty; and "the Pretender" and his adherents were declared traitors and rebels. A large fleet was equipped and assembled at Deal with extraordinary promptitude, and despatched towards Dunkirk under the command of Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, and Lord Dursley, and transports were engaged to bring over ten British battalions from Ostend. When this fleet, which the French had supposed to be destined for Lisbon, appeared off Mardyke, they were greatly surprised; and the embarkation of their troops, which had commenced, was immediately countermanded. The French admiral represented to his court the danger of proceeding with the expedition; but he received positive orders to finish the embarkation, and to sail with the first favourable wind. The Chevalier de St. George, at taking farewell, was presented by Louis with a sword studded with costly diamonds, and sumptuous services of gold and silver plate, rich dresses, and other necessaries becoming his high station.

While the embarkation was going on, Mr. Fleming and a gentleman of the name of Arnott were separately despatched for Scotland from Dunkirk, on the evening of the 6th of March, 1708, in two frigates, with instructions from the Chevalier to the Jacobite chiefs. Fleming arrived on the northern coast on the 13th, and, when about two leagues off the land, entered a fishing boat which landed him at Slains castle, where he met the Earl of Errol, who received the intelligence of the expedition with great pleasure. On perusing the Chevalier's instructions, he immediately despatched a messenger to Mr. Malcolm of Grange, in Fife, with orders to have a boat

³ *Secret History of Colonel Hooke's Negotiation in Scotland in 1707.*—Edin. 1760. Pp. 69—75.

and pilots in readiness at the mouth of the Frith of Forth to go on board the first vessel that should give the signal agreed on.

In the mean time, the English fleet having been forced, by stress of weather, off their station on the 14th of March, the expedition sailed on the 17th from the road of Dunkirk; but it was detained in Newport-pits in consequence of a change in the wind, till the 19th, when it again set sail with a fair breeze for Scotland. The expedition consisted of seven men-of-war, two of which were fitted up as transports, and twenty-one frigates, having on board 5,100 troops, under the command of Monsieur le Comte de Gassé, who, on the last-mentioned day, received from the French king the patent of a Marshal of France, and assumed the name of Mantignon. While at Newport, three of the frigates, which had received some damage, returned to Dunkirk; but, at a council of war, held in the apartment of the Chevalier, it was resolved, at his desire, to proceed without them, although these vessels had 800 troops on board, and a considerable quantity of arms and provisions. At the same council it was also determined to sail directly to the Frith of Forth, and to disembark the troops at Burnt-island, whence it was proposed to send a detachment to take possession of Stirling.⁴

The French fleet having been observed in Newport-pits from the steeples of Ostend, a vessel was immediately despatched thence by Major-general Cadogan to inform Sir George Byng of their having left Dunkirk: Sir George went immediately in quest of the enemy. The French fleet, favoured by a strong and fair wind, reached the Frith on the evening of the 23d, without seeing any of the English squadron, and anchored off Crail, the commander intending to proceed up the Frith the following morning; but he had been anticipated by the Proteus, one of the three vessels which had returned to Dunkirk, and which, being a superior sailer, had reached the Frith before him, and had given notice of the approach of the French fleet to the friends of the Chevalier, who lived on the coast, by firing five guns, the concerted signal by which the friends of the prince along that coast were to be apprized

of his arrival. Malcolm of Grange, who had been for some days anxiously looking out for the fleet, went immediately on board this vessel with a pilot.

The resolution of M. de Forbin to proceed up the Frith next morning, was, however, put an end to, by the appearance, at day-break, of the English fleet, consisting of 28 sail, standing in for the Frith. Alarmed for the safety of his ships, the French commander immediately cut his cables, and by favour of a strong land breeze which fortunately sprung up, stood out to sea under full sail, having previously given orders to the different ships, in case of separation, to rendezvous at Cromarty or Inverness. The French vessels being lighter and cleaner, outstripped the English in sailing, and all of them escaped, with the exception of the Salisbury, a ship formerly captured from the English, which was taken. On board of this vessel were Lord Griffin, the Earl of Middleton's two sons, M. La Vie, a Major-general, Colonel Francis Wauchope, some other officers, and between 300 and 400 soldiers. On the following day, the French commander finding himself out of sight of the enemy, and all his vessels together, with the exception of the Salisbury, consulted with the Marshal de Mantignon, on the expediency of landing at some place in the north of Scotland, and proposed Inverness. The Chevalier, who was so desirous of landing, that he had, though in vain, entreated M. de Forbin, the preceding day, to put him ashore, though his domestics alone should accompany him, received this proposal with great satisfaction. The fleet accordingly, aided by a favourable wind, steered to the north during the whole of the 25th; but at ten o'clock at night, the wind suddenly changed to the north, and blew directly in their teeth with considerable violence. As the storm continued the whole of the following day, and as M. de Forbin was afraid that the fleet would be dispersed, and might, when separated, fall into the hands of the enemy, a council was held, at which it was unanimously resolved, with the entire concurrence of the Chevalier, to return to Dunkirk, where the expedition arrived on the 7th of April.

Such was the result of an enterprise, which, but for the merest accidental circumstance,

⁴ M. D'Andrezel's Account in Hooke, p. 139.

might have been crowned with the most complete success; for had the expedition arrived only a few hours earlier in the Firth of Forth, the whole troops, arms and ammunition, would have been landed without opposition. Such were the dispositions of the people of Scotland in favour of "the Pretender," and so disaffected had they become towards the government, that a universal rising would undoubtedly have taken place in his support had he set his foot in Scotland. No effectual resistance could have been offered to him by the regular troops, which did not exceed 2,500 men; and as little reliance could be placed in them, from their participating generally in the national feeling, the Earl of Leven, the commander-in-chief, had determined to retire to Carlisle or Berwick, with such forces as would accompany him.⁵ The news of the sailing of the expedi-

⁵ Alluding to the appearance of the French fleet in the Frith, Lockhart says, "It is impossible to describe the different appearance of people's sentiments; all this day (23d March) generally speaking, in every person's face was to be observed an air of jollity and satisfaction, excepting the general (Leven), those concerned in the government, and such as were deeply dipt in the revolution. These indeed were in the greatest terror and confusion. And it was no great wonder that the Earl of Leven did afterwards, in one of his letters to the secretaries of state, complain that the Jacobites were so uppish he durst hardly look them in the face as they walked in the streets of Edinburgh; for uppish they were indeed, expecting soon to have an occasion of repaying him and his fellow-rebels in the same coin he and they had treated them for these twenty years past. But next day advice was sent from Sir George Byng, that he had come up with and was then in pursuit of the French fleet, and then it was that every body was in the greatest pain and anxiety imaginable; some fearing it would, and others that it would not, determine as it did. In this perplexity were people when, on the next day, being Sunday, a great number of tall ships were seen sailing up the Frith. This put our general in such a terror and confusion as can scarcely be well expressed: he drew up his army in battle array on the sands of Leith, as if he'd oppose a landing, and in this posture did he remain for several hours, when at last his fears, which truly had almost distracted him, vanished by the landing of a boat, which acquainted him that it was the English fleet returning from chasing the French. For Sir George Byng, after a day's pursuit, finding the French out-sailed him, taekt about for the Frith, which was the place he designed chiefly to guard; besides, he had sailed so unprovided that most of his ships wanted water and provisions. Here he lay several weeks, and for the most part the wind was easterly, so that he could not well have sailed down the Frith, and the French might, and every body believed would, have landed in the north, or sailed round and landed in the west; but instead of that they went sneakingly home, without doing any good, but on the contrary much harm, to the king, his country, and themselves."—Vol. i. pp. 243, 244.

tion created a panic in England, was followed by a run upon the bank, which would have been obliged to suspend its payments had not the most extraordinary exertions been made to support its credit.

The principal friends of the Chevalier do St. George, and every person of any distinction in Scotland, suspected of favouring his pretensions, were, upon the failure of the expedition, immediately seized and committed to the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and the common jails, whence many of them were transmitted to England, and imprisoned in the Tower of London, or in Newgate. Among those who were carried to London, was the Duke of Hamilton, who, taking advantage of a quarrel between the Lord-treasurer Godolphin and the Whigs, obtained, by offering his support to the latter in the election of the Scottish representative peers, not only his own liberation, but also that of all the other prisoners, with the exception of Stirling of Kier, Seaton of Touch, Stirling of Carden, and other gentlemen of Stirlingshire, who, on receiving intelligence that the Chevalier had landed, had mounted their horses and advanced in a body towards Edinburgh, to support him. These last were brought to trial for high treason, as having appeared in arms against the government; but as no proof was brought against them, they were acquitted.⁶ The fact is, that the queen's advisers, fully aware of the great danger which the government had escaped, and the risks to which it was still exposed, were disposed to act a very lenient part, and were afraid, under existing circumstances, to commit themselves by sacrificing any of the disaffected to a doubtful, and, as it must have appeared to them, a precarious expediency.

For a time, the idea of a restoration seems to have been abandoned; but the systematic attacks made by the High Church party in England, upon the principles of the revolution, and the popular excitement raised against the Whig ministry in consequence of Dr. Sacheverel's trial, raised anew the expectations of the Jacobites, which were still farther elevated by the expulsion of the Whigs from office in 1710, by the intrigues of the Tories. Although

⁶ Lockhart.

the queen on opening the new parliament, which met on the 25th of November, declared to both houses that she would employ such persons only as were warmly attached to the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover; yet it was generally understood that she was inclined to favour the pretensions of her brother, the Chevalier de St. George. As his religion was, in fact, the only bar in the way of his succession, she endeavoured, but without success, to induce him to abandon it. "You see," she observed to the Duke of Buckingham, when speaking of her brother, "he does not take the least step to oblige me. I have no reason to think he values me or my kingdom, therefore I shall give it to the Elector of Hanover." On another occasion, when warmly pressed by the duke, she replied, "What would you have me to do? You know, as the law stands, a Papist cannot inherit the crown, and, therefore, any will I may make will be to no purpose; the law gives all to Hanover; and therefore I had better do that with a good grace which I cannot help. He may thank himself for it. He knows I always loved him better than the Elector."⁷ The Tories were by no means averse to her majesty's views of a successor, but afraid of a reaction in public opinion in favour of the Whigs, who were endeavouring to excite the fears of the nation by raising a no-popery cry, they not only carefully abstained from any act which might be considered as favouring the claims of "the Pretender;" but even appeared as if hostile to them. Indeed, so desirous were some of the Tory members of the House of Commons to settle the crown upon his head, that they required a mere profession of Protestantism from him, till he should be firmly seated on the throne, after which he might, they said, again resume the exercise and profession of his religion. But the prince refused to comply.

In Scotland, however, little reserve was shown, a remarkable instance of which occurred in the Faculty of Advocates, which body accepted from the Duchess of Gordon a silver medal, having on one side an impression of the head of the Chevalier de St. George, and on the reverse a representation of the British

islands, with the motto, "*Reddite.*" At the presentation of this treasonable device, a motion thanking her grace for her gift was carried, after a warm debate, by a majority of sixty-three voices against twelve. Dundas of Arncliffe, to whom the task of conveying the vote was intrusted, thanked her grace for having presented the Faculty with a medal of their sovereign, and stated a hope that she would very soon be enabled to present them with a second medal struck upon the restoration of the king and royal family, and the finishing of usurpation, rebellion, and whiggery. This proceeding created an extraordinary sensation, and Sir David Dalrymple, the Lord Advocate, was directed by the ministry to inquire into the matter. The Faculty grew alarmed, disclaimed the conduct of Dundas and of Horne, another member with whom they alleged the transaction originated, and by a solemn resolution declared their attachment to the queen and the Protestant succession. To satisfy, in some measure, the court of Hanover, the resident of which at the British court had presented a memorial to the queen desiring that Dundas and his party might be prosecuted, the Lord Advocate was dismissed from office, because he had been remiss in bringing the delinquents to justice; but no instructions were given to his successor to prosecute them.

The remaining years of Queen Anne's reign were chiefly occupied with party struggles, which embittered her existence and impaired her constitution. The Tories disunited among themselves, split latterly into two factions, which were respectively headed by Harley, Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. The Whigs, on the other hand, united, active and vigorous, pressed hard upon them, and employed every art to inflame the people against the authors of their disgrace. Popery and the Pretender were the never-ceasing topics with which they endeavoured to enlist the feelings of the nation in their favour, and the Duke of Argyle, in a warm debate which took place in the House of Peers on a question proposed by the Earl of Wharton, "Whether the Protestant succession was in danger under the present administration?" offered to prove that the lord-treasurer had remitted a sum of money annually to the

⁷ *Stuart Papers*, July, 1712. vol. ii. p. 327.

Highland Jacobite chiefs. Oxford did not deny the charge, but defended himself by saying, that he had only adopted the policy of King William, who had granted yearly pensions to the heads of the clans, the better to secure their obedience to the government. The fate of the Tory ministry was at length sealed by the removal of Oxford and the death of the queen, who survived that event only a few days. Fatigued by a long attendance at a cabinet council held immediately after the dismissal of the lord-treasurer, she was thrown into a lethargic disorder, which terminated her existence on the morning of the 1st of August, 1714, in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. With the exception of her dereliction of duty towards her father, which, from the circumstances in which she was placed, may admit of considerable palliation, she left behind her an unblemished reputation; and though not possessed of much genius or vigour of mind, she wielded the sceptre with greater skill than is usually to be found in sovereigns, who, like her, have allowed themselves to be controlled by favourites.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A. D. 1714—1715.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George I., 1714—1727.

Proceedings of the Whigs—Declaration of the Chevalier de St. George—Arrival of George I. in England—Conduct of the Earl of Mar—Government measures—Intrigues of the Jacobites—The Earl of Mar—Leaves England for Scotland—The “Hunting match”—The Chevalier de St. George proclaimed by Mar, who raises the standard of revolt in Braemar—Death of Louis XIV.—Manifesto issued by the Jacobites.

THE dismissal of the Earl of Oxford from the office of lord-high-treasurer was gratifying to the Jacobites, whose expectations he had disappointed, and they naturally waited with anxiety for the appointment of his successor, whom they confidently imagined would be Bolingbroke, his rival, who was supposed, on juster grounds, to favour their views, and to whom they had transferred their confidence. But all their hopes were disappointed by the promotion of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the

treasury, a nobleman distinguished for modesty and disinterestedness, and a devoted attachment to his country.

To counteract still farther the schemes of Bolingbroke, all the members of the privy council in London, or the neighbourhood, had been invited, on the proposal of Somerset and Argyle, to attend the council without distinction of party, in consequence of which Lord Somers, and many other Whig noblemen, repaired to Kensington. The presence of such a number of the Whigs completely overawed the Tories, who, confused, distracted, and disunited, were either unable or afraid to oppose the measures proposed by the former for effectually securing the Protestant succession, and gave a tacit acquiescence to them. Every precaution, in short, had been taken to prevent any movement of the Jacobite party in favour of the Chevalier, and an express was sent to the Elector of Hanover, informing him that the physicians despaired of the queen's life, and desiring him to repair to England with all convenient speed.

As soon as the death of the queen was announced, the lords of the privy council met, and drew up and issued a proclamation the same day, declaring that by the death of Queen Anne, the imperial crowns of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, had “solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick, Lunenburg,” in consequence of which, the prince was immediately proclaimed in London, by the heralds at arms, with the usual solemnities, and on Thursday the 5th of August, the same ceremony was repeated at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the deputy-lord-lyon, king at arms, in presence of the magistrates and town council of the city, the judges of the supreme courts, a considerable number of the nobility, and a large assemblage of the inhabitants. The Jacobites preserved a prudent silence on this occasion, but the supporters of the government at Edinburgh took care, notwithstanding, to provide against any contingency. They, accordingly, cut off a part of the wooden bridge before the castle gate, and drew up the remaining part to cover the gate itself. They also threw up an intrenchment between the gate and the castle wall, on which they posted

a party of soldiers. In addition to these precautions, Major-general Wightman, the commander of the forces, ordered the different detachments quartered at Dundee, and other places, to join his camp in the vicinity of Edinburgh, with which order they immediately complied.⁸

Pursuant to an act of the late reign, the parliament met on the day the queen died. The first four days were occupied in swearing in the members, and on the 5th of August, the parliament was opened by the Lord Chancellor, in name of the lords justices, on whom the interim administration of the government had devolved by an act of the 4th and 5th of Queen Anne. Both houses thereafter voted loyal addresses to his majesty, in which, after congratulating him upon his accession to the throne, they expressed their anxiety for his safe and speedy arrival in Great Britain. To these addresses his majesty returned most gracious answers, which were reported to both houses on the 25th of August, on which day the parliament was prorogued till the 23rd of September.

When the Chevalier de St. George heard of the death of his sister, Queen Anne, he set off from his residence in Lorraine, to Paris, to crave the aid of the King of France, in vindication of his hereditary rights; but Louis declined to interfere, on the ground that he had, by the treaty of Utrecht, acknowledged the Protestant succession. Disappointed in his application, he retired first to Luneville, and afterwards to Plombières, whence, on the 29th of August, he issued a declaration as King James III., asserting his indefeasible right to the crowns of Great Britain and Ireland, and solemnly protesting against every act that had been already done, or that should thereafter be done to the prejudice of his hereditary rights. He says, that although he had been obliged by the treaty to remove from France, that he had still continued to have his kingdoms and his people in view, and that he had never ceased to hope, that God would in time open his people's eyes, and convince them not only of the notorious injustice done to the

crown and him, but of the dangerous consequences thereof for themselves; and that as he could not see, without grief and sorrow, their blood and treasure lavished in the late war, in opposition to his rights, so he could not now, with less sorrow, see them exposed to be subjected to an arbitrary power, and become a prey to foreigners—that the settlement of the succession upon one who was so far removed from the regular line, was opposed to the maxims of the English constitution—that the Elector of Brunswick was, besides, a foreigner, a powerful prince, and absolute in his own country—that he was ignorant of the laws, manners, customs, and language, and supported by a good many of his own people—that there had been many thousands of aliens domiciled in England, for the last thirty years, who would be ready to stand by him upon all occasions—that the subversion of such a sacred and fundamental principle as hereditary right would lead to endless wars and divisions, and that as there were many other princes, who had better pretensions to the crown than the Elector of Brunswick, the nation could never enjoy any lasting peace or happiness, till the succession was again settled “in the rightful line.”⁹

Meanwhile, certain movements in Scotland, among the friends of the Chevalier, indicated to the government that an insurrection was intended. Bodies of armed men were seen marching towards the Highlands, and a party of Highlanders appeared in arms near Inverlochy, which was, however, soon dispersed by a detachment from the garrison. In this situation of matters, the lords justices sent down to Scotland a considerable number of half-pay officers, chiefly of the Scots regiments, to officer the militia of the country, under the direction of Major-general Whitham, then commander-in-chief in Scotland. These prompt measures taken by the government, alarmed the Jacobites, who, after several consultations, retired to their homes. The Duke of Gordon was, by order of the justices, confined in the city of Edinburgh, and the Marquis of Huntly, and Lord Drummond, in their respective residences of Brahan, and castle Drummond. The last, on hearing that an order for his seizure had

⁸ *Rae's History of the late Rebellion.* Dumfries, 1718, p. 63.

⁹ *Culloden Papers*, pp. 30, 31.

arrived, fled to the Highlands, but offered bail for his good behaviour. At the same time, Captain Campbell, of Glendaruel, who had obtained a commission from the late Tory administration, to raise an independent company in the Highlands, was apprehended at Inverlochy, and carried prisoner to the capital, and Sir Donald M'Donald of Slait, was also seized and committed to the castle of Edinburgh.¹ As the lords justices had received information that the Chevalier intended to land in the kingdom, they, on the 15th of September, issued a proclamation, in terms of an act passed in the last session of parliament, offering a reward of £100,000 sterling for his apprehension, should he land or attempt to land in Great Britain.²

King George, after vesting the government of his German dominions in a council, embarked for England on the 16th of September, and landed at Greenwich on the 18th, where he was received by the Duke of Northumberland, captain of the life-guards, and by the lords justices, and a large number of the nobility and other persons of distinction. Among those who presented themselves on this occasion was the Earl of Mar, one of the secretaries of state, but the king had been so prepossessed against this nobleman, and indeed against all the heads of the Tory party, that he did not vouchsafe even to notice him. The earl suspecting that means had been used to prejudice his majesty against him, had, in order to take off any unfavourable impression which these might have produced upon the king's mind, written a letter to George when in Holland on his way to England, congratulating him upon his accession to the throne, stating the services which he had rendered to the government, and assuring his majesty that he should find him as faithful and dutiful a subject and servant as ever any of his family, which had been always loyal, had been to the crown, or as he had been to his late mistress, the queen. With the same view, it is supposed, or to throw the government off its guard, Mar caused a letter to be addressed to him by some of the heads and branches of the Jacobite clans expressive of their loyalty to King George, and

declaring, that as they had been always ready to follow his lordship's directions in serving Queen Anne, they were equally ready to concur with him in faithfully serving his majesty.³ But the prejudices of the king against Mar were too deeply rooted to be overcome, and within eight days after the king's arrival in England, Mar was dismissed from office, and the Duke of Montrose appointed in his stead. It was very natural for the king to prefer the Whig party, by whose influence he had been raised to the throne; but unfortunately for the

³ This document, which was signed by the chief of Maclean, Macdonell of Glangarry, Cameron of Lochiel, Macdonell of Keppoch, Sir Donald Macdonald, Mackintosh of Mackintosh, Mackenzie of Fraserdale, M'Leod of Contulick, Grant of Glenmoriston, Chisholm of Comer, and M'Pherson of Cluny, is as follows:—

“ My Lord,

“ So soon as we heard of the afflicting news of the death of her late majesty, Queen Anne, it did exceedingly comfort us, that, after so good and great a queen, who had the hearts and consulted the true happiness of all her people, we were to be governed by his sacred majesty, King George, a prince so brightly adorned with all royal virtues, that Britain, under his royal administration, shall still be flourishing at home, and able to hold the balance in the affairs of Europe.* Allow us, my Lord, to please ourselves with this agreeable persuasion, that his majesty's royal and kindly influence shall reach to us, who are the most remote, as well as to others of his subjects in this island. We are not ignorant that there are some people forward to misrepresent us, from particular private views of their own, and who, to reach their own ends against us, on all occasions, endeavour to make us, in the Highlands of Scotland, pass for disaffected persons.

“ Your lordship has an estate and interest in the Highlands, and is so well known to bear good-will to your neighbours, that in order to prevent any ill impressions which malicious and ill-designing people may at this juncture labour to give of us, we must beg leave to address your lordship, and entreat you to assure the government, in our names, and in that of the rest of the clans, who, by distance of place, could not be present at the signing of this letter, of our loyalty to his sacred majesty, King George. And we do hereby declare to your lordship, that as we were always ready to follow your directions in serving Queen Anne, so we will now be equally forward to concur with your lordship in faithfully serving King George. And we entreat your lordship would advise as how we may best offer our duty to his majesty upon his coming over to Britain; and on all occasions we will beg to receive your counsel and direction how we may be most useful to his royal government.

“ We are, with all truth and respect,” &c.

* There is little difficulty in perceiving, by comparing this letter with that written by Mar to the king, that it is the production of Mar himself, though said to be drawn up by his brother, Lord Grange. “The balance in the affairs of Europe,” an expression since changed into that of the “balance of power,” is a phrase which could have occurred only to a secretary of state. What calamities have been inflicted upon Europe since the sway of the *Grand Monarque* in attempts to adjust “this balance,” and yet the scales vibrate as much as ever!

¹ Rae, p. 77. ² *Gazette*, 25th September, 1714.

nation, he carried this predilection too far. A wise and prudent prince would have endeavoured to conciliate the adverse faction by acts of kindness, but George turned his back upon the entire body of the Tories, and threw himself completely into the arms of the Whigs, who alone shared in the royal favour, and who used every art to confirm their own interest, and extend their connexions. The consequence was, that a spirit of the most violent discontent was excited throughout the whole kingdom, and the populace, led on by the Tories or Jacobites, raised tumults in different parts of the kingdom. The Chevalier de St. George availing himself of this excitement, transmitted by the French mail copies of the manifesto, or declaration, which he had issued from Plombières to the chief nobility, particularly the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, and Argyle, who delivered them to the secretaries of state. The king, imagining that the Duke of Lorraine was privy to the preparation and transmission of the manifesto, refused an audience to the Marquis de Lamberti, minister from the duke; but although the duke, on being informed by his minister of the circumstance, denied most pointedly that he was accessory to the affair, and declared that the Chevalier took up his residence in Lorraine by the directions of the king of France, the king persisted in refusing an audience to De Lamberti till his master should remove the Chevalier from his dominions.

The parliament having been dissolved, the king, in the month of January, 1715, issued an extraordinary proclamation, calling a new parliament. In this proclamation he complained of the evil designs of the disaffected, and of the misrepresentation of his principles and conduct which had been industriously circulated throughout the kingdom, expressing his hopes that his loving subjects would send up to parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of the kingdoms. In order to secure the interest of those in civil and military employments in the elections, a proclamation was issued on the same day, continuing all persons who had been duly invested in their offices, civil or military, before the demise of the queen, and who had not been since removed there-

from, for the space of six months from the date of the proclamation, unless his majesty should see cause to remove them sooner. A warmly contested election followed in England, but although the Tories made every exertion, and set up the usual shout of the church in danger, a cry which was responded to by the populace in many places, a majority of Whigs was returned. The Whigs were still more successful in Scotland, where a majority of the sixteen peers, and forty out of forty-five members returned to the commons, were in the interest of the government. The principal struggle in Scotland was in Inverness-shire, between M'Kenzie of Preston-hall, who was supported by Glengarry and the other Jacobite chiefs, and Forbes of Culloden, brother of the celebrated President Forbes, who carried the election by the interest of Brigadier-general Grant, and the friends of Lord Lovat.

The new parliament assembled on the 19th of March at Westminster, and was for some time chiefly occupied in investigating the conduct of the late ministers, against some of whom measures of extreme rigour were resolved upon. But these proceedings were interrupted by the necessity of devising means for the suppression of a growing spirit of discontent and disaffection, which seemed to gain ground daily in England, of which an insurrection in Scotland, and an invasion from abroad, seemed about to ensue as inevitable results. To put an end to future rioting, a bill was passed, by which it was declared, that if any persons, to the number of twelve, riotously, tumultuously, and unlawfully assembled, should continue together for an hour after having been required to disperse by a justice of peace or other officer, by proclamation publicly read,—and of which a form was given in the act, they should be guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy. When the king attended in the House of Lords on the 13th of July, to give his assent to this and other bills, he informed both houses that a rebellion had actually begun at home, and that an invasion was threatened from abroad, and he, therefore, solicited the commons to enable him to provide for the defence of the kingdom. The preparations of the Chevalier de St. George for a descent upon Great Britain were indeed already far advanced.

Elated by the intelligence which had been sent him from England by the Tories, of the disaffection of the people to the government, and by the promises of support which he had received from them, should he land in Great Britain, the prince had applied a second time for succour to Louis, who, notwithstanding the treaty of Utrecht, supplied him privately with money, and allowed a ship to be fitted out for him, at his own expense, in the port of Havre. The cause of the Chevalier had now been openly espoused by the Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, both of whom having retired to France, had been attainted by the British parliament without a hearing, and were busily employed corresponding with the Tories of England. These intrigues and preparations were early discovered by the Earl of Stair, the British ambassador at Paris, and communicated by him to the ministry. Proceeding upon this information, the parliament suspended the Habeas Corpus act, and renewed the offer of one hundred thousand pounds to any person or persons who should seize the Pretender, dead or alive. Great naval and military preparations were made, and the trained bands were kept in readiness to suppress tumults.

As early as May, a report was current among the Jacobites of Scotland of the Chevalier's design to make a descent, in consequence of which they began to bestir themselves, by providing arms, horses, &c. Lockhart of Carnwath, a very warm partisan of the Chevalier, while "solacing" himself, as he says, with the expectation of hearing "great and good news," had his house surrounded by a strong detachment of Lord Shannon's regiment of foot, which carried him prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, by virtue of a warrant "under the Elector of Hanover's own hand." The apprehension of Lockhart served as a signal to the other Jacobites in Scotland, against whom warrants were issued, all of whom escaped, with the exception of the Earls of Home and Wigton, who were taken up, and also committed prisoners to the castle.⁴

Of John Erskine, the 11th Earl of Mar, the chief leader in the ensuing insurrection, it may be proper to say a few words. Following the

footsteps of his father, who joined the revolution party, merely because he considered it his interest so to do, the young earl, on entering into public life, attached himself to the party then in power, at the head of which was the Duke of Queensberry, the leader of the Scottish Whigs. He took the oaths and his seat in parliament in September, 1696, was sworn in a privy councillor the following year, and was afterwards appointed to the command of a regiment of foot, and invested with the order of the Thistle. In 1704, when the Whigs were superseded by the country party, the earl, pursuant to the line of conduct he intended to follow, of making his politics subservient to his interest, immediately paid court to the new administration, by placing himself at the head of such of the Duke of Queensberry's friends as opposed the Marquis of Tweeddale and his party. In this situation he showed so much dexterity, and managed his opposition with so much art and address, that he was considered by the Tories as a man of probity, and well inclined to the exiled family. Afterwards, when the Whig party came again into power, he gave them his support, and became very zealous in promoting all the measures of the court, particularly the treaty of union, for which he presented the draught of an act in parliament, in 1705. To reward his exertions, he was, after the prorogation of the parliament, appointed secretary of state for Scotland, instead of the Marquis of Annandale, who was displaced, because he was suspected of holding a correspondence with the "Squadron," who were inclined to support the succession to the crown without, rather than with the proposed union. His lordship was chosen one of the sixteen representative peers in 1707, and re-elected at the general election the following year, and in 1710 and 1713. By the share he had taken in bringing about the union, Mar had rendered himself very unpopular in Scotland; but he endeavoured to regain the favour of his countrymen, by attending a deputation of Scottish members, consisting of the Duke of Argyle, himself, Cockburn younger of Ormiston, and Lockhart of Carnwath, who waited on Queen Anne in 1712, to inform her of their resolution to move for a repeal of the union with

⁴ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. i. pp. 485-6.

England. When the Earl of Findlater brought forward a motion for repeal in the House of Lords, Mar spoke strongly in favour of it, and pressed the dissolution of the union as the only means to preserve the peace of the island.⁵ He was made a privy-councillor in 1708, and on the death of the Duke of Queensberry in 1713, the earl was again appointed secretary of state for Scotland, and thus, for the second time, enlisted himself under the banners of Toryism; but an end was put to his political tergiversation by his abrupt and unceremonious dismissal from office by George I., and he vowed revenge.

Though not possessed of shining talents, he made ample amends for their deficiencies by artifice and an insinuating and courteous deportment, and managed his designs with such prudence and circumspection as to render it extremely difficult to ascertain his object when he desired concealment; by which conduct "he showed himself," in the opinion of a contemporary, "to be a man of good sense, but bad morals."⁶ The versatility of his politics was perhaps owing rather to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed than to any innate viciousness of disposition. He was a Jacobite from principle, but as the fortunes of his house had been greatly impaired in the civil war by its attachment to the Stuarts, and as, upon his entrance into public life, he found the cause of the exiled family at a low ebb, he sought to retrieve the losses which his ancestors had sustained; while, at the same time, he gratified his ambition, by aspiring to power, which he could only hope to acquire by attaching himself to the existing government. The loss of a place of £5,000 a-year, without any chance of ever again enjoying the sweets of office, was gall and wormwood to such a man. This disappointment, and the studied insult he had received from the king, operating upon a selfish and ambitious spirit, drove him into open rebellion, with no other view than the gratification of his revenge. But whatever were his qualifications in the cabinet, he was without military experience, and consequently unfit to command an army, as the result showed.

On the eve of Mar's departure from England to place himself at the head of the intended insurrection in Scotland, he resolved to show himself at court; and, accordingly, he appeared in the presence of King George on the 1st of August, with all the complaisance of a courtier, and with that affability of demeanour for which he was so distinguished. What his motives were for thus needlessly laying himself open to the charge of studied duplicity by confronting a sovereign whose throne he was about to attempt to overturn, it is difficult to conjecture. Was it to solace his offended pride, or to show the world the hardihood of his determination to unfurl the standard of revolt, that he had the cool daring, in presence of the nobles of the land, to look in the face the man against whom he had inwardly vowed to wage war? Or was his object, in thus appearing as if no treasonable design could be in his contemplation, intended as a feint to deceive the court and lull suspicion, so as to enable him the more effectually to conceal the preparations he had made for his intended departure? All of these questions might be fairly answered in the affirmative, as being in perfect conformity with the earl's character.

Having disguised himself by changing his usual dress, he embarked at Gravesend on the 2d of August, 1715, on board a vessel bound for Newcastle, accompanied by Major-general Hamilton and Colonel Hay, and attended by two servants. On arriving at Newcastle he and his party went on board another vessel bound for the Frith of Forth, the property of one Spence, and were landed at Elie, a small port on the Fife coast, near the mouth of the Frith. During the great civil war, and for many years thereafter, a landing in Fife in support of the Stuarts would have been a dangerous attempt, but the opinions of many of the Fife people had, of late, undergone a complete revolution; and, at the time in question, Fife had, as the Jacobites would have said, many "honest" men, or in other words, persons who were warmly attached to the interests of the exiled family. From Elie, Mar proceeded to Crail, where he was met by Sir Alexander Erskine, the Lord Lyon, and other friends of the Jacobite interest, who accompanied him to the house of "the Honest Laird,"

⁵ Lockhart, vol. i. p. 436.

⁶ *Idem*

a name by which John Bethune of Balfour, a staunch Jacobite, was commonly known. After remaining a few days in Fife, Mar paid a visit to his brother-in-law, the Earl of Kin-noul, at his seat of Dupplin in the county of Perth, whence he departed on Thursday the 18th of August, and crossed the Tay about two miles below Perth, with 40 horse, on his way to his seat of Kildrummy, in the Braes of Mar. On the following day he despatched letters to the principal Jacobites, inviting them to attend a grand hunting-match at Braemar, on the 27th of August. As the government was on the alert, and watched very narrowly any unusual assemblages, the Jacobites had frequently before had recourse to this and similar expedients to enable them to concert their measures without exciting the suspicion of the government.⁷

That the earl had matured his plans before coming to Scotland, and that the Jacobites were let into the secret of his designs, is evident from the fact that, as early as the 6th of August, those in Edinburgh and the neighbourhood were aware of his intention to come down to Scotland. On the following morning the Honourable John Dalzel, a captain on half pay, sent in a resignation of his commission, that he might join with greater freedom the standard of the earl.

Under pretence of attending the hunting-match, a considerable number of noblemen and gentlemen arrived at Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, about the time appointed. Among these were the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon; the Marquis of Tullibardine, eldest son of the Duke of Athole; the Earls of Nithsdale, Marischal, Traquair, Errol, Southesk, Carnwath, Seaforth, Linlithgow, and others; the Viscounts Kilsyth, Kenmure, Kingston, and Stormont; Lords Rollo, Duffus, Drummond, Strathallan, Ogilvie, and Nairne; and about twenty-six gentlemen of influence in the Highlands, among whom were Generals Hamilton and Gordon, Glengary, Campbell of Glendaruel, and the lairds of Auchterhouse and Auldbar.⁸

After the meeting had assembled, the earl

proceeded to address his friends in a regular and well-ordered speech. He began by expressing his sorrow for having been instrumental in forwarding the union of the two kingdoms. He informed them that his eyes were now opened, and that he clearly perceived the error he had committed; that he would therefore do every thing in his power to make his countrymen again a free people, and restore to them their ancient liberties which had been surrendered into the hands of the English by the accursed treaty of union. That this treaty, which had already done so much injury to Scotland, was calculated to inflict additional grievances upon it, and that such were the designs of the English appeared evident by the measures which had been daily pursued ever since the Elector of Hanover had ascended the throne. That this prince regarded neither the welfare of his people, nor their religion; but had committed the charge of both entirely to a set of men who, while they stuck to the Protestant succession, made such alterations in church and state as they thought fit. That they had already begun to encroach upon the liberties of both, on which account he had resolved to vindicate their rights by placing the lawful sovereign, James VIII., who had promised to hear their grievances and redress their wrongs, upon the throne of his ancestors. He then informed them of his determination to take up arms in behalf of his lawful king: that he would summon all the fencible men among his own tenantry, and with them hazard his life in the cause; and he exhorted all those assembled to follow his example. To encourage them to do so, he assured them that there would be a general rising in England in support of the cause; that they would receive powerful assistance from France, whither the Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke had gone to induce Louis XIV. to aid and assist them with men and money; and that the Duke of Berwick would certainly land in the West of England with a large force. That there were thousands of persons throughout the kingdom who had solemnly pledged themselves to him, and to one another, to join him in deposing King George, and establishing James VIII. on the throne. He then informed them that he had

⁷ Rae, 188. *Annals of King George*, year the second. London, 1717, p. 25.

⁸ Rae, p. 189. *Annals of King George*, pp. 15. 16.

received letters (which he exhibited) under the hand of James himself, from Lorraine, promising to come over to Scotland and place his person under the protection of the valour and fidelity of his Scottish subjects; and that, in the meantime, ships, provided with arms, ammunition, and other military stores, would be sent over from France as soon as a landing port should be fixed upon. He thereupon produced, or stated that he had in his possession, a commission from James, appointing him his Lieutenant-general, and commander of all the Jacobite forces in Scotland, and informed the meeting that he was furnished with money, and that an arrangement had been made by which he would be enabled to pay regularly the troops that should be raised, so that no gentleman who might join his standard, with his followers, would be put to any expense, and the country would be quite relieved from the burden of supporting the war. After the earl had finished his harangue, the meeting unanimously resolved to take up arms in support of the Chevalier; and after taking an oath of fidelity to the earl as the representative of James VIII. and to each other, the persons present took leave of him, and promised to return immediately to their estates and raise their men, and to hold themselves in readiness to join the earl on the first summons. To enlist the feelings of the people in favour of the prince, copies of his manifesto, of which each individual who attended the meeting obtained a supply from the earl, were industriously circulated throughout the country, and dropt in the streets of the different towns in Scotland during night.

The government was not inattentive to the proceedings of the Jacobites, and measures were adopted immediately by the Lord Advocate for securing the chiefs. Under the authority of an act passed on the 30th of August, a large number of noblemen and gentlemen, of whom a great proportion belonged to the Highlands, were summoned by him to appear at Edinburgh within certain specified periods, under the pain of a year's imprisonment and other penalties, to give bail for their allegiance to the government. Among them was Rob Roy. The time allowed for the appearance of such as resided to the south of the river Tay, was

seven days, to those on the north, fifteen, and to such as might be out of Scotland, sixty days after the day of citation. Very few of them however appeared, and the remainder, almost without exception, rushed at once into the insurrection.

The confederated chiefs had scarcely all of them reached their respective homes, when they were again summoned by Mar to meet him at Aboyne, on the 3d of September, to concert measures for appearing immediately in arms. Some of those who resided only a short distance from the appointed rendezvous, attended, and having received instructions to assemble their men, and to join him without delay, at Kirkmichael, a village in Braemar, they returned to their estates, and sent round the fiery cross to summon their followers to the field. With 60 followers only, Mar proclaimed the Chevalier at Castletown in Braemar, after which he proceeded to Kirkmichael, where on the 6th of September he raised his standard, which was consecrated by prayer, in presence, according to some accounts, of a force of 2,000 men, mostly consisting of horse.⁹ When the standard was in the course of being erected, the ball on the top of the pole fell off, an incident which was regarded by the superstitious Highlanders as a bad omen, and which threw a damp over the proceedings of the day.

On the following day, Mar intimated by a circular letter to the gentlemen of Perthshire, his appointment to the chief command of all King James's forces in Scotland, and he required them to hold themselves in readiness to join him with their vassals when called upon. He also directed them to secure the arms of such persons as were hostile to the cause of King James, and desired they would prevent their men from plundering, or living at free quarters, upon his Majesty's subjects. "The King," he observes, "makes no doubt of your zeal for his service, especially at this juncture when his cause is so deeply concerned, and the relieving of our native country from oppression and a foreign yoke, too heavy for us and our posterity to bear, and when now is the time to endeavour the restoring, not only our rightful and native king, but also our

⁹ *Annals of 2d Year of George I*, p. 23.

country to its ancient, free, and independent constitution under him, whose ancestors have reigned over us for so many generations."

Two days thereafter the earl published a high-flown declaration, in which he summons, "in his Majesty's name and authority," and "by the King's special order to me thereunto," all faithful and loving subjects to raise their fencible men with their best arms, and to join him at the Inver of Mar on the following Monday, "in order to proceed in our march to attend the king's standard with his other forces. The king intending that his forces shall be paid from the time of their first setting out, he expects, as he positively orders, that they behave themselves civilly, and commit no plundering or other disorders, upon the highest penalties, and his displeasure, which is expected you'll see observed."

As a contrast to this high-flown and liberty-sounding document, the following singular letter, written by the earl to his baillie in the lordship of Kildrummy, on the evening of the day on which the above declaration was issued, is curious. It exhibits, in a remarkable point of view, the despotic power which, even down to such a modern period, a feudal or rather a Highland chief considered himself entitled to exercise with impunity over his vassals. Had such an order been issued by a baron, who had scarcely ever gone beyond the boundaries of his own demesnes, it might have been passed over without remark, as in perfect keeping with the ideas of a feudal despot; but to see the refined courtier threatening his own vassals and tenants with destruction, and even extermination, merely because they hesitated to take up arms in opposition to the government under which they lived, and under which the earl himself had served, is indeed very extraordinary:—

"INVERCAULD, *Sept. 9, at night, 1715.*

"Joeke,—Ye was in the right not to come with the hundred men ye sent up to-night, when I expected four times the number. It is a pretty thing, when all the Highlands of Scotland are now rising upon their king and country's account, as I have accounts from them since they were with me, and the gentlemen of our neighbouring lowlands expecting

us down to join them, that my men should be only refractory. Is not this the thing we are now about, which they have been wishing these twenty-six years? And now, when it is come, and the king and country's cause is at stake, will they for ever sit still and see all perish? I have used gentle means too long, and so I shall be forced to put other orders I have in execution. I have sent you enclosed an order for the lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my vassals: if they give ready obedience, it will make some amends, and if not ye may tell them from me, that it will not be in my power to save them (were I willing) from being treated as enemies, by those who are ready soon to join me; and they may depend on it, that I will be the first to propose, and order their being so. Particularly, let my own tenants in Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe this not only a threat, but, by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others. You are to tell the gentlemen that I'll expect them in their best accoutrements, on horseback, and no excuse to be accepted of. Go about this with all diligence, and come yourself and let me know your having done so. All this is not only as ye will be answerable to me, but to your king and country.

Your assured friend and servant,

MAR."

*"To John Forbes of Invercauld,
Baillie of Kildrummy."*

While the Jacobite chiefs were collecting their forces, an event occurred which ought to have induced them to abandon, at least for a time, an enterprise signalized by such an untoward beginning. This was the death of Louis XIV., who expired on the 1st of September, after a short illness. An occurrence more unfortunate to the cause of the Chevalier could scarcely have happened at such a conjuncture, as it tended to damp the spirits of his partisans, who looked upon Louis as the main prop of the cause. On receipt of this intelligence, the chiefs held a meeting to consult upon the course they ought to pursue

under this new aspect of matters. Some of the more moderate were for returning home, and remaining quiet till the arrival of the Chevalier, should he receive any encouragement from the new government of France to proceed on his intended voyage; but the majority argued that they had already gone too far to recede with safety, and that as a general insurrection would take place in England in favour of the Chevalier, they should take the field forthwith. An immediate appeal to arms having been resolved upon, messengers were despatched to France to urge the Chevalier to hasten his departure, and the following notable manifesto, which had been privately printed at Edinburgh by Freebairn, one of the king's printers, was issued at the same time:—

“Manifesto by the Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, who dutifully appear at this time in asserting the undoubted rights of their lawful sovereign, James the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.; and for relieving this, his ancient kingdom, from the oppressions and grievances it lies under.

“His majesty's right of blood to the crowns of these realms is undoubted, and has never been disputed or arraigned by the least circumstance or lawful authority. By the laws of God, by the ancient constitutions, and by the positive unrepealed laws of the land, we are bound to pay his majesty the duty of loyal subjects. Nothing can absolve us from this our duty of subjection and obedience. The laws of God require our allegiance to our rightful king—the laws of the land secure our religion and other interests; and his majesty giving up himself to the support of his Protestant subjects, puts the means of securing to us our concerns, religious and civil, in our own hands. Our fundamental constitution has been entirely altered and sunk amidst the various shocks of unstable faction, while, in searching out new expedients pretended for our security, it has produced nothing but daily disappointments, and has brought us and our posterity under a precarious dependence upon foreign councils and interests, and the power of foreign troops. The late unhappy union

which was brought about by the mistaken notions of some, and the ruinous and selfish designs of others, has proved so far from lessening and healing the differences betwixt his majesty's subjects of Scotland and England, that it has widened and increased them. And it appears by experience so inconsistent with the rights, privileges, and interests of us, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of England, that the continuance of it must inevitably ruin us, and hurt them; nor can any way be found out to relieve us, and restore our ancient and independent constitution, but by the restoring our rightful and natural king, who has the only undoubted right to reign over us. Neither can we hope that the party who chiefly contributed to bring us into bondage, will at any time endeavour to work our relief, since it is known how strenuously they opposed, in two late instances, the efforts that were made by all Scotsmen by themselves, and supported by the best and wisest of the English, towards so desirable an end, as they will not adventure openly to disown the dissolution of the union to be. Our substance has been wasted in the late ruinous wars, and we see an unavoidable prospect of having wars continued on us and our posterity so long as the possession of the crown is not in the right line. The hereditary rights of the subjects, though confirmed by conventions and parliaments, are now treated as of no value or force, and past services to the crown and royal family are now looked upon as grounds of suspicion. A packed up assembly, who call themselves a British parliament, have, so far as in them lies, inhumanely murdered their own and our sovereign, by promising a good sum of money as the reward of so execrable a crime. They have proscribed, by unaccountable and groundless impeachments and attainders, the worthy patriots of England, for their honourable and successful endeavours to restore trade, plenty, and peace to these nations.

“They have broken in upon the sacred laws of both countries by which the liberty of our persons was secured, and they have empowered a foreign prince, (who, notwithstanding his expectations of the crown for fifteen years, is still unacquainted with our manners, customs, and language,) to make an absolute conquest

(if not timely prevented) of the three kingdoms, by investing himself with an unlimited power, not only of raising unnecessary forces at home, but also of calling in foreign troops, ready to promote his uncontrollable designs. Nor can we be ever hopeful of its being otherwise, in the way it is at present, for some generations to come. And the sad consequences of these unexampled proceedings have really been so fatal to great numbers of our kinsmen, friends, and fellow-subjects of both kingdoms, that they have been constrained to abandon their country, houses, wives and children, to give themselves up prisoners, and perhaps victims, to be sacrificed to the pleasure of foreigners, and a few hot-headed men of a restless faction, whom they employ. Our troops abroad, notwithstanding their long and remarkable good services, have been treated, since the peace, with neglect and contempt, and particularly in Holland; and it is not now the officers' long service, merit, and blood they have lost, but money and favour by which they can obtain justice in their preferments. So that it is evident the safety of his majesty's person, and independency of his kingdoms, call loudly for immediate relief and defence.

"The consideration of these unhappy circumstances, with the due regard we have to common justice, the peace and quiet of us and our posterity, and our duty to his majesty, and his commands, are the powerful motives which have engaged us in our present undertaking, which we are firmly and heartily resolved to push to the utmost, and stand by one another to the last extremity, as the only solid and effectual means for putting an end to so dreadful a prospect, as by our present situation we have before our eyes, and with faithful hearts true to our rightful king, our country, and our neighbours, we earnestly beseech and expect, as his majesty commands, the assistance of all our true fellow-subjects to second our attempt; declaring hereby our sincere intentions that we will promote and concur in all lawful means for settling a lasting peace to these lands, under the auspicious government of our native-born rightful sovereign, the direction of our own domestic councils, and the protection of our native forces and troops. That we will in the same manner concur and endeavour to have

our laws, liberties, and properties, secured by the parliaments of both kingdoms; that by the wisdom of such parliaments we will endeavour to have such laws enacted as shall give absolute security to us, and future ages, for the Protestant religion, against all efforts of arbitrary power, popery, and all its other enemies.

"Nor have we any reason to be distrustful of the goodness of God, the truth and purity of our holy religion, or the known excellency of his majesty's judgment, as not to hope, that in due time, good examples and conversation with our learned divines, will remove those prejudices, which we know his education in a Popish country has not riveted in his royal discerning mind; and we are sure, as justice is a virtue in all religions and professions, so the doing of it to him will not lessen his good opinion of ours. That as the king is willing to give his royal indemnity for all that is past, so he will cheerfully concur in passing general acts of oblivion, that our fellow-subjects, who have been misled, may have a fair opportunity of living with us in the same friendly manner that we design to live with them. That we will use our endeavours for redressing the bad usage of our troops abroad, and bringing the troops at home on the same footing and establishment of pay, as those of England. That we will sincerely and heartily go into such measures as shall maintain effectually, and establish, a right, firm, and lasting union betwixt his majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, and our good neighbours and fellow-subjects of the kingdom of England.

"The peace of these nations being thus settled and we freed from foreign dangers, we will use our endeavours to have the army reduced to the usual number of guards and garrisons; and will concur in such laws and methods, as shall relieve us of the heavy taxes and debts now lying upon us, and at the same time, will support the public credit in all its parts. And we hereby faithfully promise and engage that every officer who joins with us in our king and country's cause shall not only enjoy the same post he now does, but shall be advanced and preferred according to his rank and station and the number of men he brings off with him to us. And each foot soldier so joining us shall have twenty shillings sterling, and each trooper

or dragoon, who brings horse and accoutrements along with him, £12 sterling gratuity, besides their pay; and in general we shall concur with all our fellow subjects in such measures as shall make us flourish at home, and be formidable abroad, under our rightful sovereign, and the peaceable harmony of our ancient fundamental constitution, undisturbed by a pretender's interests and councils from abroad, or a restless faction at home. In so honourable, so good, and just a cause, we do not doubt of the assistance, direction, and blessing of Almighty God, who has so often succoured the royal family of Stuarts, and our country from sinking under oppression."

A document better calculated to arouse the national feeling could not have been penned. Every topic which could excite a spirit of disaffection against the government then existing is artfully introduced, and enforced with an energy of diction and an apparent strength of reasoning admirably fitted for exciting the spirit of a people living, as they imagined, in a state of national degradation. But this manifesto which, a few years before, would have set the whole of Scotland in a flame, produced little or no effect in those quarters where alone it was necessary to make such an appeal.



CHAPTER XXV.

A. D. 1715.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George I., 1714—1727.

Measures of the government—Attempt to surprise Edinburgh Castle—Duke of Argyle appointed to the command of the government forces—Expedition of General Gordon into Argyle—Proceedings of the Earl of Mar—Insurrection in England—Affair at Keith—Rising in the south of Scotland—Expedition of Brigadier Mackintosh—Marches to Edinburgh and occupies Leith—Duke of Argyle marches to Leith—Retreat of Mackintosh—Joins the forces under Forster—Disputes among the insurgents and secession of 500 Highlanders—Rebels march into England—Battle of Preston.

WHILE the Earl of Mar was thus busily engaged exciting a rebellion in the north, the government was no less active in making preparations to meet it. Apprehensive of a general rising in England, particularly in the west, where a spirit of disaffection had often displayed itself, and to which the insurrection in

Scotland was, it was believed, intended as a diversion; the government, instead of despatching troops to Scotland, posted the whole disposable force in the disaffected districts, at convenient distances, by which disposition, considerable bodies could be assembled together to assist each other in case of need. The wisdom of this plan soon became apparent, as there can be no doubt, that had an army been sent into Scotland to suppress the rebellion in the north, an insurrection would have broken out in England, which might have been fatal to the government.¹

To strengthen, however, the military force in Scotland, the regiments of Forfar, Orrery, and Hill, were recalled from Ireland. These arrived at Edinburgh about the 24th of August, and were soon thereafter despatched along with other troops to the west, under Major-general Wightman, for the purpose of securing the fords of the Forth, and the pass of Stirling. These troops being upon the reduced establishment, did not exceed 1,600 men, a force inadequate for the protection of such an important post. Orders were, therefore, sent to the Earl of Stair's regiment of dragoons and two foot regiments, which lay in the north of England, to march to the camp in the park of Stirling with all expedition, and at the same time, Evans's regiment of dragoons, and Clyton's and Wightman's regiments of foot were recalled from Ireland.²

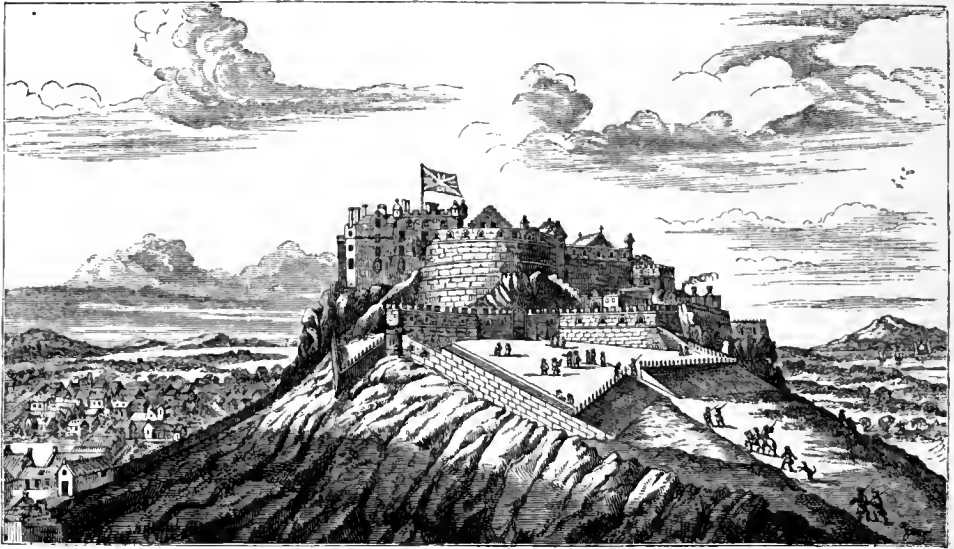
During the time the camp was forming at Stirling, the friends of the Chevalier at Edinburgh formed the daring project of seizing the castle of Edinburgh, the possession of which would have been of vast importance to the Jacobite cause. Lord Drummond, a Catholic, was at the head of this party, which consisted of about 90 gentlemen selected for the purpose, about one half of whom were Highlanders. In the event of success, each of the adventurers was to receive £100 sterling and a commission in the army. To facilitate their design, they employed one Arthur, who had formerly been an ensign in the Scotch guards, to corrupt some of the soldiers in the garrison, and who by money and promises of preferment induced

¹ *Annals of 2d year of George I.*, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 36—7.

a sergeant, a corporal, and two sentinels to enter into the views of the conspirators. These engaged to attend at a certain place upon the wall, on the north, near the Sally-port, in order to assist the conspirators in their ascent. The latter had prepared a scaling ladder made of ropes, capable of holding several men abreast,

and had so contrived it, that it could be drawn up through means of pulleys, by a small rope which the soldiers were to fasten behind the wall. Having completed their arrangements, they fixed on the 9th of September for the attempt, being the day after the last detachment of the government troops quartered in



Edinburgh Castle in 1715. from the North-East. From an old print.

camp in St. Anne's Yards, near Edinburgh, had set off for Stirling. But the projectors of this well-concerted enterprise were doomed to lament its failure when almost on the eve of completion.

Arthur, the officer who had bribed the soldiers, having engaged his brother, a physician in Edinburgh, in the Jacobite interest, let him into the secret of the design upon the castle. Dr. Arthur, who appears to have been a man of a timorous disposition, grew alarmed at this intelligence, and so deep had been the impression made upon his mind while contemplating the probable consequences of such a step, that on the day before the attempt his spirits became so depressed as to attract the notice of his wife, who importuned him to inform her of the cause. He complied, and his wife, without acquainting him, sent an anonymous letter to Sir Adam Cockburn of Ormiston, Lord-Justice-Clerk, acquainting him

with the conspiracy. Cockburn received this letter at ten o'clock at night, and sent it off with a letter from himself to Lieutenant-colonel Stuart, the deputy-governor of the castle, who received the communication shortly before eleven. Stuart lost no time in ordering the officers to double their guards and make diligent rounds; but probably supposing that no attempt would be made that night he went to bed after issuing these instructions. In the meantime, the conspirators had assembled at a tavern preparatory to their attempt, but unfortunately for its success they lingered over their cups far beyond the time they had fixed upon for putting their project into execution. In fact, they did not assemble at the bottom of the wall till after the deputy-governor had issued his orders; but ignorant of what had passed within the castle, they proceeded to tie the rope, which had been let down by the soldiers, to the ladder. Unhappily for the

whole party, the hour for changing the sentinels had arrived, and while the traitorous soldiers were in the act of drawing up the ladder, one Lieutenant Lindsay, at the head of a party of fresh sentinels, came upon them on his way to the sally-port. The soldiers, alarmed at the approach of Lindsay's party, immediately slipt the rope, one of them at the same time discharging his piece at the assailants to divert suspicion from himself. The noise which this occurrence produced told the conspirators that they were discovered, on which they dispersed. A party of the town-guard which the Lord Provost, at the request of the Lord-Justice-Clerk, had sent to patrol about the castle, attracted by the firing, immediately rushed from the West-Port, and repaired to the spot, but all the conspirators, with the exception of four whom they secured, had escaped. These were one Captain Maclean, an officer who had fought under Dundee at Killiecrankie, whom they found lying on the ground much injured by a fall from the ladder or from a precipice; Alexander Ramsay and George Boswell, writers in Edinburgh; and one Lesly, who had been in the service of the same Duchess of Gordon who had distinguished herself in the affair of the medal. This party picked up the ladder and a quantity of muskets and carbines which the conspirators had thrown away in their flight.³

Such was the result of an enterprise which had been matured with great judgment, and which would probably have succeeded, but for the trifling circumstance above mentioned. The capture of such an important fortress as the castle of Edinburgh, at such a time, would have been of vast importance to the Jacobites, inasmuch as it would not only have afforded them an abundant supply of military stores, with which it was then well provided, and put them in possession of a considerable sum of money, but would also have served as a rallying point to the disaffected living to the south of the Forth, who only waited a favourable opportunity to declare themselves. Besides giving them the command of the city, the possession of the castle by a Jacobite force would have compelled the commander of the government

forces to withdraw the greater part of his troops from Stirling, and leave that highly important post exposed to the northern insurgents. Had the attempt succeeded, Lord Drummond, the contriver of the design, was to have been made governor of the castle, and notice of its capture was to have been announced to some of the Jacobite partisans on the opposite coast of Fife, by firing three cannon-shots from its battlements. On hearing the report of the guns, these men were instantly to have communicated the intelligence to the Earl of Mar, who was to hasten south with all his forces.⁴

As the appointment of a person of rank, influence, and talent, to the command of the army, destined to oppose the Earl of Mar, was of great importance, the Duke of Argyle, who had served with distinction abroad, and who had formerly acted as commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, was pitched upon as generalissimo of the army encamped at Stirling. Having received instructions from his majesty on the 8th of September, he departed for Scotland the following day, accompanied by some of the Scottish nobility, and other persons of distinction, and arrived at Edinburgh on the 14th. About the same time, the Earl of Sutherland, who had offered his services to raise the clans in the northern Highlands, in support of the government, was sent down from London to Leith in a ship of war, with orders to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition from the governor of the castle of Edinburgh. He arrived on the 21st of September, and after giving instructions for the shipment of these supplies, departed for the north.

When the Duke of Argyle reached Edinburgh, he found that Mar had made considerable progress in the insurrection, and that the regular forces at Stirling were far inferior in point of numbers to those of the Jacobite commander. He, therefore, on the day he arrived in the capital, addressed a letter to the magistrates of Glasgow, (who, on the first appearance of the insurrection, had offered, in a letter to Lord Townshend, one of the secretaries of state, to raise 600 men in support of the government, at the expense of the city,) re-

³ Patten, pp. 159, 160. *Annals of George I.*, pp. 39, 40. Rae, pp. 199, 200.

⁴ *Annals of Second Year of George I.*, p. 40.—Patten, p. 160.

questing them to send forthwith 500 or 600 men to Stirling, under the command of such officers as they should think fit to appoint, to join the forces stationed there. In compliance with this demand, there were despatched to Stirling, on the 17th, 18th, and 19th of September, three battalions, amounting to between 600 and 700 men, under the nominal command of the Lord Provost, who deputed the active part of his duties to Colonel Blackadder. On the arrival of the first battalion, the duke addressed a second letter from Stirling to the magistrates of Glasgow, thanking them for their promptitude, and requesting them to send intimation, with the greatest despatch, to all the friends of the government in the west, to assemble all the fencible forces at Glasgow, and to hold them in readiness to march when required. In connexion with these instructions, the duke, at the same time, wrote letters of a similar import to the magistrates of all the well affected burghs, and to private individuals who were known to be favourably disposed. The most active measures were accordingly adopted in the south and west by the friends of the government, and in a short time a sufficient force was raised to keep the disaffected in these districts in check.⁵

Meanwhile the Earl of Mar and his friends were no less active in preparing for the campaign. Pursuant to an arrangement with the Jacobite chiefs, General Gordon, an officer of great bravery and experience, was despatched into the Highlands to raise the north-western clans, with instructions either to join Mar with such forces as he could collect at the fords of the Forth, or to march upon Glasgow by Dumbarton. Having collected a body of between 4,000 and 5,000 men, chiefly Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons, Gordon attempted to surprise Fort-William, and succeeded so far as to carry by surprise some of the outworks, sword in hand, in which were a lieutenant, sergeant, and 25 men; but as the garrison made a determined resistance, he withdrew his men, and marched towards Inverary. This route, it is said, was taken at the suggestion of Campbell of Glendaruel, who, at the first meeting of the Jacobites, had assured Mar and

his friends that if the more northern clans would take Argyleshire in their way to the south, their numbers would be greatly increased by the Macleans, Macdonalds, Macdougalls, Macneills, and the other Macs of that county, together with a great number of Campbells, of the family and followers of the Earl of Breadalbane, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, and Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochnell; all of whom, he said, would join in the insurrection, when they saw the other clans in that country at hand to protect them against those in the interest of the Duke of Argyle.⁶

When the Earl of Islay, brother to the Duke of Argyle, heard of General Gordon's movements, he assembled about 2,500 men to prevent a rising of the clans in Argyle, and of the disaffected branches of the name of Campbell. On arriving before Inverary, General Gordon found the place protected by entrenchments which the earl had thrown up. He did not venture on an attack, but contented himself with encamping at the north-east side of the town, at nearly the distance of a mile, where he continued some days without any hostile attempt being made on either side. It was evidently contrary to Gordon's plan to hazard an action, his sole design in entering Argyleshire being to give an opportunity to the Jacobite population of that district to join his standard, which the keeping of such a large body of men locked up in Inverary would greatly assist.

During the continuance before Inverary of the "Black Camp," as General Gordon's party was denominated by the Campbells, the Earl of Islay and his men were kept in a state of continual alarm from the most trifling causes. On one occasion an amusing incident occurred, which excited the fears of the Campbells, and showed how greatly they dreaded an attack. Some time before this occurrence, a small body of horse from Kintyre had joined the earl: the men were quartered in the town, but the horses were put out to graze on the east side of the small river that runs past Inverary. The horses disliking their quarters, took their departure one night in search of better pasture.

⁵ Rae.

⁶ Rae, p. 223.—*Life of John, Duke of Argyle*. London, 1745, pp. 178, 179.

They sought their way along the shore for the purpose of crossing the river at the lower end of the town. The trampling of their hoofs on the gravel being heard at some distance by the garrison, the earl's men were thrown into the utmost consternation, as they had no doubt that the enemy was advancing to attack them. As the horses were at full gallop, and advancing nearer every moment, the noise increasing as they approached, nothing but terror was to be seen in every face. With trembling hands they seized their arms and put themselves in a defensive posture to repel the attack, but they were fortunately soon relieved from the panic they had been thrown into by some of the horses which had passed the river approaching without riders; so that "at last," says the narrator of this anecdote, "the whole was found only to be a plot among the Kintyre horse to desert not to the enemy, but to their own country; for 'tis to be supposed the horses, as well as their owners, were of very loyal principles."⁷

Shortly after this event, another occurrence took place, which terminated not quite so ridiculously as the other. One night the sergeant on duty, when going his rounds at the quarter of the town opposite to the place where the clans lay, happened to make some mistake in the watchword. The sentinel on duty supposing the sergeant and his party to be enemies, discharged his piece at them. The earl, alarmed at the firing, immediately ordered the drums to beat to arms, and in a short time the whole of his men were assembled on the castle-green, where they were drawn up in battalions in regular order by torch or candle light, the night being extremely dark. As soon as they were marshalled, the earl gave them orders to fire in platoons towards the quarter whence they supposed the enemy was approaching, and, accordingly, they opened a brisk fire, which was kept up for a considerable time, by which several of their own sentinels in returning from their posts were wounded. Whilst the Campbells were thus employed upon the castle-green, several gentlemen, some say general officers, who liked to fight "under covert," retired to the square tower or castle of Inverary, from the windows of which they

issued their orders. When the earl found that he had no enemy to contend with, he ordered his men to cease firing, and to continue all night under arms. This humorous incident, however, was attended with good consequences to the terrified Campbells, as it had the effect of relieving them from the presence of the enemy. General Gordon, who had not the most distant intention of entering the town, on hearing the close and regular firing from the garrison, concluded that some forces had entered the town, to celebrate whose arrival the firing had taken place, and alarmed for his own safety, sounded a retreat towards Perthshire before day-light.⁸

No sooner, however, had the clans left Inverary, than a detachment of the Earl of Breadalbane's men, to the number of about 500, entered the county under the command of Campbell of Glenlyon. To expel them, the Earl of Islay sent a select body of about 700 men, in the direction of Lorn, under the command of Colonel Campbell of Fanab, an old and experienced officer, who came up with Glenlyon's detachment at Glenscheluch, a small village at the end of the lake called Lochnell, in the mid division of Lorn, about 20 miles distant from Inverary. Both sides immediately prepared for battle, and to lighten themselves as much as possible, the men threw off their plaids and other incumbrances. Whilst both parties were standing gazing on each other with fury in their looks, waiting for the signal to commence battle, a parley was proposed, in consequence of which, a conference was held by the commanders half-way between the lines. The result was, that the Breadalbanemen, to spare the effusion of the Campbell blood, agreed to lay down their arms on condition of being allowed to march out of the country without disturbance. These terms being communicated to both detachments, were approved of by a loud shout of joy, and hostages were immediately exchanged on both sides for the due performance of the articles. The Earl of Islay, on coming up with the remainder of his forces, was dissatisfied with the terms of the capitulation, as he considered that he had it in his power to cut off Glenc

⁷ *Life of John Duke of Argyle*, p. 180.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 181.

lyon's party; but he was persuaded to accede to the articles, which were accordingly honourably observed on both sides.⁹

In the meantime, the Earl of Mar had collected a considerable force, with which he marched, about the middle of September, to Moulinearn, a small village in Athole, where he proclaimed the Chevalier. On entering Athole, he was joined by 500 Athole-men, under the Marquis of Tullibardine, and by the party of the Earl of Breadalbane's men, under Campbell of Glenlyon and Campbell of Glendaruel. He was afterwards joined by the old earl himself, who, although he had, the day preceding his arrival, procured an affidavit from a physician in Perth, and the minister of the parish of Kenmore, of which he was patron, certifying his total inability, from age, and a complication of diseases, to comply with a mandate of the government requiring him to attend at Edinburgh; yet, nevertheless, found himself able enough to take the field in support of the Chevalier.¹ Having received intelligence that the Earl of Rothes, and some of the gentlemen of Fife, were advancing with 500 of the militia of that county to seize Perth, he sent Colonel John Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul, with a detachment of 200 horse, to take possession of that town; he accordingly entered it on the 14th of September, without opposition, and there proclaimed the Chevalier. The provost made indeed a demonstration of opposition by collecting between 300 and 400 men in the market place; but Colonel Hay having been joined by a party of 150 men which had been sent into the town a few days before by the Duke of Athole, the provost dismissed his men. When the Earl of Rothes, who was advancing upon Perth with a body of 500 men, heard of its capture, he retired to Leslie, and sent notice of the event to the Duke of Argyle. The possession of Perth was of importance to Mar in a double point of view, as it not only gave him the command of the whole of Fife, in addition to the country north of the Tay, but also inspired his friends with confidence.² Accordingly, the Chevalier

was proclaimed at Aberdeen by the Earl Marischal; at Castle Gordon, by the Marquis of Huntly; at Brechin, by the Earl of Panmure; at Montrose, by the Earl of Southesk; and at Dundee, by Graham of Claverhouse, who was afterwards created Viscount Dundee, by the Chevalier.

As Mar had no intention of descending into the Lowlands himself without a considerable force, he remained several days at Moulinearn waiting for the clans who had promised to join him, and in the meantime directed Colonel Hay, whom, on the 18th of September, he appointed governor of Perth, to retain possession of that town at all hazards. He also directed him to tender to the inhabitants the oath of allegiance to the Chevalier, and to expel from the town all persons who refused to take the oath. After this purgation had been effected, Governor Hay was ordered to appoint a free election of magistrates by poll, to open all letters passing through the post-office, and to appoint a new post-master in whom he could have confidence. To support Hay in case of an attack, Mar sent down a party of Robertsons, on the 22d, under the command of Alexander Robertson of Strowan, their chief, known as the elector of Strowan.

At this time, Mar's forces did not probably exceed 3,000 men, but their number having been increased to upwards of 5,000 within a few days thereafter, he marched down upon Perth, which he entered on the 28th of September, on which day the Honourable James Murray, second son of the Viscount Stormont, arrived at Perth with letters from the Chevalier to the earl, giving him assurances of speedy and powerful succour, and promises from the Chevalier, as was reported, of appearing personally in Scotland in a short time. This gentleman had gone over to France in the month of April preceding, to meet the Chevalier, who had appointed him principal secretary for Scotland, and had lately landed at Dover, whence he had travelled *incognito* overland to Edinburgh, where, although well known, he escaped detection. After spending a few days in Edinburgh, during which time he attended, it is said, several private meetings of the friends of the Chevalier, he crossed the Frith in an

⁹ *Life of the Duke of Argyle*, p. 184.

¹ *Collection of original Letters and Authentic Papers relating to the Rebellion*, 1715, p. 20.

² *Annals of 2d year of George I.*, p. 41. Patten, p. 5-155-220.

open boat at Newhaven, and landed at Burntisland, whence he proceeded to Perth.³

The first operations of the insurgents were marked by vigour and intrepidity. The seizure of Perth, though by no means a brilliant affair, was almost as important as a victory would have been at such a crisis, and another dashing exploit which a party of the earl's army performed a few days after his arrival at Perth, was calculated to make an impression equally favourable to the Jacobite cause. Before the Earl of Sutherland took his departure from Leith for Dunrobin castle, to raise a force in the north, he arranged with the government for a supply of arms, ammunition and military stores, which was to be furnished by the governor of Edinburgh castle, and sent down to the north with as little delay as possible. Accordingly, about the end of September, a vessel belonging to Burntisland was freighted for that purpose, on board of which were put about 400 stands of arms, and a considerable quantity of ammunition and military stores. The vessel anchored in Leith roads, but was prevented from passing down the Frith by a strong northeasterly wind, which, continuing to blow very hard, induced the captain for security's sake to weigh anchor and stand over to Burntisland roads, on the opposite coast of Fife, under the protection of the weather shore. The captain went on shore at Burntisland, to visit his wife and family who resided in the town, and the destination of the vessel, and the nature of her cargo being made known to some persons in the Jacobite interest, information thereof was immediately communicated by them to the Earl of Mar, who at once resolved to send a detachment to Burntisland to seize the vessel. Accordingly, he despatched on the evening of the 2d of October, a party of 400 horse, and 500 foot, from Perth to Burntisland, with instructions so to order their march as not to enter the latter place till about midnight. To draw off the attention of the Duke of Argyle from this expedition, Mar made a movement as if he intended to march with all his forces upon Alva, in the neighbourhood of Stirling, in consequence of which Argyle, who had received intelligence of Mar's supposed design,

kept his men under arms the whole day in expectation of an attack. Meanwhile, the party having reached their destination, the foot entered Burntisland unperceived, and while the horse surrounded the town to prevent any person from carrying the intelligence of their arrival out of it, the foot seized all the boats in the harbour and along the shore, to cut off all communication by sea. About 120 men were, thereupon, sent off in some boats to board the ship, which they secured without opposition. They at first attempted to bring the vessel into the harbour, but were prevented by the state of the tide. They, however, lost no time in discharging her cargo, and having pressed a number of carts and horses from the neighbourhood into their service, the detachment set off undisturbed for Perth with their booty, where they arrived without molestation. Besides the arms and other warlike materials which they found in the vessel, the detachment carried off 100 stands of arms from the town, and between 30 and 40 more which they found in another ship. Emboldened by the success of this enterprise, parties of the insurgents spread themselves over Fife, took possession of all the towns on the north of the Frith of Forth, from Burntisland to Fifeness, and prohibited all communication between them and the opposite coast. The Earl of Rothes, who was quartered at Leslie, was now obliged, for fear of being cut off, to retire to Stirling under the protection of a detachment of horse and foot, which had been sent from Stirling to support him, under the command of the Earl of Forfar, and Colonel Ker.⁴

Mar had not yet been joined by any of the northern clans, nor by those under General Gordon; but on the 5th of October, about 500 of the Mackintoshes arrived under the command of the Laird of Borlum, better known by the name of Brigadier Mackintosh, an old and experienced soldier, who, as uncle of the chief, had placed himself at the head of that clan in consequence of his nephew's minority. This clan had formerly sided with the revolution party; but, influenced by Borlum, who was a zealous Jacobite, they were among the first to espouse the cause of the Chevalier, and

³ *Annals of 2d year of George I.*, p. 42.

⁴ *Annals of George I.*, pp. 43, 44. Patten, p. 156. Rae, p. 234.

had seized upon Inverness before some of the other clans had taken the field. On the following day the earl was also joined by the Marquis of Huntly at the head of 500 horse and 2,000 foot, chiefly Gordons; and on the 10th by the Earl Marischal with 300 horse, among whom were many gentlemen, and 500 foot. These different accessions increased Mar's army to upwards of 8,000 men.

Mar ought now to have instantly opened the campaign by advancing upon Stirling, and attacking the Duke of Argyle, whose forces did not, at this time, amount to 2,000 men. In his rear he had nothing to dread, as the Earl of Seaforth, who was advancing to join him with a body of 3,000 foot and 600 horse, had left a division of 2,000 of his men behind him to keep the Earl of Sutherland, and the other friends of the government in the northern Highlands, in check. As the whole of the towns on the eastern coast from Burntisland to Inverness were in possession of his detachments, and as there was not a single hostile party along the whole of that extensive stretch, no obstacle could have occurred, had he marched south, to prevent him from obtaining a regular supply of provisions for his army and such warlike stores as might reach any of these ports from France. One French vessel had already safely landed a supply of arms and ammunition in a northern port, and another during Mar's stay at Perth boldly sailed up the Frith of Forth, in presence of some English ships of war, and entered the harbour of Burntisland with a fresh supply. But though personally brave, Mar was deficient in military genius, and was altogether devoid of that promptitude of action by which Montrose and Dundee were distinguished. Instead, therefore, of attempting at once to strike a decisive blow at Argyle, the insurgent general lingered at Perth upwards of a month. This error, however, might have been repaired had he not committed a more fatal one by detaching a considerable part of his army, including the Macintoshes, who were the best armed of his forces, at the solicitation of a few English Jacobites, who, having taken up arms in the north of England, craved his support.

About the period of Mar's departure for Scotland, the government had obtained infor-

mation of a dangerous conspiracy in England in favour of the Chevalier, in consequence of which the titular Duke of Powis was committed to the Tower, and Lords Lansdowne and Dupplin were arrested, as implicated in the conspiracy, and a warrant was issued for the apprehension of the Earl of Jersey. At the same time, a message from the king was sent to the house of commons, informing them that his majesty had given orders for the apprehension of Sir William Wyndham, Mr. Thomas Forster, junior, member for the county of Northumberland, and other members of the lower house, as being engaged in a design to support an invasion of the kingdom. Sir William Wyndham was accordingly apprehended, and committed to the Tower, but Mr. Forster having been apprised of the arrival of a messenger at Durham with the warrant for his apprehension, avoided him, and joined the Earl of Derwentwater, a young Catholic nobleman, against whom a similar warrant had been issued. Tired of shifting from place to place, they convened a meeting of their friends in Northumberland to consult as to the course they should pursue; it was resolved immediately to take up arms in support of the Chevalier. In pursuance of a resolution entered into, about 60 horsemen, mostly gentlemen, and some attendants, met on Thursday the 6th of October, at a place called Greenrig, whence, after some consultation, they marched to Plainfield, a place on the river Coquet, where they were joined by a few adherents. From Plainfield they departed for Rothbury, a small market town, where they took up their quarters for the night.

Next morning, their numbers still increasing, they advanced to Warkworth, where they were joined by Lord Widdrington, with 30 horse. Mr. Forster was now appointed to the command of this force, not on account of his military abilities, for he had none, but because he was a Protestant, and therefore less objectionable to the high-church party than the Earl of Derwentwater, who, in the absence of a regularly bred commander, should, on account of his rank, have been named to the chief command. On Sunday morning, Mr. Forster sent Mr. Buxton, a clergyman of Derbyshire, who acted as chaplain to the insurgent party,

to the parson of Warkworth, with orders to pray for the Chevalier by name as king, and to introduce into the Litany the name of Mary, the queen-mother, and all the dutiful branches of the royal family, and omit the names of King George, and the prince and princess. The minister of the parish wisely declined to obey these orders, and for his own safety retired to Newcastle. The parishioners, however, were not deprived of divine service, as Mr. Buxton, on the refusal of the parson to officiate as directed, entered the church, and performed in his stead with considerable effect.⁵

On Monday the 10th of October, Mr. Forster was joined by 40 horse from the Scottish border, on which day he openly proclaimed the Chevalier. This small party remained at Warkworth till the 14th, when they proceeded to Alnwick, where they were joined by many of their friends, and thence marched to Morpeth. At Felton bridge they were reinforced by another party of Scottish horse to the number of 70, chiefly gentlemen from the border, so that on entering Morpeth their force amounted to 300 horse. In the course of his march Forster had numerous offers of service from the country people, which, however, he was obliged to decline from the want of arms; but he promised to avail himself of them as soon as he had provided himself with arms and ammunition, which he expected to find in Newcastle, whither he intended to proceed.

In connection with these movements, Launcelot Errington, a Newcastle shipmaster, undertook to surprise Holy Island, which was guarded by a few soldiers, exchanged weekly from the garrison of Berwick. In a military point of view, the possession of such an insignificant post was of little importance, but it was considered by the Jacobites as useful for making signals to such French vessels as might appear off the Northumberland coast with supplies for the insurgents. Errington, it appears, was known to the garrison, as he had been in the habit of visiting the island on business;

⁵ "Buxton's sermon gave mighty encouragement to the hearers, being full of exhortations, flourishing arguments, and cunning insinuations, to be hearty and zealous in the cause; for he was a man of a very comely personage, and could humour his discourse to induce his hearers to believe what he preached, having very good natural parts, and being pretty well read." — *Patten*, p. 29.

and having arrived off the island on the 10th of October, he was allowed to enter the port, no suspicions being entertained of his design. Pursuant to the plan he had formed for surprising the castle, he invited the greater part of the garrison to visit his vessel, and having got them on board, he and the party which accompanied him left the vessel, and took possession of the castle without opposition. Errington endeavoured to apprise his friends at Warkworth of his success by signals, but these were not observed, and the place was retaken the following day by a detachment of 30 men from the garrison of Berwick, and a party of 50 of the inhabitants of the town, who, crossing the sands at low water, entered the island, and carried the fort sword in hand. Errington, in attempting to escape, received a shot in the thigh, and being captured, was carried prisoner to Berwick; whence he had the good fortune to make his escape in disguise.⁶

The possession of Newcastle, where the Jacobite interest was very powerful, was the first object of the Northumberland insurgents; but they were frustrated in their design by the vigilance of the magistrates. Having first secured all suspected persons, the magistrates walled up all the gates with stone and lime, except the Brampton gate, on which they placed two pieces of cannon. An association of the well-affected inhabitants was formed for the defence of the town, and the churchmen and dissenters, laying aside their antipathies for a time, enrolled themselves as volunteers. 700 of these were immediately armed by the magistrates. The keelmen also, who were chiefly dissenters, offered to furnish a similar number of men to defend that town; but their services were not required, as two successive reinforcements of regular troops from Yorkshire arrived on the 9th and 12th of October. When the insurgents received intelligence of the state of affairs at Newcastle, they retired to Hexham, having a few days before sent an express to the Earl of Mar for a reinforcement of foot.

The news of the rising under Mr. Forster having been communicated to the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Lieutenant of Haddingtonshire, his lordship called a meeting of his

⁶ *Patten*, pp. 31, 32. — *Annals of George I.*, pp. 74, 75. — *Rae*, pp. 241, 242.

deputy lieutenants at Haddington early in October, and at the same time issued instructions to them to put the laws in execution against "papists" and other suspected persons, by binding them over to keep the peace, and by seizing their arms and horses in terms of a late act of parliament. In pursuance of this order, Mr. Hepburn of Humbie, and Dr. Sinclair of Hermandston, two of the deputy lieutenants, resolved to go the morning after the instructions were issued, to the house of Mr. Hepburn of Keith, a zealous Jacobite, against whom they appear to have entertained hostile feelings. Dr. Sinclair accordingly appeared next morning with a party of armed men at the place where Hepburn of Humbie had agreed to meet him; but as the latter did not appear at the appointed hour, the doctor proceeded towards Keith with his attendants. On their way to Keith, Hepburn enjoined his party, in case of resistance, not to fire till they should be first fired at by Mr. Hepburn of Keith or his party; and on arriving near the house he reiterated these instructions. When the arrival of Sinclair and his party was announced to Mr. Hepburn of Keith, the latter at once suspecting the cause, immediately demanded inspection of the doctor's orders. Sinclair, thereupon, sent forward a servant with the Marquis of Tweeddale's commission, who, finding the gates shut, offered to show the commission to Hepburn at the dining-room window. On being informed of the nature of the commission, Hepburn signified the utmost contempt at it, and furiously exclaiming "God damn the doctor and the marquis both," disappeared. The servant thinking that Mr. Hepburn had retired for a time to consult with his friends before inspecting the commission, remained before the inner gate waiting for his return. But instead of coming back to receive the commission, Hepburn and his friends immediately mounted their horses and sallied out, Hepburn discharging a pistol at the servant, which wounded him in two places. Old Keith then rode up to the doctor, who was standing near the outer gate, and after firing another pistol at him, attacked him sword in hand and wounded him in the head. Sinclair's party, in terms of their instructions, immediately returned the fire, and Mr. Hepburn's younger

son was unfortunately killed on the spot. Hepburn and his party, disconcerted by this event, instantly galloped off towards the Borders and joined the Jacobite standard. The death of young Hepburn, who was the first person that fell in the insurrection of 1715, highly incensed the Jacobites, who longed for an opportunity, which was soon afforded them, of punishing its author, Dr. Sinclair.⁷

Whilst Mr. Forster was thus employed in Northumberland, the Earl of Kenmure, who had received a commission from the Earl of Mar to raise the Jacobites in the south of Scotland, was assembling his friends on the Scottish border. Early in October he had held private meetings with some of them, at which it had been resolved to make an attempt upon Dumfries, expecting to surprise it before the friends of the government there should be aware of their design; but the magistrates got timely warning. Lord Kenmure first appeared in arms, at the head of 150 horse, on the 11th of October at Moffat, where he proclaimed the Chevalier, on the evening of which day he was joined by the Earl of Wintoun and 14 attendants. Next day he proceeded to Lochmaben, where he also proclaimed "the Pretender." Alarmed at his approach, the magistrates of Dumfries ordered the drums to beat to arms, and for several days the town exhibited a scene of activity and military bustle perfectly ludicrous, when the trifling force with which it was threatened is considered. Kenmure advanced within two miles of the town, but being informed of the preparations which had been made to receive him, he returned to Lochmaben. He thereupon marched to Ecclefechan, where he was joined by Sir Patrick Maxwell of Springkell, with 14 horsemen, and thence to Langholm, and afterwards to Hawick, where he proclaimed the Chevalier. On the 17th of October, Kenmure marched to Jedburgh, with the intention of proceeding to Kelso, and there also proclaimed the prince; but learning that Kelso was protected by a party under the command of Sir William Bennet of Grubbet, he crossed the Border with the design of forming a junction with Forster.⁸

⁷ Rae, pp. 243—245.

⁸ Rae. *Faithful Register of the late Rebellion*. London, 1718.

We must now direct attention to the measures taken by the Earl of Mar in compliance with the request of Mr. Forster and his friends to send them a body of foot. As Mar had not resolution to attempt the passage of the Forth, which, with the forces under his command, he could have easily effected, he had no other way of reinforcing the English Jacobites, than by attempting to transport a part of his army across the Frith. As there were several English men-of-war in the Frith, the idea of sending a body of 2,000 men across such an extensive arm of the sea appeared chimerical; yet, nevertheless, Mar resolved upon this bold and hazardous attempt.

To command this adventurous expedition, the Jacobite general pitched upon Old Borlum, as Brigadier Mackintosh was familiarly called, who readily undertook, with the assistance of the Earl of Panmure, and other able officers, to perform a task which few men, even of experience, would have undertaken without a grudge. For this hazardous service, a picked body of 2,500 men was selected, consisting of the whole of the Mackintoshes, and the greater part of Mar's own regiment, and of the regiments of the Earl of Strathmore, Lord Nairne, Lord Charles Murray, and Drummond of Logie-Drummond. To escape the men-of-war, which were stationed between Leith and Burntisland, it was arranged that the expedition should embark at Crail, Pittenweem, and Elie, three small towns near the mouth of the Frith, whither the troops were to proceed with the utmost secrecy and expedition by the most unfrequented ways through the interior of Fife. At the same time, to amuse the ships of war, it was concerted that another small and select body should openly march across the country to Burntisland, seize upon the boats in the harbour, and make preparations as if they intended to cross the Frith. With remarkable foresight, Mar gave orders that the expedition should embark with the flowing of the tide, that in case of detection, the ships of war should be obstructed by it in their pursuit down the Frith.

Accordingly, on the 9th or 10th of October, both detachments left Perth escorted by a body of horse under the command of Sir John Erskine of Alva, the Master of Siuelair, and

Sir James Sharp, grandson of Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews; and whilst the main body proceeded in a south-easterly direction, through the district of Fife bordering upon the Tay, so as to pass unobserved by the men-of-war, the other division marched directly across the country to Burntisland, where they made a feint as if preparing to embark in presence of the ships of war which then lay at anchor in Leith Roads. When the commanders of these vessels observed the motions of the insurgents, they manned their boats and despatched them across to attack them should they venture out to sea, and slipping their cables they stood over with their vessels to the Fife shore to support their boats. As the boats and ships approached, the insurgents, who had already partly embarked, returned on shore; and those on land proceeded to erect a battery, as if for the purpose of covering the embarkation. An interchange of shots then took place without damage on either side, till night put an end to hostilities. In the meantime, Brigadier Mackintosh had arrived at the different stations fixed for his embarkation, at the distance of nearly 20 miles from the ships of war, and was actively engaged in shipping his men in boats which had been previously secured for their reception by his friends in these quarters. The first division crossed the same night, being Wednesday the 12th of October, and the second followed next morning. When almost half across the channel, which, between the place of embarkation and the opposite coast, is about 16 or 17 miles broad, the fleet of boats was descried from the topmasts of the men-of-war, and the commanders then perceived, for the first time, the deception which had been so successfully practised upon them by the detachment at Burntisland. Unfortunately, at the time they made this discovery, both wind and tide were against them; but they sent out their boats fully manned, which succeeded in capturing only two boats with 40 men, who were carried into Leith, and committed to jail. As soon as the tide changed, the men-of-war proceeded down the Frith, in pursuit, but they came too late, and the whole of the boats, with the exception of eight (which being far behind, took refuge in the Isle of May, to avoid capture), reached the opposite

coast in perfect safety, and disembarked their men at Gullane, North Berwick, Aberlady, and places adjacent. The number carried over amounted to about 1,600. Those who were driven into the Isle of May, amounting to 200, after remaining therein a day or two, regained the Fife coast, and returned to the camp at Perth.⁹

The news of Mackintosh's landing occasioned a dreadful consternation at Edinburgh, where the friends of the government, astonished at the boldness of the enterprise, and the extraordinary success which had attended it, at once conjectured that the brigadier would march directly upon the capital, where he had many friends, and from which he was only 16 miles distant. As the city was at this time wholly unprovided with the means of defence, Campbell, the provost, a warm partisan of the government, adopted the most active measures for putting it in a defensive state. The well affected among the citizens formed themselves into a body for its defence, under the name of the Associate Volunteers, and these, with the city guards and trained bands, had different posts assigned them, which they guarded with great care and vigilance. Even the ministers of the city, to show an example to the lay citizens, joined the ranks of the armed volunteers. The provost, at the same time, sent an express to the Duke of Argyll, requesting him to send, without delay, a detachment of regular troops to support the citizens.

After the brigadier had mustered his men, he marched to Haddington, in which he took up his quarters for the night to refresh his troops, and wait for the remainder of his detachment, which he expected would follow. According to Mackintosh's instructions, he should have marched directly for England, to join the insurgents in Northumberland, but having received intelligence of the consternation which prevailed at Edinburgh, and urged, it is believed, by pressing solicitations from some of the Jacobite inhabitants to advance upon the capital, as well as lured by the éclat which its capture would confer upon his arms, and the obvious advantages which would thence ensue, he marched rapidly towards Edinburgh

the following morning. He arrived in the evening of the same day, Friday 14th October, at Jock's Lodge, about a mile from the city, where, being informed of the measures which had been taken to defend it, and that the Duke of Argyll was hourly expected from Stirling with a reinforcement, he immediately halted, and called a council of war. After a short consultation, they resolved, in the meantime, to take possession of Leith. Mackintosh, accordingly, turning off his men to the right, marched into the town without opposition. He immediately released from jail the 40 men who had been taken prisoners by the boats of the men-of-war, and seized a considerable quantity of brandy and provisions, which he found in the custom-house. He then took possession of and quartered his men in the citadel which had been built by Oliver Cromwell. This fort, which was of a square form, with four demi-bastions, and surrounded by a large dry ditch, was now in a very dismantled state, though all the outworks, with the exception of the gates, were entire. Within the walls were several houses, built for the convenience of sea-bathing, and which served the new occupants in lieu of barracks. To supply the want of gates, Mackintosh formed barricades of beams, planks, and of carts filled with earth, stone, and other materials, and seizing six or eight pieces of cannon which he found in some vessels in the harbour, he planted two of them at the north end of the drawbridge, and the remainder upon the ramparts of the citadel. Within a few hours, therefore, after he had entered Leith, Mackintosh was fully prepared to withstand a siege, should the Duke of Argyll venture to attack him.

Whilst Mackintosh was in full march upon the capital from the east, the Duke of Argyll was advancing upon it with greater rapidity from the west, at the head of 400 dragoons and 200 foot, mounted, for the sake of greater expedition, upon farm-horses. He entered the city by the west port about ten o'clock at night, and was joined by the horse militia of Lothian and the Merse with a good many volunteers, both horse and foot, who, with the Marquis of Tweeddale, Lord Belhaven, and others, had retired into Edinburgh on the approach of the insurgents. These, with the

⁹ *Annals of George I.*, pp. 89-91. Patten, pp. 8, 9.

addition of the city guard and volunteers, increased his force to nearly 1,200 men. With this body the duke marched down towards Leith next morning, Saturday, 15th October; but before he reached the town many of the "brave gentlemen volunteers,"¹ whose enthusiasm had cooled while contemplating the probable consequences of encountering in deadly strife the determined band to which they were to be opposed, slunk out of the ranks and retired to their homes. On arriving near the citadel, Argyle posted the dragoons and foot on opposite sides, and along with Generals Evans and Wightman, proceeded to reconnoitre the fort on the sea side. Thereafter he sent in a summons to the citadel requiring the rebels to surrender under the pain of high treason, and declaring that if they obliged him to employ cannon to force them, and killed any of his men in resisting him, he would give them no quarter. To this message the laird of Kynnachin, a gentleman of Athole, returned this resolute answer, that as to surrendering they did not understand the word, which could therefore only excite laughter—that if his grace thought he was able to make an assault, he might try, but he would find that they were fully prepared to meet it; and as to quarter they were resolved, in case of attack, neither to take nor to give any.

This answer was followed by a discharge from the cannon on the ramparts, which made Argyle soon perceive the mistake he had committed in advancing without cannon. Had his force been equal and even numerically superior to that of Mackintosh, he could not have ventured without almost certain destruction, to have carried the citadel sword in hand, as he found that before his men could reach the foot of the wall or the barricaded positions, they would probably have been exposed to five rounds from the besieged, which, at a moderate computation, would have cut off one half of his men. His cavalry, besides, on account of the nature of the ground, could have been of little use in an assault; and as, under such circumstances, an attack was considered impracticable, the duke retired to Edinburgh in the evening to make the necessary preparations for a siege.

While deliberating on the expediency of making an attack, some of the volunteers were very zealous for it, but on being informed that it belonged to them as volunteers to lead the way, they heartily approved of the duke's proposal to defer the attempt till a more seasonable opportunity.²

Had the Earl of Mar been apprised in due time of Mackintosh's advance upon Edinburgh, and of the Duke of Argyle's departure from Stirling, he would probably have marched towards the latter place, and might have crossed the Forth above the bridge of Stirling, without any very serious opposition from the small force stationed in the neighbourhood; but he received the intelligence of the brigadier's movement too late to make it available, had he been inclined; moreover it appears that he had resolved not to cross the Forth till joined by General Gordon's detachment.³

On returning to Edinburgh the Duke of Argyle gave orders for the removal of some pieces of cannon from the castle to Leith, with the intention of making an assault upon the citadel the following morning with the whole of his force, including the dragoons, which he had resolved to dismount for the occasion. But he was saved the necessity of such a hazardous attempt, the insurgents evacuating the place the same night. Old Borlum, seeing no chance of obtaining possession of Edinburgh, and considering that the occupation of the citadel, even if tenable, was not of sufficient importance to employ such a large body of men in its defence, had resolved, shortly after the departure of the duke, to abandon the place, and to retrace his steps without delay, and with all the secrecy in his power. Two hours before his departure, he sent a boat across the Frith with despatches to the Earl of Mar, giving him a detail of his proceedings since his landing, and informing him of his intention to retire. To deceive the men-of-war which lay at anchor in the Roads, he caused a shot to be fired after the boat, which had the desired effect of making the officers in command of the ships think the boat had some friends of the government on board, and thus

¹ Rae.

² Rae, p. 263.

³ Letter to Mr. Forster, 21st October, 1715.

allowing her to pursue her course without obstruction.

At nine o'clock at night, every thing being in readiness, Mackintosh, favoured by the darkness of the night and low water, left the citadel secretly, and pursuing his course along the beach, crossed, without observation, the small rivulet which runs through the harbour at low water, and which was then about knee deep, and passing the point of the pier, pursued his route south-eastward along the sands of Leith. At his departure, Mackintosh was obliged to leave about 40 men behind him, who having made too free with the brandy which had been found in the custom-house, were not in a condition to march. These, with some stragglers who lagged behind, were afterwards taken prisoners by a detachment of Argyle's forces, which also captured some baggage and ammunition.

The Highlanders continued their march during the night, and arrived at two o'clock on the morning of Sunday, the 16th of October, at Seaton House, the seat of the Earl of Winton, who had already joined the Viscount Kenmure. Here, during the day, they were joined by a small party of their friends, who had crossed the Frith some time after the body which marched to Leith had landed, and who, from having disembarked farther to the eastward, had not been able to reach their companions before their departure for the capital. As soon as the Duke of Argyle heard of Mackintosh's retreat, and that he had taken up a position in Seaton House, which was encompassed by a very strong and high stone wall, he resolved to follow and besiege him in his new quarters. But the duke was prevented from carrying this design into execution by receiving intelligence that Mar was advancing upon Stirling with the intention of crossing the Forth.

Being apprised by the receipt of Mackintosh's despatch from Leith, of the Brigadier's design to march to the south, Mar had resolved, with the view principally of facilitating his retreat from Leith, to make a movement upon Stirling, and thereby induce the Duke of Argyle to return to the camp in the Park with the troops which he had carried to Edinburgh. Mar, accordingly, left Perth on Monday the

17th of October, and General Witham, the commander of the royalist forces at Stirling in Argyle's absence, having on the previous day received notice of Mar's intention, immediately sent an express to the duke, begging him to return to Stirling immediately, and bring back the forces he had taken with him to Edinburgh. The express reached Edinburgh at an early hour on Monday morning, and the duke immediately left Edinburgh for Stirling, leaving behind him only 100 dragoons and 150 foot under General Wightman. On arriving at Stirling that night he was informed that Mar was to be at Dunblane next morning with his whole army, amounting to nearly 10,000 men.⁴

The arrival of his Grace was most opportune, for Mar had in fact advanced the same evening, with all his horse, to Dunblane, little more than six miles from Stirling, and his foot were only a short way off from the latter place. Whether Mar would have really attempted the passage of the Forth but for the intelligence he received next morning, is very problematical; but having been informed early on Tuesday of the duke's return, and of the arrival of Evans's regiment of dragoons from Ireland, he resolved to return to Perth. In a letter which he wrote to Mr. Forster from Perth on the 21st of October, after alluding to the information he had received, he gives as an additional reason for this determination, that he had left Perth before provisions could be got ready for his army, and that he found all the country about Stirling, where he meant to pass the Forth, so entirely exhausted by the enemy that he could find nothing to subsist upon. Besides, from a letter he had received from General Gordon, he found the latter could not possibly join him that week, and he could not think of passing the Forth, under the circumstances detailed, till joined by him. Under these difficulties, and having accomplished one of the objects of his march, by withdrawing the Duke of Argyle from the pursuit of his friends in Lothian, he had thought fit, he observes, to march back from Dunblane to Auchterarder, and thence back to Perth, there to wait for Gordon and the Earl of Seaforth.

Mackintosh, in expectation probably of an

⁴ *Annals of George I.*, p. 93. Patten, p. 13. Rae, p. 265.

answer to his despatch from Leith, appeared to be in no hurry to leave Seaton House, where his men fared sumptuously upon the best that the neighbourhood could afford. As all communication was cut off between him and the capital by the 100 dragoons which Argyle had left behind, and a party of 300 gentlemen-volunteers under the command of the Earl of Rothes, who patrolled in the neighbourhood of Seaton House, Mackintosh was in complete ignorance of Argyle's departure from the capital, and of Mar's march. This was fortunate, as it seems probable that had the Brigadier been aware of these circumstances, he would have again advanced upon the capital, and might have captured it. During the three days that Mackintosh lay in Seaton House, no attempt was, of course, made to dislodge him from his position, but he was subjected to some petty annoyances by the volunteers and dragoons, between whom and the Highlanders some occasional shots were interchanged without damage on either side. Having deviated from the line of instructions, Mackintosh appears to have been anxious, before proceeding south, to receive from Mar such new or additional directions as a change of circumstances might require. Mar lost no time in replying to Borlum's communication, and on Tuesday the 18th of October, Borlum received a despatch desiring him to march immediately towards England, and form a junction near the borders with the English Jacobite forces under Mr. Forster, and those of the south of Scotland under Lord Kenmure. On the same day, Mackintosh received a despatch from Mr. Forster, requesting him to meet him without delay at Kelso or Coldstream.⁵

To give effect to these instructions, Mackintosh left Seaton House next morning, and proceeded across the country towards Longformacus, which he reached that night. Doctor Sinclair, the proprietor of Hermandston House, had incurred the Brigadier's displeasure by his treatment of the laird of Keith, to revenge which he threatened to burn Sinclair's mansion in passing it on his way south, but he was persuaded not to carry his threat into execution. He, however, ordered his soldiers to

plunder the house, a mandate which they obeyed with the utmost alacrity. When Major-general Wightman heard of Mackintosh's departure, he marched from Edinburgh with some dragoons, militia and volunteers, and took possession of Seaton House. After demolishing the wall which surrounded it, he returned to Edinburgh in the evening, carrying along with him some Highlanders who had lagged behind or deserted from Mackintosh on his march.⁶

Mackintosh took up his quarters at Longformacus during the night, and continued his march next morning to Dunse, where he arrived during the day and proclaimed the Chevalier. Here Mackintosh halted two days, and on the morning of Saturday the 22d of October, set out on his march to Kelso, the appointed place of rendezvous, whither the Northumbrian forces under Forster were marching the same day. Sir William Bennet of Grubbet and his friends hearing of the approach of these two bodies, left the town the preceding night, and, after dismissing their followers, retired to Edinburgh. The united forces of Forster and Kenmure entered Kelso about one o'clock on Saturday. The Highlanders had not then arrived, but hearing that they were not far off, the Scottish cavalry, to mark their respect for the bravery the Highlanders had shown in crossing the Frith, marched out as far as Ednam bridge to meet them, and accompanied them into the town about three o'clock in the afternoon, amidst the martial sounds of bagpipes. The forces under Mackintosh now amounted to 1,400 foot and 600 horse; but a third of the latter consisted of menial servants.

The following day, being Sunday, was entirely devoted by the Jacobites to religious duties. Patten, the historian of the insurrection, an episcopal minister and one of their chaplains, in terms of instructions from Lord Kenmure, who had the command of the troops while in Scotland, preached in the morning in the great church of Kelso, formerly the abbey of David I., to a mixed congregation of Catholics, Presbyterians and Episcopalians, from Deuteronomy xxi. 17. "The right of the first-

⁵ Patten, p. 20.

⁶ Patten, p. 20. *Annals of George I.*, p. 101.

born is his."⁷ The prayers on this occasion were read by Mr. Buxton, formerly alluded to. In the afternoon Mr. William Irvine, an old Scottish Episcopalian minister, chaplain to the Earl of Carnwath, read prayers, and delivered a sermon full of exhortations to his hearers to be zealous and steady in the cause of the Chevalier. This discourse, he afterwards told his colleague, Mr. Patten, he had formerly preached in the Highlands about twenty-six years before, in presence of Lord Viscount Dundee and his army.

Next morning the Highlanders were drawn up in the church-yard, and thence marched to the market-cross with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing, when the Chevalier was proclaimed by Seaton of Barnes, who claimed the vacant title of Earl of Dunfermline. After finishing the proclamation, he read the manifesto quoted in the conclusion of last chapter, at the end of which the people with loud acclamations shouted, "No union! no malt-tax! no salt-tax!"⁸

The insurgents remained three days in Kelso, chiefly occupied in searching for arms and plundering the houses of some of the loyalists in the neighbourhood. They took possession of some pieces of cannon which had been brought by Sir William Bennet from Hume castle for the defence of the town, and which had formerly been employed to protect that ancient stronghold against the attacks of the English. They also seized some broadswords which they found in the church, and a small quantity of gunpowder. Whilst at Kelso, Mackintosh seized the public revenue, as was his uniform custom in every town through which he passed.

During their stay at Kelso, the insurgents seem to have come to no determination as to future operations; but the arrival of General Carpenter with three regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of foot, at Wooler, forced them to resolve upon something decisive. Lord Kenmure, thereupon, called a council of war

⁷ "All the lords that were Protestants, with a vast multitude of people, attended: It was very agreeable to see how decently and reverently the very common Highlanders behaved, and answered the responses according to the Rubrick, to the shame of many that pretend to more polite breeding."—*Patten*, p. 40.

⁸ *Patten*, p. 49.

to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. According to the opinions of the principal officers, there were three ways of proceeding. The first, which was strongly urged by the Earl of Wintoun, was to march into the west of Scotland, to reduce Dumfries and Glasgow, and thereafter to form a junction with the western clans, under General Gordon, to open a communication with the Earl of Mar, and threaten the Duke of Argyle's rear. The second was to give battle immediately to General Carpenter, who had scarcely 1,000 men under him, the greater part of whom consisted of newly-raised levies, who had never seen any service. This plan was supported by Mackintosh, who was so intent upon it, that, sticking his pike in the ground, he declared that he would not stir, but would wait for General Carpenter, and fight him, as he was sure there would be no difficulty in beating him. The last plan, which was that of the Northumberland gentlemen, was to march directly through Cumberland and Westmoreland into Lancashire, where the Jacobite interest was very powerful, and where they expected to be joined by great numbers of the people. Old Borlum was strongly opposed to this view, and pointed out the risk which they would run, if met by an opposing force, which they might calculate upon, while General Carpenter was left in their rear. He contended, that if they succeeded in defeating Carpenter, they would soon be able to fight any other troops,—that if Carpenter should beat them, they had already advanced far enough, and that they would be better able, in the event of a reverse, to shift for themselves in Scotland than in England.⁹

Either of the two first-mentioned plans was far preferable to the last, even had the troops been disposed to adopt it; but the aversion of the Highlanders to a campaign in England was almost insuperable; and nothing could mark more strongly the fatuity of the Northumberland Jacobites, than to insist, under these circumstances, upon marching into England. But they pertinaciously adhered to their opinion, and, by doing so, may be truly said to have ruined the cause which they had com-

⁹ *Annals of 2d year of George I.*, p. 123. *Patten*, pp. 53, 64, 65.

bined to support. As the comparatively small body of troops under Argyle was the only force in Scotland from which the insurgents had any thing to dread, their whole attention should have been directed in the first place to that body, which could not have withstood the combined attacks of the forces which the rebels had in the field, amounting to about 16,000 men. The Duke of Argyle must have been compelled, had the three divisions of the insurgent army made a simultaneous movement upon Stirling, to have hazarded a battle, and the result would very probably have been disastrous to his arms. Had such an event occurred, the insurgents would have immediately become masters of the whole of Scotland, and would soon have been in a condition to have carried the war into England with every hope of success.

Amidst the confusion and perplexity occasioned by these differences of opinion, a sort of medium course was in the mean time resolved upon, till the chiefs of the army should reconcile their divisions. The plan agreed upon was, that they should, to avoid an immediate encounter with General Carpenter, decamp from Kelso, and proceed along the border in a south-westerly direction towards Jedburgh: accordingly, on Thursday the 27th of October, the insurgents proceeded on their march. The disagreement which had taken place had cooled their military fervour, and a feeling of dread, at the idea of being attacked by Carpenter's force, soon began to display itself. Twice, on the march to Jedburgh, were they thrown into a state of alarm, approaching to terror,¹ by mistaking a party of their own men for the troops of General Carpenter.

Instead of advancing upon Jedburgh, as they supposed Carpenter would have done, the insurgents ascertained that he had taken a different direction in entering Scotland, and that from their relative positions, they were considerably in advance of him in the proposed route into England. The English officers thereupon again urged their views in council, and insisted upon them with such earnestness, that Old Borlum was induced, though with great reluctance, and not till after very high

words had been exchanged, to yield. Preparatory to crossing the Borders, they despatched one Captain Hunter (who, from following the profession of a horse-stealer on the Borders, was well acquainted with the neighbouring country,) across the hills, to provide quarters for the army in North Tynedale; but he had not proceeded far, when an order was sent after him countermanding his march, in consequence of a mutiny among the Highlanders, who refused to march into England. The English horse, after expostulating with them, threatened to surround and compel them to march; but Mackintosh informed them that he would not allow his men to be so treated, and the Highlanders themselves despising the threat, gave them to understand that they would resist the attempt.²

The determination, on the part of the Highlanders, not to march into England, staggered the English gentlemen; but as they saw no hopes of inducing their northern allies to enter into their views, they consented to waive their resolution in the meantime, and by mutual consent the army left Jedburgh on the 29th of October for Hawick, about ten miles to the south-west. While on the march to Hawick, a fresh mutiny broke out among the Highlanders, who, suspecting that the march to England was still resolved upon, separated themselves from the rest of the army, and going up to the top of a rising ground on Hawick moor, grounded their arms, declaring, at the same time, that although they were determined not to march into England, they were ready to fight the enemy on Scottish ground. Should the chiefs of the army decline to lead them against Carpenter's forces, they proposed, agreeably to the Earl of Wintoun's advice, either to march through the west of Scotland and join the clans under General Gordon, by crossing the Forth above Stirling, or to co-operate with the Earl of Mar, by falling upon the Duke of Argyle's rear, while Mar himself should assail him in front. But the English officers would listen to none of these propositions, and again threatened to surround them with the horse and force them to march. The Highlanders, exasperated at this menace, cocked their pistols,

¹ Rae

² *Annals of 2d year of George I.*, p. 128.

and told their imprudent colleagues that if they were to be made a sacrifice, they would prefer being destroyed in their own country. By the interposition of the Earl of Wintoun a reconciliation was effected, and the insurgents resumed their march to Hawick, on the understanding that the Highlanders should not be again required to march into England.³

The insurgents passed the night at Hawick, during which the courage of the Highlanders was put to the test, by the appearance of a party of horse, which was observed by their advanced posts patrolling in front. On the alarm being given, the Highlanders immediately flew to arms, and forming themselves in very good order by moonlight, waited with firmness the expected attack; but the affair turned out a false alarm, purposely got up, it is believed, by the English commanders, to try how the Highlanders would conduct themselves, should an enemy appear.⁴ Next morning, being Sunday, the 30th of October, the rebels marched from Hawick to Langholm, about which time General Carpenter entered Jedburgh. They arrived at Langholm in the evening, and with the view, it is supposed, of attacking Dumfries, they sent forward to Ecclefechan, during the night, a detachment of 400 horse, under the Earl of Carnwath, for the purpose of blocking up Dumfries till the foot should come up. This detachment arrived at Ecclefechan before day-light, and, after a short halt, proceeded in the direction of Dumfries; but they had not advanced far, when they were met by an express from some of their friends at Dumfries, informing them that great preparations had been made for the defence of the town. The Earl of Carnwath immediately forwarded the express to Langholm, and, in the meantime, halted his men on Blacket ridge, a moor in the neighbourhood of Ecclefechan, till further orders. The express was met by the main body of the army about two miles west from Langholm, on its march to Dumfries.

The intelligence thus conveyed, immediately created another schism in the army. The English, who had been prevailed upon, from the advantages held out to the Jacobite cause

by the capture of such an important post as Dumfries, to accede to the proposal for attacking it, now resumed their original intention of marching into England. The Highlanders, on the other hand, insisted upon marching instantly upon Dumfries, which they alleged might be easily taken, as there were no regular forces in it. It was in vain that the advocates of this plan urged upon the English the advantages to be derived from the possession of a place so convenient as Dumfries was, for receiving succours from France and Ireland, and for keeping up a communication with England and their friends in the west of Scotland. It was to no purpose they were assured, that there were a great many arms and a good supply of powder in the town, which they might secure, and that the Duke of Argyle, whom they appeared to dread, was in no condition to injure them, as he had scarcely 2,000 men under him, and was in daily expectation of being attacked by the Earl of Mar, whose forces were then thrice as numerous;—these and similar arguments were entirely thrown away upon men who had already determined at all hazards to adhere to their resolution of carrying the war into England. To induce the Scottish commanders to concur in their views, they pretended that they had received letters from their friends in Lancashire inviting them thither, and assuring them that on their arrival a general insurrection would take place, and that they would be immediately joined by 20,000 men, and would have money and provisions in abundance. The advantages of a speedy march into England being urged with extreme earnestness by the English officers, all their Scottish associates, with the exception of the Earl of Wintoun, at last consented to try the chances of war on the soil of England. Even Old Borlum, (who, at the time the parties were discussing the point in dispute, was busily engaged at a distance from the place where the main body had halted, restraining a party of the Highlanders from deserting,) yielded to the entreaties of the English officers, and exerted all his influence to induce his men to follow his example. By the aid of great promises and money, the greater part of the Highlanders was prevailed upon to follow the fortunes of their commander, but

³ Patten, pp. 67, 68. Rae, pp. 271, 272.

⁴ Patten, p. 69.

about 500 of them marched off in a body to the north. Before they reached Clydesdale, however, they were almost all made prisoners by the country people, and lodged in jail. The Earl of Wintoun, who was quite opposed to the measure resolved upon, also went off with his adherents, but being overtaken by a messenger who was despatched after him to remonstrate with him for abandoning his friends, he consented to return, and immediately rejoined the army. When overtaken, he drew up his horse, and, after a momentary pause, as if reflecting on the judgment which posterity would form of his conduct, observed with chivalrous feeling, that history should not have to relate of him that he deserted King James's interest or his country's good, but with a deep presentiment of the danger of the course his associates were about to pursue, he added, "You," addressing the messenger, "or any man shall have liberty to cut these (laying hold of his own ears as he spoke) out of my head, if we do not all repent it."

The insurgents, after spiking two pieces of cannon which they had brought from Kelso, immediately proceeded on their march for England, and entered Longtown in Cumberland the same night, where they were joined by the detachment which had been sent to Ecclefechan the previous night. On the following day, November 1st, they marched to Brampton, a small market town in Cumberland, where they proclaimed the Chevalier, and levied the excise duties on malt and ale. Mr. Forster now opened a commission which he had lately received from the Earl of Mar, appointing him general of the Jacobite forces in England. As the men were greatly fatigued by forced marches, having marched about 100 miles in five successive days, they took up their quarters at Brampton for the night to refresh themselves. When General Carpenter heard that the insurgents had entered England, he left Jedburgh, and recrossing the hills into Northumberland, threw himself between them and Newcastle, the seizure of which, he erroneously supposed, was the object of their movement.

Next day the insurgents marched towards Penrith, on approaching which they received intelligence that the *posse comitatus* of Cum-

berland, amounting to nearly 14,000 men, headed by the sheriff of the county, and attended by Lord Lonsdale and the Bishop of Carlisle, had assembled near Penrith on the line of their march to oppose their advance. Mr., now General Forster, sent forward a party to reconnoitre, but he experienced no trouble from this immense rustic force, which broke up and dispersed in the utmost confusion on hearing of the approach of the reconnoitring party. Patten, the historian of the rebellion, who had formerly been curate of Penrith, attempted, at the head of a party of horse, to intercept his superior, the Bishop of Carlisle, but his lordship escaped. The insurgents captured some horses and a large quantity of arms, and also took several prisoners, who being soon released, expressed their gratitude by shouting, "God save King James and prosper his merciful army."⁵ To impress the inhabitants of Penrith with a favourable idea of their strength and discipline, the insurgents halted upon a moor in the neighbourhood, where they formed themselves in order of battle, and thereafter entered the town in regular marching order. The principal inhabitants, from an apprehension of being plundered, showed great attention to them, in return for which, and the comfortable entertainment which they received, they abstained from doing any act which could give offence. They however raised, according to custom, the excise and other public duties.

Next day the insurgents marched to Appleby, where, as at Penrith, they proclaimed the Chevalier and seized the public revenue. After halting two days at this town, they resumed their march on the 5th of November, and arrived at Kendal, where they took up their quarters for the night. Next morning, being Sunday, they, after a short march, reached Kirkby-Lonsdale, where, after proclaiming the Chevalier, they went to the church in the afternoon, where, in absence of the parson, who had absconded, Mr. Patten read prayers. This author relates a singular instance of Jacobite zeal on the part of a gentleman of the name of Guin, or Gwyn, who entered the churches which lay in the route of

⁵ *Letter about the Occurrences on the way to, and at Preston. By an Eye Witness, p. 4.*

the army, and scratching out the name of King George from the prayer books, substituted that of the Chevalier in its stead, in a manner so closely resembling the print that the alteration could scarcely be perceived.

The insurgents had now marched through two populous counties, but they had obtained the accession of only two gentlemen to their ranks. They would probably have received some additions in Cumberland and Westmoreland, had not precautions been taken by the sheriffs of these counties beforehand to secure the principal Catholics and lodge them in the castle of Carlisle. Despairing of obtaining any considerable accession of force, 17 gentlemen of Teviotdale had left the army at Appleby, and the Highlanders, who had borne the fatigues of the march with great fortitude, now began to manifest signs of impatience at the disappointment they felt in not being joined by large bodies of men as they were led to expect. Their prospects, however, began to brighten by the arrival of some Lancashire Catholic gentlemen and their servants at Kirkby-Lonsdale, and by the receipt of intelligence the following day, when on their march to Lancaster, that the Jacobites of Lancashire were ready to join them, and that the Chevalier had been proclaimed at Manchester.⁶

The insurgents entered Lancaster without opposition, and instantly marching to the market-place, proclaimed the Chevalier by sound of trumpet, the whole body being drawn up round the cross. After remaining two days at Lancaster, where the Highlanders regaled themselves with claret and brandy found in the custom-house, they took the road to Preston on Wednesday the 9th of November, with the intention of possessing themselves of Warrington bridge and securing Manchester, as preliminary to a descent upon Liverpool. The horse reached Preston at night, two troops of Stanhope's dragoons and part of a militia regiment under Sir Henry Houghton, which were quartered in the town, retiring to Wigan on their approach; but owing to the badness of the road from a heavy rain which had fallen during the day, the foot did not arrive till the following day, when the Chevalier was pro-

claimed at the cross with the usual formalities. On the march from Lancaster to Preston, and after their arrival there, the insurgents were joined by different parties of gentlemen, chiefly Catholics, with their tenants and servants, to the number of about 1,500 in all, by which additions Forster's army was increased to nearly 4,000 men.

Forster, who had kept a strict watch upon Carpenter, and of whose movements he received regular accounts daily, was, however, utterly ignorant of the proceedings of a more formidable antagonist, who, he was made to understand by his Lancashire friends, was at too great a distance to prove dangerous. This was General Wills, who had the command in Cheshire, and who was now busily employed in concentrating his forces for the purpose of attacking the rebels. Unfortunately for them, the government had been induced, by the tumults and violences of the high-church party in the west of England during the preceding year, to quarter bodies of troops in the disaffected districts, which being disposed at Shrewsbury, Chester, Birmingham, Stafford, Wolverhampton, Manchester, and other adjacent places, could be easily assembled together on a short notice. On information being communicated to the government of the invasion of England, General Wills had been directed to collect all the forces he could, and to march upon Warrington bridge and Preston, to prevent the advance of the insurgents upon Manchester.

General Wills had, accordingly, made great exertions to fulfil, without delay, the instructions he had received, and hearing that General Carpenter was at Durham, had sent an express to him to march westward; but he was unable to save Preston. When the insurgents entered this town, Wills was at Manchester, waiting for the arrival of two regiments of foot and a regiment of dragoons, which were within a few days' march of him; but alarmed lest by delaying his march the rebels might make themselves masters of Warrington bridge and Manchester, by the possession of which they would increase their force and secure many other advantages, he resolved instantly to march upon Preston with such troops as he had. He left Manchester, accordingly, on Friday the

⁶ Patten, p. 89.

11th of November, for Wigan, with four regiments of dragoons, one of horse, and Preston's regiment of foot, formerly known as the Cameronian regiment. He arrived at Wigan in the evening, where he met Stanhope's dragoons and Houghton's militia, who had retired from Preston on the evening of the 9th. In the meantime, the inhabitants of Liverpool anticipating a visit from the insurgents, were actively employed in preparations for its defence. Within three days they threw up a breastwork round that part of the town approachable from the land side, on which they mounted 70 pieces of cannon, and, to prevent the ships in the harbour from falling into the hands of the enemy, they anchored them in the offing.

It was the intention of Forster to have left Preston on the morning of Saturday the 12th; but the unexpected arrival of Wills at Wigan, of which he received intelligence on the preceding night, made him alter his design. Forster had been so elated by the addition which his forces had received at Preston, that he affected to believe that Wills would never venture to face him; but old Mackintosh advised him not to be too confident, as they might soon find it necessary to defend themselves. Observing from a window where they stood, a party of the new recruits passing by, the veteran warrior thus contemptuously addressed the inexperienced general, "Look ye there, Forster, are yon fellows the men ye intend to fight Wills with. Good faith, Sir, an' ye had ten thousand of them, I'd fight them all with a thousand of his dragoons." In fact, a more uncouth and unsoldier-like body had never before appeared in the field, than these Lancashire rustics; some with rusty swords without muskets, others with muskets without swords, some with fowling-pieces, others with pitchforks, while others were wholly unprovided with weapons of any sort.⁷ Forster now altered his tone; and if the report of a writer, who says he was an eye-witness, be true, the news of Wills's advance quite unnerved him. Undetermined how to act, he sent the letter conveying the intelligence to Lord Kenmure, and retired to rest. His lordship, with a few of his officers, repaired to

Forster's lodgings to consult him, and, to their surprise, found him in bed, though the night was not far advanced. The council, after some deliberation, resolved to send out a party of horse towards Wigan, to watch the motions of the enemy, to secure the pass into the town by Ribble bridge, and to prepare the army for battle.⁸

About day-break of the 12th, General Wills commenced his march from Wigan, and as soon as it was known that he was advancing upon Preston, a select body of 100 well-armed Highlanders, under the command of Farquharson of Invercauld, was posted at Ribble bridge, and Forster himself at the head of a party of horse, crossed the bridge, and advanced to reconnoitre.

The approach to Ribble bridge, which is about half a mile from Preston, is by a deep path between two high banks, and so narrow in some places that scarcely two men can ride abreast. Here it was that Cromwell, in an action with the royalists, was nearly killed by a large fragment of a rock thrown from above, and only escaped by forcing his horse into a quicksand. The possession, therefore, of this pass, was of the utmost importance to the insurgents, as Wills was not in a condition to have forced it, being wholly unprovided with cannon. Nor could he have been more successful in any attempt to pass the river, which was fordable only at a considerable distance above and below the bridge, and might have been rendered impassable in different ways. But the Jacobite general was grossly ignorant of every thing appertaining to the art of war, and in an evil hour ordered the party at the bridge to abandon it, and retire into the town.

General Wills arrived opposite Ribble bridge about one o'clock in the afternoon, and was surprised to find it undefended. Suspecting an ambuscade, he advanced through the way leading to the bridge with great caution, and having cleared the bridge, marched towards the town. He, at first, supposed that the insurgents had abandoned the town with the intention of returning to Scotland; but he soon ascertained that they still maintained their ground, and were resolved to meet him. Halt-

⁷ *Annals of 2d Year of George I.*, p. 136.

⁸ *Letter, &c., by an eye-witness*, p. 6.

ing, therefore, his men upon a small rising ground near the town, he rode forward with a strong party of horse to take a survey of the position of the insurgents.

During the morning they had been busily employed in raising barricades in the principal streets, and making other preparations for a vigorous defence. The Earl of Derwentwater displayed extraordinary activity and zeal on this occasion. He distributed money among the troops, exhorted them to stand firm to their posts, and set them an example by throwing off his coat, and assisting them in raising intrenchments. There were four main barriers erected across the leading streets near the centre of the town, at each of which, with one exception, were planted two pieces of cannon, which had been carried by the insurgents from Lancaster, and beyond these barriers, towards the extremities of the town, others were raised of an inferior description. Behind the barricade bodies of men were posted, as well as in the houses outside the barricades, particularly in those which commanded the entrances into the principal streets. Certainly after the abandonment of Ribble bridge, a more judicious plan of defence could not have been devised by the ablest tactician for meeting the coming exigency; but unfortunately for the insurgents, the future conduct of their leaders did not correspond with these skilful dispositions.

One of the main barriers was a little below the church, and was commanded by Brigadier Mackintosh, the task of supporting whom was devolved upon the gentlemen volunteers, who were drawn up in the churchyard under the command of Viscount Kenmure and the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithsdale, and Wintoun. A body of Highlanders, under Lord Charles Murray, third son of the Duke of Athole, was posted at another barrier at the end of a lane leading to the fields. Colonel Mackintosh, at the head of the Mackintoshes, was posted at a third barricade called the Windmill barrier, from its adjoining such a structure on the road to Lancaster. At the remaining barrier, which was in the street leading to the Liverpool road, were placed some of the gentlemen volunteers, and a part of the Earl of Strathmore's regiment under the command of Major Miller and Mr. Douglas.

When the government general had made himself acquainted with the plan of defence adopted by the insurgents, he returned to his main body, and made preparations for an immediate attack. As he had not sufficient forces to make a simultaneous assault upon all the barriers, he resolved to confine himself at first to two only, those commanded by Old Borlum and Colonel Mackintosh, in the streets leading to Wigan and Lancaster respectively, at both ends of the town. For this purpose he divided his troops into three bodies;—the first consisted of Preston's regiment of foot, and 250 dismounted dragoons taken in equal proportions from the five dragoon regiments. This division was commanded by Brigadier Honeywood, and was supported by his own regiment of dragoons. The second body consisted of the regiments of Wynn and Dormer, and a squadron of Stanhope's regiment, all of which were dismounted;—the last division, consisting of Pitt's horse and the remainder of Stanhope's regiment, was kept as a reserve for supporting the other divisions as occasion should require, and to prevent the insurgents from escaping over the Ribble.

The action was begun by the division of Honeywood, which, after driving a party of the insurgents from a small barricade at the extremity of one of the leading streets, entered the town, and attacked the barrier near the church, defended by Brigadier Mackintosh; but Honeywood's men were unable to make any impression, and after sustaining a galling and destructive fire from the barrier and from the houses on both sides of the street, they were forced to retreat from the street with considerable loss. Some of the officers of Preston's regiment being informed whilst engaged in the street, that the street leading to Wigan was not barricaded, and that the houses on that side were not possessed by the insurgents, Lord Forrester, the lieutenant-colonel, resolved, after Honeywood's division had failed to establish itself in the neighbourhood of the church, to attempt an entrance in that direction. He accordingly drew off his men by a narrow back passage or lane which led into the street in the direction of Wigan, and ordering them to halt till he should personally survey the position of the insurgents, this intrepid officer deliberately

rode into the street with his drawn sword in his hand, and amidst a shower of bullets, coolly examined the barrier, and returned to his troops. He then sallied into the street at the head of his men, and whilst with one party he attacked the barrier, another under his direction crossed the street, and took possession of a very high house belonging to Sir Henry Houghton, which overlooked the whole town. In this enterprise many of the assailants fell by the fire of the insurgents who were posted in the adjoining houses. At the same time, Forrester's men possessed themselves of another house opposite, which was unoccupied by the insurgents. The possession of these houses was of immense advantage to the government troops, as it was from the firing kept up from them that the insurgents chiefly suffered. A party of 50 Highlanders, under Captain Innes, had been posted in Houghton's house, and another body in the opposite one; but Brigadier Mackintosh had unfortunately withdrawn both parties, contrary to their own wishes, to less important stations.

Forrester's men maintained the struggle with great bravery, but were unsuccessful in every attempt to force the barrier. As the insurgents, from their position in the houses and behind the barricade, were enabled to take deliberate aim, many of their shots took deadly effect, and the gallant Lord Forrester received several wounds; but although Preston's foot kept up a smart fire, they did little execution among the insurgents, who were protected by the barricade and the houses. Captain Peter Farquharson was the only Jacobite officer who fell in this attack. He received a shot in the leg, and being taken to the White Bull inn, where the wounded were carried, he called for a glass of brandy, and thus addressed his comrades:—"Come lads, here is our master's health; though I can do no more, I wish you good success." Amputation being deemed necessary, this brave man expired, almost immediately, from the unskilfulness of the operator.

Whilst this struggle was going on near the church, a contest equally warm was raging in another quarter of the town between Dormer's division and the party under Lord Charles Murray. In approaching the barrier commanded by this young nobleman, Dormer's

men were exposed to a well-directed and murderous fire from the houses, yet, though newly-raised troops, they stood firm, and reached the barricade, from which, however, they were vigorously repulsed. Lord Charles Murray conducted himself with great bravery in repelling this attack, and anticipating a second attempt upon the barrier, he obtained a reinforcement of 50 gentlemen volunteers from the churchyard. Dormer's troops returned to the assault, but although they displayed great courage and resolution, they were again beaten back with loss. An attack made on the Windmill barricade, which was defended by Colonel Mackintosh, was equally unsuccessful.

Thus repulsed in all their attacks, and as in their approaches to the barriers the government troops had been incessantly exposed to a regular and well-directed fire from the houses, General Wills issued orders to set the houses at both ends of the town on fire, for the purpose of dislodging the insurgents from such annoying positions, and cooping them up in the centre of the town. Many houses and barns were in consequence consumed, including almost the entire range of houses as far as Lord Charles Murray's barrier. As the assailants advanced under cover of the smoke of the conflagration, many of the insurgents, in attempting to escape from the flames, were cut down on the spot. The rebels in their turn attempted to dislodge the government troops from the houses of which they had obtained possession, by setting them on fire. Fortunately there was no wind at the time, otherwise the whole town would have been reduced to ashes.

Night came on, yet an irregular platooning was, notwithstanding, kept up till next day by both parties. To distinguish the houses possessed by the government forces, General Wills ordered them to be illuminated, a circumstance which gave the besieged a decided advantage, as the light from the windows enabled them to direct their fire with better effect. Wills soon perceived the error he had committed, and sent persons round to order the lights to be extinguished, which order being promulgated aloud in the streets, was so strangely misunderstood by those within, that, to the amusement of both parties, they set up

additional lights. During the night a considerable number of the insurgents left the town.

Before day-break, General Wills visited the different posts, and gave directions for opening a communication between both divisions of the army to support each other, should necessity require. During the morning, which was that of Sunday the 13th of November, he was occupied in making arrangements for renewing the attack. Meantime General Carpenter arrived about ten o'clock with Churchill's and Molesworth's dragoons, accompanied by the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Lumley, and others. This event was as exhilarating to the royalists as it was disheartening to the besieged, who, notwithstanding the defection of their more timorous associates during the preceding night, were, before the accession of Carpenter, fully a match for their assailants. Wills, after explaining to Carpenter the state of matters, and the dispositions he had made, offered to resign the command to him, as his superior officer, but being satisfied with Wills's conduct, Carpenter declined to accept it, remarking, that as he had begun the affair so well, he ought to have the glory of finishing it. On examining matters himself, however, Carpenter found that the town was not sufficiently invested, particularly at the end of Fishergate street, which led to a meadow by which the insurgents could easily have escaped. He therefore posted Pitt's horse along the meadow, and lest the whole body of the besieged should attempt to force a retreat that way, he caused a communication to be opened through the enclosures on that side, that the other divisions of the army might the more readily hasten thither to intercept them.

Thus invested on all sides, and pent up within a narrow compass by the gradual encroachments of the royalists, the Jacobite general grew alarmed, and began to think of a surrender. The Highlanders were fully aware of their critical situation, but the idea of surrendering had never once entered their minds, and they had been restrained only by the most urgent entreaties from sallying out upon the royalists, and cutting their way through their ranks, or dying, as they remarked, like men of honour, with their swords in their hands. Neither Forster nor any other officer durst,

therefore, venture to make such a proposal to them, and Patten asserts, that had they known that Colonel Oxburgh had been sent on the mission he undertook, he would have never seen Tyburn, but would have been shot by common consent before he had passed the barrier. This gentleman, who had great influence over Forster (and who, in the opinion of the last-named author, was better calculated, from the strictness with which he performed his religious duties, to be a priest than a field officer), in conjunction with Lord Widdrington and others, prevailed upon him to make an offer of capitulation, thinking that they would obtain favourable terms from the government general. This resolution was adopted without the knowledge of the rest of the officers, and Oxburgh, who had volunteered to negotiate, went off about two o'clock in the afternoon to Wills's head-quarters. To prevent suspicion of his real errand, the soldiers were informed that General Wills had sent to offer them honourable terms, if they would lay down their arms.

The reception of Oxburgh by General Wills was very different from what he and his friends had anticipated. Wills, in fact, absolutely refused to hear of any terms, and upon Oxburgh making an offer that the insurgents should lay down their arms, provided he would recommend them to the mercy of the king, he informed him that he would not treat with rebels, who had killed several of his Majesty's subjects, and who consequently must expect to undergo the same fate. The colonel, thereupon, with great earnestness, begged the general, as an officer and a man of honour, to show mercy to people who were willing to submit. The royalist commander, somewhat softened, replied, that all he would promise was, that if the insurgents would lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them to pieces till further orders; and that he would allow them an hour for the consideration of his offer. The result of this interview was immediately reported by Oxburgh to his friends, but nothing had transpired to throw any light upon their deliberations. Before the hour had elapsed, Mr. Dalzell, brother of the Earl of Carnwath, appeared at

Wills's head-quarters, and requested to know what terms he would grant separately to the Scots; Wills answered that he would not treat with rebels, nor grant any other terms than those already offered.

To bring matters to an immediate issue, General Wills sent Colonel Cotton into the town about three o'clock in the afternoon, to require an immediate answer to Wills's proposal. He was told, however, that differences existed between the English and Scottish officers upon the subject, but they requested that the general would allow them till seven o'clock next morning to settle their differences, and to consult upon the best method of delivering themselves up. This proposal being reported to Wills, he agreed to grant the Jacobite commanders the time required, provided they would bind themselves to throw up no new entrenchments in the streets, nor allow any of their men to escape; for the performance of which stipulations he required the delivery of approved hostages.—Cotton having returned to the town, the Earl of Derwentwater and Brigadier Mackintosh were pitched upon as hostages for the observance of these stipulations, and sent to the royalist head-quarters.

As soon as the Highlanders perceived that a capitulation was resolved upon, their fury knew no bounds. They declared that sooner than surrender, they would die fighting, and that when they could no longer defend their posts, they would attempt to cut their way through their assailants, and make a retreat. During the night they paraded the streets, threatening destruction to every person who should even allude to a surrender. During these disturbances, several persons were killed, and many wounded, and Mr. Forster, who was openly denounced as the originator of the capitulation, would certainly have been cut to pieces by the infuriated soldiers, had he appeared in the streets. He made a narrow escape even in his own chamber, a gentleman of the name of Murray having fired a pistol at him, the ball from which would have taken effect had not Mr. Patten, the Jacobite chaplain, struck up the pistol with his hand, and thus diverted the course of the bullet.

At seven o'clock next morning, Forster notified to General Wills that the insurgents were

willing to surrender at discretion as he had required. Old Borlum being present when this message was delivered, observed that he would not be answerable for the Scots surrendering without terms, as they were people of desperate fortunes; and that he who had been a soldier himself, knew what it was to be a prisoner at discretion. "Go back to your people again," answered Wills, "and I will attack the town, and the consequence will be I will not spare one man of you." After this challenge, Mackintosh could not with a good grace remain, and returned to his friends; but he came back immediately, and informed Wills that Lord Kenmure and the rest of the Scots noblemen would surrender on the same conditions as the English.

Colonel Cotton was thereupon despatched with a detachment of 200 men to take possession of the town, and the rest of the government forces thereafter entered it in two grand divisions, amid the sound of trumpets and beating of drums, and met in the market-place, where the Highlanders were drawn up under arms ready to surrender. The number of prisoners taken on this occasion was 1,468, of whom about 463 were English, including 75 noblemen and gentlemen; of the Scots 143 were noblemen and gentlemen. The noblemen and gentlemen were placed under guards in the inns of the town, and the privates were confined in the church. On the part of the insurgents there were only 17 killed and 25 wounded in the different attacks, but the loss on the part of the royalists was very considerable, amounting, it is believed, to five times the number of the former. From the small number of prisoners taken, it would appear that few of the country people who had joined the insurgents when they entered Lancashire, had remained in Preston. They probably left the town during the nights of Saturday and Sunday.⁹

⁹ Patten, p. 97, et seq. *Annals of 2d year of George I.*, p. 125, et seq. *Faithful Register of C.'s late Rebellion*, pp. 162, 163, 164.

CHAPTER XXVI.

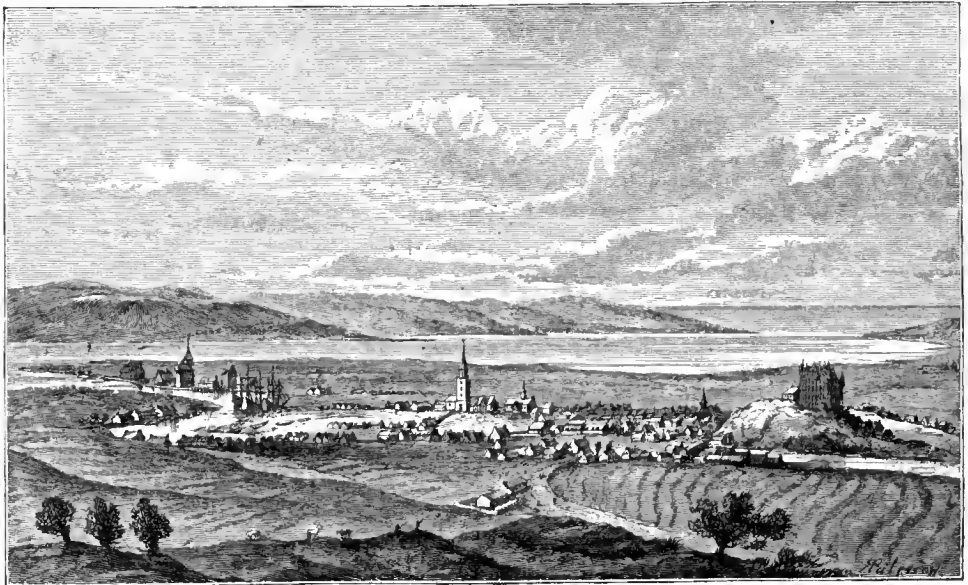
A. D. 1715—1716.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George I., 1714—1727.

Re-capture of Inverness by the Royalists—Preparations for opening the campaign—Mar's departure from Perth—Junction of the western clans—Advance of Argyle towards Dunblane—Preparations for battle—Battle of Sheriffmuir—Mar returns to Perth and Argyle to Stirling—Arrival of the Chevalier—Goes to Perth—Preparations of Argyle—Jacobites retreat from Perth—Departure of the Chevalier for France—Dispersion of the insurgents.

Having, for the sake of continuity, brought the narrative of the English branch of the insurrection to a close, in the preceding chapter, we now proceed to detail the operations of the royalist and Jacobite armies under Argyle and Mar respectively, and the other transactions in the north which preceded its total suppression.

Before, however, entering upon an account of the doings of the main body of the rebels in Scotland, we must notice briefly the re-capture by the royalists of Inverness, partly through the instrumentality of our old friend Simon Fraser, afterwards Lord Lovat. Finding it impossible to gain the confidence of the court of St. Germain, Simon, on the breaking out of the rebellion, resolved to seek the favour of King George by using his power as head of his clan on behalf of the royalists. The clan had sent over some of their number to France to bring Simon home, in order that he might tell them what side he desired them to espouse; these had got the length of Dumfries on the day in which that town was thrown into a state of consternation by the Lord Justice-Clerk's letter, announcing its proposed capture by the rebels. Simon was received there with much suspi-



Inverness at the end of the 17th century.—From Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*.

cion, and he and his followers placed under guard, notwithstanding the pass he had managed to obtain from Lord Townshend. This he obtained on volunteering to accompany the Earl of Sutherland to the north, and induce the clan Fraser to abandon the Jacobites and join the royalists. Although the estates and honours were in possession of the daughter of

the late Lord Lovat, and although her husband, Mackenzie of Fraserdale, had joined the rebels with a number of the clan, still, according to Highland custom, Simon was the real head of the clan, and as such his influence was paramount.¹

¹ Burton's *Scotland* (1639-1748), vol. ii. p. 155.

On arriving in the north "he found three hundred men, who had refused to follow the Jacobite banner of his rival, ready at his call. Placing himself at their head, like a sovereign with an army, he sent notice to the disaffected clansmen who had followed the legal owner of the estates, to return immediately to their duty to their true chief, threatening them with ejection from their holdings, and military execution against their families and possessions, if they failed. As men exorcised by a command which it would be wicked and futile to resist, the Frasers left Mar's camp, just before the momentous battle of Sheriffmuir, and joined their brethren. Lovat found Duncan Forbes, afterwards the great and good Lord-President, defending the old fortalice of Culloden, while his father-in-law, Hugh Rose, held his neighbouring tower of Kilravock against repeated attacks, and with a well-ordered force of 200 men, made his mansion do the proper service of a fort in protecting the surrounding country. Their efforts were important from their position. Northward of Loch Ness, and the chain of minor lakes, the power of the Earl of Sutherland, on the government side, balanced that of Seaforth, Glengarry, and the other Jacobite leaders; and in their absence at Mar's camp, was superior. Thus the fortified houses near Inverness, had all the importance of border fortresses; and the reduction of Inverness, for the Hanover interest, would relieve their owners of their perilous position, by giving their friends the command of the pass between the North Highlands and the rest of Scotland. The small body under Rose and Forbes, with Lovat's, and a party of the Grants, amounted in all to about 1,300 men—a considerable force in that war of small armies. They laid plans for systematically investing Inverness; but before it was necessary to operate on them, the garrison silently evacuated the place, dropping down the river in boats on the night of the 13th of November, and sailing for the northern coast of the Moray Firth. This affair seems to have cost no other casualty than the death of a brother of Rose of Kilravock, in a premature and rash attack. Thus the government had the command of the eastern pass between the North Highlands and the low country, leaving passable only such routes,

beyond the western extremity of Loch Ness, as were not liable to be interrupted by the garrison at Fortwilliam."²

When the Jacobite general took the field he was so unprovided with money, that after Colonel Hay entered Perth he could spare him only fifty guineas for the use of his detachment, and so exhausted had his little treasury become shortly after he took up his quarters there, that he was reduced to the necessity of laying the surrounding country, and the shires of Fife, Kinross, and Clackmannan under contribution. By an order dated from the camp at Perth on the 4th October, he required every man of substance attending the standard of the Chevalier, to raise amongst his tenants and possessors, the sum of twenty shillings on every hundred pounds Scots of valued rent, and such landed proprietors as did not immediately or before the 12th of October, attend his standard, were mulcted in double that amount. This order appears to have had little effect, as it was renewed on the 21st of October, when it was rigorously enforced, and the penalty of military execution threatened against those who should refuse to implement it.

To compel compliance, parties of horse and foot were despatched through the adjoining country. One of these, consisting of 200 foot and 100 horse, being sent towards the town of Dunfermline, information of their march was brought to the Duke of Argyle on Sunday, the 23d of October. His grace immediately despatched Colonel Cathcart with a detachment of dragoons to intercept them, who, receiving intelligence that the insurgents had passed Castle Campbell, and had taken up their quarters for the night in a village on the road to Dunfermline, continued his march during the whole night, and coming upon the village unperceived at five o'clock in the morning, surprised the party, some of whom were killed and others taken while in bed. Among these were eleven gentlemen, including Gordon of Craig, Gordon younger of Aberlour, and Mr. Murray brother to the laird of Abercairney.³

After this affair, and for want of more stirring excitements, a sort of paper war was carried on between the two generals, which, if

² Burton's *Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.

³ Rae, p. 294. *Life of Argyle*, p. 187.

attended with little practical effect on either side, served at least to keep up in a more marked manner the distinction between the adherents of the government and the partizans of the Jacobite interest. When informed of the Earl of Mar's order for an assessment, the Duke of Argylo issued a counter one, on the 25th of October, prohibiting and discharging all persons from giving or furnishing the insurgents with money or provisions, under the pains of high treason, and for greater publicity he directed the same to be intimated at each parish church door after divine service, and before the dismissal of the congregation. This mandate was followed two days thereafter by another from the duke, requiring all well-affected noblemen, gentlemen, justices of the peace, magistrates, and ministers, "to persuade and encourage all able-bodied and well-affected men," in their respective parishes, in town and country, to enlist in the regular army, and promising a bounty of forty shillings sterling, and a discharge from the service, if required, at the end of three months after the suppression of the insurrection. This order was answered by a proclamation from the Earl of Mar, dated November 1st, prohibiting and discharging all persons whatever, under the highest penalties, from giving obedience to it; and whereas he had promised his protection, as he observes, to all ministers who behaved themselves dutifully, and did not acknowledge "the Elector of Brunswick as king, by praying for him as such in their churches and congregations;" yet as several of them continued the practice, and might thus "involve and mislead innocent and ignorant people into traitorous and seditious practices," he expressly prohibited "all ministers, as well in churches as in meeting-houses, to acknowledge the Elector of Brunswick as king, and that upon their highest peril." And he ordered all officers, civil and military, to shut up the church doors of such ministers as should act in contempt of the order, to apprehend their persons and bring them prisoners to his camp. Many ministers, to avoid compliance with this order, absented themselves from their charges, but others who ventured openly to brave it, were apprehended and treated with severity. Mar, however, found a more pliant body in the non-jurant episcopal clergy, some of whom

attached themselves to his camp, and harangued his troops from time to time on the duties they owed to their lawful sovereign, "King James VIII."

Although the earl seems to have calculated greatly upon the assistance of France, yet his stay at Perth appears to have been prolonged rather by the tardiness of the Earl of Seaforth, in reaching the insurgent camp, than by any intention of waiting for supplies from France, or the expected invasion of England by the Duke of Ormond; for no sooner did Seaforth arrive with the northern clans, about the beginning of November, than Mar began to concert measures with his officers for opening the campaign. The march of the Earl of Seaforth had been retarded by the Earl of Sutherland, at the head of a considerable number of his own men, and of the Mackays, Rosses, Munroes, and others; but having compelled them to disperse, he proceeded on his march with about 3,000 foot and 800 horse, leaving a sufficient force behind to protect his own country, and keep the royalist clans in check.

Hitherto the Jacobite commander, from the procrastinating system he had pursued, and from jealousies which had arisen in his camp among his officers, had experienced considerable difficulty in keeping his forces together. Of all men, the Highlanders were the most unlikely to relish the inactive duties of a camp, and as the duration of their services lay entirely with themselves, it was evident that the longer Mar delayed bringing them into action, the risk of their abandoning him was proportionably increased. It was not therefore without reason that one of the leaders remarked that he was afraid the Highlanders would desert their colours in three cases:—1. If they were long without being brought to action, they would tire and go home; 2. If they fought and were victorious, they would plunder and go home; 3. If they fought and were beaten, they would run away and go home.

To counteract the injurious effect which a state of inaction might produce upon the minds of his men, Mar buoyed up their hopes by issuing from time to time, by means of a printing press brought from Aberdeen, and superintended by Freebairn of Edinburgh, a variety of fabricated accounts, highly favourable to

their cause, respecting the progress of the rebellion in the south, and the great exertions making by the Chevalier's friends in France, all which accounts were swallowed with the utmost credulity by his unsuspecting adherents.

About the time the Earl of Seaforth arrived at Perth, General Gordon had advanced as far as Castle Drummond with the western clans on his way to Perth; and as Mar had now resolved to attempt the passage of the Forth, he despatched an express to Gordon, to join him on his march. At a council of war, which was held on the 9th of November, the Jacobite chiefs came to the determination of leaving Perth the following day for Dunblane. On obtaining possession of this town, Mar's design was to detach three different bodies, of 1,000 men each, to Stirling bridge, and the two adjacent fords above, for the purpose of amusing Argyle, while he himself with the main body of his army, consisting of nearly 8,000 men, should attempt to cross the river at a ford a little way above those selected for the intended *ruse*. In the event of success, the three detached bodies were to be directed to form a junction and follow the main body without delay, but in case the Duke of Argyle abandoned Stirling to oppose the passage of the main body, they were to enter the town and fall upon his rear.

Accordingly, on the morning of Thursday, the 10th of November, Mar departed from Perth, leaving a garrison behind under Colonel Balfour, besides a scattered force of about 3,000 men quartered in different parts of Fife. The earl not calculating upon a return to Perth, took all his baggage along with him, and provisions sufficient to support his army for twelve days. The insurgents took up their quarters for the night at Auchterarder, and on the following day were joined by the western clans under General Gordon. The army rested the whole of the 11th. On the morning of the 12th, Mar ordered General Gordon to march forward with 3,000 men of the clans, and eight squadrons of horse under Brigadier Ogilvie and the Master of Sinclair, and take possession of Dunblane. After ordering the rest of the army to parade on the moor of Tullibardine, he departed for Drummond castle to hold an interview with the Earl of Breadalbane, having

previously directed General Hamilton to follow Gordon with the main body.

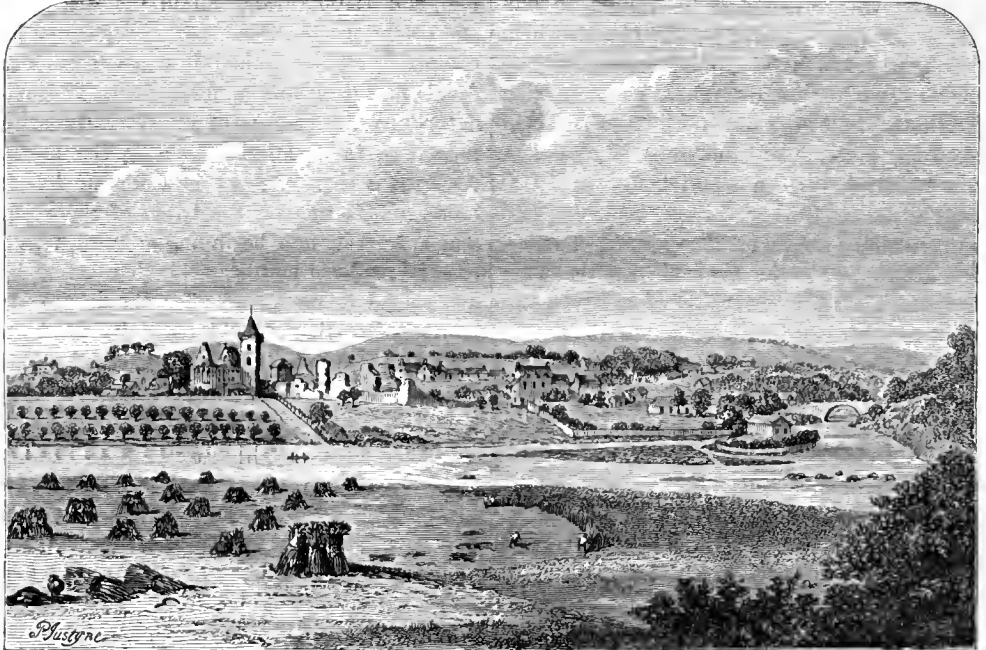
As early as the morning of Thursday the 10th⁴ of November, the Duke of Argyle had received intelligence from some of his spies at Perth, of Mar's intended march, and of his plan for effecting the passage of the Forth. Fortunately for Argyle, his little army had been lately almost doubled by reinforcements from Ireland, and it now amounted to 2,300 foot, and 1,200 cavalry, all in the best order and condition; but though formidable from its composition when united, it was too weak to divide into detachments for resisting at different points the passage of an army thrice as numerous, in an attempt to cross the Forth. As Argyle, therefore, saw he could no longer retain his position on the banks of the river, which, from its now beginning to freeze, would soon be rendered more passable than before, he determined to cross and offer the insurgents battle before they should reach its northern bank. Though he exposed himself by this bold step to the disadvantage of fighting with a river in his rear, he considered that the risk would be sufficiently counterbalanced by the advantage which his cavalry would have by engaging the enemy on level ground.

Having called in several small detachments which were quartered at Glasgow, Kilsyth, and Falkirk, Argyle crossed Stirling bridge on the morning of the 12th of November, for Dunblane, much about the same time that Mar's forces had begun to advance upon that town in an opposite direction from Auchterarder. In a short time after their setting out, Argyle's advanced guard took possession of Dunblane, of which circumstance General Gordon was apprised on his march. Having halted his division, Gordon sent an express, announcing the intelligence to General Hamilton, who despatched it to the Earl of Mar, and in a short time he forwarded a second express confirming the previous news, and adding that the enemy were in great force. Hamilton, upon receipt of this last despatch, halted his men on the ground adjoining the Roman camp at Ardoch,

⁴ It must be remembered that these dates are according to the Old Style of reckoning, and that to make them accord with the New Style, eleven days must be added: thus, the 10th of November O. S. is the same as the 21st N. S.

about five miles from Dunblane, till he should receive instructions from the earl. Mar soon thereafter returned from Drummond castle, and being desirous of obtaining additional intelligence from the general in advance, ordered Hamilton to remain in his position, and to hold his men in readiness to march on a moment's notice. This order had, however, been scarcely issued, when a fresh despatch arrived from General Gordon, announcing that

the Duke of Argyle was in Dunblane with his whole army. Mar thereupon desired Gordon to remain where he was till the main body of the army should come up, and having ordered three guns to be fired, the signal agreed upon to be given Hamilton for putting his men in marching order, the latter immediately formed his division and put it in motion. After a junction between the two divisions of the army had been formed, the insurgents marched to



Dunblane, about the time of the Rebellion.—From Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*.

the bridge of Kinbuck, about four miles from Dunblane, where they passed the frosty night under arms without covering or tent. The Duke of Argyle, who had the most exact intelligence brought to him of the motions of the insurgents, left Dunblane and formed his army in order of battle in the evening, on a rising ground above the house of Kippenross, about two miles north-east of the town. His army was drawn up in one extended line. In the centre were eight battalions of foot under the command of Major-General Wightman. The right wing consisted of five squadrons of dragoons, under Lieutenant-General Evans, and a similar number, at the head of whom was Lieutenant-General Witham, composed the

his grace issued orders that no tent should be pitched during the night either by officer or private soldier; that all the officers without distinction should remain at their posts; and that the troops should rest on their arms in the exact order in which they had been formed. The severest penalties were threatened against those who should infringe these orders. Though the night was extremely cold, the troops lay down upon the bare ground, and snatched a few hours' repose. The duke himself retired to a sheep-cot at the foot of a hill on the right of the army, where he passed the night sitting on a bundle of straw.

Although the two armies had bivouacked during the night within three miles of each other, and were only separated by the Sheriff-

muir, an elevated and uneven waste, skirted on the west by the high road from Stirling to Perth, near the river Allan, yet so ignorant was Mar of the movements of Argyle, that so far from supposing him to be within such a short distance of his camp, he imagined that he still remained at Dunblane; and it was not until he observed a reconnoitring party of Argyle's cavalry on the adjoining heights of the Sheriffmuir next morning, that he became aware of his immediate proximity. This party was headed by the duke himself, who had aroused his army by break of day, and who, after issuing instructions to his men to prepare for battle, had ascended at an early hour the hill where his advanced guard was posted, to survey the position of the insurgents.

The Earl of Mar had also put his men under arms shortly after break of day, and when Argyle's party of observation was first noticed, Mar was busily engaged ranging his men in marching order, preparatory to advancing upon Dunblane. Conceiving that Argyle meant to offer him battle immediately, he instantly assembled all the chiefs, and after addressing them in an eloquent speech, in which he painted in glowing colours the wrongs of their prince and their country, and congratulated them that the day had at length arrived when they could revenge their injuries in open battle, he desired to know if they were willing to engage. The Marquis of Huntly alone raised some objections, and some few were heard in an under-tone to advise a return to Perth till the spring; but the voices of Huntly and his supporters were drowned by loud shouts of "fight, fight!" from the rest, who at once galloped off to their different posts.⁵

The Earl of Mar, thereupon, resumed the marshalling of his army, which formed into two lines with a rapidity and decision that would have done honour to veteran troops; but by accident, three squadrons of horse posted on the left, misled by a cry from the Highlanders, of "horse to the right," left their position and took ground on the right, an unfortunate mistake for the insurgents, as it contributed to the defeat of their left wing.

⁵ MS. referred to in Lord John Russell's *History of Europe*, p. 345. Jacobite Official Account of the battle, printed at Perth, 1715.

The centre of the first line was composed of ten battalions of foot, consisting of about 4,000 men under the command of the captain of Clanranald, Glengary, Sir John Maclean, the laird of Glenbucket, Brigadier Ogilvie, and the two brothers of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat. General Gordon, who had long served in the army of the Czar of Muscovy, was at the head of these battalions. On the right of this line were placed two of the Marquis of Huntly's squadrons of horse, and another called the Stirling squadron, which carried the Chevalier's standard. This squadron, which consisted wholly of gentlemen, also bore the title of "the Restoration regiment of horse." The Perthshire squadron formed the left wing. The centre of the second line consisted of eight battalions of foot, viz., three of the Earl of Seaforth's foot, two of the Marquis of Huntly's, the Earl of Panmure's battalion, and those of the Marquis of Tullibardine, of Drummond, commanded by the Viscount of Strathallan, and of Logie-Almond, and Robertson of Strowan. On the right of this second line were posted two squadrons of horse under the Earl Marischal. The Angus squadron was on the left. The whole of the force thus formed for action may be estimated at 8,000, besides which there was a *corps de reserve* of 400 horse posted considerably in the rear.

While this formation was going on, the Duke of Argyle observed for several hours with great attention the various evolutions of the insurgents; but from the nature of the ground⁶ occupied by them he could not obtain a full view of their line which extended through a hollow way, the view of which was obstructed by the brow of a hill occupied by a party of Mar's troops. From Mar's advanced guards looking towards Dunblane, the duke conjectured that the insurgents intended to march in that direction; but he was undeceived in this idea by a movement on the part

⁶ "The muir is a hill, but a very gentle one; and it has the peculiarity of being a regular curve, presenting in all parts a segment of a sphere, or rather an oblate spheroid. There are no rapid declivities and no plains. Hence, in every part of the hill, there is a close sky line, caused by the immediate curve, and where there is so much of the curve, as will reach a perpendicular of some eight feet between two bodies of men, they cannot see each other."—Burton's *Scotland* (1689—1748), vol. ii. p. 193.

of a mass of the insurgents towards his right, as if they intended to cross the moor and fall upon the flank of his army. As a large morass lay in the way of the insurgents, Argyle, in advancing from Dunblane, had conceived himself free from danger on that side; but it had now been rendered quite passable for foot as well as horse by a keen frost during the preceding night. As soon as Argyle saw this large body advance up the face of the moor, which, from the right wing of the insurgents being concealed from his view by a rising ground, he supposed was the main body of Mar's army, he requested the advice of the officers who surrounded him as to how he should act. It was the general opinion, an opinion in which the duke himself concurred, that there would be less risk in engaging the insurgents on the high grounds than in waiting for them in the position occupied by the duke's army; but although most of the officers thought that there would not be sufficient time to bring forward the troops and to change the order of battle, a change which was absolutely necessary, the duke resolved to draw out his troops upon the moor.

Having come to this determination, the duke returned quickly to the army, and ordered the drums to beat the *General*. This order was given about eleven o'clock; but although the drums instantly beat to arms, an hour elapsed before the troops were ready to march. The new order of battle was as follows. The duke's first line consisted of six battalions of foot, all old troops, amounting scarcely to 1,800 men. On the right were posted three squadrons of dragoons, being the best in the army, namely, Evans's, the Scots Greys, and the Earl of Stair's. On the left there were placed three squadrons of dragoons, namely, Carpenter's, Ker's, and a squadron of Stair's. The second line was composed of only two battalions of foot, with a squadron of dragoons on each wing. The right wing of the army was commanded by the duke himself, the centre by General Wightman, and the left by General Witham. Behind Evans's dragoons, on the right wing, a body of about sixty horse, noblemen and gentlemen volunteers, took up a station.

The body which Argyle had observed coming

up the face of the moor, was a squadron of the Earl Marischal's horse and Sir Donald Macdonald's battalion, under their respective commanders. These had been despatched by the Earl of Mar, to drive away the reconnoitring party under the Duke of Argyle from the height; but on its disappearing, they returned and reported the circumstance to the earl. On receiving this intelligence, Mar gave orders to his troops to march up the hill in four columns. The whole army was accordingly put in motion, but they had not proceeded far when the Earl Marischal, who was in advance, observed Argyle forming his lines on the southern summit of the hill, at a short distance from him. He notified the circumstance to Mar, who instantly gave orders to his men to quicken their pace up the hill. In the hurry of their ascent, the second line pressed so closely upon the first as to occasion some confusion on the left when again getting into line, and it was in consequence of this disorder that the squadrons of horse forsook their position on the left, and took ground on the right.

Before the insurgents reached the summit of the moor, Argyle's right wing was fully formed, but the greater part of his centre and left, who were moving up the ascent by a gradual progression from right to left, had not yet reached their ground. Argyle's right now found itself within pistol-shot of Mar's left, but from the greater extent of Mar's line, it considerably outflanked Argyle's left.

As soon as the Earl of Mar perceived that Argyle's line was only partially formed, he resolved instantly to attack him before he should be able to complete his arrangements; and having sent orders to his right and left to fall simultaneously upon the enemy, Mar placed himself at the head of the clans, and being apprised by a firing on his left that the action had commenced, he pulled off his hat, which he waved, and with a huzza led forward his men upon the half-formed battalions which composed the left wing of the enemy. Arrived within pistol-shot, the Highlanders, according to custom, poured in a volley upon the English infantry. The fire was instantly returned, and, to the dismay of the Highlanders, Alan Muidartach, the captain of Clanranald, was mortally wounded. He was instantly carried

off the field, and, as his men clustered around him, he encouraged them to stand firm to their posts, and expressed a hope that the result of the struggle in which they were engaged would be favourable to the cause of his sovereign. The loss of a chief, who, from the stately magnificence with which he upheld his rank, and the urbanity of his disposition, had acquired an ascendancy over the minds of his people, could not fail to depress their spirits, and make them almost overlook the danger of their situation. While absorbed in grief, they were in a moment roused from their dejection by Glengary, who, observing their conduct at this juncture, sprung forward, and throwing his bennet into the air, cried aloud, in the expressive language of his country, "Revenge! Revenge! Revenge to-day, and mourning to-morrow!" No sooner had this brave chieftain pronounced these words, than the Highlanders rushed forward, sword in hand, with the utmost fury, upon the royalist battalions. The government troops attempted to stem the impetuosity of the attack, by opposing the Highlanders with fixed bayonets, but the latter pushed them aside with their targets, and rushing in with their broad-swords among the enemy, spread death and terror around them. The three battalions on Argyle's left, which had never been properly formed, unable to rally, instantly gave way, and falling back upon some squadrons of horse in their rear, created such confusion, that within seven or eight minutes after the assault, the form of a battalion or squadron was no longer discernible. A complete rout ensued; and there seems no doubt that the whole of Argyle's left would have been completely destroyed, had not General Witham, at the head of the squadrons which were upon the left of the battalions, checked the advance of Mar's horse by a charge, in which he succeeded in capturing a standard. Afraid of being outflanked by Argyle's left wing, which extended far beyond his position, and being ignorant of what was passing on the right wing of the royalists, the view of which was concealed by the unevenness of the ground, Witham retired in the direction of Dunblane. The Earl of Mar pursued the disordered mass to the distance of only half a mile, and having ordered his foot to halt till he should put them

in order, resolved to follow the enemy and complete the victory; but receiving intelligence that his left wing and second line had given way, and that his artillery had been taken, he retraced his steps, and took up a position on the top of the stony hill of Kippendavie, till he should receive further information respecting the fate of his left wing.

This wing, which was the first to begin the attack, opened a fire upon Argyle's right wing when almost within pistol shot. The Highlanders thereafter steadily advanced, and pouring a second volley among the enemy, with a precision and effect not to be surpassed by the best disciplined troops, rushed up, sword in hand, to the very muzzles of their muskets. Though the fire was destructive, and made Evans's dragoons reel for a time, the English troops maintained their ground, and the foot kept up a platooning, which checked the fury of their assailants. The struggle continued for some time without any decided advantage on either side; but as Argyle began to perceive that he could make no impression in front upon the numerous masses of the insurgents, and that he might be out-flanked by them, he resolved to attack them on their flank with part of his cavalry, while his foot should gall them with their fire in front. He therefore ordered Colonel Cathcart to move along the morass to the right with a strong body of cavalry, and to fall upon the flank of Mar's left wing, a movement which he executed with great skill. Cathcart, after receiving a fire from the insurgent horse, immediately charged them, but they sustained the assault with great firmness. Borne down by the superior weight of the English dragoons, whose horses were much larger than those of the insurgents, the Scottish horse, after nearly half-an-hour's contest, were compelled to give way. The foot of Argyle's right having made a simultaneous attack upon Mar's first line of foot, the latter also were forced to fall back, and Mar's horse and foot coming into contact with his second line, they mixed indiscriminately, and a general rout in consequence ensued.

After receding a short distance, the insurgent horse, which consisted principally of the Jacobite gentry of Perthshire and Angus, attempted to rally, and even to charge Argyle's

cavalry in their turn, but they were again forced to retire by the pressure of the English dragoons, who kept advancing in regular order upon the receding masses of the insurgents. Determined, however, not to yield one inch of ground without the utmost necessity, the cavalier horse made repeated efforts to drive the enemy back, and, in the course of their retreat, made ten or twelve attempts at different places to rally and charge the advancing foe; but unable to resist the overwhelming pressure of the English cavalry, they were, after three hours' hard fighting, driven across the river Allan by Argyle's dragoons. Some idea may be formed of the obstinacy of the contest, when it is considered that the distance from the field of battle to the river is scarcely three miles. To the gallant stand made by the horse may be ascribed the safety of the foot, who would have been probably all cut to pieces by the dragoons, if the attention of the latter had not been chiefly occupied by the horse. The foot, however, suffered considerably in the retreat, notwithstanding the humanity of the Duke of Argyle, who endeavoured to restrain the carnage. Besides offering quarter to such of the Jacobite gentlemen as were personally known to him, he displayed his anxiety for the preservation of his countrymen so far, that on observing a party of his dragoons cutting down a body of foot, into which they had thrown themselves, he exclaimed with a feeling of deep emotion, "Oh, spare the poor Bluebonnets!"

As Mar's right wing had been concealed from the view of Argyle, the latter conceived that the numerous body he was driving before him formed the entire insurgent army. He, therefore, resolved to continue the pursuit till dark, and to support him, he ordered General Wightman, who commanded his foot upon the right, to follow him with his battalions as quickly as possible. Wightman accordingly proceeded to follow the duke with a force of rather more than three regiments; but he had not marched far, when he heard a firing on his left, to ascertain the cause of which, he sent his aid-de-camp in the direction whence the firing proceeded. This officer returned in a short time, and reported that the half of Argyle's foot, and the squadrons on the left,

had all been cut off by the right of the insurgents, which was superior in point of numbers to Argyle's left. Wightman thereupon slackened his pace, and despatched a messenger to inform the duke of the fate of his left wing. Afraid of being attacked in his rear by Mar's right wing, he kept his men in perfect order, but no demonstration was made to follow him. When informed of the defeat of his left wing, Argyle gave over the pursuit, and joining Wightman with five squadrons of dragoons, put his men in order of battle and marched boldly to the bottom of the hill, on the top of which the enemy, amounting to 4,000 men, were advantageously posted. Argyle had now scarcely 1,000 men under him, and as these were already greatly exhausted, he judged it expedient to act on the defensive; but the insurgents showed no disposition to engage, and both parties, as if by mutual consent, retired from their positions in different directions. The duke filed off his men to the right, in marching order, towards Dunblane; but as he still dreaded an attack, he formed his men several times on the march, wherever he found the ground convenient, and waited the approach of the enemy. Mar drew off his men toward Ardoch, where he passed the night, and Argyle's troops lay under arms during the night in the neighbourhood of Dunblane.

As might have been expected, on an occasion of such dubious success on either side, both parties claimed a victory, but impartiality will confer the palm on neither.⁷ Argyle, it is true, visited the field of battle the following morning, which Mar might also have done had he been inclined, and this circumstance, therefore, can afford no argument in support of his pretensions. Neither can the capture of standards and colours by Argyle be considered as a proof of success, for although he took fourteen colours and standards, including the royal standard called "the Restoration," besides six pieces of cannon and other trophies, Mar, according to

⁷ "There's some say that we ran, and some say that they ran,
And some say that nane ran at a' man;
But one thing I'm sure, that at Sherramnir
A battle there was that I saw, man.
And we ran, and they ran, and they ran, and we ran,
But Florence* ran fastest of a' man."
The Battle of Sheriffmuir in Hogg's Jacobite Relics.

* Marquis of Huntly's horse.

the official Jacobite account, captured four stands of colours, several drums, and about 1,400 or 1,500 stands of arms. Accounts the most contradictory have been given by both parties of the losses sustained by them. According to the rolls of Argyle's muster-master general, his loss amounted to 290 men killed, 187 wounded, and 133 prisoners, making a grand total of 610, while the Jacobite account makes the loss in killed and wounded on the side of Argyle amount to between 700 and 800. On the other hand, the Jacobites state their loss in killed at only 60, and that very few of their men were wounded, while the royalists say that they lost, in killed and wounded, about 800 men.⁸ Supposing the royalist statement correct, the comparative loss of the insurgents scarcely exceeded one-third of that sustained by the government forces.

Several officers were killed on the royalist side. Among the wounded was the Earl of Forfar, a brave officer who commanded Morison's regiment. He received a shot in the knee, and sixteen other wounds, of which he died at Stirling about three weeks after the battle. Several persons of distinction were killed on the side of the insurgents, among whom were the Earl of Strathmore, and the Captain of Clanranald. A considerable number of gentlemen were taken prisoners by Argyle, but many of them escaped, and he was able to carry only 82 of them to Stirling. Of this number were Lord Strathallan, Thomas Drummond his brother, Walkinshaw of Barrowfield, Drummond of Logie-Drummond, and Murray of Auchtertyre.

On whichever side success lay, the battle, in its consequences, was most important in many respects to the government, as it was immediately followed by the desertion of a considerable number of the clans. With the exception of the Macdonalds, who particularly distinguished themselves on the right, and the Perthshire and Angus horse who withstood the repeated shocks of Argyle's cavalry, the remainder of the insurgent army made little resistance. The Macphersons and the Macgregors, (the latter commanded by Rob Roy,⁹

the chief's uncle), did not join in the contest at all, but looked on as if unconcerned about the result. Some of the clans, disgusted at the pusillanimity or indifference exhibited by their

For he ne'er advanc'd from the place he was stanc'd,
Till no more was to do there at a' man."

Battle of Sheriffmuir.

"A short time previous to the Earl of Mar's rising, their (the Macgregors') depredations in the Lennox, and on the lower banks of Lochlomond, had been carried to such an extremity, that the military force of the west country was raised against them, and all the warriors of the clan seem to have been driven from their country, and to have retreated to the north, even as far as the mountains of Loch-Arkaig and Glengarry. Accordingly we find Rob Roy there in September and October 1715.

"From thence he came down with the rest of the clans, and joined general Gordon in Strathfillan. He was with the clans before Inverary, and was active in making some reprisals both by carrying off cattle on the banks of Loch-Fyne, and capturing ships that lay at anchor in the loch.

"He marched with the clans to Ardoch, and was present at the battle of Sheriffmuir, but kept a shy distance, thereby weakening that wing of the army to which the Macgregors were placed as a corps-de-reserve, on what principle it is not easy to determine, if it was not, as the bard suggests, to watch who gained the day, and then assist them in disposing of the booty.

"Before the friends of the Stuarts, however, could be properly brought to a head, Rob performed a very signal service to many of them by an act worthy of his character, and exactly in his own way. At the great hunting of Brae Mar, it has been mentioned what a number of noblemen and chiefs signed the bond of faith and mutual support. By the negligence of a chieftain to whose charge this important and dangerous document was committed, it fell into the hands of Captain Campbell, then at Fort William; and when it became known that a man of such determined Whig principles held this bond, those who signed it were seriously alarmed, and various plans were suggested for recovering it. Rob Roy Macgregor, who was at this clan meeting, had also affixed his name; but on his own account he was indifferent, as he regarded neither king nor government. He was, however, urged by several chiefs, particularly his patron, to exert himself, and if possible to recover the bond. With this view he went to Fort William in disguise, not with his usual number of attendants, and getting access to Captain Campbell, who was a near relation of his own, he discovered that, out of revenge for the contemptuous manner in which the chieftains now treated the captain, he had put the bond into the possession of the governor of the garrison, who was resolved to forward it to the privy council; and Rob, learning by accident the day on which it was to be sent, took his leave, and went home. The despatch which contained the bond was made up by Governor Hill, and sent from Fort William, escorted by an ensign's command, which in those countries always accompanied the messages of government. On the third day's march, Rob and 50 of his men met this party in Glendochart, and ordering them to halt, demanded their despatches. The officer refused; but Rob told him, that he would either have their lives and the despatches together, or the despatches alone. The ferocious looks and appearance of Rob and his men bespoke no irresolution. The packet was given up; and Roy having

⁸ Colonel Harrison's account.

⁹ "Rob Roy there stood watch on a hill, for to catch
The booty, for ought that I saw, man;

associates, and others dispirited by the firmness displayed by the government forces, returned to their homes, thus verifying the observation made by a Jacobite in reference to the clans, that whether victorious or beaten, they would run away and go home. The defection of these clans was a severe blow to Mar, and made him abandon the idea of crossing the Forth. He, therefore, returned to Perth with the remains of his army, and to encourage the friends of the Jacobite interest, circulated the most favourable accounts of his alleged success at Sheriffmuir, and of the state of the Chevalier's affairs, although he himself began to consider them desperate.¹ The Duke of Argyle, on the other hand, retired to his head-quarters at Stirling, intending to resume offensive operations as soon as some expected reinforcements should arrive.

The attempt of Mar to disguise the real state of matters was too gross to deceive his adherents, and there were not a few who already began to entertain thoughts of making their own terms with the government: but the

taken out the bond he wanted, begged the officer would excuse the delay he had occasioned, and wishing him a good journey, left the military to proceed unmolested. By this manœuvre many chieftains kept on their heads, and the forfeiture of many estates prevented.

"The following notices are from Mr. Moir's MSS.

"One of the causes of the repulse of part of Mar's forces was the part which Rob Roy acted; this Rob Roy, or Red Robert, was uncle to the laird of Macgregor, and commanded that clan in his nephew's absence; but on the day of battle he kept his men together at some distance, without allowing them to engage, though they showed all the willingness imaginable; and waited only an opportunity to plunder, which was it seems the chief design of his coming there. This clan are a hardy rough people, but noted for pilfering, as they lie upon the border of the Highlands, and this Rob Roy had exercised their talents that way, pretty much in a kind of thieving war he carried on against the Duke of Montrose, who had cheated him of a small feudal estate.

"The conduct of this gentleman (who was went, as occasion served, to assume the name of Campbell, his own being prohibited by act of parliament) was the more surprising, as he had ever been remarked for courage and activity. When desired by one of his own officers to go and assist his friends, he remarked, 'If they cannot do it without me, they cannot do it with me.' It is more than probable, however, that his interference would have decided the day in favour of his own party. He continued in arms for some years, and committed great depredations in the shires of Dumbarton and Lennox, particularly on the Duke of Montrose's lands, defeating several detachments sent to reduce him."—*Jacobite Relics*, vol. ii. pp. 248—251.

¹ *Journal of Mar's proceedings*, printed at Paris.

Highland chiefs and the principal officers remained firm, and urged Mar to risk another battle even with his reduced forces. The earl, however, though personally brave, was not the man to comply with an advice so opposed to the rule he had laid down for himself, never to engage without a very superior force on his side. But had he been of a different opinion, the receipt of the news of the re-capture of Inverness would probably have precluded him from moving a second time upon Stirling.

It has been remarked as a singular circumstance in this history of Mar's insurrection, that the three important events which decided its fate should have occurred in regular daily succession. Inverness was captured on the 13th of November,² and on the same day Mackintosh's forces, cooped up in Preston, had to maintain a precarious struggle against the attacks of Wells's army. Next day witnessed the battle of Sheriffmuir, and at the very time the insurgents in Preston were offering terms of surrender, the right wings of Argyle's and Mar's armies were pursuing, with all the confidence of victory, the wings to which they were respectively opposed. And lastly, while on the 14th the insurgents in England were capitulating at Preston, the two rival armies in the north were retiring to their head-quarters, each of them claiming a victory.

The arrival of the Chevalier had been long anxiously looked for by his friends in Scotland. He was now about to gratify their desire of beholding his person; but James had already missed the golden opportunity, which presented itself at an early stage of the insurrection, of recovering his father's crown. Had he, on arriving at St. Malo, whither he proceeded from Lorraine at the breaking out of the insurrection, instantly taken shipping, he would not only have complied with the declared wishes of his adherents, but would have evinced at once a determination to maintain his claim. Instead of embarking, however, immediately,

² "The coincidence in time, of this achievement, with the reduction of Preston, and the battle of Sheriffmuir, is remarkable, and was much dwelt on at the time. But perhaps the day of the capture of Inverness not being exactly known—though it was certainly about the middle of November—it is not unlikely that the coincidence may have created a tendency to assign it to the 13th."—*Burton's Scotland* (1639—1747), vol. ii. p. 189 (note).

as he should have done, he spent so much time in the shipment of supplies, which he was desirous should precede his departure, that he was at last altogether prevented from sailing by some men-of-war, which appeared off the harbour of St. Malo, and which had been sent by the British government to intercept him. That he might not disappoint the expectations of his partisans, he resolved to go to Dunkirk in quest of shipping, and having traversed the country in disguise, he embarked at that port, about the middle of December, on board a small French vessel of eight guns, which had formerly been a privateer. He was attended by five persons only, who, to prevent suspicion, were disguised as French officers. Among these were the Marquis of Tynemouth, son of the Duke of Berwick, and Lieutenant Allan Cameron, a son of Lochiel.

Regardless of the evident risk which he ran, by attempting a descent upon the eastern coast of Scotland, he sailed from Dunkirk in the small vessel in which he had embarked, after leaving instructions to despatch after him two other vessels that lay in the harbour with his domestics, and some stores for the use of his army. It was the Chevalier's intention to have landed in the vicinity of the Frith of Tay, and accordingly, after steering in a northerly direction, he stood across for the coast of Angus, which was descried after a voyage of five days; but observing, at some distance, a sail, which he judged to be unfriendly, he altered his course to northward with the design of landing at Peterhead, of which the Earl Marischal was the feudal superior. The vessel which carried the Chevalier came, however, sufficiently near to land to intimate by signals to the friends of the prince in the neighbourhood that he was on board, which intelligence was immediately conveyed to the camp at Perth, where it was received with a feeling of intense delight.

The Chevalier arrived off Peterhead, on the 22d of December, seven days from the date of his departure from Dunkirk, and immediately landed with his small retinue of five persons, all disguised as seamen. After despatching the vessel to France with the news of his arrival, he and his companions took up their abode in the town for the night. He passed

the next night at Newburgh, a seat of the Earl Marischal, having previously sent Lieutenant Cameron to Perth with the intelligence of his landing. The Chevalier continued his journey towards Perth, and on the 24th passed *incognito* through Aberdeen, and arrived at Fetteresso, the principal seat of the Earl Marischal, where he remained several days. As soon as Lieutenant Cameron reached Perth, the Earl of Mar, the Earl Marischal, General Hamilton, and about thirty other gentlemen, mounted their horses, and set off to meet the Chevalier. This cavalcade arrived at Fetteresso on the 27th, and the persons composing it were introduced to "the king," and had the honour of kissing his hand. After the breaking up of the court, the Chevalier was proclaimed at the gates of the house, and printed copies of the declaration which he had issued in Lorraine were immediately dispersed.³

The Chevalier intended to have proceeded next day on his journey to Perth, but he was detained at Fetteresso till the 2d of January, by two successive fits of ague, which, however, did not prevent him from receiving addresses from the "Episcopal clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen," and from the magistrates, town council, and Jacobite inhabitants of the town.

While at Fetteresso the Chevalier exercised some of the functions of royalty, by conferring titles of dignity on some of his adherents. He raised the Earl of Mar to a dukedom; and, according to report, conferred the honour of knighthood upon Bannerman, the Jacobite provost of Aberdeen, who presented the address from that city. Having recovered from his attack, the Chevalier left Fetteresso on the 2d of January, and went to Brechin, where he passed the night. Next day he moved forward to Kinnaird, and on the 4th reached Glamis Castle, the principal seat of the Earl of Strathmore. At Glamis Mar drew up a letter, in which he gave a very flattering account of the Chevalier. As the object of this letter was to impress the people with a favourable opinion of the Chevalier, Mar ordered it to be printed and circulated as widely as possible. The letter is written with address, and may still be perused with interest:

³ *Annals of 2d year of George I.*, p. 159.

“Glames, 5 Jan. 1716

“I met the king at Fetteresso on Tuesday se’night, where we staid till Friday; from thence we came to Brechin, then to Kinnaird, and yesterday here. The king designed to have gone to Dundee to-day, but there is such a fall of snow that he is forced to put it off till to-morrow, if it be practicable then; and from thence he designs to go to Scoon. There was no haste in his being there sooner, for nothing can be done this season, else he had not been so long by the way. People, everywhere, as we have come along, are excessively fond to see him, and express that duty they ought. Without any compliment to him, and to do him nothing but justice, set aside his being a prince, he is really the first gentlemān I ever knew: He has a very good presence, and resembles King Charles a great deal. His presence, however, is not the best of him. He has fine parts, and despatches all his business himself with the greatest exactness. I never saw any body write so finely. He is affable to a great degree, without losing that majesty he ought to have, and has the sweetest temper in the world. In a word, he is every way fitted to make us a happy people, were his subjects worthy of him. To have him peaceably settled on his throne, is what these kingdoms do not deserve; but he deserves it so much that I hope there is a good fate attending him. I am sure there is nothing wanting to make the rest of his subjects as fond of him as we are, but their knowing him as we do; and it will be odd if his presence among us, after his running so many hazards to compass it, do not turn the hearts, even of the most obstinate. It is not fit to tell all the particulars, but I assure you he has left nothing undone, that well could be, to gain every body; and I hope God will touch their hearts.

“I have reason to hope we shall very quickly see a new face of affairs abroad in the king’s favour, which is all I dare commit to paper.

“MAR.”

On the morning of the 6th of January the Chevalier left Glammis for Dundee, which town he entered about eleven o’clock A.M. on horseback, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants, the Earl of Mar riding on his right hand, and the Earl Marischal on his left, and

followed by a train of nearly 300 adherents on horseback. To gratify the people who flocked round him eager to behold him and to kiss his hand, he, at the request of his friends, remained about an hour on horseback at the cross of the burgh, after which he rode out to the house of Stewart of Grandtully in the neighbourhood, where he dined and passed the night. On the following day he proceeded along the Carse of Gowrie to Castle Lyon, a seat of the Earl of Strathmore, where he dined, and thence to Fingask, the seat of Sir David Threipland, where he spent the night. Next day, being Sunday, he took up his abode in the royal palace of Seone, where he intended to stay till the ceremony of his coronation should be performed.

On Monday the Chevalier made his public entry into Perth. He met, however, with a cold reception, and he himself felt evidently disappointed at the appearance of the camp. He had heard much of the Highland chiefs and the clans, and being desirous to see “those little kings (the chiefs,) with their armies,” a select body of Highlanders exhibited before him. Their appearance gave him great satisfaction, but when he ascertained the paucity of the number in the camp, he could not repress the chagrin and disappointment he felt. On the other hand, the friends of the Chevalier were equally disappointed. Neither his appearance nor demeanour on the present occasion tended in any shape to justify the exaggerated encomiums of Mar, and his lugubrious deportment while at Perth tended more to alienate the affections of his adherents, and depress their spirits, than even the disappointment of supplies from France. The following is an account, doubtfully attributed to the Master of Sinclair, of the appearance of the Chevalier on his arrival at Perth, his behaviour while there, and their consequent effects upon his followers.

“His person was tall and thin, seeming to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, but perhaps looked more so than usual, by reason he had three fits of ague which took him two days after his coming on shore. Yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and there is something of a vivacity in his eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not

been under dejected circumstances, and surrounded with discouragement, which it must be acknowledged were sufficient to alter the complexion even of his soul as well as of his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressive of his thoughts, nor over much to the purpose; but his words were few, and his behaviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions we know not: here was no room for such things. It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him smile. Those who speak so positively of his being like King James VII. must excuse me for saying, that it seems to say they either never saw this person, or never saw King James VII.; and yet I must not conceal that when we saw the man whom they called our king, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence; and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak. His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or to see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said the circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us; and had he sent us but 5,000 men of good troops, and never himself come among us, we had done other things than we have now done. At the approach of that crisis when he was to defend his pretensions, and either lose his life or gain a crown, I think, as his affairs were situated, no man can say that his appearing grave and composed was a token of his want of thought, but rather of a significant anxiety grounded upon the prospect of his inevitable ruin, which he could not be so void of sense as not to see plainly before him, at least when he came to see how inconsistent his measures were, how unsteady the resolution of his guides, and how impossible it was to make them agree with one another.”⁴

The Chevalier returned to Scone in the evening, and notwithstanding the ominous symptoms of the day, proceeded to form a council

⁴ *A true account of the proceedings at Perth, by a Rebel.*

preparatory to exercising the functions of royalty. From Scone he soon issued no less than six proclamations; one for a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival; another enjoining the ministers to pray for him in the churches; a third, establishing the currency of foreign coin; a fourth, ordering a meeting of the convention of estates; a fifth, commanding all fencible men from sixteen to sixty to repair to his standard; and a sixth, fixing the 23d of January for his coronation at Scone. These assumptions of sovereign authority were, however, of a very evanescent character, as they had scarcely been issued when the Chevalier and his principal friends resolved to abandon the contest as hopeless. Indeed, from the reduced state of the army, and its deficiency in arms and ammunition, a determination had been come to by his party, a month before he landed, to retire from Perth as soon as Argyle should march against it; but being ignorant of that resolution, and believing that the insurgents intended to defend Perth, Argyle delayed his advance till he should be joined by large reinforcements from England and Holland.

Though continued in the command of the army, Argyle, for some reason or other, was not a favourite at court. Of his fidelity there could be no suspicion, and his conduct had lately shown that he wanted neither zeal nor ability to perform the task which had been assigned him. It has been conjectured that the leniency which he was disposed to show towards his unfortunate countrymen was the cause of that hidden displeasure which ended in the dismissal of himself and of his brother, the Earl of Islay, from all their employments. The rejection of an application which he made to the government for extended powers to treat with the insurgents after the battle of Sheriffmuir, goes far to support the supposition. But whatever were his views, he appeared to be in no hurry to pursue the insurgents, probably from an idea that they would disperse of their own accord. By the arrival of a body of 6,000 Dutch auxiliaries, and other reinforcements from England, Argyle found himself, early in January, at the head of upwards of 10,000 men, besides a large train of artillery. Desirous of expelling the insurgents from Fife before advancing north, a detachment of Dutch

and Scotch troops crossed the Frith of Forth by the duke's orders, and under cover of some men-of-war, landed at Burntisland, of which they took possession. On receiving this intelligence the insurgents immediately abandoned all the towns on the north side of the Frith, a circumstance which was attended with serious consequences to their friends at Perth, who were in consequence entirely cut off from their supplies of coals, at an unusually inclement season.

About the end of January, Argyle was in full condition to march north, but the snow, which had fallen to a great depth, appeared to him to offer a formidable obstruction to the march of an army unaccustomed to a winter's campaign; and which, from the insurgents having burnt and destroyed the villages on the road, would have to bivouac two or three nights in the open air, exposed to all the rigours of a northern winter. For these reasons Argyle urged, at a council of war, which was held at Stirling, a postponement of the march; but General Cadogan,⁵ who had been sent down to Scotland to hasten the duke's motions, insisting upon an immediate advance, and having openly accused Argyle of a want of zeal, his Grace made preparations for marching, and to facilitate the transport of his cannon and waggons, issued orders for assembling some thousands of the country people to clear away the snow.

Although the Jacobite leaders had come to the resolution of abandoning Perth as soon as the Duke of Argyle should advance upon it,

⁵ This officer appears to have been very suspicious of Argyle's motives, and did not hesitate to communicate his opinion to his superiors. In a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, he says: "Argyle grows so intolerably uneasy, that it is almost impossible to live with him any longer; he is enraged at the success of the expedition, though he and his creatures attribute to themselves the honour of it. When I brought him the news of the rebels having ran from Perth, he seemed thunderstruck; and was so visibly concerned, that even the foreign officers that were in the room took notice of it. . . . Since the rebels quitting Perth, he (Argyle) has sent 500 or 600 of his Argyleshire men, who go before the army a day's march, to take possession of the towns the enemy have abandoned, and to plunder and destroy the country, which enrages our soldiers, who are forbid under pain of death to take the value of a farthing, though out of the rebels' houses. Not one of these Argyle-men appeared whilst the rebels were in Perth, and when they might have been of some use."—*Colt's Marlborough*, vol. iii. p. 612.

they nevertheless gave indications as if they really meant to hold out. Pursuant to an order of a council, which was held on the 16th of January, the most strenuous exertions were made to fortify the town, and both officers and men vied with one another in hastening the completion of the works. What the motives of the leaders may have been in thus practising a deception upon the army it is impossible to conceive; perhaps the distant hope of being joined by the more remote clans, the chance of some fortunate, though unlooked for, occurrence in the chapter of accidents, or an idea that their men could not be otherwise kept together, may have been the inducing causes of these defensive preparations; but whatever their motives were, the apparent determination shown by the leading men to meet the enemy, had the most beneficial effect upon the army, which evinced a strong desire to engage. In this wish they thought they were to be gratified sooner than they expected, by the arrival of some country people at Perth who brought intelligence that Argyle was advancing with all his cavalry, and 4,000 foot mounted on horses. This news was, however, premature, and had originated in the appearance of a reconnoitring party of 200 dragoons, which Argyle had sent forward on the road to Perth, on the 21st of January, and which the fears of the people had magnified into an army.

All doubts, however, were removed in a few days, by the receipt of authentic intelligence at Perth, that Argyle having completed his arrangements, was to leave Stirling for Perth on the 29th of January, with his whole army. The councillors of the Chevalier were dismayed at this intelligence, but it had quite an opposite effect upon the mass of the army. Nothing was to be heard in the Jacobite camp but the voice of joy and rejoicing, and congratulations, on the expected happy result of an encounter with the enemy, were exchanged on all sides—between the officers and gentlemen volunteers, and the common soldiers and clansmen. While the former were pledging each other in their cups and drinking to "the good day," so near at hand, as they thought, which was to crown the Chevalier's arms with victory, the latter, amid the din of the warlike bagpipe, were to be seen giving each other a cordial

shake of the hand as if fully assured of success.

Whilst these congratulatory exhibitions were going on, the councillors of the Chevalier were deliberating upon the course they should pursue; but although they sat during the whole night they could come to no decided resolution. When the irresolution of the council became generally known, the men could not restrain their indignation, and a general opinion began to prevail among them that they had been betrayed. Impressed with this feeling, they became mutinous, and carried their insubordination so far as to insult the officers, whom they supposed had betrayed them, in the streets, and to load them with reproachful epithets. The gentlemen volunteers also participated in the same sentiments; and one of them from the higher parts of Aberdeenshire was heard to declare before a group of malcontents assembled in the streets, that the clans should take the person of the Chevalier out of the hands of the weak councillors who surrounded him, adding that he would find 10,000 gentlemen in Scotland who would hazard their lives for him, if he was equally ready as a prince to risk his own life in vindicating his right to the crown. A friend of the Earl of Mar, after remonstrating with this party, asked what they wished their officers to do.—“Do,” replied a Highlander, “what did you call us to take arms for? Was it to run away? What did the king come hither for? Was it to see his people butchered by hangmen, and not strike a stroke for their lives? Let us die like men and not like dogs.”⁶

Amid the confusion and perplexity occasioned by such a state of things, Mar convened another meeting of the council on the evening of the 29th, at which a resolution to retreat was entered into chiefly at Mar’s suggestion. His reasons for advising an abandonment of the enterprise for the present, were, 1st, the failure of the Duke of Ormond’s attempt to invade England; 2dly, the great accession of force which Argyle had received from abroad; and, lastly, the reduced state of the Jacobite forces, which did not exceed 4,000 men, and of whom only about 2,500 were properly

armed.⁷ Besides these there were, according to the Master of Sinclair, other reasons of a private nature which influenced Mar to give the advice he did, the chief of which, says the above-named authority, was that the Earl of Seaforth, the Marquis of Huntly, and other Jacobites who were in treaty with the government, had basely resolved to deliver up the Chevalier to the Duke of Argyle, that they might procure better terms for themselves than they could otherwise expect. This odious charge, which is not corroborated by any other writer, must be looked upon as highly improbable.

Before communicating to the army the resolution to retreat, a general meeting of all the officers was held at Scone on the following day, when they were informed of the determination of the previous evening, and of the reasons which had led to it. It was then secretly resolved that the Chevalier and his principal officers should take shipping at Montrose for France, and that the army should be disbanded as soon as it reached the Highlands, or as soon as circumstances permitted; but to save appearances with the men, it was given out, that as Perth was untenable, it became necessary to retire to a stronger position, where they could not only defend themselves, but keep up a more secure and direct communication with their friends in the north. At this time there were three ships lying in the Tay off Dundee, which had lately arrived with supplies from France; and to secure these for the conveyance of the Chevalier and his followers, a French officer and clergyman were despatched to Dundee with orders to send them down the coast to Montrose, there to wait his arrival.⁸

On the return of the officers to the camp, they promulgated the order to retreat to their men, and, as might have been anticipated, it was received with scorn and contempt. Among the Jacobite inhabitants of the town who had shown themselves very zealous in the cause of the Chevalier, the intelligence caused nothing but dismay, as from the prominent and decided part they had taken, they had incurred the penalties of treason against the government.

⁶ *True Account of the Proceedings at Perth*, by a Rebel.

⁷ *Mar’s Journal*.

⁸ *True Account of the Proceedings at Perth*

The morning of the 31st of January was fixed upon for the retreat, but a body of about 800 Highlanders, disliking the aspect of affairs, and displeased with the conduct of the principal officers, quitted Perth the preceding night for the Highlands by way of Dunkeld. Preparatory to his departure, the Chevalier went from Seone to Perth in the evening, and took up his residence in the house of Hay the provost, a staunch Jacobite, where he supped and passed the night. At ten o'clock next morning the rebels began their march across the Tay, which was covered with ice of extraordinary thickness. About noon the whole army had passed, and was on the march to Dundee along the Carso of Gowrie.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Argyle was advancing upon Perth as fast as the nature of the difficulties he had to contend with would admit of. He had left Stirling on the 29th of January, and marched to Dunblane. Next day he advanced as far as Auchterarder, which had been entirely burnt by the rebels. Here they passed the night upon the snow without "any other covering than the fine canopy of heaven." On the following day a detachment of 200 dragoons and 400 foot, which had been sent forward to protect the country people who were engaged in clearing away the snow, took possession of the castle of Tullibardine, the garrison of which had capitulated. The Duke of Argyle had resolved to take up his quarters for the night in this fortress; but receiving intelligence that the rebels had retired from Perth that morning, he ordered a party of 400 dragoons and 1,000 foot to haster forward to take possession of that town. The duke, at the head of the dragoons, arrived at Perth about two o'clock in the morning of the 1st of February; but the foot, who were greatly fatigued, did not come up till ten o'clock. The remainder of the duke's army reached Perth that evening.

The distance from Stirling to Perth is only 3½ miles, yet such was the obstruction that Argyle's army met with from the snow, that their march occupied three entire days. The difficulties of the march and the privations which his men had suffered by resting two nights on the snow, exposed to all the severities

of the weather, had so exhausted his men, that it was not till the day after his arrival at Perth that the duke could muster a force sufficiently strong to pursue the enemy.

On the 2d of February Argyle left Perth at the head of six squadrons of dragoons, three battalions of foot, and 800 Highlanders. He stopped at Errol that night, and entered Dundee next day. Having learned that the Chevalier had left Dundee the preceding day on his



Second Duke of Argyle.

way to Montrose, the duke sent forward a detachment towards Arbroath, and being joined by the remainder of his army on the 4th of February, he despatched on the same day three battalions of foot, 500 of his own Highlanders, and 50 dragoons, towards Arbroath, and another detachment of 300 foot, and 50 dragoons, in the direction of Brechin; but their march was retarded for some time by the snow. On the 5th the duke followed with the remainder of the army; and while he himself, at the head of the cavalry, took the high road to Brechin, General Cadogan with the infantry marched in the direction of Arbroath.

During the retreat to Montrose, suspicions began to be entertained in the Chevalier's army, that it was his intention to embark for France,

notwithstanding the assurances of the principal officers to the contrary. The unusual route along the sea-coast gave credence to the rumour; but when they approached Montrose, and saw some French vessels lying at anchor off the shore, their suspicions were confirmed, and the men began to manifest symptoms of discontent. The insurgent army arrived at Montrose on the 3d of February, where it was intended they should pass the night; but the Chevalier's advisers, alarmed at the murmurings of the troops, ordered them to march the same night towards Aberdeen, where it was given out they meant to make a stand till succours should arrive from abroad. This assurance had the desired effect upon the troops, who accordingly began their march in the expectation that the Chevalier would follow them. To prevent suspicion, his horses were ordered to be brought before the door of the house where he lodged at the hour appointed for the march, and his guards were ordered to mount, and to hold themselves in readiness to accompany him.

Meanwhile the Chevalier was busily employed in making the necessary preparations for his approaching departure. To relieve his memory from the imputation of having voluntarily abandoned the brave men who had taken up arms in his cause, it is due to him to state that he had been all along opposed to such a step, and it was not until he had been repeatedly and earnestly urged by his friends that he could be prevailed upon to give his consent to retire beyond seas. He said he was ready to suffer every hardship, and expose himself to every danger, rather than abandon those who had risked their all in his service; but being assured by his friends, that the course they advised might be ultimately beneficial to both, he reluctantly yielded to their entreaties. His principal motive for acceding to their wishes was the consideration that, if relieved from his presence, the government might be disposed to give better terms to his followers than they would be otherwise disposed to grant.¹

Before his departure he ordered a commission to be drawn up, by which he appointed General Gordon commander-in-chief, with all necessary powers, and particularly with authority to treat

with the enemy. He wrote, at the same time, a paper containing his reasons for leaving the kingdom, and along with which he delivered to the general all the money in his possession, (excepting a small sum which he reserved for defraying the expenses of himself and suite,) with instructions, after paying the army, to apply the residue in indemnifying the inhabitants of the villages² which had been burned, for the losses sustained by them. At the same time the Chevalier put the following letter to the Duke of Argyle, which he dictated to a secretary, into the hands of General Gordon, respecting the appropriation of the money so left. It is an interesting document, and exhibits the humanity of the prince in a favourable point of view:—

“ FOR THE DUKE OF ARGYLE.

“ *Montrose, 4th February, 1716.*

“ It was the view of delivering this my ancient kingdom from the hardship it lay under, and restoring it to its former happiness and independency, that brought me into this country; and all hopes of effectuating that at this time being taken from me, I have been reduced much against my inclination, but by a cruel necessity, to leave the kingdom with as many of my faithful subjects as were desirous to follow me, or I able to carry with me, that so at least I might secure them from the utter destruction that threatens them, since that was the only way left me to show them the regard I had for, and the sense I had of their unparalleled loyalty.

“ Among the manifold mortifications I have had in this unfortunate expedition, that of being forced to burn several villages, &c., as the only expedient left me for the publick security, was not the smallest. It was indeed forced upon me by the violence with which my rebellious subjects acted against me, and what they, as the first authors of it, must be answerable for, not I: however, as I cannot think of leaving this country without making some provision to repair that loss, I have, therefore, consigned to the magistrates of ——— the sum of ———, desiring and requiring of you, if not as an obedient subject, at least as

¹ *Mar's Journal.*

² *Dunning, Auchterarder, Blackford, Crieff, Muthil.*

a lover of your country, to take care that it be employed to the designed use, that I may at least have the satisfaction of having been the destruction and ruin of none, at a time I came to free all. Whether you have yet received my letter,³ or what effect it hath had upon you, I am as yet ignorant of; but what will become of these unhappy nations is but too plaine. I have neglected nothing to render them a free and prosperous people; and I fear they will find yet more than I the smart of preferring a foreign yolk to that obedience they owe me; and what must those who have so obstinately resisted both my right and my clemency have to answer for? But however things turn, or Providence is pleased to dispose of me, I shall never abandon my just right, nor the pursuits of it, but with my life; and beseech God so to

³ It is presumed this is the letter alluded to in a conversation between Lockhart of Carnwath and Captain Dougall Campbell, who is represented by him as "a person of great worth and loyalty, and a bosome friend of Argyle's." "Being with me (says Lockhart) at my country house, he (Campbell) asked me if I heard Argyle blam'd for having received and given no answer to a letter writt to him by the king whilst he was at Perth. I told him I had, but could not agree with those who censured him, for I had such an abhorrence of breach of trust, that had I been the duke's adviser, it should have been to doe as he did; for tho there was nothing I so much desired as to see him engaged in the king's cause, I wisht it done in a way consistent with his honour. Captain Campbell smiled and told me, he was to acquaint me of a secret which he must previously have my solemn word I would communicate to none, which he had given when it was revealed to him, having however obtained liberty afterwards to speak of it to me. After giving him the assurance he demanded, he told me that the letter was not delivered to the duke, for in his late Highland progress, he saw it and another to Lord Isla in the hands of the person to whose care they were committed, (but who that person was he would not tell me), who receiving them unseal'd, did not, after perusal, think it for the king's service to deliver them, that to the duke being writt in a style by no means to be approved of; 'and, indeed,' added Campbell, 'when I read them, I was entirely of the same mind, and could not but think that Mar or some other person, with a view of rather widening than healing the breaches, had prevail'd with the king to write after that manner.' The letter to Isla was writt as to a man of business, insisting on the unhappy state of Scotland, and that nothing but a dissolution of the union by the king's restoration, could prevent the utter ruin of that country. That to the duke did invite him to return to his loyalty and duty, threatening him, if he neglected, with revenge and the utter extirpation of his family, for what he and his predecessors had done in this and the last century. I doe not pretend to narrate the precise words of this letter, nor did Campbell mention them as such to me; however, I have narrated what he said was the aim and purport of the letter."—*Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 14, 15.

turn at last the hearts of my subjects, as that they may enjoy peace and happiness by submitting to what their interest and duty equally require of them. As for your own particular, you might, if you had pleased, joined interest and greatness in your own person; but, though you have refused to do that, I must earnestly request of you to do at least all in your power to save your country from utter ruin, and to be just at least to them, since you are it not to me.

"⁴ I thought to write this in my own hand, but had not time.

"JAMES R."

This letter was accompanied by a note of the following letter to General Gordon, written in the Chevalier's own hand:—

"General Gordon is hereby empowered, as soon as he has no other further occasion for the money left in his hands for the subsistence of the troops, to forward, if he thinks fitt, the enclosed letter to the duke of Argil, and to fill up the blanks of my letter with the name of the town where he shall leave the money, and the summ he shall leave.

"JAMES R."

It was not until the eve of his departure, that James thought of selecting the persons he wished to accompany him in his flight, but the near approach of the enemy, of whose motions he had just received intelligence, and the murmurings and jealousies of his troops compelling him to hasten his departure, he was narrowed in his choice, as some of the friends, whose presence he desired, were at some distance from Montrose. The first individual he pitched upon was Mar; but the earl begged that he might be left behind with the army. The Chevalier, however, insisted that he should go; and on representing to him that reasons almost equally strong existed for Mar's departure as for his own, that his friends would make better terms with the government without him than with him, and that his services could be of no use in Scotland under existing circumstances, he gave his consent.

⁴ What follows is in the Chevalier's own handwriting. The original document is in the Fingask family: of course, it had never been delivered to the duke.

Matters being adjusted, the Chevalier left his lodgings privately about nine o'clock on the evening of the 4th of February, accompanied only by one of his domestics, and having met Mar at his lodgings, they both proceeded by a private way to the beach, where a boat was lying in readiness to receive them, which carried them on board a small French vessel that lay at a little distance from the shore. The boat was immediately sent back, and returned in about a quarter of an hour with the Earl of Melfort, Lord Drummond, and the remainder of the Chevalier's suite. Being favoured with a fresh breeze from the west-south-west, the vessel stood directly out to sea, and after a voyage of five days, arrived in safety at Waldam, near Gravelines in French Flanders.

The insurgents, under General Gordon, marched to Aberdeen, which they entered on the morning of the 6th of February. Here he communicated to his men the paper of instructions he had received from the Chevalier, which, he informed them, he had been ordered not to open till their arrival at Aberdeen. In this writing the prince complained of the disappointments he had met with, particularly from abroad, and informed the army of the necessity he was under, for his own preservation, to leave the country. He thanked them for having entered so cheerfully into his service, and imputed the failure of the enterprise to the apathy of others, who had not seconded their efforts as they had promised to do. He advised them to consult their own safety by keeping together in a body under General Gordon till he should order them to disperse, and concluded by encouraging them to hope for better times. After reading this document, the General notified to his men that their pay would cease after that day.

General Cadogan arrived at Montrose on the afternoon of the 5th of February with three regiments of foot, and 600 of Argyle's Highlanders, and the duke reached Brechin with the dragoons the same night. The whole royalist forces continued their march the following day towards Aberdeen, but they could not overtake the insurgents, who were nearly two days' march in advance. The latter left Aberdeen on the 7th, and the Duke of Argyle reached it the following day at the head of 400

dragoons. The main body of the insurgents, chiefly foot, marched in the direction of Old Meldrum, but a party of about 200 horse, among whom were many officers and gentlemen-volunteers, took the route to Peterhead, where some vessels were lying to carry them to France. The Duke of Argyle, without waiting for the coming up of the rest of his army, immediately sent 200 dragoons, and a party of foot under Major-General Evans, to cut off the retreat of the latter, but he did not overtake them. Upwards of 100 of the gentlemen composing this party escaped to France.

Meanwhile the insurgents continued their march westwards into Moray, and after marching through Strathspey, retired into Badenoch, where they quietly dispersed. During their retreat, however, many, whose houses lay contiguous to their route, gradually withdrew from the ranks, so that before their arrival in Badenoch a considerable reduction had taken place in their numbers. Though closely pursued by Argyle's troops, the insurgents did not lose 100 men during the whole retreat, so well and orderly was it conducted by the Jacobite commander.

After the dispersion of the insurgents, about 160 officers and gentlemen-volunteers who had followed the army into the Highlands, hearing that two French frigates, destined to receive on board such of the adherents of the Chevalier as might be inclined to retire abroad, had arrived off the Orkney coast, sallied from the hills on horseback, and crossing the low country of Moray embarked in boats at Burgh-head, and landed in Caithness. From Caithness they proceeded to the Orkney islands, where they had the good fortune to reach the French ships, which carried them to Gottenburg. Among this party were Lord Duffus, who, being a seaman, entered into the naval service of the King of Sweden, Sir George Sinclair, Sir David Threipland of Fingask, and General Eckline. Most of these refugees entered into the Swedish army then about to invade Norway.

Thus ended an enterprise badly contrived, and conducted throughout with little judgment or energy. Yet notwithstanding the disadvantages under which it was attempted, it might have succeeded, if the efforts of the Scottish Jacobites had been seconded by the

Jacobites of England; but the latter, though decidedly hostile to the House of Brunswick, were not inclined to risk their lives and fortunes in a doubtful contest, in support of the pretensions of a prince known to them only by name, and to whose religion many of them felt a deep-rooted repugnance.

CHAPTER XXVII.

A. D. 1716—1737.

BRITISH SOVEREIGNS:—George I., 1714—1727.—George II., 1727—1760.

Trial and execution of the prisoners taken in the rebellion—Bills of attainder against the Earl of Mar and others—Proceedings of General Cadogan in the Highlands—Trials of the prisoners in Scotland—Act of grace—Removal of the Chevalier from France—Duke of Argyle dismissed from office—Continental affairs—Confederacy to restore the Chevalier—Threatened Spanish invasion—Disarming of the Highlanders—Means taken to prevent further disturbances by building forts, making roads, &c.—Aversion of the Highlanders to these innovations—The Chevalier appoints trustees to manage his affairs in Scotland—Discovery of a new Jacobite conspiracy—Habeas-corpus act suspended—Bolingbroke—Meeting of Highland chiefs at Paris—The disarming act—Disgrace of the Earl of Mar—His ambiguous conduct—Atterbury's charges against him—The Chevalier's domestic affairs—Death of George I.—Views of the Chevalier—Prospects of the Jacobites.

AFTER the flight and dispersion of the insurgents, the Duke of Argyle returned to Edinburgh about the end of February, where he was magnificently entertained by the magistrates of the city, whence he set off for London on the 1st of March. He had left instructions with General Cadogan to keep up a communication with the Whig leaders in the north, and to distribute the troops in quarters contiguous to the adjoining Highlands, that they might be the more readily assembled to repress any fresh insurrection which might break out. To keep some of the disaffected districts in check, parties of Highlanders were placed by Lord Lovat and Brigadier Grant, in Brahan castle, and in Erchles and Borlum; the former the seat of the Chisholm, the latter that of Brigadier Mackintosh.

The fate of the prisoners taken at Preston remains now to be told. The first who were tried were Lord Charles Murray, Captain Dalziel, brother to the earl of Carnwath, Major

Nairne, Captain Philip Lockhart, brother to Lockhart of Carnwath, Captain Shaftoe, and Ensign Nairne. These six were tried before a court-martial at Preston, and all, with the exception of Captain Dalziel, having been proved to have been officers in the service of government, were condemned to be shot. Lord Charles Murray received a pardon through the interest of his friends. The remainder suffered on the 2d of December.

The English parliament met on the 9th of January, 1716. The commons agreed, on the motion of Mr. Lechmere, to impeach Lorde Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, and Kenmure, of high treason. The articles of impeachment were carried up to the lords the same night, and on the next day these peers were brought to the bar of the house of lords to hear the articles of impeachment read. They were brought back from the Tower on the 19th, when they all pled guilty to the charge of high treason, except the Earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time to give in his answers. The rest received sentence of death on the 9th of February, in Westminster-hall. The Countess of Nithsdale and Lady Nairne surprised the king as he was passing through his apartments at St. James's, and throwing themselves at his feet implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands; but he turned away from them with contemptuous indifference. The Countess of Derwentwater was equally unsuccessful, though introduced by the Dukes of Richmond and St. Albans into the king's bed-chamber, and accompanied by the Duchesses of Cleveland and Bolton.

This refusal on the part of the king raised up a number of advocates in both houses of parliament, in behalf of the unfortunate noblemen. Availing themselves of this feeling, the ladies of the condemned lords, accompanied by about twenty others of equal rank, waited in the lobby of the house of peers, and at the door of the house of commons, and solicited the intercession of both houses. Next day they petitioned the houses. The commons rejected the application, and to get quit of further importunity adjourned for six or seven days, by a small majority; but the result was different in the house of lords. Petitions, craving the intercession of that house, were

presented from the condemned peers, which being read, after considerable opposition, a motion was made to address his majesty to grant them a reprieve. This occasioned a warm debate; but before the vote was taken, an amendment was proposed to the effect, that his majesty should reprieve such of the peers as should seem to deserve his mercy. It was contended by the supporters of the original address, that the effect of this amendment would be to destroy the nature of the address, as from the nature of the sentence which had been passed, none of the condemned peers could *deserve* mercy; but the amendment was substituted, and on the vote being taken, whether the address should be presented, it was carried *present*, by a majority of five votes. It is said that on one of the peers afterwards observing to the mover of the amendment, that it looked as if its object was to defeat the vote, and make it of no use to the persons for whose benefit it was intended, the proposer observed, that such was his intention in moving it.⁵

The king was evidently chagrined at the conduct of the house, and when the address was presented, he informed the deputation, that on this as on all other occasions, he would do what he thought most consistent with the dignity of the crown, and the safety of his people. The Earl of Nottingham, president of the council, who had supported the petitions of the condemned lords, together with Lord Aylesford, his brother, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Lord Finch, his son, one of the lords of the treasury, and Lord Guernsey, master of the jewel office, were all removed from office; and to show the determination of the king, orders were issued on the same day the address was delivered, for executing the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and Viscount Kenmure the following day. The other three peers were reprieved to the 7th of March. The Earl of Nithsdale, by the assistance of his heroic wife, made his escape the night before the execution, dressed in female attire. When the king heard of his escape next morning, he observed, that "it was the best thing a man in his condition could have done."⁶

On the morning of the 24th of February the Earl of Derwentwater and Viscount Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-hill. On ascending the scaffold, Derwentwater knelt down, and having spent some time in prayer, he got up, and drawing a paper out of his pocket, read a short address. He hoped for forgiveness through the passion and death of his Saviour; apologised to those who might have been scandalized at his pleading guilty at his trial, excusing himself for doing so on the ground that he was made to believe that it was only a consequence of having submitted to mercy; acknowledged as his only right and lawful sovereign, King James III., and earnestly hoped for his speedy restoration; and died, as he had lived, a Roman Catholic. He displayed the utmost coolness and perfect self-possession.

As soon as the remains of the Earl of Derwentwater were removed, Viscount Kenmure was brought up to the scaffold. Like Derwentwater, he expressed his regret for pleading guilty to the charge of high treason, and prayed for "King James." After praying a short time with uplifted hands, he advanced to the fatal block, and laying down his head, the executioner struck it off at two blows.

The Earl of Wintoun, on various frivolous pretences, got his trial postponed till the 15th of March, when he was brought finally up, and, after a trial which occupied two days, was found guilty, and received sentence of death; but his lordship afterwards made his escape from the Tower and fled to France.

On the 7th of April a commission for trying the other rebels met in the court of Common Pleas, Westminster, when bills of high treason were found against Mr. Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, Colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Menzies of Culldares, and seven of their associates, and on the 10th bills were found against eleven more. Forster escaped from Newgate, and so well had his friends concerted matters, that he reached Calais in less than 24 hours. The trials of Brigadier Mackintosh and others were fixed for the 4th of May, but about eleven o'clock the preceding night, the brigadier and fifteen other prisoners broke out of Newgate, after knocking down the keepers and disarming the sentinels. Eight were retaken, but Mackintosh and seven others escaped. The trials

⁵ *Annals of the 2d year of George I.*, p. 248.

⁶ *State Trials*, vol. xv.

of the prisoners who remained proceeded: many of them were found guilty; and five, among whom were Colonel Oxburgh and Mr. Paul, a non-jurant clergyman of the Church of England, were executed at Tyburn. Twenty-two prisoners were executed in Lancashire. The remainder of the prisoners taken at Preston, amounting to upwards of 700, submitted to the king's mercy, and having prayed for transportation, were sold as slaves to some West India merchants; a cruel proceeding, when it is considered that the greater part of these men were Highlanders, who had joined in the insurrection in obedience to the commands of their chiefs.⁷

The severities exercised by the government, and the courage and fortitude displayed by the unfortunate sufferers, wrought an extraordinary change in the dispositions of the people, who began to manifest great dissatisfaction at proceedings so revolting to humanity. Though the rebellion was extinguished, the spirit which had animated it still remained, being increased rather than diminished by the proceedings of the government; and the Tories longed for an opportunity of availing themselves of the universal dissatisfaction to secure a majority favourable to their views at the next general election. The Whigs, afraid of the result of an early election as destructive to themselves as a party and to the liberties of the country, had recourse to a bold measure, which nothing but the most urgent necessity could justify. This was no other than a plan to repeal the triennial act, and to prolong the duration of parliament. It is said that at first they intended to suspend the triennial act for one election only, but thinking that a temporary measure would appear a greater violation of constitutional law than a permanent one, they resolved to extend the duration of parliament to seven years. A bill was accordingly brought into the house of lords on the 10th of April by the Duke of Devonshire, which, notwith-

standing much opposition, passed both houses, receiving the royal assent on the 7th of May. On the same day an act of attainder against the Earls Marischal, Seaforth, Sonthesk, Panmure, and others, also received his majesty's sanction. An act of attainder against the Earl of Mar, the Marquis of Tullibardine, the Earl of Linlithgow, Lord Drummond, and other leaders of the insurrection, had received the royal assent on the 17th of February preceding. Besides these bills, three others were passed, one attainting Mr. Forster and Brigadier Mackintosh; another for more effectually securing the peace of the Highlands; a third appointing commissioners to inquire into the estates of those persons who had been attainted or convicted.

While the parliament was thus engaged in devising measures for maintaining the public tranquillity, General Cadogan was employed in dispersing some hostile bands of the clans which still continued to assemble with their chiefs in the remoter parts of the Highlands. Hearing that the Earl of Seaforth had retired into the island of Lewis, where he had collected a considerable body of his men under the command of Brigadier Campbell of Ormundel, an officer who had just arrived from Muscovy, where he had served in the army of the Czar, he sent a detachment into the island under the command of Colonel Cholmondeley to reduce it. The earl, on the appearance of this force, crossed into Ross-shire, whence he escaped to France; and Campbell being abandoned by his men after he had formed them in order of battle, was taken prisoner while standing in a charging posture. Another detachment under Colonel Clayton, was sent into the isle of Skye, where Sir Donald Macdonald was at the head of about 1,000 men; but the chief made no resistance, and having no assurance of protection from the government in case of a surrender, retired into one of the Uists, where he remained till he obtained a ship which carried him to France. About this time three ships arrived among the western islands from France with military supplies for the use of the insurgents, but they came too late to be of any service. Two of them, after taking 70 gentlemen on board, immediately returned to France, and the third, which carried fifty chests

⁷ "It is painful to see on the lists, the many Highland names followed with the word 'labourer,' indicating that they belonged to the humblest class. Too implicit obedience had been the weakness, instead of rebellion being the crime, of these men; and in many instances they had been forced into the service for which they were punished, as absolutely as the French conscript or the British pressed seaman."—Burton's *Scotland* (1689-1747), vol. ii. p. 211.

of small arms, and one hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, and other military stores, was captured while at anchor near Uist by an English ship of war.

In consequence of instructions from government, General Cadogan issued an order, which was intimated at the different parish churches in the north, requiring the rebels to surrender themselves and to deliver up their arms, assuring them, that such as complied should have liberty granted to return home in safety, but threatening to punish rigorously those who refused to comply. This order was generally obeyed by the common people in the Lowlands, who had been engaged in the insurrection; but few of the Highlanders seemed to regard it. To enforce compliance, Cadogan despatched different detachments through the Highlands, and took up his quarters at Blair Athole, where he could more easily communicate with the disaffected districts. He next removed to Ruthven in Badenoch, and afterwards proceeded to Inverness, where he received Glengary's submission. Lochiel, Keppoch, and Clamanald, had resolved to oppose by force the delivery of their arms; but on hearing that Clayton, who had returned from Skye, had resolved to march from Fortwilliam to Lochiel's house to disarm the Camerons, these chiefs retired, and their men delivered up their arms without resistance. Having succeeded in disarming the Highlands, the general left Inverness on the 27th of April, leaving General Sabine in command, and proceeded to London. The rebellion being now considered completely extinguished, the Dutch auxiliaries were withdrawn from Scotland, and in a short time thereafter were embarked for Holland.

To try the prisoners confined in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, Blackness, and other places in Scotland, a commission of Oyer and Terminer was appointed to sit at Carlisle in December, 1716. There were nearly seventy arraigned. Of twenty-nine who were brought to trial, twenty-five pled guilty. Brigadier Campbell of Ormundel, Tulloch of Tannachie, Stewart of Foss, and Stewart of Glenbuckie, entered a plea of not guilty. The two last having satisfied the solicitor-general of their innocence, he allowed a writ of *noli prosequi* to be entered in their behalf, and Campbell

having escaped from the castle of Carlisle, Tulloch alone stood his trial, but he was acquitted. Sentence of death was passed upon the twenty-five who had admitted their guilt, and thirty-six were discharged for want of evidence; but the sentence of death was never put into execution. It was wise in the government to pacify the national disaffection by showing mercy.

Following up the same humane view, an act of grace was passed in 1717 by the king and both houses of parliament, granting a free and general pardon to all persons who had committed any treasonable offences, before the 6th of May of that year, with the exception of those who, having committed such offences, had gone beyond the seas, and who, before the said day, had returned into Great Britain or Ireland without his majesty's license, or who should on or after the said day return into either of the kingdoms without such license. All persons of the name and clan of Macgregor were also excepted, as well as all such persons as should, on the 5th of May, 1717, remain attainted for high treason. But all such persons so attainted, unless specially named, and who had not escaped out of prison, were freely pardoned and discharged. Under this act the Earl of Carnwath, and Lords Widdrington and Nairne, were delivered from the Tower: seventeen persons confined in Newgate, the prisoners still remaining in the castles of Lancaster and Carlisle, and those in the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and other places in Scotland, including Lords Strathallan and Rollo, were likewise released.

While the Chevalier was preparing to embark for Scotland, the Earl of Stair, (the ambassador at the court of France,) had used every effort to prevent him. Duclou and others say that Stair not only applied to the Duke of Orleans, the regent, to have the Chevalier arrested, but that finding the regent insincere in his promises of compliance, he sent persons to assassinate the Chevalier on the road when crossing France to embark for Scotland. That Stair made such an application, and that he employed spies to watch the progress of the prince, are circumstances highly probable; but both Marshal Berwick and the Earl of Mar discredited the last part of the story, as they

considered Stair incapable of ordering an action so atrocious as the assassination of the prince.⁸

On the return of the Chevalier, Stair, afraid that he and his partisans in France would intrigue with the court, presented a memorial to the regent in name of his Britannic majesty, in which, after notifying the flight of the Chevalier, and the dispersion of his forces, he requested the regent to compel the prince to quit France. He next insisted that such of the rebels as had retired to France should be ordered forthwith to depart from that country. The removal of the Jacobite exiles from the French court was all that the earl could at that time obtain from the regent. By an agreement, however, which was shortly thereafter entered into between France and England, mutually guaranteeing the succession to the crown of France, and the Hanover succession according to the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht, it was stipulated that the Pretender should be sent beyond the Alps, and should never be allowed to return again to France or Lorraine on any pretence whatever, and that none of the rebellious subjects of Great Britain should be allowed to reside in France.

After the suppression of the insurrection, the leading supporters of government in Scotland repaired to London to congratulate George I. on the success of his arms, and to obtain the rewards they expected. The Duke of Argyle, to whose exertions chiefly the king was indebted for his peaceable accession to the throne, and the extinction of the rebellion, was already so overloaded with favours that he could scarcely expect any addition to be made to them, and would probably have been contented with those he had obtained. The "squadron" party, however, which had been long endeavouring to ruin him, now made every exertion to get him disgraced; and being assisted by the Marlborough faction, and a party which espoused the interests of Cadogan, they succeeded with the king, who dismissed the duke and his brother, the Earl of Islay, from all their employments, which were conferred on others. General Carpenter, to whom the success at Preston was entirely ascribed, succeeded Argyle in the chief command of the

forces in North Britain; and the Duke of Montrose was appointed Lord-Register of Scotland in the room of the Earl of Islay.

The aspect of affairs in the north of Europe requiring the king's presence in his German dominions, an act was passed repealing the clause in the act for the further limitation of the crown, which restricted the sovereign from leaving his British dominions. He closed the session on the 26th of June, and embarked at Gravesend on the 7th of July for Holland, where he arrived on the 9th. He proceeded to Loo incognito, and thence set out for Pyrmont.

For reasons which need not be stated here, Alberoni, the Spanish prime minister, was eager that Great Britain should enter upon an alliance with his country, and in his appeal to George I. he was backed by the English minister at Madrid. George thus found himself placed in a singular but fortunate situation. Equally courted by France and Spain, he had only to choose between them, and to form that connexion which might be most conducive to uphold the Protestant succession and to maintain the peace of Europe, with which the internal peace of Great Britain and the safety of the reigning family were intimately connected. The alliance with France being considered as more likely to secure these advantages than a connexion with Spain, the English minister at Madrid was instructed by the cabinet at home to decline the offers of Spain. "His majesty," said secretary Stanhope, in his letter to the minister, "is perfectly disposed to enter into a new treaty with the Catholic king, to renew and confirm the past; but the actual situation of affairs does not permit him to form other engagements, which, far from contributing to preserve the neutrality of Italy, would give rise to jealousies tending to disturb it."⁹

This was followed by the agreement with France, to which allusion has been made, and in January, 1717, a triple alliance was entered into between England, France, and Holland, by which the contracting parties mutually guaranteed to one another the possession of all places respectively held by them. The treaty

⁸ Mem. de Berwick, tome ii.

⁹ Mr. Stanhope to Mr. Doddington, March 15th, 1716.

also contained a guaranty of the Protestant succession on the throne of England, as well as that of the Duke of Orleans to the crown of France.

Baffled in all his attempts to draw England into an alliance against the Emperor of Austria, Alberoni looked to the north, where he hoped to find allies in the persons of the King of Sweden and the Czar of Muscovy. Both Peter the Great and Charles XII. were highly incensed against the Elector of Hanover, the former for resisting the attempts of Russia to obtain a footing in the empire, the latter for having joined the confederacy formed against him during his captivity, and for having accepted from the King of Denmark the duchies of Bremen and Verden, Swedish possessions, which had been conquered by Denmark during the absence of Charles. Charles, to revenge himself, formed the design of restoring the Stuarts, and by his instructions, Goertz, his minister in England, began to cabal with the English Jacobites, to whom, in name of his master, he promised to grant assistance in any efforts they might make to rid themselves of the elector. It was whispered among the Scottish Jacobites, that "the king," as they termed the Chevalier, had some hopes of prevailing on Charles to espouse his cause, but the first notice on which they could place any reliance was a letter from the Earl of Mar to one Captain Straiton, which he directed to be communicated to the Bishop of Edinburgh, Lord Balmerino, and Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, and in which he suggested, that as there was a great scarcity in Sweden, the friends of the Chevalier should purchase and send 5,000 or 6,000 bolls of meal to that country. Their poverty, however, and the impracticability of collecting and sending such a large quantity of food out of the kingdom, without exciting the suspicions of the government, prevented the plan from being carried into execution.¹ Shortly thereafter, Straiton received another letter from Mar, in which, after stating that there was a design to attempt the restoration of the prince by the aid of a certain foreign sovereign, and that it would look strange if his friends at home did not put themselves in a

condition to assist him, he suggested, that as the want of money had been hitherto a great impediment in the way of the Chevalier's success, the persons to whom this and his first letter were to be communicated, should persuade their friends to have in readiness such money as they could procure, to be employed when the proper opportunity offered. Mr. Lockhart, who received a letter from the Chevalier at the same time, undertook the task of acquainting the Chevalier's friends in Scotland with Mar's wish, and obtained assurances from several persons of rank that they would attend to the prince's request. Lord Eglinton in particular made an offer of 3,000 guineas.

The intrigues of Goertz, the Swedish minister, being discovered by the government, he was arrested and his papers seized at the desire of King George. This extraordinary proceeding, against which the foreign ministers resident at the British court remonstrated, roused the indignation of Charles to the highest pitch, and being now more determined than ever to carry his project into effect, he, at the instigation of Alberoni, reconciled himself to the Czar, who, in resentment of an offer made by King George to Charles to join against Russia, if the latter would ratify the cession of Bremen and Verden, agreed to unite his forces with those of Sweden and Spain for placing the Pretender on the throne of England. To strengthen the interest of the Chevalier in the north, Alberoni sent the Duke of Ormond into Russia to negotiate a marriage between the son of the Chevalier, and Anne the daughter of Peter, but this project did not take effect. The Chevalier himself, in the meantime, contracted a marriage with the Princess Clementina Sobieski, but she was arrested at Inspruck by order of the imperial government, when on her journey to meet her betrothed husband, and sent to a convent.

King George returned to England towards the end of January, 1717. The parliament met on the 20th of February, when he informed them of the projected invasion, and mentioned that he had given orders for laying copies of papers connected therewith before them. From these documents it appeared, that the plan of invasion was ripe for execution, but that it was not intended to attempt

¹ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 7.

it till the Dutch auxiliaries should be sent back to Holland.

In consequence of the conduct of his Swedish majesty, parliament passed a bill prohibiting all intercourse with Sweden, and a fleet was despatched to the Baltic under the command of Sir George Byng, to observe the motions of the Swedes; but the death of Charles XII. dissolved the confederacy between Sweden and Russia.

War was declared against Spain in December 1718; but a respectable minority in parliament, and the nation at large, were opposed to it, as hurtful to the commercial interests of Great Britain. France also followed the same course.

The war with Spain revived the hopes of the Jacobites, and the Duke of Ormond repaired to Madrid, where he held conferences with Alberoni, and concerted an invasion of Great Britain. The Dutch, alarmed at Ormond's appearance at Madrid, remonstrated with Alberoni, as they had guaranteed the Protestant succession, which might be endangered if an insurrection in favour of the Chevalier de St. George was encouraged by Spain; but the cardinal assured them that the duke had no other design in coming into Spain but to consult his personal safety. Meanwhile, under the pretence of sending reinforcements into Sicily, preparations were made at Cadiz and in the ports of Galicia for the projected invasion, and the Chevalier himself proceeded to Madrid, where he was cordially received and treated as King of Great Britain. On the 10th of March, 1719, a fleet, consisting of ten men-of-war and twenty-one transports, having on board 5,000 men, a great quantity of ammunition, and 30,000 muskets, sailed from Cadiz, with instructions to join the rest of the expedition at Corunna, and to make a descent at once upon England and Ireland. The Duke of Ormond was appointed commander of the fleet, with the title of Captain-general of his most Catholic Majesty; and he was provided with declarations in the name of the king, stating, that for many good reasons he had sent forces into England and Scotland to act as auxiliaries to King James.

To defeat this attempt the allied cabinets adopted the necessary measures. His Britannic

majesty having communicated to both houses of parliament the advices he had received respecting the projected invasion, they gave him every assurance of support, and requested him to augment his forces by sea and land. He offered a reward of £10,000 to any one who should apprehend the Duke of Ormond. Troops were ordered to assemble in the north and west of England, and a strong squadron, under Admiral Norris, was equipped and sent out to sea to meet the Spanish fleet. The Dutch furnished 2,000 men, and six battalions of Imperialists were sent from the Austrian Netherlands; and the Duke of Orleans ordered ships to be prepared at Brest to join the English fleet, and made an offer of twenty battalions for the service of King George.

The expedition under Ormond, with the exception of two frigates, never reached its destination, having been dispersed and disabled, off Cape Finisterre, by a violent storm which lasted twelve days. These two ships reached the coast of Scotland, having on board the Earls Marischal and Seaforth, the Marquis of Tullibardine, some field officers, 300 Spaniards, and arms for 2,000 men. The expedition entered Loch Aish about the middle of May, and the small force landed in the western Highlands, when it was joined by some Highlanders, chiefly Seaforth's men. The other Jacobite clans, with the disappointment they formerly experienced from France still fresh in their recollection, resolved not to move till the whole forces under Ormond should arrive. A difference arose between the Earl Marischal and the Marquis of Tullibardine about the command, but this dispute was put an end to by the advance of General Wightman from Inverness, with a body of regular troops. The Highlanders and their allies had taken possession of the pass at Glenshiel; but on the approach of the government forces they retired to the pass at Strachell, which they resolved to defend. General Wightman attacked and drove them, after a smart action of three hours' duration, and after sustaining some loss, from one eminence to another, when night put an end to the combat. The Highlanders seeing no chance of making a successful resistance, dispersed, during the night, among the mountains, and the Spaniards, on the following day, surren-

dered themselves prisoners of war. Marischal, Seaforth, and Tullibardine, with the other officers, retired to the Western Isles, and managed to escape to the continent.²

After government had succeeded in putting an end to the rebellion, it felt the necessity of doing something, not only to allay the consequent disorders in the Highlands, but also to render the Highlanders less capable in future of entering into rebellion, and make them more accessible to the strong arm of the law. The estates of most of the chiefs and proprietors who had been engaged were forfeited, although practically in some cases it was found difficult to carry the forfeiture into effect; as in the case of the Earl of Seaforth, one of whose retainers seized the office of receiver, and transmitted the rents to the exiled earl.

Lord Lovat, who, on account of his loyal conduct, had risen high in the royal favour, drew up, in 1724, a memorial to George I. concerning the state of the Highlands, characterised by great insight into the source of the existing evils, and recommending to government the adoption of measures calculated to remedy these.

From this memorial we learn that King William, possibly in accordance with the recommendation of Breadalbane, formerly referred to, had organized a few independent Highland companies, which appear to have been of some service in repressing the disorders so prevalent in the north.³ "The independent companies, raised by King William not long after the revolution, reduced the Highlanders to better order than at any time they had been in since the restoration. They were composed of the natives of the country, inured to the fatigue of travelling the mountains, lying on the hills, wore the same habit, and spoke the same language; but for want of being put under proper regulations, corruptions were introduced, and some, who commanded them, instead of bringing criminals to justice, (as I am informed) often compounded for the theft, and, for a sum of money set them at liberty. They are said also to have defrauded the government

by keeping not above half their numbers in constant pay, which (as I humbly conceive) might be the reason your majesty caused them to be disbanded."

These companies being broken up in 1717, according to Lovat and Wade, robberies went on "without any manner of fear or restraint, and have ever since continued to infest the country in a public and open manner."⁵

Wade entered upon his investigation in 1724, and his report shows he was competent to undertake such a task. He computed that of the 22,000 Highlandmen able to bear arms, 10,000 were "vassals to superiors," well affected to government, and the remainder had been engaged in rebellions, and were ready, when called upon by their chiefs, "to create new troubles." One of the greatest grievances was the robberies referred to by Lovat, accompanied with the levying of *Wack mail*. According to the general, "the clans, in the Highlands, the most addicted to rapine and plunder, are the Camerons, on the west of the shire of Inverness; the Mackenzies and others, in the shire of Ross, who were vassals to the late Earl of Seaforth; the M'Donalds of Kepoch; the Broadalbin men and the M'Gregors, on the borders of Argyleshire. They go out in parties from ten to thirty men, traverse large tracks of mountains, till they arrive at the low lands, where they design to commit their depredations, which they choose to do in places distant from the glens which they inhabit. They drive the stolen cattle in the night time, and in the day remain on the tops of the mountains or in the woods, (with which the Highlands abound), and take the first occasion to sell them at the fairs or markets that are annually held in many parts of the country.

"Those who are robbed of their cattle (or persons employed by them), follow them by the tract, and often recover them from the robbers, by compounding for a certain sum of money agreed on; but if the pursuers are in numbers superior to the thieves, and happen to seize any of them, they are seldom or never prosecuted, the poorer sort being unable to support the charges of a prosecution. They

² Lockhart, vol. ii. p. 19.

³ See for the information in these paragraphs the appendices to Jamieson's edition of Burt's *Letters*.

⁴ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 277, 278.

⁵ Lovat himself commanded one of these companies, and appears to have felt pretty sore at the loss of it.

are likewise under the apprehension of becoming the object of their revenge, by having their houses and stacks burnt, their cattle stolen, or hocked, and their lives at the mercy of the tribe or clan to whom the banditti belongs. The richer sort, to keep, as they call it, good neighbourhood, generally compound with the chieftain of the tribe or clan for double restitution, which he willingly pays to save one of his clan from prosecution; and this is repaid him by a contribution from the thieves of his clan, who never refuse the payment of their proportion to save one of their own fraternity. This composition is seldom paid in money, but in cattle stolen from the opposite side of the country, to make reparation to the person injured."⁶

To remedy these evils, an act for the disarming of the Highlanders was passed in the year 1716, but it was so badly put into force that the most disaffected clans remained better armed than ever. By the act, the collectors of taxes were empowered to pay for the arms delivered up; but none were given in except such as were broken and unfit for use, which were valued at a price far beyond what they were worth. Not only so, but a brisk trade appears to have been carried on with Holland and other countries in broken and useless arms, which were imported and delivered up to the commissioners at exorbitant prices. Wade also found in the possession of the Highlanders a great number of arms which they had obtained from the Spaniards engaged in the affair at Glen Shiel. Altogether he computed that the Highlanders hostile to his majesty were in possession of about five or six thousand arms of various kinds. Wade further reports that to keep the Highlanders in awe, "four barracks had been built in different parts of the Highlands, and parties of regular troops, under the command of Highland officers, with a company of 30, established to conduct them through the mountains, was thought an effectual scheme, as well to prevent the rising of the Highlanders disaffected to your majesty's government, as to hinder depredations on your faithful subjects. It is to be wished that, during the reign of your majesty and your suc-

cessors, no insurrection may ever happen to experience whether the barracks will effectually answer the end proposed; yet I am humbly of opinion, that if the number of troops they are built to contain were constantly quartered in them (whereas there is now in some but 30 men, and proper provisions laid in for their support during the winter season), they might be of some use to prevent the insurrections of the Highlanders, though, as I humbly conceive (having seen them all), that two of the four are not built in as proper situations as they might have been. As to the Highland parties, I have already presumed to represent to your majesty the little use they were of in hindering depredations, and the great sufferings of the soldiers employed in that service, upon which your majesty was graciously pleased to countermand them.

"I must farther beg leave to report to your majesty, that another great cause of disorders in the Highlands is the want of proper persons to execute the several offices of civil magistrates, especially in the shires of Inverness, Ross, and some other parts of the Highlands.

"The party quarrels and violent animosities among the gentlemen equally well affected to your majesty's government, I humbly conceive to be one great cause of this defect. Those here in arms for your majesty, who raised a spirit in the shire of Inverness, and recovered the town of that name from the rebels (their main body being then at Perth), complain that the persons employed as magistrates over them have little interest in the country, and that three of the deputy sheriffs in those parts were persons actually in arms against your majesty at the time of the rebellion, which (as I am credibly informed) is true. They likewise complain that many are left out of the commissions of lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, sheriffs, &c., and I take the liberty to observe, that the want of acting justices of the peace is a great encouragement to the disorders so frequently committed in that part of the country, there being but one now residing as an acting justice for the space of above an hundred miles in compass."⁷

He also complained that the regular troops

⁶ *Bart's Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 273, 274.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 278, 279.

laboured under great disadvantages in endeavouring to penetrate in the Highland fastnesses from the want of roads and bridges.

As a remedy for these evils he proposed "that companies of such Highlanders as are well affected to his majesty's government be established under proper regulations, and commanded by officers speaking the language of the country, subject to martial law, and under the inspection and orders of the governors of Fort-William, Inverness, and the officer com-

manding his majesty's forces in those parts;"⁸ that a redoubt or barrack be erected at Inverness, and an addition be made to the one already established at Killyhuimen (Fort Augustus), at the south end of Loch Ness, and that a small vessel, with oars and sails, be built on the loch, capable of holding from sixty to eighty soldiers, which would be a means of keeping up communication between Inverness and Fort Augustus, and of sending parties to the county bordering on the lake. Further, that the



Fort Augustus.

different garrisons and castles in North Britain, especially the castle of Edinburgh, be put in such condition as to guard against surprise, and that a regiment of dragoons be quartered in the district between Perth and Inverness. As to the civil government of the country, Wade recommended that proper persons be nominated for sheriffs and deputy sheriffs in the Highland counties, and that justices of the peace and constables, with small salaries, be established in proper places, and that quarter sessions be regularly held at Killyhuimen, Ruthven in Badenoch, Fort William, and if necessary, at Bernera, near the coast of the Isle of Skye.

By an act passed in 1725, Wade was em-

powered to proceed to the Highlands and summon the clans to deliver up their arms, and to carry most of his other recommendations into effect. After quelling the malt-tax riots in Glasgow and Edinburgh, Wade set out for the Highlands, and arrived in Inverness on the 10th of August 1725, and immediately proceeded to business. As his report contains much interesting and valuable information on

⁸ "The companies were six in number: three distinguished by the name of large companies, consisted of 100 men each; and three smaller companies, of 70 men each. The former were commanded by captains, and the latter by captain-lieutenants, each commanding officer being, as the name implies, independent of the others. To each company, great and small, was attached the same number of subalterns, viz. two lieutenants and one ensign."

the state of the Highlands at this time, we shall give here a large extract from it.

“The laird of the M’Kenzies, and other chiefs of the clans and tribes, tenants to the late Earl of Seaforth, came to me in a body, to the number of about fifty, and assured me that both they and their followers were ready to pay a dutiful obedience to your majesty’s commands, by a peaceable surrender of their arms; that if your majesty would be graciously pleased to procure them an indemnity for the rents that had been misapplied for the time past, they would for the future become faithful subjects to your majesty, and pay them to your majesty’s receiver for the use of the public. I assured them of your majesty’s gracious intentions towards them, and that they might rely on your majesty’s bounty and clemency, provided they would merit it by their future good conduct and peaceable behaviour; that I had your majesty’s commands to send the first summons to the country they inhabited; which would soon give them an opportunity of showing the sincerity of their promises, and of having the merit to set example to the rest of the Highlands, who in their turns were to be summoned to deliver up their arms, pursuant to the disarming act; that they might choose the place they themselves thought most convenient to surrender their arms; and that I would answer, that neither their persons nor their property should be molested by your majesty’s troops.—They desired they might be permitted to deliver up their arms at the castle of Brahan, the principal seat of their late superior, who, they said, had promoted and encouraged them to this their submission; but begged that none of the Highland companies might be present; for, as they had always been reputed the bravest, as well as the most numerous of the northern clans, they thought it more consistent with their honour to resign their arms to your majesty’s veteran troops;—to which I readily consented.

“Summonses were accordingly sent to the several clans and tribes, the inhabitants of 18 parishes, who were vassals or tenants of the late Earl of Seaforth, to bring or send in all their arms and warlike weapons to the castle of Brahan, on or before the 28th of August.

“On the 25th of August I went to the castle

of Brahan, with a detachment of 200 of the regular troops, and was met there by the chiefs of the several clans and tribes, who assured me they had used their utmost diligence in collecting all the arms they were possessed of, which should be brought thither on the Saturday following, pursuant to the summons they had received; and telling me they were apprehensive of insults or depredations from the neighbouring clans of the Camerons, and others who still continued in possession of their arms. Parties of the Highland companies were ordered to guard the passes leading to their country; which parties continued there for their protection, till the clans in that neighbourhood were summoned, and had surrendered their arms.

“On the day appointed, the several clans and tribes assembled in the adjacent villages, and marched in good order through the great avenue that leads to the castle; and one after another laid down their arms in the court-yard, in great quiet and decency, amounting to 784 of the several species mentioned in the act of parliament.

“The solemnity with which this was performed, had undoubtedly a great influence over the rest of the Highland clans; and disposed them to pay that obedience to your majesty’s commands, by a peaceable surrender of their arms, which they had never done to any of your royal predecessors, or in compliance with any law either before or since the Union.

“The next summonses were sent to the clans and countries in the neighbourhood of Killyhuimen and Fort William. The arms of the several clans of the M’Donalds of Glengary, M’Leods of Glencg, Chisholms of Strathglass, and Grants of Glenmoriston, were surrendered to me at the barrack of Killyhuimen, the 15th of September; and those of the M’Donalds of Keppoch, Moidart, Aresaig, and Glencoe; as also the Camerons, and Stewarts of Appin, were delivered to the governor of Fort William. The M’Intoshes were summoned, and brought in their arms to Inverness; and the followers of the Duke of Gordon, with the clan of M’Phersons, to the barrack of Ruthven in Badenoch.

“The inhabitants of the islet of Skye and Mull were also summoned; the M’Donalds, M’Kinnons, and M’Leods delivered their arms

at the barrack of Bernera; and those of the Isle of Mull, to the officer commanding at Castle Duart, both on the 1st day of October.

“The regiments remained till that time encamped at Inverness; and this service was performed by sending detachments from the camp to the several parts of the Highlands appointed for the surrender of arms. Ammunition bread was regularly delivered to the soldiers, and biscuits to the detachments that were sent into the mountains. The camp was plentifully supplied with provisions, and an hospital in the town provided for the sick men. This contributed to preserve the soldiers in health; so that notwithstanding the excessive bad weather and continued rains that fell during the campaign, there died of the three regiments no more than ten soldiers:—but the weather growing cold, and the snow falling in the mountains, obliged me to break up the camp, and send the troops into winter quarters.

“The new-raised companies of Highlanders were for some time encamped with the regular troops, performing the duty of the camp with the rest of the soldiers. They mounted guard, went out upon parties, had the articles of war read and explained to them, and were regularly paid with the rest of the troops. When they had made some progress in their exercise and discipline, they were sent to their respective stations with proper orders; as well to prevent the Highlanders from returning to the use of arms, as to hinder their committing depredations on the low country.

“The Lord Lovat’s company was posted to guard all the passes in the mountains, from the Isle of Skye eastward, as far as Inverness; the company of Colonel Grant in the several passes from Inverness southward to Dunkeld; Sir Duncan Campbell’s company, from Dunkeld westward, as far as the country of Lorn. The three companies commanded by lieutenants were posted, the first at Fort William; the second at Killyhuimen; and the third at Ruthven in Badenoch; and may in a short time be assembled in a body, to march to any part of the Highlands as occasion may require.

“The clans of the northern Highlands having peaceably surrendered their arms, pursuant to the several summonses sent them in your majesty’s name, and consequently exposed to

the inroads of their neighbours, to prevent this inconvenience, (though the season of the year was far advanced) I thought it both just and necessary to proceed to disarm the southern clans, who had also joined in the rebellion, and thereby to finish the campaign by summoning all the clans and countries who had taken up arms against your majesty in the year 1715.

“Summonses were accordingly sent to the inhabitants of the Brea of Mar, Perth, Athol, Braidalbin, Menteth, and those parts of the shire of Stirling and Dumbarton included in the disarming act. Parties of the regular troops were ordered to march from the nearest garrisons to several places appointed for the surrender of their arms, and circular letters were sent to the principal gentlemen in those parts, exciting them to follow the example of the northern Highlands. The clans of these countries brought in their arms on the days and at the places appointed by their respective summonses, but not in so great a quantity as the northern clans had done. The gentlemen assured me they had given strict orders to their tenants to bring in all the arms they had in their possession; but that many of them, knowing they were not to be paid for them, as stipulated by the former act, several had been carried to the forges, and turned into working tools and other peaceable instruments; there being no prohibition by the act of parliament to hinder them from disposing of them in any manner they thought most to their advantage, provided they had no arms in their possession, after the day mentioned in the summons; and if the informations I have received are true, the same thing has been practised, more or less, by all the clans that have been summoned pursuant to the present act of parliament, which makes no allowance for arms delivered up, in order to prevent the notorious frauds and abuses committed by those who had the execution of the former act, whereby your majesty paid near £13,000 for broken and useless arms, that were hardly worth the expense of carriage.

“The number of arms collected this year in the Highlands, of the several species mentioned in the disarming act, amount in the whole to 2,685. The greatest part of them are deposited

in the Castle of Edinburgh, and the rest at Fort William, and the barrack of Bernera. At the time they were brought in by the clans, there was a mixture of good and bad; but the damage they received in the carriage, and growing rusty by being exposed to rain, they are of little more worth than the value of the iron.

“In the execution of the power given me by your majesty, to grant licences to such persons whose business or occupation required the use of arms for their safety and defence, I have given out in the whole 230 licences to the foresters, drovers, and dealers in cattle, and other merchandise, belonging to the several clans who have surrendered their arms, which are to remain in force for two years, provided they behave themselves during that time as faithful subjects to your majesty, and peaceably towards their neighbours. The names of the persons empowered to wear arms by these licences are entered in a book, as also the names of the gentlemen by whom they were recommended, and who have promised to be answerable for their good behaviour.

“The several summonses for the surrender of arms have been affixed to the doors of 129 parish churches, on the market crosses of the county towns; and copies of the same regularly entered in the sheriff's books in the method prescribed by the disarming act, by which these Highlanders who shall presume to wear arms without a legal qualification, are subject to the penalties of that law which has already had so good an effect, that, instead of guns, swords, dirks, and pistols, they now travel to their churches, markets, and fairs with only a staff in their hands. Since the Highland companies have been posted at their respective stations, several of the most notorious thieves have been seized on and committed to prison, some of which are now under prosecution, but others, either by the corruption or negligence of the jailers, have been set at liberty, or suffered to make their escape.

“The imposition commonly called blackmeal is now no longer paid by the inhabitants bordering on the Highlands; and robberies and depredations, formerly complained of, are less frequently attempted than has been known for many years past, there having been but

one single instance where cattle have been stolen, without being recovered and returned to their proper owners.

“At my first coming to the Highlands, I caused an exact survey to be taken of the lakes, and that part of the country lying between Inverness and Fort William, which extends from the east to the west sea, in order to render the communication more practicable; and materials were provided for the vessel which, by your majesty's commands, was to be built on the Lake Ness; which is now finished and launched into the lake. It is made in the form of a gally, either for rowing or sailing; is capable of carrying a party of 50 or 60 soldiers to any part of the country bordering on the said lake; and will be of great use for transporting provisions and ammunition from Inverness to the barrack of Killyhuimen, where four companies of foot have been quartered since the beginning of last October.

“I presume also to acquaint your majesty, that parties of regular troops have been constantly employed in making the roads of communication between Killyhuimen and Fort William, who have already made so good a progress in that work, that I hope, before the end of next summer, they will be rendered both practicable and convenient for the march of your majesty's forces between those garrisons, and facilitate their assembling in one body, if occasion should require.

“The fortifications and additional barracks, which, by your majesty's commands were to be erected at Inverness and Killyhuimen, are the only part of your majesty's instructions which I have not been able to put in execution. There were no persons in that part of the Highlands of sufficient credit or knowledge to contract for a work of so extensive a nature. The stone must be cut out of the quarries; nor could the timber be provided sooner than by sending to Norway to purchase it; and, although the materials had been ready and at hand, the excessive rains, that fell during the whole summer season, must have rendered it impossible to have carried on the work. I have, however, contracted for the necessary repairs of the old castle at Inverness, which I am promised will be finished before next winter.

“I humbly beg leave to observe to your

majesty, that nothing has contributed more to the success of my endeavours in disarming the Highlanders, and reducing the vassals of the late Earl of Seafield to your obedience, than the power your majesty was pleased to grant me of receiving the submissions of persons attainted of high treason. They were dispersed in different parts of the Highlands, without the least apprehension of being betrayed or molested by their countrymen, and, for their safety and protection, must have contributed all they were able to encourage the use of arms, and to infect the minds of those people on whose protection they depended. In this situation, they were proper instruments, and always ready to be employed in promoting the interest of the Pretender, or any other foreign power they thought capable of contributing to a change in that government to which they had forfeited their lives, and from whom they expected no favour. The greatest part of them were drawn into the rebellion at the instigation of their superiors, and, in my humble opinion, have continued their disaffection, rather from despair than any real dislike to your majesty's government; for it was no sooner known that your majesty had empowered me to receive the submissions of those who repented of their crimes, and were willing and desirous for the future to live peaceably under your mild and moderate government, but applications were made to me from several of them to intercede with your majesty on their behalf, declaring their readiness to abandon the Pretender's party, and to pay a dutiful obedience to your majesty; to which I answered, that I should be ready to intercede in their favour, when I was farther convinced of the sincerity of their promises; that it would soon come to their turn to be summoned to bring in their arms; and, when they had paid that first mark of their obedience, by peaceably surrendering them, I should thereby be better justified in receiving their submissions, and in recommending them to your majesty's mercy and clemency.

"As soon as their respective clans had delivered up their arms, several of these attainted persons came to me at different times and places to render their submissions to your majesty. They laid down their swords on the

ground, expressed their sorrow and concern for having made use of them in opposition to your majesty; and promised a peaceful and dutiful obedience for the remaining part of their lives. They afterwards sent me their several letters of submission, copies of which I transmitted to your majesty's principal secretary of state.

"I made use of the proper arguments to convince them of their past folly and rashness, and gave them hopes of obtaining pardon from your majesty's gracious and merciful disposition; but, being a stranger both to their persons and character, I required they would procure gentlemen of unquestioned zeal to your majesty's government, who would write to me in their favour, and in some measure be answerable for their future conduct—which was accordingly done.

"When the news came that your majesty was graciously pleased to accept their submission, and had given the proper orders for preparing their pardons, it was received with great joy and satisfaction throughout the Highlands, which occasioned the Jacobites at Edinburgh to say, (by way of reproach,) that I had not only defrauded the Highlanders of their arms, but had also debauched them from their loyalty and allegiance."⁹

Barracks were built at Inverness, a fort erected at Fort-Augustus, and at various places over the country small towers or forts, each capable of containing a small number of soldiers.

Wade at the same time received letters of submission from a considerable number of chiefs and other troublesome Highlanders who were lying under the taint of high treason. These were expressed in terms of excessive humility and contrition, and were full of the strongest promises of future good behaviour. Wade seems, as Burton¹ remarks, "to have known so little of the people as to believe in their sincerity. Yet the contemporary correspondence of the Jacobites indicates, what subsequent events confirmed, that the Highlanders, with the inscrutable diplomatic cunning peculiar to their race, had overreached the

⁹ Burt's *Letters*, vol. ii. pp. 303—314.

¹ *Scotland* (1689—1747), vol. ii. p. 247.

military negotiator, and committed a quantity of effective arms to places of concealment.”²

One of the greatest services rendered by Wade to the government, and that for which he is chiefly known to posterity, was the construction of roads through the Highlands, in order to facilitate the march of troops, and open up a communication between the various garrisons. Previous to this the only substitutes for roads existing in the Highlands were the rude tracts, sometimes scarcely distinguishable from the surrounding waste, made by many generations of Highlanders and their cattle over mountains, through bogs, across rapid rivers, skirting giddy precipices, and perfectly bewildering and fraught with danger to any but natives. Captain Burt, one of the engineers engaged in Wade's expedition, gives in his *Letters* many graphic descriptions of the difficulties and dangers attendant on travelling in the Highlands before the making of these new roads. “The old ways,” he says, “(for roads I shall not call them,) consisted chiefly of stony moors, bogs, rugged, rapid fords, declivities of hills, entangling woods, and giddy precipices.”³ As a specimen of what the traveller might expect in his progress among the mountains, we give the following incident which occurred to Burt in one of his own journeys.⁴ “There was nothing remarkable afterwards, till I came near the top of the hill; where there was a seeming plain, of about 150 yards, between me and the summit.

“No sooner was I upon the edge of it, but my guide desired me to alight; and then I perceived it was a bog, or peat-moss, as they call it.

“I had experience enough of these deceitful surfaces to order that the horses should be led in separate parts, lest, if one broke the turf, the other, treading in his steps, might sink.

² Among Wade's correspondents were Robert Stewart of Appin, Alexander Macdonald of Glenece, Grant, Laird of Glenmerison, the Laird of Maekinnon, Robert Campbell, *alias* Macgregor (the notorious Rob Roy), Lord Ogilvy. “No doubt,” writes Lockhart to the Pretender, “the government will be at pains to magnify and spread abroad their success in disarming the Highlanders, but depend on't, it's all a jest; for few or no swords or pistols are or will be surrendered, and only such of their fire-arms as are of no value.”—Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 195.

³ Letter xxvi., p. 191, vol. ii.

⁴ Letter xvi.

“The horse I used to ride having little weight but his own, went on pretty successfully; only now and then breaking the surface a little; but the other, that carried my port-manteau, and being not quite so nimble, was much in danger, till near the further end, and there he sank. But it luckily happened to be in a part where his long legs went to the bottom, which is generally hard gravel, or rock; but he was in almost up to the back.

“By this time my own (for distinction) was quite free of the bog, and being frightened, stood very tamely by himself; which he would not have done at another time. In the mean while we were forced to wait at a distance, while the other was flouncing and throwing the dirt about him; for there was no means of coming near him to ease him of the heavy burden he had upon his leins, by which he was sometimes in danger to be turned upon his back, when he rose to break the bog before him. But, in about a quarter of an hour, he got out, bedaubed with the slough, shaking with fear, and his head and neck all over in a foam.

“As for myself, I was harassed on this slough, by winding about from place to place, to find such tufts as were within my stride or leap, in my heavy boots with high heels; which, by my spring, when the little hillocks were too far asunder, broke the turf, and then I threw myself down toward the next protuberance; but to my guide it seemed nothing; he was light of body, shod with flat *brogues*, wide in the soles, and accustomed to a particular step, suited to the occasion.

“This hill was about three quarters of a mile over, and had but a short descent on the further side, rough, indeed, but not remarkable in this country. I had now five computed miles to go before I came to my first asylum,—that is, five Scots miles, which, as in the north of England, are longer than yours as three is to two; and, if the difficulty of the way were to be taken into account, it might well be called fifteen. This, except about three quarters of a mile of heathy ground, pretty free from stones and rocks, consisted of stony moors, almost impracticable for a horse with his rider, and likewise of rocky way, where we were obliged to dismount, and sometimes climb

and otherwhile slide down. But what vexed me most of all, they called it a road; and yet I must confess it was preferable to a boggy way. The great difficulty was to wind about with the horses, and find such places as they could possibly be got over."

Wade went vigorously to work in the construction of his roads, selecting from the regular troops and Highland companies 500 men, who were put on extra pay while at the work of road-making. Notwithstanding the many difficulties to be encountered, the inexperience of the workmen, and the inferior tools then at their command for such a purpose, the undertaking was satisfactorily accomplished in about ten years. A Scottish gentleman, who visited the Highlands in 1737, found the roads completed, and was surprised by the improvements which he found to have arisen from them, amongst which he gratefully notes the existence of civilized places for the entertainment of travellers. Formerly the only apologies for hostelrys in the Highlands were wretched huts, often with only one apartment, swarming with lively insects, the atmosphere solid with smoke, and the fragile walls pierced here and there with holes large enough to admit a man's head. Now, however, these were replaced by small but substantial inns built of stone, located at distances of about ten miles from each other along the new roads. The standard breadth of the roads was sixteen feet, although where possible they were made wider, and were carried on in straight lines, unless where this was impracticable.

Wade's main road, commencing at Perth, went by Dunkeld and Blair-Athole to Dalnacardoch, where it was joined by another from Stirling by Crieff, through Glenalmond, to Aberfeldy, where it crossed the Tay, on what was then considered a magnificent bridge of five arches. From Dalnacardoch the road goes on to Dalwhinny, where it again branches into two, one branch proceeding towards the north-west through Garva Moor, and over the Corryarrick mountain to Fort-Augustus, the other striking almost due north to Ruthven in Badenoch, and thence by Delmagary to Inverness. Another road, along the shores of Lochs Ness and Lochy, joined the latter place with the strongholds of Fort-Augustus and Fort-William.

One of the most difficult parts of the undertaking was the crossing of the lofty Corryarrick, the road having to be carried up the south side of the mountain by a series of about fifteen zigzags. The entire length of road constructed measured about 250 miles.

Although these roads were doubtless of considerable advantage in a military point of view, they appear to have been of very little use in developing the commercial resources of the



Lieutenant General Wade, Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in Scotland. (From an old engraving in the possession of D. Laing, Esq.)

country. "They were indeed truly military roads—laid down by a practical soldier, and destined for warlike purposes—with scarcely any view towards the ends for which free and peaceful citizens open up a system of internal transit.⁵ They appear to have been regarded with suspicion and dislike by all classes of the Highlanders. The chiefs, according to Burt,⁶ complained that in time of peace they opened up their country to strangers, who would be likely to weaken the attachment of their vassals, and that in time of war they laid their fastnesses open to the enemy. The bridges, especially, they said would render the people effeminate, and less fit to ford the rivers in other places where there were no such means of crossing. The middle class again objected to them be-

⁵ Burton (1689—1747), vol. ii. p. 256.

⁶ *Letters*, vol. v. p. 220.

cause, their horses being unshod,—and necessarily so on account of the places where they had to find pasture—the gravel would soon whet away their hoofs, and thus render them unserviceable. “The lowest class, who, many of them, at some times cannot compass a pair of shoes for themselves, allege that the gravel is intolerable to their naked feet; and the complaint has extended to their thin brogues.” For these reasons, allied no doubt to obstinacy and hatred of innovation and government interference, many of the Highlanders, despising the new roads, continued to walk in the wretched ways of their fathers.

Although the Chevalier still had many adherents in the south of Scotland, yet, as they were narrowly watched by the government, it was considered inexpedient and unsafe to correspond with them on the subject of the Spanish expedition. In the state of uncertainty in which they were thus kept, they wisely abstained from committing themselves, and when Marischal landed they were quite unprepared to render him any assistance, and unanimously resolved not to move in any shape till a rising should take place in England in favour of the Chevalier.

As many inconveniences had arisen from a want of co-operation among the friends of the Chevalier in the south of Scotland, Mr. Lockhart, in concert with the Bishop of Edinburgh, proposed to James that the Earls of Eglinton and Wigton, Lord Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh, (the head of the nonjuring clergy,) Mr. Paterson of Prestonhall, and Captain Straiton, should be appointed commissioners or trustees for transacting his affairs in Scotland. This proposal on the whole was well received by the Chevalier, who, however, probably influenced by the jealous schemers who surrounded him, did not sanction the formation of a regularly organized authoritative commission. Writing to Lockhart in February, 1721, he says, “to appoint a certain number of persons for this effect by commission, is by no means, at this time, advisable, because of the inconveniences it might draw, sooner or later, upon the persons concern’d; since it could not but be expected that the present government would, at long run, be inform’d of such a paper which, by its nature, must be known to a great

number of people; besides, that many who might be most fit to discharge such a trust might, with reason, not be fond of having their names exposed in such a matter; while, on the other hand, numbers might be obliged for not having a share where it is not possible all can be concerned; but I think all these inconveniences may be obviated, the intent of the proposal comply’d with, and equal advantages drawn from it if the persons named below, or some of them, would meet and consult together for the intents above-mention’d. The persons you propose I entirely approve, to wit, the Earls of Eglinton and Wigton, Lord Balmerino, the Bishop of Edinburgh, Mr. Paterson and Captain Straiton, to whom I would have added Mr. Harry Maul, Sir John Erskine, Lord Dun, Pourie and Glengary.”⁷

Mr. Lockhart acquainted the different persons, therein named, of its contents, and all of them undertook to execute the trust reposed in them; but as they judged it advisable to conceal the powers they had received from their friends, they requested Mr. Lockhart, when their advice was wanted, to communicate with them individually, and having collected their sentiments, to give the necessary instructions with due caution.

In June 1721, a treaty of peace was signed at Madrid between Great Britain and Spain, and at the same time a defensive alliance was entered into between Great Britain, France, and Spain. As the two last were the only powers from whom the “Pretender” could expect any effectual aid in support of his pretensions, his long-wished-for restoration seemed now to be hopeless, and King George secure, as he imagined, from foreign invasion and domestic plots, made preparations for visiting his German dominions, and actually appointed a regency to act in his absence. But early in the year 1722, a discovery was made, on information received by the king from the regent of France, that the Jacobites were busy in a new conspiracy against the government. It appeared that the Chevalier de St. George, who was at Rome, was to sail from Porto-Longone for Spain, under the protection of three Spanish men-of-war, and there to wait

⁷ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 29.

the resolutions of his friends.⁸ In following the clue given by the Duke of Orleans, it was ascertained that all the letters, in relation to the conspiracy, were carried to Mr. George Kelly, an Irish clergyman, who despatched them to their different destinations. The insurrection was to have taken place during the king's absence in Hanover; but his majesty having deferred his journey in consequence of the discovery of the plot, the conspirators resolved to postpone their attempt till the dissolution of parliament.

The conspirators, finding they were watched by government, became extremely cautious, and the ministers, desirous of getting hold of the treasonable correspondence, ordered Kelly, the principal agent, to be arrested. He was accordingly apprehended, but not until he had, by keeping his assailants at bay with his sword, succeeded in burning the greater part of his papers. Although the papers which were seized from Kelly, and others which had been intercepted by government, bore evident marks of a conspiracy, yet it became very difficult, from the fictitious names used in them, to trace out the guilty persons. "We are in trace of several things very material," observes Robert Walpole in a letter to his brother, in reference to this discovery, "but we fox-hunters know that we do not always find every fox that we cross upon." Among other persons who were arrested on suspicion, were the Duke of Norfolk, Lords North and Grey, Strafford, and Orrery, Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Harry Goring.

To check the threatened insurrection, a camp was immediately formed in Hyde-park, and all military officers were ordered to repair to their respective regiments. Lieutenant-general Macartney was despatched to Ireland to bring over some troops from that kingdom, and the states of Holland were requested to have their auxiliary troops in readiness for embarkation. These preparations, and the many rumours which prevailed respecting the extent of the conspiracy, affected public credit, and a run took place upon the bank, but the panic soon subsided, and public confidence was restored.

Of all the persons seized of any note, the

⁸ Robert Walpole to his brother Horace, May 1722. Coxe.

Bishop of Rochester was the only individual against whom a charge could plausibly be maintained. He was equally noted for his high literary attainments and a warm attachment to the exploded dogma of passive obedience. He had written Sacheverel's defence *con amore*, and he had carried his partisanship for the house of Stuart so far, that, according to Lord Harcourt, he offered, upon the death of Queen Anne, to proclaim the Chevalier de St. George at Charing-cross in his lawn sleeves, and when his proposal was declined, he is said to have exclaimed, "Never was a better cause lost for want of spirit."

After an examination before the privy-council, the bishop was committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. The committal of the bishop was highly resented by the clergy, who considered it an outrage upon the Church of England and the Episcopal order, and they gave full vent to their feelings by offering up public prayers for his health in all the churches and chapels of London and Westminster.

The new parliament met in the month of October, and the first thing the king did was to announce, by a speech from the throne, the nature of the conspiracy. A bill for suspending the *habeas corpus* act for a whole year was immediately brought into the house of lords, but as the period of suspension was double of any suspension hitherto known, it met with some opposition. In the commons, however, the opposition was so violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found himself necessitated to invent a story of a design to seize the bank and the exchequer, and to proclaim the "Pretender" on the royal exchange. This ridiculous tale, uttered with the greatest confidence, alarmed the commons, and they passed the bill.

As the Catholics were supposed to be chiefly concerned in the conspiracy, a bill was introduced into the house of commons for raising £100,000 upon the real and personal estates of all "papists," or persons educated in the Catholic religion, towards defraying the expenses incurred by the late rebellion and disorders. This bill being justly regarded as a species of persecution, was warmly opposed by some members, but it was sent up to the house of lords along with another bill, obliging all persons, being "papists," in Scotland, and all

persons in Great Britain refusing or neglecting to take the oaths appointed for the king's person and government, to register their names and real estates. As might have been anticipated, both bills were passed without amendments, and received the royal assent.

Atterbury was brought up for trial on the 9th of May, 1723, and sentenced to banishment under pain of death if he should ever return. He quitted the kingdom in June, and after a short stay at Brussels, finally settled in Paris. It is said that when crossing over to Calais he met Lord Bolingbroke, then on his way to England, whom he thus addressed with a smile, "My lord, you and I are exchanged!"

The return of this extraordinary person to England gave rise to much speculation, and many conjectures were hazarded as to the reasons which had induced Walpole to promote the return of a man whose impeachment he had himself moved; but the mystery has been cleared up by papers which have since met the public eye. From these it appears that several years before his appearance in England, Bolingbroke had completely broken with the Stuarts in consequence of his deprivation of the seals. It seems that the Earl of Mar and the duke had a violent difference with regard to the conduct of the expedition in 1715; and Mar, to revenge himself upon his rival, prevailed upon the Duke of Ormond to report in presence of the Chevalier de St. George certain abusive expressions which Bolingbroke, when in a state of intoxication, had uttered in disparagement of his master. The Chevalier, highly exasperated at Bolingbroke, sent for the seals, at which his lordship was so incensed that when the queen mother attempted to reconcile them, Bolingbroke said that he wished his arm might rot off if ever he drew his sword or employed his pen in the service of the Stuarts. He, thereupon, proffered his services to King George, and offered to do any thing but betray the secrets of his friends. This offer was followed by the celebrated letter to Sir William Wyndham, in which he dissuaded the Tories from placing any reliance on the Pretender, and exposed the exiled family to ridicule and contempt; but his overtures were rejected by the government, and when an act of indemnity was hinted at, Walpole expressed in the strong-

est terms his indignation at the very idea of such a measure. Bolingbroke, however, persevered; and Walpole having been softened by the entreaties of the Duchess of Kendal, one of the mistresses of the king, to whom Bolingbroke made a present of £11,000, he procured a pardon. In April, 1725, a bill was brought into the house of lords for restoring to Bolingbroke his family estate, which, after some opposition, passed both houses.

Upon the passing of the disarming act, some of the Highland chiefs held a meeting at Paris, at which they resolved to apply to the Chevalier de St. George, to know whether, in his opinion, they should submit to the new law. James returned an answer under cover to the restless Atterbury, in which he advised the chiefs rather to submit than run the risk of ruining their followers; but the bishop thought proper to keep up the letter, and having sent off an express to Rome, James was induced to write another letter altogether different from the first, requiring them to resist, by force, the intended attempt of the government to disarm the Highlanders. Meanwhile, the chiefs were apprised of James's original sentiments by a correspondent at Rome, and of the letter which had been sent to Atterbury's care. Unaware of this circumstance, the bishop, on receipt of the second letter, convened the chiefs, and communicated to them its contents; but these being so completely at variance with the information of their correspondent, they insisted upon seeing the first letter, but Atterbury refused in the most positive terms to exhibit it, and insisted upon compliance with the injunctions contained in the second letter. They, thereupon, desired to know what support they were to receive in men, money, and arms; but the bishop told them, that unless they resolved to go to Scotland and take up arms, he would give them no further information than this, that they would be assisted by a certain foreign power, whose name he was not at liberty to mention.⁹ The chiefs, dissatisfied with the conduct of the bishop, refused to pledge themselves as required, and retired.

⁹ Abstract of a letter from one of the Highland chiefs at Paris to Mr. John Macleod, advocate, dated the end of June, 1725. Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. pp 192-3.

The great preparations made to carry the disarming act into effect, indicated a dread, on the part of the government, that the Highlanders would not deliver up their arms without a struggle. The Chevalier de St. George, deceived as it would appear by the representations of Atterbury, resolved to support the Highlanders, to the effect at least of enabling them to obtain favourable terms from the government. "I find," says James, in a letter¹ to Mr. Lockhart, "they (the Highlanders) are of opinion that nothing less than utter ruin is designed for them, and those on this side are persuaded that the English government will meet with the greatest difficulties in executing their projects, and that the clans will unanimously agree to oppose them to the last, and if thereby circumstances will allow them to do nothing for my service, that they will still, by a capitulation, be able to procure better terms to themselves than they can propose by leaving themselves at the government's mercy, and delivering up their arms; and, if so, I am resolved, and I think I owe it to them, to do all in my power to support them, and the distance I am at has obliged me to give my orders accordingly; and nothing in my power shall be wanting to enable them to keep their ground against the government, at least till they can procure good terms for themselves, though, at the same time, I must inform you that the opposition they propose to make may prove of the greatest advantage to my interest, considering the hopes I have of foreign assistance, which, perhaps, you may hear of even before you receive this letter. I should not have ventured to call the Highlanders together, without a certainty of their being supported, but the great probability there is of it makes me not at all sorry they should take the resolution of defending themselves, and not delivering up their arms, which would have rendered them, in a great measure, useless to their country; and as the designs of the government are represented to me, the laying down of their arms is only to be the forerunner of other methods, that are to be taken to extirpate their race for ever. They are certainly in the right to make the government buy their slavery at as dear a rate as they can. The

¹ Dated 23d June, 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 169.

distance I am at (Rome), and the imperfect accounts I have had of this law, (for disarming the Highlanders,) have been very unlucky; however, the orders I have sent to France I hope will not come too late, and I can answer for the diligence in the execution of them, which is all I can say to you at present from hence."

A few days after the receipt of this letter, Mr. Lockhart went to Edinburgh, where he found the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Kincaidine, two of James's "trustees," to whom he showed the letter, and requested their opinion as to the proposed attempt to resist the contemplated measures of the government. These noblemen considered that the attempt would be rash as well as fatal,—that the idea of obtaining better terms by a temporary resistance, was vain, unless the Highlanders succeed in defeating the government; but that if they failed, the utter extirpation of their race would certainly follow;—that the Highlanders being a body of men of such high value, as well in relation to the interests of the exiled family, as to those of the kingdom, it was by no means reasonable to hazard them upon an uncertainty, for though they should give up their arms, it would be easier to provide them afterwards with others, when their services were required, than to repair the loss of their persons;—that with regard to foreign assistance, as such undertakings were liable to many accidents, and as the best formed designs often turned out abortive, it was by no means advisable to hazard the Highlanders, who were hated by the government, upon the expectancy of such aid; and that if such foreign powers as could, and were willing to assist, would inquire into the true state of affairs in Scotland they would find that wherever a feasible attempt should be made by them to restore the exiled family, the Scots would be ready to declare themselves.

This opinion was communicated by Mr. Lockhart to James,² and he informed him at the same time that a person of distinction, who had been sent by the Highland Jacobite chiefs to obtain intelligence and advice, had arrived in Edinburgh *incognito*, and had informed

² Letter from Mr. Lockhart to the Chevalier, 25th July, 1725. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 186.

Kincardine that the Highlanders had resolved to make a show of submission, by giving up part of their arms under the pretence of delivering up the whole, while their intention was to retain and conceal the best and greater part of them. Kincardine, without giving any opinion on the subject, recommended to the gentleman in question, as foreign assistance might be speedily expected, the expediency of putting off the delivery as long as possible, and that as four or five weeks would be consumed before the forms required by the act could be complied with, they should retain their arms till the expiration of that period.

The advice given by Hamilton and Eglinton coincided with the view which James, upon being made acquainted with the resolution of the chief at Paris, had adopted; and in a letter written to Mr. Lockhart by Colonel Hay, whom he had appointed his secretary of state, and raised to the peerage under the title of Earl of Inverness, he signified his approbation of the advice given by his friends, which he said was entirely agreeable to his own sentiments from the beginning. He stated, moreover, that the orders he had given to assist the Highlanders were only conditional, and in the event only that they themselves should have resolved to oppose the government, and that if the Bishop of Rochester had pressed any of the chiefs at Paris to go to arms, it was more with a view to discover a correspondence which he suspected one of them had carried on independent of the others, than with any real design to induce them to order their followers to make opposition, as that was to have depended as much upon the chiefs at home as upon those abroad.³

When James ascertained that the Highlanders were resolved to submit, he withdrew the orders he had given for assisting them, and despatched a trusty messenger to the Highlands to acquaint them of his readiness to support them when a proper occasion offered, and to collect information as to the state of the country. Allan Cameron, the messenger in question, arrived in the Highlands in August, and visited the heads of the clans in the interest of James, to whom he delivered the message with which he had been intrusted. It is said that

General Wade was aware of his arrival, but it does not appear that any measures were taken to apprehend him. After four months' residence in the Highlands, Cameron ventured on a journey to Edinburgh, where, in the beginning of the year 1726, he held frequent conferences with the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Kincardine, and Lockhart of Carnwath, on the subject of his mission and the state of affairs, but nothing of importance was resolved upon at these meetings, and Cameron departed for the continent early in February.

About this time an event occurred, which, while it tended to create factions amongst the adherents of James, made many of them keep either altogether aloof from any direct management in his affairs, or abstain from entering into any plan of co-operation for his restoration. This was the dismissal of Mar from his post as minister of James at Paris, on the suspicion that he had betrayed the secrets of his master to the British government. From his situation he was intimately acquainted with all the Chevalier's affairs, and knew the name of every person of any note in the three kingdoms who had taken an interest in the restoration of the exiled family, with many of whom he himself had corresponded. The removal, therefore, of such a person from the Jacobite councils could not fail to excite uneasy apprehensions in the minds of those who had intrusted him with their confidence, and to make them extremely cautious in again committing themselves by any act, which, if discovered, would place them in jeopardy. To this feeling may be ascribed the great reserve which for several years subsequent to this occurrence the Jacobites observed in their foreign relations, and the want of unity of action which formed so remarkable a characteristic in their subsequent proceedings. As this affair forms an important link in the historical chain which connects the events of the year 1715 with those of 1745, a short account of it is necessary.

During a temporary confinement at Geneva, Mar had obtained a sum of money, whether solicited or not does not appear, from the Earl of Stair, the British ambassador at Paris, without the knowledge of James. In a narrative afterwards drawn up by Mar in his own justification, he states, that being in great straits

³ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 218.

he received this money as a loan from the earl, who was his old friend; but Colonel Hay, in a letter to Mr. Lockhart of the 8th of September, 1725, states that Mar had no occasion for such a loan, as "the king" remitted him considerable supplies to Geneva, where his expense would be trifling, as he was entertained by the town.⁴ This matter might have been overlooked, but he, soon thereafter, accepted a pension of £2,000 from the government, over and above the sum of £1,500 which his countess and daughter actually then received by way of jointure and aliment out of the produce of his estate. Mar states that before he agreed to receive this pension he took the advice of General Dillon, a zealous supporter of the interests of the Stuarts, whom he had been accustomed to consult in all matters of importance, and that the general advised him to accept of the offer, as by refusing it the government might stop his lady's jointure, and that his estate would be sold and lost for ever to his family; and that as he had been released from his confinement at Geneva on condition that he should not act or take any part against the government of Great Britain during his abode in France, and should return when required to Geneva, that government might insist on his being sent back to Geneva, whence he had been allowed to go to the waters of Bourbon for his health. Mar communicated the proposal also to James, who at once sanctioned his acceptance of the pension, and assured him that his sentiments in regard to him remained unaltered. Notwithstanding this assurance, however, there is every reason to believe that James, not without good grounds, had begun to suspect his fidelity; and as he could clearly perceive that Mar had already taken his resolution to close with the government, he might consider it his wisest policy to conceal his displeasure, and not to break at once with a man who had so much in his power to injure him and his friends.

Having thus succeeded in their advances to Mar, the government, on receiving information of the conspiracy in which Atterbury was concerned, sent a gentleman to Paris in May, 1722, with a letter to Mar from Lord Carteret. This

gentleman received instructions to sound Mar as to his knowledge of the intended plot. On arriving at Paris, the messenger, (who, it is understood, was Colonel Churchill,) sent a letter to Mar requesting a private interview. Dillon was present when this letter was delivered, and on reading it, Mar says he showed it to Dillon, upon which it was arranged that Mar should instantly call upon the person who had written the letter, and that Dillon should remain in the house till Mar's return, when the object and nature of the interview would be communicated to him. On Mar's return he and Dillon consulted together, and they both thought that the incident was a lucky one, as it afforded Mar an opportunity of doing James's affairs a good service by leading the government off the true scent, and thereby prevent further inquiries. They thereupon drew up a letter with that view, to be sent by Mar in answer to Carteret's communication, which being approved of by another person in the confidence of the Chevalier, was sent by Mar to the bearer of Carteret's letter. Mar immediately sent an account of the affair to James and the Duke of Ormond, and shortly received a letter from the former, dated 8th June, 1722, in which he expressed himself entirely satisfied with the course pursued by Mar on the occasion. To justify himself still farther, Mar states, that among the vouchers of his exculpation, there was the copy of another letter from James, written by him to one of his agents at Paris, wherein he justifies and approves of Mar's conduct, and expresses his regret for the aspersions which had been cast upon the earl about the plot.

Though James thus continued to profess his usual confidence in Mar's integrity, he had, ever since he became acquainted with his pecuniary obligations to Stair, resolved to withdraw that confidence from him by degrees, and in such a manner as might not be prejudicial to the adherents of the exiled family in Great Britain. But Mar, who, as James observed,⁵ had put himself under such engagements that he could not any longer serve him in a public manner, and who, from the nature of these engagements, should have declined all know-

⁴ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 177—206.

⁵ Letter to Mr. Lockhart, 31st August, 1724. Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 131.

ledge of James's secrets, continued to meddle with his affairs as formerly, by taking the direction and management of those intrusted to Dillon, the confidential agent of James and the English Jacobites. In this way was Mar enabled for several years, when distrusted by James, to compel him in a manner to keep on good terms with him. From the natural timidity of James, and his anxiety to avoid an open breach with Mar, it is difficult to say how long matters might have remained in this awkward state, had not the attention of the Scottish Jacobites been drawn to Mar's pension by the report of the parliamentary committee concerning the conspiracy; and the representations of the Bishop of Rochester respecting Mar's conduct, shortly after his arrival in France, brought matters to a crisis. In the letter last referred to, James thus intimates to Mr. Lockhart the final dismissal of Mar. "I have been always unwilling to mention Mar, but I find myself indispensably engaged at present to let my Scots friends know that I have withdrawn my confidence entirely from him, as I shall be obliged to do from all who may be any ways influenced by him. This conduct is founded on the strongest and most urgent necessity in which my regard to my faithful subjects and servants have the greatest share. What is here said of Mar is not with a view of its being made public, there being no occasion for that, since, many years ago, he put himself under such engagements that he could not serve me in a public manner, neither has he been publicly employ'd by me."

The charges made by Atterbury against Mar were, *1mo*, That about the time he, the bishop, was sent prisoner to the Tower, Mar had written him a letter which was the cause of his banishment. *2do*, That he had betrayed the secrets of the Chevalier de St. George to the British government, and had entered into a correspondence with them. *3tio*, That he had advised the Chevalier to resign his right to the crown for a pension; and lastly, that without consulting James, he drew up and presented a memorial to the Duke of Orleans, containing a plan, which, under the pretence of restoring him, would, if acted upon, have rendered his restoration for ever impracticable.

To understand the nature of the last charge

against Mar, that he laid the scheme before the Regent of France with a design to ruin James, Mar refers to the plan itself for his justification. The expulsion of the Stuarts from the British throne had been always looked upon by the French court as an event which, by dividing the nation into rival factiens, would enable France to humble and weaken an ancient and formidable rival. To encourage the Jacobites and Tories in their opposition to the new dynasty, and to embroil the nation in a civil war, the French ministry repeatedly promised to aid them in any attempts they might make to overturn the government; but true to the line of policy they had laid down for themselves, of allowing the opposing parties in the state to weaken each other's strength in their contest for ascendancy, they sided with the weaker party only to prolong the struggle, in the hope that, by thus keeping alive the spirit of discontent, France might be enabled to extend her power, and carry into effect her designs of conquest.

To remove the objections which such a policy opposed to the restoration of James, Mar proposed that, upon such event taking place, Scotland and Ireland should be restored to their ancient state of independence, and protected in their trade, and thereby enabled, as they would be inclined, to support "the king in such a manner as he'd be under no necessity of entering into measures contrary to his inclinations to gratify the caprices, and allay the factions of his English subjects."⁶ He also proposed that a certain number of French forces should remain in Britain after James was restored, till he had modelled and established the government on this footing, and that 5,000 Scots and as many Irish troops should be lent to the French king, to be kept by him in pay for a certain number of years. Mar was fully aware that such a scheme would be highly unpopular in England, on which account he says, that although he had long ago formed it, he took no steps therein during the life of Cardinal Dubois, whom he knew to be particularly attached to the existing government of Britain; but that obstacle being removed, he laid it before the regent of France,

⁶ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 183.

who, he says, he had reason to believe, received it with approbation, as he sealed it up, and addressed it to the Duke of Bourbon, and recommended it to his care. To excuse himself for laying the scheme before the Duke of Orleans without the Chevalier's knowledge, he states that he did so to prevent James, in case of the scheme being discovered, being blamed by those who, for particular reasons, would be displeased at it; but that immediately after the delivery he acquainted James thereof, and sent him a copy of it, and at the same time represented to him the absolute necessity of keeping it secret. Notwithstanding this injunction, Colonel Hay sent a copy of it to the Bishop of Rochester, and Mar attributes the bad feeling which Atterbury afterwards displayed towards him, to the proposal he made for restoring Scotland to her independence.

The memorial was presented by Mar to the Duke of Orleans in September, 1723; but so little secrecy was observed, that, in the month of January following, a statement appeared in the public newspapers, that a certain peer, then in Paris, had laid a plan before the regent for restoring the exiled family. Though the British government must have been aware, or at all events must have suspected, after such a notification, that Mar was the author of the scheme, his pension was still continued, and they even favoured him still more by allowing the family estate, which was exposed to sale, to fall again into the hands of the family on favourable terms.

On reviewing the whole circumstances of Mar's conduct, evoked by Atterbury's charges, it must be admitted that his justification is far from being complete. From the position in which he placed himself as a debtor of Stair, and a pensioner of the British government, he could no longer be trusted with safety by his Jacobite colleagues, and as he had come under an obligation, as a condition of his pension, not to act in behalf of the Stuarts, he was bound in honour to have abstained from all farther interference in their affairs; but for reasons only known to himself, he continued to act as if no alteration of his relations with the exiled family had taken place since he was first intrusted by them. Selfish in his disposition, and regardless whether the Chevalier de

St. George, or the Elector of Hanover wore the crown, provided his ambition was gratified, it is probable that, without harbouring any intention to betray, he wished to preserve an appearance of promoting the interests of the Stuarts, in order that the compact which he had entered into with the British government, might, in the event of a restoration of that family, form no bar to his advancement under a new order of things; but whatever were his views or motives, his design, if he entertained any such as has been supposed, was frustrated by his disgrace in 1725.

The breach with Mar was looked upon by some of the Jacobites as a rash act on the part of the Chevalier, and they considered that he had been sacrificed to gratify Colonel Hay, between whom and Mar an irreconcilable difference had for some time existed. This opinion had a pernicious influence upon the councils of the Chevalier, and to the rupture with Mar may be attributed the *denouement* of an unhappy difference between James and his consort, which, for a time, fixed the attention of all the European courts.

In the year 1720 the Chevalier de St. George had espoused the Princess Clementina, granddaughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland, who had born him two sons, viz. Charles Edward, celebrated for his exploits in 1745, and Henry Benedict, afterwards known as Cardinal York.⁷ Prince Charles was placed under the tuition of one Mrs. Sheldon, who, it is said, obtained a complete ascendancy over the Princess Clementina. As alleged by the partisans of Colonel Hay, she was entirely devoted to Mar, and served him as a spy in the family. To counteract the rising influence of Hay, she is represented to have incited the princess against him to such a degree, as to render the whole household a scene of constant disturbance. But whatever may have been the conduct of Mrs. Sheldon, there is good reason for believing that the cause of irritation proceeded entirely from the behaviour of Hay and his lady, who appear not to have treated the princess with the respect due to her rank, and who, from the sway they appear to have had over the mind of her husband,

⁷ The Prince was born on 31st December 1720,—the Cardinal on 6th March, 1725.

indulged in liberties which did not become them.

To relieve herself from the indignities which she alleged she suffered, the princess resolved to retire into a convent, of which resolution the Chevalier first received notice from a confidante of the princess, who also informed him that nothing but the dismissal of Colonel Hay from his service would induce her to alter her resolution. The princess afterwards personally notified her determination to her husband, who remonstrated with her upon the impropriety of a step which would prejudice them in the eyes of their friends, and make their enemies triumph; but she remained inflexible.

Finding the Chevalier fully determined to retain Colonel Hay in his service, the princess made preparations for carrying her resolution into effect; and, accordingly, on the morning of Thursday, the 15th of November, 1725, under the pretence of taking an airing in her carriage, she drove off to the convent of St. Cecilia, at Rome, into which she retired, without taking any notice of a long letter, by way of remonstrance, which her husband had written her on the 11th.⁹

The Chevalier was anxious that his friends should form a favourable opinion of the course he had adopted in resisting the demand of his wife; and, accordingly, on the morning after her departure, he assembled all his household, and explained to them fully the different steps he had taken to prevent the extraordinary proceeding of the princess. He also entered into a justification of his own conduct, and concluded by assuring them that it should be his principal care to educate his two sons in such a manner as might contribute one day to the happiness of the people he expected to govern. With the same view, he immediately despatched copies of the memoir, and of the two letters he had written to the princess, to Mr. Lockhart, to be shown to his friends in Scotland; but as the memoir and letters had been made public, copies of them were publicly hawked through the streets of London and Edinburgh, with a scurrilous introduction, several weeks before

Mr. Lockhart received his communication. This was done apparently with the approbation of the government, as the magistrates of Edinburgh compelled the porters of the city to cry the papers through the streets.⁹ At first, the Jacobites imagined that these documents were forgeries got up by the government, to make the Jacobite cause contemptible in the eyes of the people; but they were soon undeceived, and great was their consternation when they found that the papers in question were genuine.

The court of Rome seemed to approve of the Chevalier's conduct in refusing to remove Hay; but when it was understood that the removal of Murray, the young prince's governor, was considered by their mother even of more importance than the dismissal of Hay, the pope sent a message to James, intimating that if Murray were removed and Mrs. Sheldon restored to favour, a reconciliation might be effected with the princess,—that, however, he would not insist on Mrs. Sheldon being taken back, but that he could not approve of nor consent to Murray being about the prince. The Chevalier did not relish such interference, and returned for answer, that he had no occasion for the pope's advice, and that he did not consider his consent necessary in an affair which related to the private concerns of his family. As James was the pensioner of his holiness, the answer may be considered rather un-courteous, but the Chevalier looked upon such meddling as an insult which his dignity could not brook. The pope, however, renewed his application to bring about a reconciliation, and with such earnestness, that James became so uneasy as to express a wish to retire from his dominions.¹ By the efforts, however, it is believed, of the princess's friends, aided by the repeated remonstrances of a respectable portion of the Jacobites, the Chevalier at length reluctantly dismissed Hay from his service. According to Mr. Lockhart, Hay and his wife had obtained such a complete ascendancy over the Chevalier, that they had the direction of all matters, whether public or domestic, and taking advantage of the confidence which he reposed in them, they instilled into his mind

⁹ This letter, and a previous one, dated 9th November, are published among the *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 246.

¹ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 242—261, 360.

¹ Letters from the Chevalier to Mr. Lockhart, 3d Dec. 1725, and 19th Jan. 1726, vol. ii. pp. 253 · 256.

unfavourable impressions of his best friends. By insinuating that the princess, and every person that did not truckle to them, were factious, and that their complaints against the colonel and his lady proceeded from a feeling of disrespect to himself, his temper became by degrees soured towards his wife. To escape from the insolence of these favourites, the princess, as has been seen, embraced, for a time, a conventual life; and while some of the Chevalier's adherents, who had lost their estates in his service, left his court in disgust, others were ordered away. It was currently reported at the time that Mrs. Hay was the king's mistress, and that jealousy on the part of the Princess Clementina was the cause of the rupture; the princess herself in her letters distinctly speaks of Mrs. Hay as "the king's mistress," although persons who had ample opportunities of observation could observe no impropriety. The pertinacity with which James clung to his unworthy favourites tended greatly to injure his affairs.²

The death of George I., which took place on Sunday, the 11th June, 1727, while on his journey to Hanover, raised anew the hopes of the Chevalier. He was at Bologna when this intelligence reached him, and so anxious was he to be nearer England to watch the progress of events, and to be ready to avail himself of the services of his friends in Britain to effect his restoration, that he left Bologna privately for Lorraine, the day after the news was brought him, although the princess, who had just left the convent, by the advice of her friends, was at the time on her way from Rome to Bologna to join him. The journey of the princess being publicly known, the Chevalier availed himself of the circumstance to conceal his real design, by giving out that he had left Bologna to meet her. On arriving at Nancy, the Chevalier despatched couriers to Vienna, Madrid, and Paris, announcing the object of his journey, and at the same time sent a messenger with a letter to Mr. Lockhart, who, in consequence of a warrant being issued by the British government for his apprehension, had a few months before taken refuge on the continent, and was then residing at Liege. Although he expected no

assistance from any foreign power, still, he says, "the present conjuncture appears so favourable in all its circumstances that had I only consulted my own inclinations, I should certainly out of hand have crossed the seas, and seen at any rate what I could do for my own and my subjects' delivery; but as on this occasion I act for them as well as myself, and cannot hope without their concurrence to succeed in what I may undertake in our mutual behalf, I find myself under the necessity of making no further steps without their advice.

"'Tis true the disadvantages I lie under are great and many; I have but a small stock of money, scarce sufficient to transport what few arms I have and what officers I may get to follow me on this occasion. I'm sensible that it is next to impossible that a concert should be established amongst my friends at home, such as would be sufficient for a rising in arms in my favour before my arrival, and by what is said before, the little hopes of foreign assistance will be sufficiently seen; but with all this, many arguments may be brought to authorise an undertaking which at first sight might appear rash. . . . All put together it must be concluded that if the present conjuncture is slip'd, it cannot be expected that we ever can have so favorable a one for acting by ourselves, and that we run the risk of allowing the general affairs of Europe to be less favorable to us than they are at present; so that whatever is not absolutely desperate ought certainly to be undertaken, and the sooner the better.

"I desire therefore you may think seriously on this matter, and let me have your opinion as soon as possible, and if my going into England be not adviseable, whether my going to the Highlands of Scotland might not be found proper." To this letter is appended the following postscript in James's own handwriting. "The contents of this will show you the confidence I have in you, and I expect you will let me know by the bearer, (Allan Cameron,) your advice and opinion, particularly on this important occasion."³

From Cameron Mr. Lockhart was surprised to learn that the Chevalier, notwithstanding his certainty that he could look for no foreign

² Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 339.

³ *Idem*, p. 356.

aid, and that his friends, both in Scotland and England, had made no preparations to receive him, was not only inclined, but seemed even resolved, to repair to the Highlands of Scotland, and there raise the standard of insurrection, and that Colonel Hay, whom he had so lately discarded, was one of his counsellors on the occasion. As Cameron, who had visited the Highlands some time before, and was well aware of the almost insuperable difficulties which opposed themselves to the contemplated step, seemed to approve of the Chevalier's design, Mr. Lockhart expressed his wonder that one who knew the state of the Highlands so well, and the determination generally of the Highlanders not to take the field again till they saw England actually engaged, could advise his master to risk his person, and expose the country and his friends to certain destruction. He observed, that there were indeed some persons who would venture their all in any attempt headed by the Chevalier in person, but as matters then stood, the number of such persons would be few, and that the great majority of those that might be expected to join him would consist of idle persons, actuated solely by the hopes of plunder, who would abandon him eventually to the mercy of the government troops that would be poured into the Highlands, and that, under the pretence of punishing the few who had taken up arms, they would ravage the country and cut off the inhabitants, for doing which the government only wanted such a handle.

In accordance with these sentiments, Mr. Lockhart represented in his answer to the Chevalier's letter, that the design he contemplated was one of the greatest importance, and though it was very proper for him to put himself in a condition to avail himself of any favourable circumstances that might occur, yet that appearances did not warrant such expectations,—that the people of England seemed to have forgot all the grievances under which they had laboured during the late reign, in hope of a better order of things, and that until they found themselves disappointed, he could expect nothing from them,—that with regard to such of the people of Scotland as were favourably disposed, they could not possibly do any thing without being previously provided

with many material things they stood in need of, and that before these could be supplied, many difficulties had to be surmounted and much time would be lost, during which preparations would be made on all hands to crush them,—that although it would be of advantage to strike a blow before the government had time to strengthen itself at home and abroad, yet the attempt was not advisable without necessary precautions and provisions to insure its success, as without these such an attempt would be desperate, and might ruin the cause for ever,—that no man living would be happier than he (Mr. Lockhart) to see the dawning of a fair day, but when every point of the compass was black and cloudy, he could not but dread very bad weather, and such as could give no encouragement to a traveller to proceed on his voyage, and might prove the utter ruin of himself and attendants.⁴ This judicious advice was not thrown away upon the Chevalier, who at once laid aside his design of going to Scotland, and retired to Avignon, where he proposed to reside under the protection of the pope; but his stay at Avignon was short, being obliged to leave that place in consequence, it is believed, of the representations of the French government to the court of Rome. He returned to Italy.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A. D. 1739—1745.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George II., 1727—1760.

Foreign intrigues—Edinburgh Association—Maria Theresa—Jacobite intrigues—Drummond of Bochaldu at Edinburgh, and Murray of Broughton at Paris—Plan of a French invasion—Prince Charles Edward, the Chevalier's son, arrives at Paris—Preparations for invasion—Embarkation and failure of the expedition—Murray of Broughton proceeds to Paris—Interview with the Prince, who resolves to proceed to Scotland.

WAR having been declared against Spain in the year 1739, the Chevalier de St. George despatched Lord Marischal to Madrid to induce the court of Spain to adopt measures for his restoration. But however willing Spain might be to assist him, he was desirous that no

⁴ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 360.

attempt should be made without the concurrence of France.⁵ About the same time, that is, in the beginning of the year 1740, some of the more zealous and leading Jacobites, in anticipation of a war with France, held a meeting at Edinburgh, and formed themselves into an association, by which they engaged themselves to take arms and venture their lives and fortunes to restore the family of Stuart, provided the King of France would send over a body of troops to their assistance. The association, like that which brought over King William to England, consisted of seven persons, viz., Lord Lovat, James Drummond, commonly called Duke of Perth, the Earl of Traquair, Sir James Campbell of Auchinbreck, Cameron of Lochiel, John Stuart, brother to Lord Traquair, and Lord John Drummond, uncle to the Duke of Perth.⁶ The conspirators despatched Drummond of Bochalady, or Balhady, (nephew to Lochiel,) to Rome with the bond of association, and a list of those chiefs and chieftains who were considered by the associates to be favourable to the cause. Drummond was instructed to deliver these papers into the hands of the Chevalier de St. George, and to entreat him to procure assistance from France in furtherance of their design. The project was well received by James, who, after perusing the papers, forwarded them immediately by the same messenger to Cardinal Fleury at Paris, with a request that the court of France would grant the required assistance. But the cardinal, with that caution which distinguished him, would come under no engagement, but contented himself at first by a general assurance of conditional support.

The negotiation was, however, persevered in, but the death of the Emperor Charles VI., which happened on the 20th of October, drew off the cardinal's attention to matters which

⁵ Letters to the Duke of Ormond and Lord Marischal, 27th January, 1740, among the *Stuart Papers*. Alluding to his expectations of assistance from France, the Chevalier, in a letter (of which a copy is also in the same collection,) written to Marischal on the 11th January, 1740, while the latter was on his way to Madrid, says, "I am betwixt hopes and fears, though I think there is more room for the first than the last, as you will have perceived by what Lord Sempil (so an active agent of James was called,) has I suppose writ to you. I conclude I shall sometime next month see clearer into these great affairs."

⁶ Trial of Lord Lovat, p. 21. Home's *Rebellion*, p. 24.

appeared to him of greater importance. The emperor was succeeded in his hereditary dominions by his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, married to the Grand-duke of Tuscany, formerly Duke of Lorraine. Though this princess succeeded under the title of the pragmatic sanction, which had been guaranteed by England, France, Spain, Prussia, Russia, Holland, and the whole of the Germanic body, with the exception of the elector-palatine, and the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, a powerful confederacy was formed against her by almost all these powers, to strip her of her dominions.

Alarmed at the formidable confederacy formed against her, the Queen of Hungary applied to Great Britain for succour; but Sir Robert Walpole evaded the demand, and recommended an immediate peace with Prussia. The parliament, as well as the nation, however, had different views; and as the minister saw that he would be compelled to fulfil his engagements to the house of Austria, parliament was called upon to support the Queen of Hungary, and maintain the liberties of Europe. The commons cheerfully voted a sum of £300,000 to enable George II. to fulfil his engagements, which sum was remitted to the Queen of Hungary, and the contingent of 12,000 Danish and Hessian troops, which Great Britain had engaged to furnish, was got in readiness.

While the flames of war were thus spreading over Europe, the situation of the British ministry was every day becoming more critical from the clamours of the Tories and the discontented Whigs. Walpole had triumphed in both houses on motions for an address to the king to dismiss him from his presence and councils; but his triumph was short, and the approach of an election redoubled the efforts of his enemies. Though the Jacobites required no incentive to induce them to assist in displacing a minister who had been the chief obstacle to the restoration of the exiled family; yet to make perfectly sure of their aid, Lord Chesterfield went to France, and by means of the Duke of Ormond, obtained, it is said, a circular letter from the Chevalier de St. George to his friends, urging them to do every thing in their power to ruin Walpole. To encourage the popular clamour against the minister, reports, the most absurd and incredible respect

ing him, were circulated among the people and believed; and while the general discontent was at its height, the election commenced. The contests between the two parties were extremely violent; but the country party, backed by the adherents of the Prince of Wales, who had formed a party against the minister, prevailed. So powerful was the influence of the Duke of Argyle, who had lately joined the opposition, that out of the forty-five members returned for Scotland, the friends of the ministry could not secure above six. The new parliament met on the 4th of December, 1741; and Walpole, no longer able to contend with the forces arrayed against him, retired from office within a few weeks thereafter.

Encouraged by appearances, and imagining that some of the old discontented Whigs who deprecated the system which had been pursued since the accession of the house of Hanover, of maintaining the foreign dominions of the sovereign at the expense, as they thought, of the honour and interests of the nation, Drummond of Bochaldy proposed to the Chevalier to visit England, and make overtures in his name to the "old Whigs."⁷ This plan was highly approved of by James, who wrote him a letter in his own hand, which was intended to be exhibited to such persons as might seem inclined to favour his restoration. This letter was inclosed in a private letter containing instructions for the regulation of his conduct in the proposed negotiation, which it was intended should be kept an entire secret from the Jacobites, both in England and Scotland. Erskine of Grange, who enjoyed the confidence of some of the discontented Whigs, and who privately favoured the designs of the exiled family, was pitched upon as a fit person to make advances to the old Whigs.⁸

⁷ This scheme was first broached by Drummond to Sempil, another active agent of the Chevalier, and communicated by him to James, who signified his approbation of it in a letter to Sempil, dated Nov. 22, 1741. "I approve very much in general of our making application to the old Whigs, and take it as a new and great mark of Balhaldy's zeal. The offer he makes of being instrumental in that measure, I perused with satisfaction. What you write on the subject, I shall consider seriously on it betwixt this and next week; I shall by next post send you a packet for Balhaldy, with all that may appear proper and necessary for me on that particular."—*Stuart Papers*.

⁸ There is, among the *Stuart Papers*, a copy of a letter from the Chevalier de St. George to Mr. Erskine,

In pursuance of his instructions, Drummond departed for England about the beginning of the year 1742, but it does not appear that at this time he entered upon the subject of his mission. He came privately to Edinburgh in the month of February, and there met some of the persons who had entered into the association, and several others, who, in conjunction with the original conspirators, had formed themselves into a society, denominated by them "the Concert of Gentlemen for managing the King's affairs in Scotland." To these, among whom was Murray of Broughton, Drummond represented that, on his return from Rome, he had been extremely well received by Cardinal Fleury, to whom he had delivered the papers which he had carried from Edinburgh,—that the cardinal expressed great satisfaction with the contents of these papers, had the Pretender's interest so much at heart, and was so sanguine of his success, that provided he had sufficient assurances from the friends of the exiled family in England, that they would assist in the restoration of the Stuarts, he would send over an army of from 13,000 to 15,000 men, the number required. One division of this force, consisting of 1,500 men, was to be landed on the east coast of Scotland, at or near Inverness; another of a similar amount in the west Highlands of Scotland; and the main body, which was to consist of 10,000 or 12,000 men, was to be landed as near London as possible. He added, that, provided assistance could be obtained in England, the projected invasion might be put in execution the following autumn. Before leaving Edinburgh, Drummond had an interview with Cameron of Lochiel, who came to town at his desire, and to whom he communicated the result of his mission to Rome and Paris.⁹

After a short stay at Edinburgh, Drummond returned to Paris, where, according to his own account, as communicated in letters to Lord Traquair and Lochiel, he had an audience of the cardinal, to whom he represented matters in such a favourable light that he promised to carry his design of invasion into effect in a very short time. The French minister, how-

13th March, 1740, thanking him for the zeal he had shown in his cause.

⁹ Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 75.

ever, though he appears to have seriously contemplated such a step, was not yet in a condition to come to an open rupture with England; and to postpone the enterprise, he proposed to Drummond that an application should be made to Sweden for a body of troops to invade Scotland, and that a person from Scotland, along with another person from France whom the cardinal would appoint, should be sent thither to urge the application at the Swedish court. The cardinal gave as his reason for thus deviating from his original plan, that the Swedes being Protestants, would be more agreeable to the people of Scotland than French or Irish troops. In accordance with this proposal, Lord Traquair suggested that Murray of Broughton should be sent to Sweden on the proposed mission, but he declined.¹

From the turn which the affair of the invasion had now taken, and the time when it was expected to take place being allowed to elapse without any preparations on the part of France, a suspicion began to be entertained by the members of the Concert, that the cardinal never had any intention to invade Scotland, and that the whole was a scheme of Drummond's to keep alive the spirit of party in Scotland, and to make himself pass for useful in the eyes of his employers. To ascertain the real state of the case, Murray of Broughton, at the suggestion of Lord Traquair, was sent to Paris in the month of January, 1743. He took London on his way, but before he reached the capital, he heard of the death of Cardinal Fleury. After staying a short time in London, Murray went privately to Paris, where he met Drummond and Sempil, who managed the Chevalier's affairs in France. They stated to him, that in all probability the scheme of invasion would have been carried into effect, had not the army of Marshal Maillebois been sent towards Hanover instead of the coast of Flanders, as at first intended; and that from the interest taken by the cardinal in the affairs of the Stuarts, he had put all the papers relating to them into the hands of Monsieur Amelot, the secretary for foreign affairs.²

At an audience which Murray afterwards had with Monsieur Amelot at Versailles, the

foreign secretary told him that, on being made acquainted by Sempil with the cause of Murray's journey, he had informed the King of France of it, and that his majesty had authorised him to assure Mr. Murray that he had the interest of the Stuart family as much at heart as any of the gentlemen who had signed the memorial of association, and that as soon as he had an opportunity he would put the scheme into execution.³

Shortly after this interview, Murray left Paris for London, accompanied by Drummond, who came over to obtain the assurances required by the French court from the English Tories and Jacobites. After remaining a few days in London, Murray returned to Edinburgh, to report to his friends the result of his mission. Drummond stopped at London, where he met Mr. Erskine of Grange,⁴ but although overtures were then, it is believed, made to Lord Barrymore, Sir John Hynde Cotton, and Sir Watkin Williams Wynne, they declined to give any assurance or promise of support in writing. By desire of Drummond, Lord Traquair met him in London shortly after his arrival to assist him in his negotiations.⁵

At first view it may appear singular, and the circumstances must convey a very sorry idea of the councils of the Chevalier de St. George, that a person of so little weight and influence as Drummond, who was utterly unknown to the English Tories and Jacobites, should have been sent on such an important mission; but when it is considered that some of the leading Jacobites were proscribed and in exile, and that those at home were strictly watched by the government, and were therefore afraid to commit themselves by any overt act, it cannot excite surprise that the Chevalier availed himself of the services of one whom he considered "an honest and sensible man."⁶ Drummond

³ Idem.

⁴ The Chevalier alludes to this meeting in a letter to Sempil, 9th April, 1743; and in another of 16th May following, he mentions a long paper which Mr. Erskine had sent him on the state of affairs.—*Stuart Papers*.

⁵ Letter from the Chevalier to Sempil, 24th May, 1743.—*Stuart Papers*.

⁶ Letter to Sempil, 16th March, 1740.—*Stuart Papers*. Drummond was not the only person employed by the Chevalier about this time to visit his friends in England. A Colonel Bret, and afterwards a Colonel Cecil, with both of whom James corresponded, made

¹ Lord Lovat's Trial, p. 76.

² Idem.

was, however, considered, even by his original employers, as a person unfit to execute the trust reposed in him, and Lord John Drummond, one of the seven who had signed the association, was quite indignant when he found him engaged in the mission to England.⁷ Nor was Sempil, between whom and Drummond a close intimacy subsisted, more acceptable to the Scottish Jacobites, some of whom he offended by his forwardness.⁸

During the earlier part of the year 1743, the French ministry were too much occupied with the war in Germany to pay much attention to the affairs of the Stuarts; but towards the close of that year they began to meditate an invasion of Great Britain. The British parliament met in the beginning of December, when a motion was made in the house of peers by the Earl of Sandwich, for an address to the crown to discontinue the Hanoverian troops in British pay, in order to remove the national discontent, which was represented to be so violent, that nothing but their dismissal could appease it. The motion was negatived, but renewed in another shape on the army estimates being brought forward, when it shared the same fate. The attention of the French ministry being drawn to these and similar discussions, and to the general dissatisfaction which seemed to pervade the people of Great Britain, by the agents and partizans of the exiled family, backed by the influence of Cardinal Tencin, entered upon the project of an invasion in good earnest. The cardinal, who now had great influence in the councils of France, had, while

a resident at Rome, been particularly noticed by the Chevalier de St. George, by whose influence he had been raised to the cardinalate, and he was moved as much by gratitude to his patron as by ambition to bring about the restoration of the Stuarts. The court of Versailles, indeed, required little inducement to engage in an enterprise which, whether it succeeded or not, would at all events operate as a diversion in favour of France in her contest with the house of Austria, whose chief support was Great Britain; but it is not improbable that they at this time contemplated a more serious attempt. In intimating, however, his resolution to undertake the expedition, the King of France notified to the Chevalier de St. George that it was to be kept a profound secret, and that neither the Duke of Ormond nor Lord Marischal should be told, till the enterprise was ready to be put into execution.

The command of the troops designed for this expedition, amounting to 15,000 men, was given to the celebrated Marshal Saxe; and the naval part, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, besides transports, collected at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne, was intrusted to Monsieur de Roquefeuille, an officer of considerable experience and capacity. This force was destined for the coast of Kent, and a smaller force was to be landed in Scotland under the command of Lord Marischal.

While the preparations for the expedition were going on, Cardinal Tencin kept up an active correspondence with the Chevalier de St. George. As James felt rather disinclined to accompany the expedition himself, he proposed that his eldest son, Charles, then in his twenty-third year, should go in his stead; but as it was doubtful whether the prince would arrive in time to join the expedition, the Chevalier sent an express to the Duke of Ormond requesting him to accompany the expedition, and to act as regent, by virtue of a commission of regency formerly granted him, until the prince should arrive. On arriving in England, the duke was directed to advise with the principal friends of the family, among whom he particularly enumerated the Duke of Beaufort, the Earls of Barrymore, Westmoreland, and Orkney, Lord Cobham, and Sirs Watkin Williams Wynne, John Hynde Cotton, and Robert Abdy.

requent journeys to England. The Duchess of Buckingham made many unsolicited trips to Paris to hasten Cardinal Fleury's motions, but James was by no means satisfied with her officiousness. In writing to her on 20th July, 1741, he cautions her as follows:—"I must seriously recommend to you not to importune the old gentleman too much. When you have given him what lights and information have come to your knowledge, all the good is done, for in the present situation one would think he should want no spur to befriend us, and in all events he will go on in his own way, while teasing him can serve for nothing but to make him peevish and out of humour." The duchess must have been possessed of some important papers, as James, in a letter to Sempil, (2d May, 1743,) written shortly after her death, expresses his concern lest her papers should fall into the hands of the government.—*Stuart Papers.*

⁷ Letter from Lord John to Secretary Edgar among the *Stuart Papers*, Feb. 25th, 1743.

⁸ Letter from Lord Marischal to Lord John Drummond.—*Stuart Papers*, Feb. 12th, 1743.

Having obtained the consent of the French court to this arrangement, the cardinal, upon the completion of the preparations for the expedition, despatched a messenger to Rome to request the attendance of the young prince at Paris. Accordingly, on the morning of the 9th of January, 1744, Prince Charles, accompanied by his brother Henry and two or three attendants, left Rome before break of day, but they had not proceeded far when they parted, the prince on his route to France and the duke to Cisterna.⁹ The former was disguised as a Spanish courier, and took only one servant along with him on his journey. To account for the departure of the two brothers, it was given out at Rome that they had gone to a boar hunt, and so well was the secret of the prince's real destination kept, that nearly a fortnight elapsed before it was discovered.¹

Provided with passports furnished by Cardinal Aquaviva, the prince travelled through Tuscany and arrived at Genoa. From Genoa he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked in a felucca, and passing by Monaco arrived at Antibes. From the latter place he proceeded to Paris, where he met Marshal Saxe and other officers belonging to the expedition, and after a private audience of the French king, he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The route by Genoa and Antibes was selected as the safest, and, from the season of the year, the most expeditious; but so unfavourable was the weather, that the prince had to stop some days at different places, and when he reached Antibes he was recognised, and information of his arrival there and of his departure for Paris was sent to the British government by persons in its interest. Hitherto the British ministry do not appear to have had any suspicion that the armaments at Brest, Boulogne, and other French ports, were destined for the shores of Britain, but the appearance of the eldest son of the Chevalier de St. George in France

opened their eyes to the dangers which now menaced them. At this time the military force in England did not exceed 6,000 men, so that if the threatened invasion had taken place, the result might have been disastrous to the reigning family.²

Meanwhile, the French fleet, consisting of 15 ships of the line and 5 frigates, under M. de Roquesenille, sailed from Brest, and for several days displayed itself in the channel. Knowing the object for which these ships had put to sea, the government was greatly alarmed, and not without cause; for, besides the paucity of troops in the island, they had only six ships of the line at home ready for sea, the grand fleet being then in the Mediterranean. The activity and preparations of the government corresponded with the magnitude of the danger with which it was threatened. Orders were instantly sent to fit out and man all the ships of war in the different ports of the channel. These orders were so promptly obeyed, that in a few days an English fleet of three ships of 100 guns, four of 90, six of 70, and six of 50, was collected at Spithead under the command of Sir John Norris.³ Several regiments were immediately marched to the southern coast of England; all governors and commanders were ordered to repair forthwith to their respective posts; the forts at the mouth of the Thames and Medway were put in a posture of defence; and the militia of Kent were directed to assemble to defend the coast in case of an invasion.

² About this time, if we may believe the accounts of the Stuart party, the spirit of Jacobitism was widely diffused in Scotland. "The violentest Whigs," says Mr. John Stuart in a letter to Secretary Edgar from Boulogne, in February, 1744, "are become the most zealous Jacobites. My friend says that the last night of the year with us (that is to say, the prince's birth-night,) was celebrated there (in Scotland) as publicly as we could do it here,—that he was himself in a numerous company of people of fashion, amongst whom were several officers of the army,—that the health of the day, the merry meeting, and a whole train of such, were drunk publicly,—that about the third hour, when the third bottle had banished all reserve, servants were turned out and the doors locked, one of the company made a speech, and filled a bumper to the restoration, and damnation to every one that would not help; the whole stood to their feet, drunk the (some words are here torn away in the original,) and their hands to their swords: the officers pulled the cockades out of their hats, trampled them under feet, and then tossed them into the fire; then called for music, and serenaded the ladies with loyal tunes, songs, &c.—*Stuart Papers*."

⁹ "My children," says James in a letter to Sempil, 9th January, 1744, "parted both this morning from hence before day, the duke for Cisterna and the prince for his long journey. We have been at so much pains and contrivance to cover it, that I hope the secret will be kept for some days, perhaps for several."—*Stuart Papers*.

¹ Alluding to the discovery, James says, (letter to Sempil, 23d January, 1744,) that it made "a great noise, as you may believe, here," viz. at Rome.—*Stuart Papers*.

³ *Memoirs of Europe*, vol. ii. p. 197.

On the 15th of February, the arrival of Prince Charles in France, the preparations along the French coast, and the appearance of the French fleet in the English channel, were announced to parliament in a message from the king. Both houses joined in an address, in which they declared their indignation at the design formed in favour of "a popish pretender," and assured his majesty they would take measures to frustrate so desperate and insolent an attempt. The city of London, the universities of Oxford and Cambridge,⁴ the principal towns in Great Britain, almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom, the clergy of the establishment, the dissenting ministers, and the Quakers, or Society of Friends, presented similar addresses. A demand was made from the States-general of the 6,000 auxiliaries which by treaty they had engaged to furnish on such occasions; and this request was immediately granted. Forgetful of the wrongs which he had suffered at the hands of the government, the Earl of Stair tendered his services, and was reappointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Great Britain. Several noblemen of the first rank followed his example, among whom was the Duke of Montague, who was permitted to raise a regiment of horse. Orders were sent to bring over the 6,000 British troops from Flanders; and both houses of parliament, in a second address, exhorted the king to augment his forces by sea and land, in such manner as he should think necessary at this dangerous juncture of affairs. The habeas corpus act was suspended for six months; several suspected persons were taken into custody; the usual proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against the unfortunate Catholics and nonjurors, who were ordered to retire ten miles from London; and every other precaution, deemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity, was adopted.⁵

Meanwhile the preparations for invasion were proceeding rapidly at Boulogne and Dun-

kirk, under the eye of Prince Charles. Roquefeuille had in his excursion in the channel come in sight of Spithead; and, as he could perceive no ships there, he imagined that the English ships had retired within their harbours. Judging the opportunity favourable, he detached M. de Barriol with five ships of war to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk, and to order the transports thereupon to put to sea. Roquefeuille then sailed up the channel with the remainder of his fleet as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, off which he anchored to await the arrival of the transports. Having received intelligence of Roquefeuille's arrival from an English frigate which came into the Downs, Sir John Norris left Spithead with the British fleet, and doubling the South Foreland from the Downs, on the 23d of February discovered the French fleet at anchor. Though the wind was against him, Sir John endeavoured, by availing himself of the tide, to come up and engage the French squadron; but the tide failing, he was obliged to anchor when about two leagues from the enemy. He intended to attack them next morning, but M. de Roquefeuille, not judging it advisable to risk an engagement, weighed anchor after sunset, and favoured by a hard gale of wind from the north-east which blew during the night, ran down the channel and got into Brest harbour. So violent was the gale, that all the English fleet (two ships only excepted,) parted with their cables and were driven out to sea, and before they could have returned to their station, the transports, under convoy of the five ships of war despatched by Roquefeuille, might have disembarked the army under Marshal Saxe had the storm not reached the French coast; but the tempest, which merely forced the English ships to quit their moorings, was destructive to the expedition, and utterly disconcerted the design of invading England.

On the very day on which the two fleets discovered each other, Marshal Saxe, accompanied by Charles Edward, arrived at Dunkirk, and proceeded to get his troops embarked as fast as possible; 7,000 men were actually shipped, and proceeded to sea that day with a fair wind, but in the evening the wind changed to the east, and blew a hurricane. The embark-

⁴ The Chevalier de St. George drew up an address to both universities. It bears the same date (23d December, 1743,) as the two declarations published in 1745. This address was not published.—*Stuart Papers*.

⁵ Smollett's *History of England*, vol. iii. book ii. chap. 5.

ation ceased, several of the transports which had put to sea were wrecked, many soldiers and seamen perished, and a considerable quantity of warlike stores was lost. The remainder of the transports were damaged to such an extent that they could not be speedily repaired.

Such was the result of an expedition planned with great judgment and conducted with such secrecy as to have escaped the vigilance of the government till on the very eve of its being carried into execution. After the discomfiture it had met with from the elements, and the formidable attitude which England, aroused to a sense of the imminent danger she was in, had now assumed, the French court must have instantly abandoned, as it is believed it did abandon, any idea of renewing the enterprise; but Charles Edward, sanguine of success, and in no shape discouraged by the catastrophe which had happened, daily importuned Marshal Saxe to re-embark his troops and proceed to England; but the marshal excused himself, by urging the necessity of fresh instructions from court and the previous repair of the damaged transports.⁶ The French ministry, however, finally resolved to postpone the expedition.

Although war may be said to have virtually commenced between Great Britain and France by the battle of Dettingen, which was fought between the allies and the French in the month of June, 1743, no formal declaration of war was issued by either power till the month of March following, after the expedition against England had been given up.

After the failure and abandonment of the enterprise, Prince Charles retired to Gravelines, where he lived several months in private, under the assumed name of the Chevalier Douglas. Ever since his arrival in France he had been forced by the French court to preserve an incognito, which, though highly approved of by Drummond and Sempil, his father's agents, was productive of great uneasiness to the Chevalier de St. George, who could not under-

stand the reason for affecting to conceal a fact which was notorious to all the world.⁷

The preparations for invasion had raised, not without foundation, great hopes of a restoration in the minds of the Scottish Jacobites; but when they ascertained that the expedition was relinquished, they felt all that bitterness of disappointment which the miscarriage of any cherished scheme is sure to engender. They did not however despair of effecting their object ultimately, and, in the meantime, the leading members of the Concert desparted a messenger to the prince to assure him of their attachment to his cause, and inform him of the state of the country and the dispositions of the people.⁸ About the same

James, however, at first approved of the incognito. Writing to Sempil, on 10th March, 1744, he observes, "The prince will have been tired with his confinement; but, as matters stand, the French court was much in the right to keep him private, tho' that will not, it is true, hinder the Elector of Hanover from taking the alarm, and his measures against the invasion." His views were different when writing Drummond on 12th June. After complaining of the disagreeable way in which the prince had been employed on his first arrival at Gravelines, (of which no particulars are given,) he continues, "I shall not be easy till I know the prince is out of his strange and long confinement and incognito, which must be so uneasy to him, and, I think, does little honor to the King of France, while it must carry something very odd with it in the eye of the public. But there were, to be sure, reasons for it which the public never knew, but I hope I shall at last."—*Stuart Papers*.

⁸ The arrival of this messenger, whose name was Blair, was announced by Drummond of Bochaldu to the prince's father, in a letter, dated 30th July, 1744:—"Yesterday night there arrived here, (at Dunkirk,) a gentleman from Scotland sent by the Duke of Perth, Lord Traquair, and young Lochiel, to inform the prince of the state and disposition of that country, and the hazard the clans run by Lord John Drummond attempting to raise a regiment in your majesty's name, which he gloriously averred to every particular, was by his majesty's command and order; but the dangerous effect of this was prevented by the gentlemen of the Concert, their prudence and influence in allowing nobody of any distinction to give either countenance or credit to it except his brother, who, it seems, they could not hinder from going such lengths as brought troops about him, and forced him to abscond, till such time as the government came to understand that the view was absolutely private in Lord John, and that the using your majesty's name was an imposition for private ends, which the clans had disappointed as much as they could. It would appear exaggeration to repeat to your majesty the accounts this gentleman brings of the real spirit and forwardness every man showed on hearing that the prince was coming to them, and what an universal melancholy succeeded that flow of spirits on being made certain of a disappointment."—*Stuart Papers*.

It appears from the Chevalier's answer (28th August, 1744), to the above-mentioned letter, that Lord John Drummond was authorised to raise the regiment:—

⁶ The Marshal, in answer to a querulous note sent by the prince on 11th of March, says in his answer on the 13th, "Vcus ne pouvez, Monseigneur, accuser que les vents et la fortune des contretemps qui nous arrivent." But he promises after the ships were refitted to proceed with the expedition.—*Stuart Papers*.

time Murray of Broughton went to Paris, by advice of the Earl of Traquair, to ascertain the exact situation of affairs. Here he was introduced to the prince by Drummond and Sempil. At a private interview which he had with Charles the following day, Murray stated, that from the absurd and contradictory nature of the communications made by the prince's agent at Paris, they had, as it appeared to him, a design to impose upon him with the intention of serving themselves. Charles alluded to the association which had been formed at Edinburgh, said that he did not doubt that the King of France intended to invade Britain in the ensuing spring,—that he was already preparing for it, and intended to execute it as soon as the campaign in Flanders was over; but that whether the King of France undertook the expedition or not, he himself was determined to go to Scotland. Murray, thereupon, endeavoured to show him that such an attempt would be desperate, as he could not at the utmost expect to be joined by more than 4,000 or 5,000 men; but notwithstanding Murray's representations, Charles repeated his determination of going to Scotland. Murray says that he was so much against the undertaking, that he spoke to Sir Thomas Sheridan—an Irish gentleman who enjoyed the prince's confidence—to endeavour to persuade him against it, and that Sir Thomas told him, on his arrival in Scotland, that he had done so, but to no purpose. On returning to Scotland Murray reported to the members of the association all that had passed at the conference with the prince; and all of them, except the Duke of Perth, declared themselves opposed to the prince's resolution of coming to Scotland without troops.⁹ Murray then wrote a

"I remarked what you said last post in relation to Lord John: he had my approbation for endeavouring to raise a Scots regiment in the French service; and as I think that in general the more troops there be of my subjects in that service, the better. I must recommend to you not to take any steps to obstruct the raising of the said regiment."—*Stuart Papers*.

⁹ The prince's design was rumoured at Paris, and communicated by Sempil to the Chevalier, who, in his answer, dated 23d February, 1745, remarks as follows:—"I am noways surprised that some French people should have a notion of the prince's going to Scotland without troops, tho' nobody surely can enter into such an idea except out of ignorance, and from not knowing the true state of things. But I am always alarmed at it, because I think it impossible

letter to Charles, stating the opinion of his friends, and representing the ruinous consequences which might ensue from such a rash undertaking. This letter was committed to the care of a gentleman who went to London in the month of January, 1745; but he neglected to forward it, and it was returned to Murray in the month of April. Murray made several attempts afterwards to forward the letter to France, and at last succeeded; but it never came to the hands of the prince, who departed for Scotland before the letter reached its destination.

During the spring of 1745, the agents of the Chevalier de St. George renewed their solicitations at the French court for another expedition; but Louis and his ministers were too much occupied with preparations for the campaign in Flanders to pay much attention to such applications. They however continued to amuse the Jacobite negotiators with assurances of conditional support; but James began to perceive that little or no reliance could be placed upon such promises. To relieve himself from the *ennui* occasioned by the failure of the expedition, and the state of seclusion in which he was kept by the French government, and to obtain some knowledge of military tactics, Charles applied for permission to make a campaign with the French army in Flanders; but although he was warmly backed in his application by his father, Louis refused to accede to his wish. Though frustrated in his expectations of any immediate aid from France, and denied the trifling gratification of making a campaign, Charles manifested little of the restlessness and hauteur which he afterwards displayed on his return from Scotland. Though he had much reason, as he observed, "to be out of humour," he resolved, notwithstanding, to bear with patience the disappointments which he had experienced.¹

that the King of France should approve of such a project, and that it is well known how much I should myself be averse to it. However, it will be always well that you use your best endeavours to refute so dangerous a scheme, and that nobody can do more solidly and effectually than yourself, from the lights and knowledge you have of the affairs of Britain; and I own, till I see the contrary, I shall, as long as the war lasts, always hope that the French will take at last some generous resolution in our favour."—*Stuart Papers*.

¹ *Stuart Papers*, February and March, 1745.

To ease his mind from the anxieties which pressed upon it, the Duke of Fitzjames and other friends of his family, invited the prince to pass the spring at their country-seats in the neighbourhood of Paris, where, amid the society of his friends and rural recreations, he seemed, for a time, to forget the object for which he had come to France.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A. D. 1745.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George II., 1727—1760.

Preparations—Departure of the expedition—Incidents of the voyage—The Prince lands in Eriska—Has interviews with Maedonald of Boisdale and young Clanranald—Kinlochmoidart, Dr. Cameron, and others, visit the Prince—Charles lands at Borodale—Cameron, younger, of Loehiel—His interview with the Prince—Charles arrives at Kinlochmoidart—Commencement of hostilities—Charles raises his standard at Glenfinnan—Manifesto—The Chevalier's ignorance of the expedition.

FROM mere auxiliaries in the war of the Austrian succession, Great Britain and France at last entered the field as principals; and in the spring of 1745, both parties were prepared to decide their respective differences by force of arms. The Jacobites, who looked upon war as the harbinger to a speedy realisation of their wishes and their hopes, awaited the result with anxiety; though, from the policy of France, it was not difficult to perceive that the issue, whether favourable or unfavourable to France, would in reality neither advance nor retard the long looked for restoration. France, if defeated in the field, almost on her own frontiers, would require all her forces to protect herself; and could not, therefore, be expected to make a diversion on the shores of Britain. And, on the other hand, if successful in the campaign about to open in Flanders, she was likely to accomplish the objects for which the war had been undertaken, without continuing an expensive and dubious struggle in support of the Stuarts.

Charles Edward Stuart, the aspirant to the British throne, seems to have viewed matters much in the same light on receiving intelligence of the victory obtained by the French over the allies at Fontenoy.² In writing to one of his

father's agents at Paris,³ who had sent him information of the battle, Charles observes that it was not easy to form an opinion as to whether the result would "prove good or bad" for his affairs. He had, however, taken his resolution to go to Scotland, though unaccompanied even by a single company of soldiers, and the event which had just occurred made him determine to put that resolution into immediate execution. At Fontenoy, the British troops maintained by their bravery the national reputation, but they were obliged to yield to numbers; yet, to use the words of a French historian, "they left the field of battle without tumult, without confusion, and were defeated with honour."⁴ The flower of the British army was, however, destroyed; and as Great Britain had been almost drained of troops, Charles considered the conjuncture as favourable, and made such preparations for his departure as the shortness of the time would allow.

The French government was apprised of Charles's intentions, and though the French ministers were not disposed openly to sanction an enterprise which they were not at the time in a condition to support, they secretly favoured a design, which, whatever might be its result, would operate as a diversion in favour of France. Accordingly, Lord Clare, (afterwards Marshal Thomond,) then a lieutenant-general in the French service, was authorised to open a negotiation with two merchants of Irish extraction, named Rutledge and Walsh, who had made some money by trading to the West Indies. They had, since the war, been concerned in privateering; and with the view of extending their operations, had lately obtained from the French government a grant of the Elizabeth, an old man-of-war of sixty-six guns, and they had purchased a small frigate of sixteen guns named the Doutelle, both of which ships were in the course of being fitted out for a cruise in the north seas. Lord Clare having introduced Charles to Rutledge and Walsh, explained the prince's design, and proposed that they should lend him their ships. This proposal was at once acceded to by the owners,

³ Letter to Colonel O'Bryan, 16th June, 1745, in *Stuart Papers*.

⁴ *Lettres et Memoires du Marechal de Saxe*, Paris, 1794.

² This battle was fought on the 11th May, 1745.

who also offered to supply the prince with money and such arms as they could procure, in fulfilment of which offer they afterwards placed in his hands the sum of £3,800.⁵

While the preparations for the expedition were going on, Charles resided at Navarre, a seat of the Duke of Bouillon, and occupied himself in hunting, fishing, and shooting. A few persons only in his own confidence were aware of his intentions; and so desirous was he of concealing his movements from his father's agents at Paris, that he gave out, shortly before his departure, that he intended to visit the monastery of La Trappe, in the vicinity of Rouen, and would return to Paris in a few days.⁶ The prince ordered the few followers who were to accompany him to assemble at Nantes, near the mouth of the Loire; and the better to conceal their design, they arrived there singly, took up their residence in different parts of the town, and when they met on the streets did not seem to recognise one another.⁷

When informed that every thing was in readiness for his departure, Charles went to Nantes in disguise, and having descended the Loire in a fishing boat on the 20th of June, (O. S.) 1745, embarked on the 21st on board the *Doutelle* at St. Nazaire, whence he proceeded on the following day to Belleisle, where he was joined on the 4th of July by the *Elizabeth*, which had on board 100 marines raised by Lord Clare, about 2,000 muskets, and 500 or 600 French broad-swords. The persons who accompanied Charles were the Marquis of Tullibardine,⁸ elder brother of James, Duke of Athole; Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been tutor to Charles; Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; George Kelly, a clergyman; Æneas or Angus Macdonald, a banker in Paris, brother to Kinlochmoidart;

⁵ Home's *Rebellion*, p. 36.

⁶ Letter to Colonel O'Bryan, 20th June, 1745, Appendix, No. II. See also Sempil's letter to the Chevalier, Appendix, No. III.

⁷ *Forbes Papers, or Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745*, edited by Dr. R. Chambers, p. 2.

⁸ He was styled Duke of Athole by the Jacobites, from being the eldest son of the preceding duke. The marquis had been attainted for the share he took in the insurrection of 1715; and the title and estates were, in consequence of his attainder, now enjoyed by his immediate younger brother.

and O'Sullivan, an officer in the service of France. These were afterwards designated the "Seven Men of Moidart." There were also some persons of inferior note, among whom were one Buchanan, who had been employed as a messenger to Rome by Cardinal Tencin, and Duncan Cameron, formerly a servant of old Lochiel at Boulogne, who was hired for the expedition, for the purpose, as he informs us, of desecrating the "Long Isle."⁹

The expedition sailed from Belleisle on the 5th of July with a fair wind, which continued favourable till the 8th, when a dead calm ensued. On the following day, when in the latitude of 47° 57' north, and thirty-nine leagues west from the meridian of the Lizard, a sail was descried to windward, which proved to be the *Lion*, a British man-of-war of sixty guns, commanded by Captain Brett. When the *Lion* hove in sight, the prince, for better accommodation, was preparing to go on board the *Elizabeth*; but luckily for him he laid aside his design on the appearance of the man-of-war. While the *Lion* was bearing down on the French ships, *M. D'Oe*, or *D'Eau*, the captain of the *Elizabeth*, went on board the *Doutelle*, where a council of war was immediately held, at which it was determined, if possible, to avoid an action; but if an action became inevitable, that the *Elizabeth* should receive the first broadside, and should thereupon endeavour to board her adversary. While this conference lasted, both ships kept running before the wind; but the *Lion* being a fast sailing vessel soon neared the *Elizabeth*, and, when within nearly a mile of her, hove to for the purpose of reconnoitring the French ships and preparing for action. Judging an action now unavoidable, Captain D'Oe proposed to Walsh, one of the proprietors of the two vessels, and who acted as commander of the *Doutelle*, that while the *Elizabeth* and *Lion* were engaged, the *Doutelle* should assist the *Elizabeth* by playing upon the *Lion* at a distance; but Walsh declined to interfere in any shape. The Captain of the *Elizabeth* thereupon drew his sword, and taking leave, went back to his ship, with his drawn sword in his hand, to prepare for action.¹

⁹ *Forbes Papers*, note, p. 1.

¹ Kirkeonnel MS.

Captain D'Oo had scarcely reached the Elizabeth when the Lion bore down upon her. Contrary to the plan laid down on board the Doutelle, the Elizabeth gave the first broadside, which was instantly returned by the Lion; and before the Elizabeth could get her other side to bear upon her opponent, the latter tacked about and poured in another broadside into the Elizabeth, which raked her fore and aft, and killed a great number of her men. Notwithstanding this untoward beginning, the Elizabeth maintained the fight for nearly five hours, when night coming on, and both vessels being complete wrecks, they parted as if by mutual consent. The prince, in the Doutelle, viewed the battle with great anxiety, and, it is said, importuned the captain to assist the Elizabeth, but Walsh positively refused to engage, and intimated to the prince, that if he continued his solicitations, he would order him down to the cabin.²

After the action was over, Captain Walsh bore up to the Elizabeth to ascertain the state of matters, and was informed by a lieutenant of the severe loss she had sustained in officers and men, and the crippled state she was in. He, however, offered to pursue the voyage if supplied with a main-mast and some rigging, but Walsh had no spare materials; and after intimating that he would endeavour to finish the voyage himself, and advising the commander of the Elizabeth to return to France, both ships parted, the Elizabeth on her way back to France, and the Doutelle on her voyage to the Western Highlands.³

On the 11th of July a sail was discovered, which gave chase to the Doutelle; but being a swift-sailing vessel she outran her pursuer. She encountered a rough sea and tempestuous weather on the 15th and 16th, after which the weather became fine till the midnight of the 20th, when a violent storm arose. She stood out the gale, however, and on the 22d came within sight of land, which was discovered to be the southern extremity of Long Island, a name by which, from their appearing at a distance, and in a particular direction, to form one island, the islands of Lewis, the Uists, Barra, and others, are distinguished. On ap-

proaching the land, a large ship, which appeared to be an English man-of-war, was descried between the Doutelle and the island. On perceiving this vessel, Walsh changed the course of the Doutelle, and stretching along the east side of Barra, reached the strait between South Uist and Eriska, the largest of a cluster of little rocky islands that lie off South Uist. When near the land, Duncan Cameron, before mentioned, was sent on shore in the long-boat to bring off a proper pilot, and having accidentally met the piper of Maencil of Barra, with whom Cameron was acquainted, he took him on board. In the strait alluded to, the Doutelle cast anchor on the 23d of July, having been eighteen days at sea.⁴

Accompanied by his attendants, the prince immediately landed in Eriska, and was conducted to the house of Angus Macdonald, the tacksman, or principal tenant thereof and of the small islands adjoining. To anticipate that prying curiosity and speculation which the inhabitants of the western isles always display on the arrival of strangers, the prince's companions represented him as a young Irish priest, a species of visitor by no means uncommon in these islands, whither priests from the opposite coast of Ireland had been long accustomed to resort, for the purpose of giving the islanders that religious instruction and consolation of which, by the change in the national religion, they had been almost debarred from receiving from the hands of native priests. From the tacksman of Eriska, the party learned, that Macdonald, chief of Clanranald, and Macdonald of Boisdale, his brother, were upon the island of South Uist, and that young Clanranald, the son of the chief, was at Moidart upon the mainland. As Boisdale was understood to have great influence with his brother, a messenger was immediately despatched to South Uist, requesting his attendance on board the Doutelle.

Charles and his companions passed the night in the house of the tacksman, but the accommodation was very indifferent. They had not a sufficient supply of beds, but the prince, regardless of his own ease, declined to occupy one.⁵

⁴ Kirkconnel MS. *Forbes Papers*, p. 9.

⁵ Charles is said to have taken particular care of Sir Thomas Sheridan on this occasion. He "went to examine his bed, and to see that the sheets were well aired. The landlord observing him to search the bed

² Kirkconnel MS. *Forbes Papers*, p. 7.

³ *Forbes Papers*, p. 8.

Next morning they returned to the ship. Boisdale soon thereafter made his appearance. As his brother, Clanranald, was unfit, from age and bad health, to be of any essential service, Charles was anxious to secure the assistance of Boisdale, by whose means he expected that the clan would be induced to rise in his support. Boisdale had, however, already made up his mind upon the subject, and the result of the interview was extremely discouraging to Charles. At first, the prince proposed that Boisdale should accompany him to the mainland, and endeavour to engage his nephew to take up arms; but Boisdale decidedly declined the proposal, and even declared that he would do every thing in his power to prevent his brother and nephew from engaging in an enterprise which he considered desperate. Baffled in his first attempt, Charles next proposed to despatch Boisdale with a message to Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat and the Laird of Macleod, who had extensive possessions in the island of Skye, requesting their assistance; but Boisdale informed the prince that such a mission would be useless, as he had seen Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod very lately, —that they had stated to him the probability that the prince would arrive, but that if he came without a body of regular troops, they were determined not to join him, and were of opinion that no other person would. Boisdale added, that he was instructed by these gentlemen to mention their resolution to the prince in case he should meet him on his arrival, and to advise him, should he come unprovided with troops, to return directly to France.

Charles was sadly perplexed at Boisdale's obduracy, but he endeavoured to soften him by representing his affairs in the most favourable light; but the Highlander was inflexible. Whilst this prolonged altercation was going on, two vessels appeared making for the strait

so narrowly, and at the same time hearing him declare he would sit up all night, called out to him, and said, that it was so good a bed, and the sheets were so good, that a prince needed not be ashamed to lie on them. The prince not being accustomed to such fires in the middle of the room, and there being no other chimney than a hole in the roof, was almost choked, and was obliged to go often to the door for fresh air. This at last made the landlord, Angus Macdonald, call out, 'What a plague is the matter with that fellow, that he can neither sit nor stand still, and neither keep within nor without doors?'—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 11.

in which the *Doutelle* lay, a circumstance which induced her commander to weigh anchor and stand in for the mainland. Boisdale, still pressed by the prince, remained on board till the ship had advanced several miles in her course, when he entered his boat, and left Charles to ruminate over his disappointment. The *Doutelle* continued her course during the night, and next morning cast anchor in the bay of Lochnanuaigh, which partly divides the countries of Moidart and Arisaig.⁶ On approaching the strait, the Marquis of Tullibardine, when about to retire below to dinner, observed an eagle hovering over the frigate, which he looked upon as a happy augury, but afraid of being taxed by his companions with superstition, he at first took no notice of the circumstance. On coming upon deck after dinner, he saw the eagle still hovering above the vessel and following her in her course. No longer able to restrain himself, he directed the attention of Charles and his suite to the royal bird, and thereafter turning to the prince, thus addressed him: "Sir, I hope this is an excellent omen, and promises good things to us. The king of birds is come to welcome your royal highness upon your arrival in Scotland."

Though foiled in his attempt upon Boisdale, the young adventurer resolved to repeat the same experiment upon his nephew, and accordingly he immediately sent a boat on shore with a letter to young Clanranald; Æneas Macdonald also went on shore to bring off Kinlochmoidart, his brother. Kinlochmoidart came on board immediately, and after a short interview with the prince, was despatched with letters to Lochiel, the Duke of Perth, Murray of Broughton and others.

Next day young Clanranald, accompanied by his kinsmen, Alexander Macdonald of Glenalladale, Æneas Macdonald of Dalily and a Highland officer (author of a journal and memoirs of the expedition),⁷ came to Forsy, a small village opposite to the *Doutelle's* anchorage ground. They called for the ship's boat, and were immediately carried on board. The feelings of the party on getting upon deck are thus described by the writer alluded to. "Our hearts were overjoyed to find ourselves so near

⁶ Home's *Rebellion* (edition of 1802), p. 29.

⁷ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 479.

our long-wished-for prince; we found a large tent erected with poles on the ship's deck, covered and well furnished with variety of wines and spirits. As we entered this pavilion we were most cheerfully welcom'd by the Duke of Athole, to whom some of us had been known in the year 1715. While the duke was talking with us, Clanranald was a-missing, and had, as we understood, been called into the prince's cabin, nor did we look for the honour of seeing His R. H. at least for that night.⁷

Of the conversation which took place between the prince and young Clanranald during the three hours they were closeted together, no account was ever given; but it is probable that if the latter stated any objections against the enterprise, they had been overcome before he rejoined his companions, as no allusion is made by the writer just quoted, to any unwillingness on the part of the young chieftain to join the prince. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who mentions the refusal of Boisdale, says, that young Clanranald frankly offered his services to the prince,⁸ a statement which, from the ardent and romantic attachment for the Stuarts with which that young chieftain was inspired, seems to approximate nearer the truth than that of Home, who classes Kinlochmoidart and young Clanranald together, as joining in a positive refusal to take up arms.

According to Home, young Clanranald and Kinlochmoidart came on board together, and were addressed, with great emotion, by Charles, who had been almost reduced to despair by his interview with Boisdale. After using all the arguments he could for taking up arms, he conjured them to assist their countryman, their prince, in his utmost need. Though well inclined and warmly attached to the cause, the gentlemen in question are said to have positively refused, and to have told the prince, one after another, that to take up arms in their present unprepared state, without concert or support, would bring down certain destruction on their own heads. Charles persisted, argued, and implored, but without effect. During this conversation the parties walked backwards and forwards upon the deck, and were closely eyed by a Highlander who stood near them armed

at all points, as was then the fashion of the country. He was a younger brother of Kinlochmoidart, and had come off to the ship to inquire for news, not knowing who was on board. When he gathered from their discourse that the stranger was Prince Charles, and heard his chief and his brother refuse to take up arms in his behalf, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his placo and grasped his sword. Charles observing his demeanour, stopped short, and turning towards him, put this interrogatory, "Will not you assist me?" "I will! I will!" exclaimed Ranald; "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword, I am ready to die for you." Charles, delighted with the young man's answer, evinced his gratitude by a profusion of thanks and acknowledgments, extolled his champion to the skies, and said he only wished that all the Highlanders were like him. Stung with the prince's observation, which could be regarded only as a reproach, and smitten by the example set by the heroic youth, the two Macdonalds instantly declared that they would unsheath their swords in support of the claims of the house of Stuart, and would use their utmost endeavours to rouse their countrymen to arms.⁹

After the interview with the prince, Clanranald returned to his friends, who had, during the conference, been regaling themselves in the pavilion. In about half-an-hour thereafter, the prince entered the tent and took his seat without appearing to notice any of the company. His appearance, and the scene which followed, are thus described by an eyewitness. "There entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat with a plain shirt, not very clean, and a cambrick stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvas string having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes. At his first appearance I found my heart swell to my vory throat. We were immediately told by one Obrian, a churchman, that this youth was also an English clergyman, who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders.

⁷ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 479

⁸ Kirkconnel MS.

Home's Rebellion, p. 29.

"When this youth entered, Obrian forbid any of those who were sitting to rise; he saluted none of us, and we only made a low bow at a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me, but immediately started up again and caused me to sit down by him upon a chest. I at this time taking him only to be a passenger or some clergyman, presumed to speak to him with too much familiarity, yet still retained some suspicion he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habit, (viz. the Highland garb,) I answered I was so habituated to it, that I should rather be so (feel cold) if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laughed heartily, and next inquired how I lay with it at night, which I explained to him. He said that by wrapping myself so close in my plaid I would be unprepared for any sudden defence in the case of a surprise. I answered that in such times of danger, or during the war, we had a different method of using the plaid, that with one spring I could start to my feet with drawn sword and cocked pistol in my hand, without being the least encumbered with my bed-clothes. Several such questions he put to me; then rising quickly from his seat he calls for a dram, when the same person whispered me a second time to pledge the stranger but not to drink to him, by which reasonable hint I was confirmed in my suspicion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand, he drank to us all round, and soon after left us."¹

Having thus secured the support of young Clanranald, Charles selected him to execute the commission which his uncle, Boisdale, had refused to undertake. Accordingly, on the 22d of July the young chieftain, attended by Allan Macdonald, a younger brother of Kinlochmoidart, was despatched with letters from the prince, to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod, to solicit the aid of their services. These powerful chieftains, who could raise nearly 2,000 men between them, had promised to join the prince if he brought a foreign force along with him, but when they found that he had come without troops, they

considered themselves released from their engagements, and refused to join in an enterprise which they considered desperate.²

During young Clanranald's absence, Donald Macdonald of Scothouse, Dr. Archibald Cameron on the part of his brother Donald Cameron, younger of Lochiel, and Hugh Macdonald, brother of the laird of Morar, came on board the *Doutelle*. The latter, on his way home from Edinburgh, had met Kinlochmoidart crossing the water of Lochy, and had been informed by him of the arrival of the prince.³ In expectation of seeing the prince, he went to Kinlochmoidart's house, where he found Æneas Macdonald, brother of Kinlochmoidart, who told him that he might see the prince the following day if he pleased, but cautioned him not to accost him as such, as the prince passed for a French abbé with the crew of the vessel, who were ignorant of his rank. Next day the two Macdonalds went on board; and Charles, being informed of the name and character of his visitor, invited him down to the cabin. In a conversation which ensued, Hugh Mac

² Maxwell of Kirkconnel.—"There are not wanting in Scotland many men to follow such examples; but Lochiel's feeling was that of far the greater number. The Scots have often been reproached with a spirit of sordid gain. The truth is merely—and should it not be matter of praise?—that by their intelligence, their industry, their superior education, they will always, in whatever country, be singled out for employment, and rise high in the social scale. But when a contest lies between selfish security or advancement on one side, and generous impulse or deep-rooted conviction on the other; when danger and conscience beckon onward, and prudence alone calls back; let all history declare whether in any age or in any cause, as followers of Knox or of Montrose, as Cameronians or as Jacobites, the men—ay, and the women—of Scotland, have quailed from any degree of sacrifice or suffering! The very fact that Charles came helpless, obtained him the help of many. Moreover, Charles was now in the very centre of those tribes, which, ever since they were trained by Montrose, had continued firm and devoted adherents of the House of Stuart."—Mahon's *England*, vol. iii. p. 314.

³ The following is part of a dialogue which took place between them. "Said Kinlochmoidart, 'You'll see the prince this night at my house.' 'What number of men has he brought along with him?' 'Only seven,' said Kinlochmoidart. 'What stock of money and arms has he brought with him then?' said Mr Hugh. 'A very small stock of either,' said Kinlochmoidart. 'What generals or officers fit for commanding are with him?' said Mr Hugh. 'None at all,' replied Kinlochmoidart. Mr Hugh said he did not like the expedition at all, and was afraid of the consequences. 'I cannot help it,' said Kinlochmoidart, 'if the matter go wrong, then I'll certainly be hanged, for I am engaged already.'"—*Jacobite Memoirs*, note, p. 18.

¹ Journal and Memoirs. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. pp. 430-1.

donald expressed his fears as to the result of the expedition if persevered in, and hinted that, as he had brought no forces along with him, the most eligible course the prince could pursue, was to return to France, and wait a more favourable opportunity. Charles remarked that he did not wish to be indebted for the restoration of his father to foreigners, but to his own friends; that he had now put it in their power to have the glory of doing so, and that as to returning to France without making an attempt, foreigners should never have to say that he had thrown himself upon his friends, that they had turned their backs upon him, and that he had been forced to retire for shelter to foreign lands. He concluded by observing, that if he could get only six stout trusty fellows to join him, he would choose rather to skulk with them among the mountains of Scotland than return to France. Dr. Cameron also urged Charles to return, and told him that Lochiel had made up his mind not to join; but Charles returned the same answer he had given to Hugh Macdonald. On the return from Skye of young Clanranald and Allan Macdonald, who brought back an absolute refusal from Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod, the whole party on board, including even Sir Thomas Sheridan, by whose advice the prince generally acted, importuned him to desist, chiefly on the ground that the refusal of two such influential and powerful chieftains would prevent others, who were well disposed to the cause, from joining; but Charles was immovable, and though without a single supporter, persisted in his resolution.⁴

Charles remained on board the *Doutelle* till the 25th of July, the interval between which day and that of his arrival in Lochnanagh, was spent in despatching letters and receiving communications from his friends, and in consultations with his companions and the adherents who visited him, as to the means to be adopted for raising the clans that were favourably disposed. During the same interval, all the arms, ammunition, and stores were landed; and every thing being in readiness for his reception on shore, Charles, accompanied by his

suite, landed at Borodale, a farm belonging to Clanranald, and took up his abode in the house of Angus Macdonald, the tenant of the farm, who received him and his companions with a hearty welcome. By orders of young Clanranald, Macdonald of Glenalladale and another gentleman of the clan, had collected about 100 of their men to serve as a body-guard to the prince, all of whom were hospitably entertained at Borodale.

No situation could have been any where selected more suitable for the circumstances and designs of Charles than the abode he had chosen. Besides being one of the most remote and inaccessible places in the western Highlands of Scotland, it was surrounded on all sides by the territories of the most devoted adherents of the house of Stuart, by the descendants of the heroes of Kilsyth and Killiecrankie, in whose breasts the spirit of revenge had taken deep root, for the cruelties which had followed the short-lived insurrection of 1715, and the affronts to which they had been subjected under the disarming act. These mountaineers had long sighed for an opportunity of retaliation, and they were soon to imagine that the time for vengeance had arrived.

As soon as the landing of Charles was known, the whole neighbourhood was in motion, and repaired, "without distinction of age or sex,"⁵ to the house of Borodale, to see a man with whose success they considered the glory and happiness of their country to be inseparably associated. To gratify his warm-hearted and generous visitors, and to attain a full view of the assembled group, Charles seated himself in a conspicuous part of the room where a repast had been laid out for him and his friends. Here, amid the congregated spectators who feasted their eyes with the sight of the lineal descendant of a race of kings, endeared to them by many sorrowful recollections, the prince partook of the fare provided by his kind host, with a cheerfulness which banished all reflection of the past or care for the future. At the conclusion of the repast, Charles drank the grace-drink in English, which, of course, was understood only by a few of the persons present. The guest, to whom we are indebted

⁴ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 481. Note to *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 13.

⁵ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 482.

for this account, says, that when his turn came to propose a toast, wishing to distinguish himself, he gave "the king's health" in Gaelic in an audible voice,—“Deoch slaint an Rìgh.” When the prince was informed that his father's health had been drunk, he requested the gentleman who had proposed it to pronounce the words again in Gaelic, that he might repeat them himself. This being done, Charles repeated the words, and understanding that the proposer was skilful in Gaelic, the prince intimated to him that he would henceforth take instructions from him in that language. The same individual, afterwards, by desire, gave also the healths of the prince, and his brother “the duke,” in Gaelic.⁷ Such condescension and familiarity on the part of Charles were highly gratifying to the feelings of all present, and were better calculated to secure the affections of the unsophisticated people, into whose arms he had thrown himself, than all the pomp and circumstance of regal splendour.

Though the extreme rashness of young Clanranald and his friends, in thus exposing themselves to almost inevitable destruction, be quite inexcusable on the score of sober reason, yet it is impossible not to admire the daring intrepidity of the men, who, at the call of a friendless and unprotected youth, could commit themselves in a struggle with the government even before they had ascertained that a single clan, except their own, would join. Their devotedness to the cause of the Stuarts did not blind them, however, to the dangers to which they were about to expose themselves by declaring for the prince; but having now thrown away the scabbard, they resolved to cling to the cause which a feeling of fidelity prompted them to espouse, reckless of the consequences. “All may judge (says a gentleman of the clan), how hazardous an enterprise we were now engaged in, being for some time quite alone; but we resolved, notwithstanding, to follow our prince, and risk our fate with his.”⁸

Charles, before landing, had despatched messengers to several of the chiefs who were favourably disposed. From Borodale he again

sent off fresh messengers to all the chiefs from whom he expected assistance, requiring their attendance. Some of his friends, aware of his arrival, had, it is said, already held a meeting to consult as to the course they should pursue; at which Macdonald of Keppoch had given his opinion, that as the prince had risked his person, and generously thrown himself into the hands of his friends, they were bound, in duty at least, to raise men instantly for the protection of his person, whatever might be the consequences;⁹ but it does not appear that any such resolution was at that time adopted.

The person pitched upon to visit Lochiel on this occasion, was Macdonald, younger of Scot-house, who succeeded in inducing that chief to visit the prince at Borodale, but he went with a determination not to take up arms. On his way to Borodale he called at the house of his brother, John Cameron of Fassefern, who, on being told the object of his journey, advised Lochiel not to proceed, as he was afraid that the prince would prevail upon him to forego his resolution.¹ Lochiel, firm in his determination, as he imagined, told his brother that his reasons for declining to join the prince were too strong to be overcome, and pursued his journey.

Donald Cameron of Lochiel, on whose final determination the question of a civil war was now to depend, (for it seems to be universally admitted, that if Lochiel had declined to take up arms the other chiefs would have also refused,) though called young Lochiel by the Highlanders, from his father being still alive, was rather advanced in life. His father, for the share he had taken in the insurrection of 1715, was attainted and in exile. In consequence of the attainder, young Lochiel had succeeded to the family estates upon the death of his grandfather, Sir Ewen Cameron, in 1719. Sir Ewen, the reader knows, had served with distinction under Montrose and Dundee, and his son and grandson had inherited from the old warrior a devoted attachment to the house of Stuart, which no change of circumstances had been ever able to eradicate. The Chevalier de St. George, sensible of the inflexible integrity of the young chief, and of the great influ-

⁷ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 453. Idem.

⁹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 17.

¹ *Home's Rebellion*, p. 42.

ence which he enjoyed among his countrymen on account of the uprightness of his character, and as being at the head of one of the most powerful of the clans, had invested him with full powers to negotiate with his friends in Scotland, on the subject of his restoration.² Knowing the confidence which was so deservedly reposed in him, he was consulted on all occasions by the Jacobites in the Highlands, and, as has been elsewhere observed, was one of the seven who, in the year 1740, signed the bond of association to restore the Chevalier. Upon the failure of the expedition of 1743, young Lochiel had urged the prince to continue his exertions to get another fitted out; but he was averse to any attempts being made without foreign assistance, and cautioned the prince accordingly.³

Among the chiefs who were summoned to Borodale, Lochiel was the first to appear, and he immediately had a private interview with the prince. Charles told him that he meant to be quite candid, and to conceal nothing; he reprobated in severe terms the conduct of the French ministry, who, he averred, had long amused him with fair promises, and had at last deceived him. He admitted that he had but a small quantity of arms, and very little money; that he had left France without concerting anything, or even taking leave of the French court,—that he had, however, before leaving, written to the French king and his ministers soliciting succours, which he was persuaded they would send as soon as they saw that he really had a party in Scotland,—that he had appointed Earl Marischal his agent at the court of France,—

² A tribute to the memory of Lochiel, who died in 1748, appeared in the Scots Magazine of that year, part of which we quote :—

Mistaken as he was, the man was just,
Firm to his word, and faithful to his trust :
He bade not others go, himself to stay,
As is the pretty, prudent, modern way ;
But, like a warrior, bravely drew his sword,
And rear'd his target for his native lord.
Humane he was, protected countries tell ;
Se rude an host was never rul'd so well.
Fatal to him, and to the cause he lov'd,

and that he depended much upon the zeal and abilities of that nobleman, who would himself superintend the embarkation of the succours he was soliciting.

While Lochiel admitted the engagements which he and other chiefs had come under to support the cause, he observed that they were binding only in the event of the stipulated aid being furnished; and as his royal highness had come over without such support, they were released from the engagements they had contracted. He therefore reiterated his resolution



Donald Cameron of Lochiel.—From the original painting in possession of Mrs Cameron-Campbell of Monzie.

not to join in the present hopeless attempt, and advised his royal highness to return to France and await a more favourable opportunity. Charles, on the other hand, maintained, that an opportunity more favourable

Was the rash tumult which his folly mov'd ;
Compell'd, by hard necessity to bear,
In *Gallia's* bands, a mercenary spear !
But heav'n in pity to his honest heart,
Resolv'd to snatch him from so poor a part.
The mighty mandate unto death was given,
And good LOCHIEL is now a Whig in heaven.

³ Letter from Lochiel under the signature of "Dar.," Feb. 22d, 1745, in *Stuart Papers*.

than the present might never occur again,—that, with the exception of a very few newly raised regiments, all the British troops were occupied abroad. He represented, that the regular troops now in the kingdom were insufficient to withstand the body of Highlanders his friends could bring into the field; and he stated his belief, that if in the outset he obtained an advantage over the government forces, the country in general would declare in his favour, and his friends abroad would at once aid him,—that every thing, in fact, now depended upon the Highlanders,—and that to accomplish the restoration of his father, it was only necessary that they should instantly declare themselves and begin the war.

These arguments, which, as the result showed, were more plausible than solid, had no effect upon Lochiel, who continued to resist all the entreaties of Charles to induce him to alter his resolution. Finding the prince utterly averse to the proposal made to him to return to France, Lochiel entreated him to be more moderate in his views. He then suggested, that Charles should send his attendants back to France; that he himself should remain concealed in the country; that a report should be circulated that he also had returned to France, and that the court of France should be made acquainted with the state of matters, and informed that his friends would be ready to take up arms upon the first notice of a landing, but that nothing could be done without foreign support. Charles, however, rejected this proposal also, and told Lochiel, that the court of France would never be convinced that he had a considerable party in Scotland, till there was an actual insurrection, without which he was afraid they would not venture their troops.

As a last shift, Lochiel suggested, that Charles should remain at Borodale till he and other friends should hold a meeting, and concert what was best to be done. With an impatience which spurned delay, Charles would not even listen to the proposal, and declared his firm determination to take the field, however small the number of his attendants might be. "In a few days," said he, "with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain,

that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors—to win it, or to perish in the attempt: Lochiel, whom my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and from the newspapers, learn the fate of his prince." This appeal was irresistible. "No!" exclaimed Lochiel, "I'll share the fate of my prince; and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power."⁴

Having extorted an acquiescence from Lochiel, who, impelled by a mistaken but chivalrous sense of honour, thus yielded to the prince's entreaties in spite of his own better judgment, Charles resolved to raise his standard at Glenfinnan on the 19th of August. Accordingly, he despatched letters from Borodale on the 6th, to the various chiefs who were favourably disposed, informing them of his intention, and requiring the presence of them and their followers at Glenfinnan on the day appointed, or as soon thereafter as possible. Lochiel, at the same time, returned to his own house, whence he despatched messengers to the leading gentlemen of his clan to raise their men, and to hold themselves in readiness to march with him to Glenfinnan.

After sending off his messengers, Charles left Borodale for the house of Kinlochmoidart, about seven miles from Borodale, whither he and his suite had been invited by the proprietor to spend a few days, while the preparations for the appointed meeting were going on. Charles and his party went by sea, and their baggage and some artillery were forwarded by the same conveyance; but the body-guard, which had been provided by Clanranald, proceeded by land along the heads of two intervening bays. While at the hospitable mansion of his friend, Charles expressed his sense of the services of Kinlochmoidart in the warmest terms, offered him a colonel's commission in a regiment of dragoons, and promised him a peerage.⁵

During Charles's stay at Kinlochmoidart,

⁴ Home, p. 43.

⁵ As an inducement to favour his restoration, the Chevalier de St. George promised to ennoble a considerable number of his friends. Patents of nobility were accordingly made out and signed in favour of all the Jacobite chiefs and other leading supporters of the cause. See letter from the Chevalier to the prince, 7th Nov., 1747, in *Stuart Papers*.

the arming of the Highlanders went on with extraordinary alacrity ; and several days before the prince's departure for Glenfinnan, detached parties of armed Highlanders were to be seen perambulating the country in different directions. Though three weeks had elapsed since the arrival of the prince, and although Kinlochmoidart was only about thirty miles from Fort William, yet so effectually had his arrival been concealed from the officers of the government in the Highlands, that it was not until they received intelligence of these movements, that they began even to suspect his arrival. Alarmed by reports which reached him for the safety of Fort William, around which Lochiel and Keppoch were assembling their men, the governor of Fort Augustus despatched, on the 16th of August, two companies of the second battalion of the Scots Royals, under the command of Captain (afterwards General) Scott, to reinforce that garrison ; but they did not reach their destination, having been taken prisoners by a party of Lochiel's and Keppoch's men. As this occurrence may be regarded as the commencement of hostilities, and as it is strongly characteristic of the ardour with which the Highlanders took the field at the command of their chiefs, the details of it may not here be considered as out of place.

At the period in question, as well as at the time of the previous insurrection of 1715, the country between Fort William and Inverness was inhabited altogether by disaffected clans ; mainly to overawe whom, the chain of forts, namely, Fort William, Fort Augustus, and Fort George, which reach across the Highlands from the east to the west sea, was placed. In the centre of these, or almost equidistant between Fort William and Fort George, stands Fort Augustus, the distance between which and fort William is twenty-eight miles. To keep up a regular communication between the garrisons of the two last mentioned forts, a road, as we have seen, was made by order of the government along the sides of the mountains which skirt the narrow lakes, which now form part of the bed of the Caledonian canal. It was along this road that the detachment in question marched. That they might reach Fort William the same day—there being no place on the road where so many men could

have taken up their quarters during night—they left Fort Augustus early in the morning of the 16th of August, and met with no interruption till they arrived at High Bridge, within eight miles of Fort William. This bridge, which consists of one arch of great height, is built across the river Spean,—a mountain torrent confined between high and steep banks. On approaching the bridge the ears of the party were saluted by the sound of a bagpipe,—a circumstance which could excite little surprise in the Highlands ; but when they observed a body of Highlanders on the other side of the bridge with swords and firelocks in their hands, the party became alarmed.

The Highlanders who had posted themselves at the bridge, were of Keppoch's clan, and were under the command of Macdonald of Tierndrieich ; and though they did not consist of more than eleven or twelve persons, yet by leaping and skipping about, moving from place to place, and extending their plaids between one another to give themselves a formidable appearance, they impressed Captain Scott with an idea that they were a pretty numerous body. He therefore halted his men, and sent forward a sergeant with his own servant towards the bridge to reconnoitre ; but when they came near the bridge they were seized and carried across by two nimble Highlanders, who unexpectedly darted upon them. Seeing the fate of his messengers, knowing that he was in a disaffected district, and ignorant of the strength of the Highlanders, Captain Scott deemed it more advisable to retreat than risk an encounter. He, therefore, ordered his men to face about, and return by the road they had come. Tierndrieich had for some time observed the march of these troops, and had sent expresses to Lochiel and Keppoch, whose houses were within three or four miles of High Bridge, announcing their advance, and demanding assistance. Expecting immediate aid, and not wishing to display his weakness, which, from the openness of the ground near the bridge, would have been easily discernible, he did not follow Scott immediately, but kept at a distance till the troops had passed the west end of Loch Lochy, and were upon the narrow road between the lake and the mountain. The Highlanders thereupon made their appearance, and ascend-

ing the craggy eminences which overhang the road, and, sheltering themselves among the rocks and trees, began to fire down upon the retreating party, who, in place of returning the fire, accelerated their pace.

Before this fire had been opened, bands of Highlanders were proceeding in the direction of the bridge to assist in the attack. Upon hearing the report of the fire-arms, these hastened to the place whence the firing proceeded, and in a short time a considerable body joined the party under Tierndriech. Captain Scott continued his march rapidly along the loch, and when he reached the east end, he observed some Highlanders on a hill at the west end of Loch Oich, where they had assembled apparently for the purpose of intercepting him on his retreat. Disliking the appearance of this body, which stood in the direct way of his retreat, Scott resolved to throw himself for protection into Invergary castle, the seat of Macdonell of Glengarry, and accordingly crossed the isthmus between the two lakes. This movement, however, only rendered his situation more embarrassing, as he had not marched far when he perceived another body of Highlanders, the Macdonells of Glengarry, coming down the opposite hill to attack him. In this dilemma he formed his men into a hollow square, and proceeded on his march. Meanwhile, Tierndriech having been reinforced by a party of Keppoch's men, headed by the chief, hastened the pursuit, and soon came up with the fugitives. To spare the effusion of blood, Keppoch advanced alone to Scott's party, required them to surrender, and offered them quarters; but assured them, that, in case of resistance, they would be cut to pieces. Fatigued with a long march, and surrounded on all sides by increasing bodies of Highlanders, Captain Scott, who had been wounded, and had had two of his men killed, accepted the terms offered, and surrendered. This affair was scarcely over, when Lochiel arrived on the spot with a party of Camerons, and took charge of the prisoners, whom he carried to his own house at Achnacarie. The result of this singular rencounter, in which the Highlanders did not lose a single man, was hailed by them as the harbinger of certain success, and they required no farther inducement to prosecute

the war thus auspiciously begun, as they imagined.⁶

Charles, to whom it may be supposed intelligence of this affair was instantly sent, left Kinlochmoidart on the 18th of August, on which day he went by water to the seat of Alexander Macdonald of Glenalladale, on the side of Loch Shiel, where he was joined by Gordon of Glenbucket, who brought with him Captain Sweetenham, an English officer of Guise's regiment, who had been taken prisoner by a party of Keppoch's men while on his way to Fort William to inspect that fortress. The prince passed the night at Glenalladale, and with his attendants, who amounted to about 25 persons, proceeded about six o'clock next morning, in three boats, to Glenfinnan, and landed within a few hours at the east end of Loch Shiel, where the little river Finnan falls into the lake.

Glenfinnan, the place appointed for the rendezvous, is a narrow vale bounded on both sides by high and rocky mountains, between which the river Finnan runs. This glen forms the inlet from Moirdart into Lochaber, and at its gorge is about fifteen miles west from Fort William. On landing, the prince was received by the laird of Morar at the head of 150 men, with whom he marched to Glenfinnan, where he arrived about eleven o'clock. Charles, of course, expected to find a large "gathering of the clans" in the vale awaiting his approach; but, to his great surprise, not a human being was to be seen throughout the whole extent of the lonely glen, except the solitary inhabitants of the few huts which formed the hamlet. Chagrined and disappointed, Charles entered one of these hovels to ruminate over the supposed causes which might have retarded the assembling of his friends. After waiting about two hours in anxious suspense, he was relieved from his solicitude by the distant sound of a bagpipe, which broke upon his ear, and by its gradual increase, it soon became evident that a party was coming in the direction of the glen. While all eyes were turned towards the point whence the sound proceeded, a dark mass was seen overtopping the hill and descending its side. This was the clan Cameron, amounting

⁶ Home, p. 46.—Kirkconnel MS.—Tour in the Highlands. Lond., 1819.

to between 700 and 800 men, with Lochiel, their chief, at their head. They advanced in two columns, of three men deep each, with the prisoners who were taken in the late scuffle between the lines.

If in the state of suspense in which he was kept after entering Glenfinnan, the spirits of Charles suffered a temporary depression, they soon recovered their wonted buoyancy when he beheld the gallant band which now stood before him. Without waiting, therefore, for the other clans who were expected to join, the prince at once resolved to raise his standard, and to declare open war against "the Elector of Hanover," as George II. was called, "and his adherents." The Marquis of Tullibardine, to whom, from his rank, was allotted the honour of unfurling the standard, took his station on a small knoll in the centre of the vale,⁷ where, supported by two men, he displayed the banner, and proclaimed the Chevalier de St. George as king before the assembled host, who rent the air with their acclamations. The flag used upon this occasion was of silk, of a white, blue, and red texture, but without any motto. After proclamation, a commission from the Chevalier de St. George, appointing his son Prince Charles regent of these kingdoms, was read by the Marquis of Tullibardine.

The reading of this commission was succeeded by the following manifesto:—

"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 borne 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 amongst 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 spite 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 heart 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 furnished us with the means of doing effectually by enabling our good subjects in England to shake off the yoke, under which they have likewise felt their share of the common calamities. Our former experience leaves us no room to doubt of the cheer-

⁷ A monument was erected by the late Alexander M'Donald of Glenalladale, on the spot where the standard was unfurled; it bears the following inscription in Latin, Gaelic, and English:—"On this spot, where Prince Charles Edward first raised his standard, on the 19th day of August, 1745; when he made the daring and romantic attempt to recover a throne lost by the imprudence of his ancestors; this column is erected by Alexander M'Donald, Esq. of Glenalladale, to commemorate the generous zeal, the undaunted bravery, and the inviolable fidelity of his forefathers, and the rest of those who fought and bled in that arduous and unfortunate enterprise."

ful 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 mis-carriages from returning to their duty, and being restored to the happiness they formerly enjoyed, we in this public 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 likewise 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, conform 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 tranquillity 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 show 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 manufactures 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 aforesaid, 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 vassals 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 royal 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 publicly 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 stewardries, 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.”

After this manifesto had been read, the Marquis of Tullibardine returned to the prince's quarters with the standard under an escort of 50 Camerons. In about an hour after the conclusion of this ceremony, Macdonald of Keppoch joined the prince with 300 of his men; and in the evening some gentlemen of the name of Macleod, displeased with the conduct of their chief, arrived at Glenfinnan, proffered their services to the prince, and offered to return to Skye, and raise all the men they could in support of his cause. On arriving at Glenfinnan, Macdonald of Tierndrieck presented the prince with an excellent horse which he had taken from Captain Scott. The animated appearance of the glen, which now resounded with the martial strains of the pibroch, contrasted strongly with the solitary gloom which prevailed when the prince entered it. Instead of the small party which joined him in the morning, Charles found himself within a few hours at the head of a body of about 1,200 brave and resolute men, warmly attached to his person and cause, at least those of them who were chiefs, and ready and willing to hazard their lives in his service. Charles was exceedingly delighted at the appearance of his little army, and it has been observed that at no other time did he look more cheerful or display a greater buoyancy of spirits.⁷

⁷ Jacobite Memoirs, p. 24.

Of the many singular circumstances attending this extraordinary insurrection, the utter ignorance in which the personage in whose name it was undertaken was kept, is not the least. Charles had indeed written his father on the eve of his departure from France, acquainting him with the resolution he had taken, but before his letter reached Rome, the prince was actually at the head of his army. The object of Charles in concealing his design from the Chevalier is obvious. He was aware that his father would have opposed such a rash attempt, and might probably have applied to the court of France to prevent his departure; and having taken his resolution, he was determined not to put it in jeopardy by too timely an announcement of his intentions. Whatever opinion may *now* be formed of the prudence of an undertaking, which, had it succeeded, would have been considered as one of the boldest strokes of political wisdom, there can be but one sentiment as to the conduct of the prince, in thus withholding from his parent all knowledge of the design he had formed for accomplishing the object of his daring ambition. Though under the corrupt influence of a few interested persons, whom he kept about his person,⁸ he still retained a sufficient portion of filial respect to prevent him from violating the declared injunctions of his father; and as no opposition short of actual violence could have induced him to forego his resolution of going to Scotland, he avoided the disagreeable alternative of disregarding the commands which his father would have laid upon him by taking the course he did.

When the Chevalier de St. George received the prince's letter, which informed him that he was to proceed instantly to Scotland, he was greatly surprised and agitated;⁹ but as the step had been taken, he became reconciled to it, and even could not help applauding the courage of the prince in entering upon the enterprise. Writing to the Duke of Ormond, on the 11th of August, the Chevalier says, “I have now by me your letters of the 14th July,

⁸ See extract Letter from the Chevalier to O'Bryan, 16 August, 1745, in *Stuart Papers*.

⁹ Writing to O'Bryan, he says, (11 August, 1745.) “Je vous avoue que ma surprise et mon agitation étoient grandes en apprennant cette nouvelle.”—*Stuart Papers*.

and of the 27th, which last came by the courier, which brought me an account of the resolution the prince had taken, and executed without consulting me, for he was very sure I would not have approved it, tho' I cannot but say, that the courage and sentiments he shows on this occasion, will always do him honor."¹ Again in writing to his agent, Sempil, on the same day, he observes, "What takes me up wholly at present, is the resolution the prince has taken and executed, without my knowledge. . . . The question now is to look forward, and not to blame what is past. It is true, I never should have advised the prince to have taken such a step, but since it is taken it must be supported, and whatever be the event, it will certainly turn much to the prince's personal honor, nay, even something may be said to justify what he has done. The usage he met with in France, and the dread of a peace, were no doubt strong motives to push him on a rash undertaking, than to sit still; and who knows but what has happened, may, in some measure, force the court of France out of shame to support him, while otherwise perhaps they had continued to neglect him, and then have abandoned him at last. . . . The prince's example will, I hope, animate our friends in England; he has ventured generously for them, and if they abandon him, they themselves, and indeed our country, will be ruined."

It had always been the opinion of the Chevalier—an opinion which experience has shown was well founded—that no attempt on Scotland could possibly succeed, unless accompanied by a simultaneous landing in England; and he now saw the necessity of enforcing this consideration more strongly than ever upon the court of France. In the letter which Charles had sent him, he desired his father to write to the King of France and Cardinal Tencin, entreating them for support. The Chevalier, however, did not confine himself to the king and to the cardinal, but addressed himself also to the Marechal de Noailles, and the whole of the French ministers. Alluding to the necessity of supporting the prince by a descent on England, the Chevalier says in the letter to Ormond, from which a quotation has already

¹ *Stuart Papers.*

been made; "Enfin, since the step is taken, it is certainly incumbent on all of us to do our best to support it, and I am very sure nothing will be wanting on your side for that effect. My darkness, my anxiety, and the multiplicity of my reflections on this occasion, are so great that I shall not pretend to enlarge on this subject at present. In the mean time, I now write to Lord Marischal by the way of Paris, and write also directly to the King of France, and all the ministers, for without a landing in England is soon made, humanly speaking, it will be impossible for the prince to succeed." He repeats almost the same observations in his letter to Sempil, also referred to: "I know not particularly the grounds he (the prince) goes upon, but I am afraid there is little room to hope he will succeed, except he be vigorously supported by the court of France; and, therefore, we must all of us in our different spheres leave nothing undone for that effect. I now write myself to the King of France and all the ministers, and we must be all of us more than ever solely and wholly intent on the great object."

But the Chevalier, in his anxiety to procure early succours for the prince, did not confine himself to words. To pay off the debts which Charles had contracted before his departure, he immediately remitted a sum of 200,000 francs to O'Bryan, his chief agent at Paris, and placed another sum of 50,000 francs in the hands of Waters, junior, his banker in Paris, at the disposal of O'Bryan, to meet instant contingencies.² He afterwards remitted to Waters, through Belloni, his banker at Rome, 80,000 Roman crowns, and promised another remittance of 28,000 in a few weeks, which, he said, would exhaust his treasury.

In his letter to the King of France, the Chevalier informed him that he had learned with great astonishment the departure of the prince for Scotland; that knowing well he would never have approved of such a step, he

² "J'ai, (says the Chevalier to O'Bryan, 16th Aug. 1745,) envoyé la semaine passée 200,000 francs à Paris pour payer ce que le Prince avait emprunté avant que de partir, et j'espère en cas de besoin pouvoir lever quelque argent sur quelques petits fonds qui me restent icy, et sur les pierreries du Prince même, mais tout cela n'ira pas fort loin, et a moins que la France ne la secours largement, je ne sçai ce que arrivera."—*Stuart Papers.*

had taken his resolution and put it into effect without consulting him ; but that being done, he was obliged in sincerity to confess that he could not but admire the conduct of the prince in entering upon the enterprise, which, he was certain, would make a great and favourable impression upon the minds of his adherents. He stated, however, his conviction, that without the aid of a foreign force it was utterly impossible for the prince to succeed, and he entreated his majesty to furnish the necessary assistance. He reminded him that the prince had been invited by him into France, and although a year and a half had since elapsed, that he certainly had not forgot the object which brought his son thither; and that a crisis had now arrived, when the smallest delay on the part of his majesty might be attended with danger to the success of the brave attempt which the prince had made, and that he might now, at little risk and at a small expense, finish the work which the prince was about to commence. As to himself personally, the Chevalier informed Louis that he had formerly intimated to him that he intended to resign his rights to the prince; and that his intentions were still the same, with this difference, however, that while he formerly considered that such a step would be advantageous for his family, it had now become indispensably necessary for his own honour, on account of his infirmities, as he considered that he should act rashly, and be guilty of bad faith towards his subjects, if he pretended to take upon himself the cares of government, when he was incapable of any fatigue either of body or of mind, and consequently unable to discharge the duties of a sovereign.

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CHAPTER XXX.

A. D. 1745.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN :—George II., 1727—1760.

Conduct of the Government—Intelligence of the Prince's arrival reaches Edinburgh—Contradictory reports—Preparations of Sir John Cope—Marches to the North—Resolves to march to Inverness—Prince Charles issues a proclamation—Leaves Glenfinnan and crosses Corriearrick—Flight of Cope to Inverness—The Prince marches South—Arrives at Perth—Joined by Lord George Murray and others—

Preparations made by the Prince—Alarm in Edinburgh—Association of Volunteers formed—Municipal intrigues.

No event was less expected on the part of the government than the landing of Charles Edward. A flying report had, indeed, been spread in the Highlands in the beginning of summer, that the prince was to come over in the course of that season; but no person, not in the secret of his design, could have imagined that Charles had any intention to risk his person without being accompanied by a sufficient body of troops, and no disposition appeared on the part of France to assist him.

The report alluded to was first communicated in a letter from "a gentleman of consideration in the Highlands" to Lord President Forbes, who, on the 2d of July, showed it to Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief in Scotland. Little credit was, however, attached to the report, either by the writer of the letter or by the president. Cope, though equally incredulous, considered it his duty to communicate the report to the Marquis of Tweeddale, the secretary of state for Scotland; and to provide against any contingency that might occur, he proposed that the forts of Scotland should be well provided, and that arms should be transmitted for the use of the well-affected clans. In an answer which the marquis wrote upon the 9th, he ordered Cope to keep a strict watch upon the north, but informed him, that, as the measures he proposed were considered by the lords of the regency acting in behalf of the king during his majesty's absence in Hanover, as likely to create alarm, they had declined to enter into them.³

But the lords of the regency were soon aroused from their supineness by advices from abroad that the French court was meditating an invasion of Great Britain, and that the eldest son of the Pretender had left Nantes in a French man-of-war, and, according to some accounts, was actually landed in Scotland. On the 30th of July, the Marquis of Tweeddale wrote to Sir John Cope, communicating to him the news which had just been received, and despatched letters of the same date to Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk,⁴ and to the

³ Cope's Trial, p. 105. Home, p. 51.

⁴ Appendix to Home's works, No. V.

Lord Advocate, with similar intelligence, and enjoining them to keep a strict look out,—to concert what was proper to be done in the event of a landing,—to give the necessary orders for making the strictest inquiry into the truth of the intelligence,—and to transmit to the marquis, from time to time, such information as they were able to collect. The Lords Justices, however, without waiting for a return to these letters, issued, on the 6th of August, a proclamation, commanding all his majesty's officers, civil and military, and all other loving subjects of his majesty, to use their utmost endeavours to seize and secure the son of the Pretender, promising at the same time a reward of £30,000 to any one who should seize Prince Charles, and "bring him to justice."

The express sent by the Marquis of Tweeddale reached Edinburgh on the 3d of August, but the advices which had been received in London had preceded it. The Lord President, in a letter written the day before to Mr. Pelham,⁵ mentions the alarm which, in a state of profound tranquillity, these advices had created. The report, however, of the prince's intended visit was discredited by the President, who considered the "young gentleman's game" to be then "very desperate" in Scotland, the President believing that there was not "the least apparatus for his reception, even amongst the few Highlanders who were expected to be in his interest." As, however, where there was so much at stake, the President wisely judged that no report respecting the prince's movements, however improbable, was to be disregarded, he resolved to make his accustomed journey to the north a little earlier than usual, to the end that, though, as he himself observes, his "fighting days" were over, he might give countenance to the friends of government, and prevent the seduction of the unwary, should the report turn out well-founded. On the 8th of August, Forbes wrote the Marquis of Tweeddale, stating that the Lord Advocate and Sir John Cope had informed him of the advices which had been received from abroad, but expressing his disbelief of the report, which he considered "highly improbable." "I consider the report as improbable," he

observes, "because I am confident that young man cannot with reason expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands. Some loose lawless men of desperate fortunes may indeed resort to him; but I am persuaded that none of the Highland gentlemen, who have ought to lose, will, after the experience with which the year 1715 furnished them, think proper to risque their fortunes on an attempt which to them must appear desperate; especially as so many considerable families amongst themselves have lately uttered their sentiments; unless the undertaking is supported by an arm'd power from abroad, or seconded by an invasion on some other part of his majesty's dominions."⁶ To provide against any emergency which might arise in the north, his lordship proposed first, that a sufficient number of arms should be lodged in the forts in the Highlands, with directions by whom, and to whom they might be delivered out,—a proposal the same in substance as that made by Sir John Cope; and secondly, that money or credit should be lodged in the hands of confidential persons in the north, for the use of the public service. This last-mentioned measure he considered the more necessary, as it could not be expected, as he observed, that private individuals would come forward with money, when they recollected that several gentlemen, who, in the year 1715, had advanced large sums out of their pockets for the public service, had not even been repaid, far less rewarded by the government.

The Lord President, though a man of sound judgment, and gifted with a considerable portion of political foresight, was in this instance deceived in his speculations; and Lord Tweeddale, perhaps misled by the President, on whose personal knowledge of the state of the Highlands he placed great reliance, adopted the same views. In an answer to the President's letter, which the marquis wrote on the 17th of August, he thus expresses himself: "I own I have never been alarmed with the reports of the Pretender's son's landing in Scotland. I consider it as a rash and desperate attempt, that can have no other consequence than the ruin of those concerned in it."⁷

⁵ *Culloden Papers*, p. 203.

⁶ *Idem*, p. 204.

Idem, p. 208.

On the same day, however, on which the President's letter to Lord Tweeddale was written, all doubts of the arrival and landing of the prince were removed at Edinburgh. An express came from Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, then at Roseneath, to Sir John Cope, with a letter dated the 5th, which he had received from Mr. Campbell of Stonefield, sheriff of Argyle, in which was contained a copy of a letter received by the latter from Mr. Campbell of Aird, factor to the Duke of Argyle in Mull and Morvern, announcing the landing of the prince in Arisaig, and stating that some of the Macdonalds were already up in arms, and that other Highlanders were preparing to follow their example. This news was confirmed next day, by another express from the laird of Macleod to the Lord President, dated the 3d of August.⁷

This intelligence, which at first was withheld from the public, was shortly followed by the arrival of the Gazette, containing the proclamation for the apprehension of the prince. Nothing was now talked of at Edinburgh but the threatened invasion. In the state of ignorance in which the public was still kept, the most contradictory reports were circulated. A rumour of the departure of Charles from France had indeed been inserted in the Edinburgh Courant a few days before, and the same paper had also, on the back of this report, stated, upon the alleged information of a foreign journal, that the prince had actually landed in the Highlands, and was to be supported by 30,000 men and 10 ships of war; but neither of these statements appears to have excited any sensation, being generally discredited.⁸ Now, however, every person firmly believed that the prince had arrived. One day it was confidently asserted that he had landed in the western Highlands with 10,000 French troops. Next day it was affirmed with equal confidence that he had landed without troops; but that wherever he came the Highlanders to a man had joined him. On the other hand, the Jacobites, who were in the secret of the arrival, anxious to conceal the fact till Charles should be ready to take the field, industriously circulated a report that

he was still in France, and had not the least intention of coming over. To divert the public attention, they had recourse to the weapons of ridicule. In their conversation they represented the preparations of the commander-in-chief in a ludicrous light; and to make him contemptible in the eyes of the public, sent him anonymous letters containing most absurd articles of intelligence, which they afterwards circulated with scurrilous comments.⁹

In the present crisis Sir John Cope acted with more wisdom than has been usually ascribed to him, and certainly with more energy than his superiors. Not wishing, however, to trust entirely to his own judgment, he consulted Lord President Forbes, and the Lord Advocate and Solicitor General, the law-officers of the crown, upon the course to be adopted under existing circumstances. No man was better acquainted with every thing appertaining to the Highlands than Forbes; and in fixing upon him as an adviser, Cope showed a laudable desire to avail himself of the best advice and information within his reach. At the period now in question, the insurrection was in a merely inceptive state; and, according to the opinions of those best qualified to judge, there was little probability that it would assume a formidable character. At all events, sound policy dictated that the threatened insurrection should be checked in its bud, and as its progress could only be stopped by the presence of a body of troops, Cope proposed, and his proposal received the approbation of the three public functionaries before named, to march to the Highlands with such troops as he could collect. The number of regular troops in Scotland did not, it is true, amount to 3,000 men, and some of them were newly raised; but there can be little doubt that, by a timely and judicious disposition of about two-thirds of this force in the disaffected districts, the embers of rebellion might have been extinguished. The unfortunate result of Cope's expedition detracts in no respect from the design he thus formed, though the propriety of his subsequent measures may well indeed be questioned.

Having formed his resolution, the com

⁷ *Culloden Papers*, p. 203.

⁸ Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 46.

⁹ Home, p. 54.

mander-in-chief sent expresses to the Secretary of State for Scotland on the 9th and 10th of August, announcing his intention of marching to the Highlands. In pursuance of this resolution he ordered a camp to be formed at Stirling, and required all the officers who were absent from their regiments, to repair to their respective posts. About the same time he directed the Lord President to take the command of the companies raised in the north for Lord London's Highland regiment, and notified the appointment to the officers of the regiment commanding in that quarter. As there was no bread in the country through which he intended to march, he bought up all the biscuit which the bakers of Edinburgh and Leith had on hand, and set all the bakers there, as well as those of Perth and Stirling, to work night and day to prepare a quantity of bread sufficient to support his army for twenty-one days.¹

On receipt of Cope's letters, the Marquis of Tweeddale laid them before the Lords of the Treasury, who approved of the conduct of the commander-in-chief, and particularly of his resolution to march into the Highlands with such troops as he could assemble. The secretary notified the approbation of their lordships in a letter to Cope; and so satisfied were they with his plan, that when they understood that the march had been delayed only for a day or two, they sent down an express to him, with positive orders to begin his march to the north instantly. Their lordships seem not to have been aware of the causes which retarded his march, not the least of which was the want of money, a credit for which did not arrive till the 17th of August. The order to march reached Edinburgh on the 19th of August, on which day Cope, accompanied by the Earl of Loudon and several officers, set off for Stirling, where he arrived in the evening. Thus, by a singular coincidence, Charles and his opponent placed themselves at the head of their respective armies on the same day.

The force which Cope found upon his arrival at Stirling consisted of twenty-five companies of foot, amounting altogether to 1,400 men, and some of Gardiner's dragoons. Leaving the dragoons, which could be of no use in a

campaign among the mountains, behind him, Cope began his march towards the north on the 20th, carrying along with him four small field-pieces, as many cohorns, and 1,000 stand of spare arms for the use of such of the well-affected Highlanders as might join him. He carried also with him a considerable number of black cattle for the use of the army. Only a part, however, of the bread which had been ordered had arrived; but so anxious was Cope to obey his instructions, that he began his march with the limited supply he had received, after giving orders to forward the remainder as soon as it should arrive at Stirling.

Cope halted on the 21st at Crieff. He was here visited by the Duke of Athole, and his younger brother, Lord George Murray, the latter of whom, doubtless, little imagined he was to act the conspicuous part he afterwards did, as commander of the prince's army. The duke attended in consequence of a notice which Cope had sent to him and the other leading adherents of the government, through, or in the neighbourhood of whose territories he meant to pass, requiring them to raise their men; but neither the duke nor the other chiefs who had been applied to seem to have been disposed to obey the call. Lord Glenorchy, who arrived shortly after the duke and his brother, excused himself on the ground that he had not had sufficient time. As Cope had calculated upon the junction of a considerable body of Highlanders on his route, he was exceedingly disappointed that his expectations were not likely to be realized, and would have instantly retraced his steps had the orders of government allowed him a discretionary power; but his instructions were too peremptory to admit of a return to Stirling. Seeing, therefore, no use for the large quantity of spare arms, he sent 700 of them back to Stirling castle. This was a judicious step, as from the want of carriages he could not have got them transported to Inverness.²

On the 22d the army advanced to Amulree, where it stopped for a supply of bread. Next day it proceeded to Tay bridge, on the 24th to Trinfuir, reaching Dalnacardoch on the 25th of August. Here Cope was met by Captain

¹ Cope's Trial.

² Idem.

Sweetenham,—the officer who had been taken prisoner when on his way to Fort William from Ruthven, and who had been released on his parole. This officer informed Sir John that he was carried to Glenfinnan, where he saw the rebels erect their standard, and that when he left them on the 21st they amounted to 1,400 men,—that on the road to Dalwhinnie he had met several parties of Highlanders hastening to join them,—and that on arriving at Dalwhinnie he had been informed that they were 3,000 strong, and were in full march towards Corriearrick, where they intended to meet him and give him battle. Notwithstanding this alarming intelligence, Cope proceeded on his march, and arrived at Dalwhinnie next day. Here he received a letter from Lord President Forbes, written at his seat of Culloden near Inverness, corroborating the intelligence received from Sweetenham of the

advance of the rebels, and of their intention to meet him upon Corriearrick.

Corriearrick, of which the royal army had now come within sight, and over which it was Cope's intention to march into Lochaber, is, as we have already seen, a lofty mountain of immense extent, occupying no less than nine miles out of the eighteen that form the last day's march from Garviemore to Fort Augustus. It is extremely steep on the south side, and appears at a distance to rise almost as perpendicularly as a wall. Wade, we have seen, carried his road up this steep ascent by a series of many traverses, the descent on the north side being accomplished in much the same manner. As there are several gullies and brooks on the south side, bridges have been thrown across, over which the road is carried. These tortuosities, rendered absolutely necessary from the nature of the ground, almost

*I am in haste
Y^r Lord's most obed^t serv^t
Int. Cope*

Autograph of Sir John Cope, from an Original Manuscript in the possession of W. F. Watson, Esq.

quadruple the real distance, which, from base to base, does not exceed five miles. As the mountain was peculiarly fitted for the operations of Highlanders, it is evident that in attempting to cross Corriearrick, Cope, if attacked, would labour under every disadvantage; for while his men could not leave the road in pursuit of their assailants, the latter could keep a running fire from numerous positions, from which it would be impossible to dislodge them. Cope was warned by the President of the dangers he would run, and his fears were not a little increased by a report that, on arriving at the bridge of Snugborough, a dangerous pass on the north side of the mountain, he was to be opposed by a body of Highlanders; and that, while this party kept him employed, he was to be attacked in his rear by another body, which was to be sent round the west end of the hill.³

Alarmed at the intelligence he had received,—distracted by a variety of reports as to the strength of the enemy, and disgusted with the apathy of those on whose support he had relied, Cope called a council of war at Dalwhinnie, on the morning of the 27th of August, to which he summoned every field officer, and the commanders of the different corps of his little army. He would have acted more judiciously had he convened a council at Dalnacardoch, when he first received intelligence of the advance of the Highlanders. At this meeting, Cope laid before his officers the orders he had received from the secretary of state to march to the north, which were too positive to be departed from without the most urgent necessity. After some deliberation, the council were unanimously of opinion, that the gen-

³ Cope's Trial, p. 24. Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 50.

eral's original design of marching to Fort Augustus over Corriearrick, was, under existing circumstances, quite impracticable. Having abandoned the design of crossing Corriearrick, the council next considered what other course should be adopted. The wisest course certainly, if practicable, would have been to march back to Stirling, and guard the passes of the Forth; but against this proposal it was urged, that the rebels, by marching down the side of Loch Rannoch, would be able to reach Stirling before the king's troops, and that, by breaking down the bridges, they would intercept them in their retreat. As it was impossible to remain at Dalwhinnie, no other course therefore remained, in the opinion of the council, but to march to Inverness. This opinion, which was reduced to writing, and signed by all the members of the council, was delivered to Sir John Cope, who, acquiescing in its propriety, immediately issued an order to march. We must now advert to the proceedings of the prince and his friends.

Charles remained only one night at Glenfinnan. On the 20th of August he marched to the head of Loch Lochy, where he encamped. At this place, a copy of the proclamation for his apprehension was brought him, which exasperated the Highlanders to such a degree that they insisted on a counter one being issued, offering a reward for the apprehension of "the Elector of Hanover." Charles remonstrated against such a step, but he was forced to yield, and accordingly put forth the following answer:⁴

⁴ The prince thus relates the circumstances attending this affair in a letter to his father, dated from Perth, 10th September, 1745. "There is one thing, and but one, in which I had any difference with my faithful Highlanders. It was about the price upon my kinsman's head, which, knowing your Majesty's generous humanity, I am sure, will shock you, as it did me, when I was shown the proclamation, setting a price upon my head. I smiled, and treated it with the disdain I thought it deserved; upon which they flew into a violent rage, and insisted upon my doing the same by him. As this flowed solely from the poor men's love and concern for me, I did not know how to be angry with them for it, and tried to bring them to temper by representing that it was a mean barbarous principle among princes, and must dishonour them in the eyes of all men of honour; that I did not see how my cousin's having set me the example, would justify me in imitating that which I blame so much in him. But nothing I could say would pacify them. Some went even so far as to say,—'Shall we venture our lives for a man who seems so indifferent of his own?'

"Charles, Prince of Wales, &c., Regent of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging:

"Whereas we have seen a certain scandalous and malicious paper published in the style and form of a proclamation, bearing date the 6th instant, wherein, under pretence of bringing to justice, like our royal ancestor King Charles the I. of blessed memory, there is a reward of thirty thousand pounds sterling promised to those who shall deliver us into the hands of our enemies, we could not but be moved with a just indignation at so insolent an attempt. And though, from our nature and principles, we abhor and detest a practice so unusual among Christian princes, we cannot but, out of a just regard to the dignity of our person, promise the like reward of thirty thousand pounds sterling to him, or those, who shall seize and secure till our farther orders, the person of the Elector of Hanover, whether landed or attempting to land in any part of his majesty's dominions. Should any fatal accident happen from hence, let the blame be entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example." This proclamation, which was dated from the "camp at Kinlocheil," was countersigned by Murray of Broughton, who had lately joined the prince, and had been appointed his secretary.

On the 23d, the prince advanced to Fassfern, the seat of Lochiel's brother, where he passed the night. While at Fassfern, intelligence was received by the prince of the march of Sir John Cope from Stirling. Having previously sent off his baggage under an escort of 200 Camerons towards Moy, in Lochaber, Charles put his army in motion on the 24th, and arrived at Moy on the following day. On the 26th, the prince crossed the water of Lochy with his army, and proceeded to the castle of Invergarry, in which he took up his quarters for the night. During the night, he received an express from Gordon of Glenbucket, acquainting him, that Sir John Cope was considerably advanced in his march to the north, and that he intended to cross Corriearrick. About the same time, he was visited by Fraser

Thus have I been drawn in to do a thing for which I condemn myself.—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 32.

of Gortleach, who came to him in name of Lord Lovat, to assure him of his lordship's services. Fraser advised him to march north, and raise the Frasers of Stratherrick, and assured him that Sir Alexander Macdonald, the laird of Macleod, and many of the Mackenzies, Grants, and Mackintoshes, would join him; but the proposal was opposed by the Marquis of Tullibardine and secretary Murray, the latter of whom considered the early possession of Edinburgh, where he alleged there were many persons ready to join the ranks of the insurgents, of more importance than any advantages that might be derived by remaining in the Highlands.⁵

This opinion was adopted by Charles, who next morning proceeded to Abertarf in Glengarry. He was joined at Low Bridge by 260 of the Stewarts of Appin, under the command of Stewart of Ardshiel, and at Aberchallader, near the foot of Corriearrick, by 600 of the Macdonells of Glengarry, under the command of Macdonell of Lochgarry; and by a party of the Grants of Glenmoriston. With these accessions the force under Charles amounted to nearly 2,000 men. Charles now held a council of war to deliberate upon the course he should pursue,—whether to advance and give battle to Cope, or postpone an engagement till he should receive additional strength. It was clearly the interest of Charles to meet his adversary with as little delay as possible, and as his forces already outnumbered those opposed to him, he could not doubt but that the result of an engagement would be favourable to his arms. The council, every member of which was animated with an ardent desire to engage Cope, at once resolved to meet him. This resolution corresponded with the inclinations of the clans, all of whom, to use the expression of Fraser of Gortleach on the occasion, were “in top spirits,”⁶ and making sure of victory.

The determination of the council, and the valorous enthusiasm of the clans, acting upon the ardent mind of the prince, created an excitement, to which even he, with all his dreams of glory and ambition, had before been a stranger. The generous and devoted people into whose hands he had committed the des-

tinies of his house, struck with admiration by the condescension, and that easy yet dignified familiarity which never fails to secure attachment, were ready to encounter any danger for his sake. No man knew better than Charles how to improve the advantages he had thus obtained over the minds and affections of these hardy mountaineers. Becoming, as it were, one of themselves, he entered into their views,—showed an anxiety to learn their language, which he daily practised,—and finally resolved to adopt their dress. This line of policy endeared him to the Highlanders, and to it may be ascribed the veneration in which his memory is still held by their descendants, at the distance of more than a century. Having in this way inspired his faithful Highlanders with a portion of his own natural ardour, they in their turn, by the enthusiasm they displayed, raised his expectations of success to the highest possible pitch. A remarkable instance of this was exhibited before commencing the march next morning, when, after putting on his Highland dress, he solemnly declared, when in the act of tying the lachets of his shoes, that he would not unloose them till he came up with Cope's army.⁷

Desirous of getting possession of the defiles of Corriearrick before Cope should ascend that mountain, Charles began his march from Aberchallader at four o'clock on the morning of the 27th August. His army soon reached the top of the hill, and was beginning to descend on the south side, when intelligence was brought the prince, that Cope had given up his intention of crossing Corriearrick and was in full march for Inverness. Cope had put his army in motion the same morning towards Garvimore; but when his van reached Blarigg Beg, about seven miles and a half from Dalwhinnie, he ordered his troops to halt, to face about, and, in conformity with the opinion of his council, to take the road to Inverness by Ruthven. To deceive Charles, Cope had left behind, on the road to Fort Augustus, part of his baggage, some companies of foot, and his camp colours. The news of Cope's flight (for it was nothing else) was received by the Highland army with a rapturous shout, which was

⁵ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 442—484.

⁶ *Culloden Papers*, p. 216.

⁷ *Culloden Papers*, p. 216.

responded to by the prince, who, taking a glass of brandy, said, with a jeering smile, "Here's a health to Mr. Cope; he is my friend, and if all the usurper's generals follow his example, I shall soon be at St. James's." Every man, by the prince's orders, drank this toast in a glass of usquebaugh.⁸ The Highlanders immediately put themselves in motion, and marched down the traverses on the south side of the mountain with great celerity, as if in full pursuit of a flying enemy, on whose destruction they were wholly bent.

The Highland army continued the same rapid pace till it reached Garviemore, where it halted. A council of war was then held, at which various proposals were made for pursuing and intercepting the enemy; but none of them were agreed to. The council finally resolved to abandon the pursuit of Cope,—to march to the south, and endeavour to seize Edinburgh; the possession of which was considered, particularly by secretary Murray, as of the highest importance. This determination was by no means relished by the clans, who were eager for pursuing Cope, whose army they expected to have annihilated; but their chiefs having concurred in the resolution, they reluctantly acquiesced. A party of 600 Highlanders, however, volunteered to follow Cope under cloud of night; and undertook to give a good account of his army, but the prince dissuaded them from the enterprise.⁹

From Garviemore, Charles despatched Macdonald of Lochgary with a party of 200 men, to seize the small fort of Ruthven, in which there was a garrison of regular troops; but the vigilance of the commander rendered the attempt abortive, and the Highlanders were repulsed with a trifling loss. A party of Camerons, commanded by Dr. Cameron, was sent to the house of Macpherson of Cluny, the chief of the Macphersons, who commanded a company in the service of government, to apprehend him, and succeeded.¹

On the 29th of August, the Highland army was again put in motion, and advanced towards Dalnacardoch. At Dalwhinnie, they were rejoined by Dr. Cameron and his party, bring-

ing along with them Macpherson of Cluny, who, after a short interview with the prince, promised to raise his clan for his service. On giving this assurance he was released, and went home to collect his men. Next day, Charles marched to the castle of Blair, which had been abandoned by the Duke of Athole on his approach. The Marquis of Tullibardine took possession of the castle as his own property, and immediately assumed the character of host, by inviting Charles and the Highland chiefs to supper.² To make his guests as comfortable as possible, the marquis had written a letter from Dalnacardoch, to Mrs. Robertson of Lude, a daughter of Lord Nairne, desiring her to repair to the castle, to get it put in proper order, and to remain there to do the honours of the house on the prince's arrival.³

At Blair, Charles was joined by Lord Nairne, and several other Perthshire gentlemen; but the greater part of the resident gentry had fled on hearing of the entrance of the Highland army into Athole. Charles reviewed his army the morning after his arrival at the castle, when he found that a considerable number of his men were wanting. Some officers were immediately sent to bring them up, and the only reason they assigned for loitering behind, was that they had been denied the gratification of pursuing Cope.

From Blair, Charles sent forward Lord Nairne, and Lochiel, with 400 men, to take possession of Dunkeld, which they entered on the morning of the 3d of September. In this town they proclaimed the Chevalier. After remaining two days at the castle of Blair, Charles repaired on the 2d of September to the house of Lude, where he spent the night,⁴ and next day went to Dunkeld, whence he proceeded to Lord Nairne's house, on the road to Perth. While at dinner, the conversation turning upon the character of the enterprise, and the peculiarity of the prince's situation, some of the company took occasion to express their sympathy for the prince's father, on ac-

² Henderson's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 36.

³ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 26.

⁴ At Lude Charles "was very cheerful, and took his share in several dances, such as minuets, Highland reels, &c. The first reel the prince called for was 'This is no mine ain house,' &c., and a strathspey minuet."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 26.

⁸ Henderson's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 34.

⁹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 25.

¹ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 443—445.

count of the state of anxiety he would be in, from the consideration of those dangers and difficulties the prince would have to encounter. But Charles, without meaning to depreciate his father's cares, observed that he did not pity him half so much as his brother; "for," said he, "the king has been inured to disappointments and distresses, and has learnt to bear up easily under the misfortunes of life; but poor Harry! his young and tender years make him much to be pitied, for few brothers love as we do."⁵

Charles spent the night at Nairne-house, and proceeded next day to Perth, which had been taken possession of by a party of Camerons the preceding evening. Attired in a superb dress of tartan, trimmed with gold, and mounted on Captain Scott's charger, Charles entered the "fair city," attended by several gentlemen on horseback. They immediately repaired to the cross, and proclaimed the Chevalier; after which ceremony Charles was conducted, amid the acclamations of the people, to the house of Viscount Stormont, which had been provided for his residence while in Perth. The magistrates and some of the principal inhabitants, following the example set by many of the landed proprietors of the county, abandoned the city on the appearance of the Highlanders, and fled to Edinburgh. An advanced party under Macdonald of Keppoch, had been sent forward to seize Dundee; but being informed by some of the inhabitants, who met him on the road, that his force was too small for the purpose, Keppoch applied for a reinforcement, which was accordingly sent off from Perth, about midnight, under Clanranald. These detachments entered Dundee at day-break, and captured two vessels with arms and ammunition on board, which were sent up the Tay for the use of the royal army.

At Perth, Charles was joined by the Duke of Perth, Lord Ogilvie and Strathallan, Robertson of Strowan, Oliphant of Gask, and several other gentlemen; but the chief personage who rallied under Charles's standard at Perth, and was indeed among the first to appear there, was Lord George Murray,⁶ immediate younger brother to the Duke of Athole. He was con-

ducted by his eldest brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, into the presence of the prince. Lord George had taken a share in the insurrection of 1715, and was one of the few persons who joined the Spanish forces, which were defeated at Glenshiel in 1719. He afterwards went abroad, and served several years as an officer in the King of Sardinia's army; but having obtained a pardon, he returned from exile, and was presented to George I. by his brother the Duke of Athole. Lord George was tall in person, and though now past the meridian of life, retained all the qualities of a robust and vigorous constitution. Besides a natural genius for military operations, in which he had had considerable experience, Lord George was fertile in resources, indefatigable in application, and brave even to a fault. With sword in hand he was always the first to rush forward upon the enemy in the day of battle, often saying to his men, "I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but to follow me." The accession therefore of such a man, at such a crisis, was of the highest importance to the Jacobite cause. Charles, when at Glenfinnan, had conferred the post of quarter-master-general of the army on O'Sullivan. Aware of the brilliant qualifications of Lord George, the prince, almost immediately on his arrival at Perth, appointed him lieutenant-general, to the great satisfaction of the clans, to whom he was favourably known.

Lord George appointed the Chevalier Johnstone,⁷ who had also joined the prince at Perth, his aid-de-camp, and immediately entered on his duties with alacrity. Though the Highlanders acted in complete subordination to their chiefs when in the field of battle, they had so little idea of military discipline, that they would absent themselves without permission, and roam about the country. This happened more particularly on marches, when

⁵ The author of the *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745-6*. He was descended, it is believed, from an ancient and powerful family, the Johnstones of Wamphray. When the news of the prince's landing was confirmed at Edinburgh, where he lived with his father, Johnstone repaired to Duncrub, the seat of Lord Rollo, whose son was married to Johnstone's sister; and on the 6th of September, went from Duncrub to Perth, accompanied by two of Lord Rollo's daughters, who presented him to their relations the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray.—*Quarterly Review*, No. lxxi. p. 211. *Memoirs*, 2d edit. p. 16.

⁶ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 463.

⁶ See portrait at p. 672.

there was a scarcity of food, on which occasions they would spread themselves over the whole country, in straggling parties, in quest of provisions. The inconveniences and loss of time, and the great abuses to which such a practice led, had been strongly felt in the former insurrection, and had been witnessed by Lord George himself. To prevent a recurrence of such evils during the present contest, the first thing Lord George did, was to advise the prince to appoint proper persons to fill the commissariat department, by whose exertions an adequate supply of food might be provided for the use of the army, without which, he said, it would be impossible to keep the Highlanders together for any length of time. That no delay might take place in waiting for provisions, in forced marches, or in detached enterprises, which required despatch, he caused a considerable number of small knapsacks to be made, sufficient to contain a peck of meal each, which the men could carry on their backs without any inconvenience. A thousand of these knapsacks were sent to Crieff, for the use of the Athole men, who were to march south in that direction.⁸

The march of Charles into Athole had been so rapid and unexpected, that his friends in that district had had no time to gather any considerable force to join him on his route to Perth. He was, therefore, under the necessity of remaining a few days at Perth, to give his adherents time to raise their men. In mustering their tenants and vassals, some of them are said to have met with considerable difficulties from the unwillingness of their people to take up arms, and the Duke of Perth has been charged with the crime of shooting one or two

of his tenants, who were refractory, but the charge does not appear sufficiently supported.⁹

Another reason for Charles's stay in Perth was the want of money. His treasury had been completely drained by his liberal advances for the support of his army; and of the few thousand pounds which he brought with him from France, he had only one guinea remaining when he entered Perth. Taking the solitary coin from his pocket, he showed it to Kelly, one of the gentlemen who came over with him, and told him that it was all the money that now remained; but he added with an air of confidence, that the army had received a fortnight's pay in advance, and that before the expiration of another fortnight he would receive a fresh supply.¹ In order to meet pecuniary demands, Charles had despatched a circular from Kinlochiel on the 22d of August to his friends in different parts of Scotland, soliciting an immediate supply; but up to the time of his arrival at Perth no money appears to have reached him.² Shortly thereafter, however, his expectations began to be realized by some private pecuniary contributions sent by persons well affected to his cause, but who were afraid of openly declaring themselves.³ But Charles did not trust to such uncertain supplies to recruit his exhausted treasury. Besides compelling the city of Perth to contribute £500, he appointed persons in Perth,

⁸ "In the interior of the Highlands absolute submission seems to have been easily exacted; but in the outskirts, where, perhaps, there was a slight mingling of Lowland population, and where the people were not too blind to see that their leaders alone had an interest in the rising, considerable opposition was offered to the commands of the chief. This was conspicuously visible in the Athole territory. The chivalrous Tullibardine was much provoked by the obstinacy of the retainers of his house in the valleys round Dunkeld. They had to be repeatedly threatened with coercive measures, and appear to have been literally forced into the service by press-gangs from the other clans. He had been absent from the country during the whole interval between the rebellions, and his brother, who adopted the interest of the government, enjoyed his estate. He could not see that this affected his divine right as chief any more than it affected that of his royal master; but the clan appear to have imperfectly participated in such a principle, and to have abandoned, as he expressed it, the virtues of their ancestors."—*Burton's Scotland after Revolution*, vol. ii. p. 414.

¹ *Kirkconnel MS.*

² Lord Elcho afterwards lent the prince 1,500 guineas. A curious correspondence on the subject of repayment will be found in the *Stuart Papers*.

³ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁸ Lord George Murray's Narrative. Jacobite Memoirs, p. 29. Some idea may be formed of the lieutenant-general's activity, from the following extract from a letter written on 7th September, by him to his brother the marquis, who was then busily employed raising the men on his brother's estates. "I hope the meal was with you this day—35 bolls—for it was at Inwar last night: It shall be my study to have more meal with you on Monday night, for you must distribute a peck a man: and, cost what it will, there must be pocks, (small sacks,) made to each man, to contain a peck or two for the men, to have always with them. Buy linen, harn, or any thing; for these pocks are of absolute necessity, nothing can be done without them. . . . You may please tell your own people, that there is a project to get arms for them."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 31.

Dundee, and other towns in the counties of Perth and Angus, to collect the public money, by means of which, and the contributions of his friends, his coffers were speedily replenished.

During his stay at Perth, Charles devoted almost all his time to the disciplining and training of his men, in writing despatches, and in a variety of military details to which he had hitherto been unaccustomed. Though fond of amusement, he never allowed it to occupy much of his time; and if he accepted a convivial invitation, it was more from a wish not to disoblige than from a desire to join in the festivities of his friends. Amid the occupations of the camp he did not, however, neglect the outward observances of religion. For the first time, it is believed, of his life, he attended the Protestant service at Perth, on Sunday the 8th of September, rather, it may be conjectured, to please his Protestant friends, than from any predilection for a form of worship to which he was an entire stranger. The text appropriately chosen on this occasion by the preacher, a Mr. Armstrong, was from Isaiah xiv., verses 1, 2, "For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land; and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place; and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids: and they shall take them captives, whose captives they were; and they shall rule over their oppressors."⁴ The non-juring Jacobite discourse delivered on the occasion in question, would certainly form an extraordinary contrast with the democratic harangues to which Charles's great-grandfather, Charles I., and his grand uncle, Charles II, were accustomed to listen from the mouths of the stern Covenanters.

While Charles was thus employed at Perth, Sir John Cope was marching from Inverness to Aberdeen. After leaving the direct road to Fort Augustus, Cope had proceeded by forced marches to Inverness, where he arrived on the 29th of August. Here he met the Lord President, who communicated to him a

letter he had received on his arrival in the north, from Sir Alexander Macdonald, informing him of the names of the chiefs who had joined Charles, and requesting directions how to act in the event of the insurgent chiefs being forced to retire to the islands. After consulting with the President, Cope resolved to march back his army to Stirling, provided he could obtain a reinforcement of Highlanders from the Whig clans in the neighbourhood of Inverness. An application was accordingly made to the chiefs; but as it turned out ineffectual, Cope determined to march to Aberdeen and embark his troops for the Frith of Forth. The feelings of alarm and anxiety with which he was agitated on this occasion, are thus described by himself in a letter which he wrote from Inverness, on the 31st of August, to Lord Milton the Justice Clerk:—"I, from the beginning, thought this affair might become serious; and sorry I am that I was not mistaken: indeed, my lord, it is serious. I know your activity and ability in business,—the whole is at stake,—exert your authority,—lengths must be gone,—and rules and common course of business must yield to the necessity of the times, or it may soon be too late. So much fatigue of body and mind I never knew of before; but my health continues good, and my spirits do not flag. Much depends upon the next step we take. In this country the rebels will not let us get at them unless we had some Highlanders with us; and, as yet, not one single man has joined us, though I have lugged along with us 300 stand of arms. No man could have believed that not one man would take arms in our favour, or show countenance to us; but so it is."⁵

It is rather singular, that on the same day on which the above-mentioned letter was written, the adherents of government at Edinburgh, who had hitherto derided the attempt of the prince, should have been at last aroused to a full sense of the danger they were in. Lulled by a false security, they had never, for a moment, doubted that Cope would be successful on his expedition in the north; but certain intelligence, brought to them by James Drummond or Macgregor, son of the celebrated Rob

⁴ Caledonian Mercury, as referred to by Dr. Chambers.

⁵ Home, p. 313.

Roy, who arrived at Edinburgh on the 26th, began to open their eyes. With the object of throwing the government party in the capital off their guard, this man was despatched from the Jacobite camp in Lochaber to Edinburgh, with the necessary instructions. Enjoying in some degree the confidence of the whig party, he was the better fitted to impose upon them by his misrepresentations. When introduced to the public functionaries on his arrival, he stated that the Highland army was not 1,500 strong,—that it was chiefly composed of old men and boys, who were badly armed, and that from what he saw and knew of them he was sure they would fly before Cope's army. Though unsuccessful, as will be seen, in this branch of his mission, he succeeded in another which he had volunteered to perform, by getting one Drummond, a Jacobite printer, to print the prince's proclamations and manifestoes, which he took care to distribute throughout the city among the friends of the cause. When apprised of the fact of the publication, the magistrates, without suspecting Macgregor as the importer of these treasonable documents, issued a proclamation, offering a large reward for the discovery of the printer.

Edinburgh, at the period in question, and for many years afterwards, was confined within narrow limits. It had never been properly fortified; and its castle, which majestically overtops the city, and forms the western boundary of that division now called the "Old town," could afford it little security. On the south and on the east, the ancient city was bounded by a wall varying from ten to twenty feet high. On the north side, a lake, easily fordable, called the North Loch, now drained and converted into beautiful gardens, was its only defence. In several places the old wall had been built upon, so that dwelling houses formed part of the wall, but these erections were overlooked by rows of higher houses without the city. There were no cannon mounted upon the wall, but in some places it was strengthened by bastions and embrasures. The standing force of the city consisted of two bodies, called the Town Guard and the Trained Bands, neither of which now exist. The first, which, at the time we are now treating of, amounted to 126 men, acted in lieu of a police; and though

pretty well versed in the manual and platoon exercise, were, from their being generally old men, unfit for military duty. The Trained Bands, or Burgher Guard, which was composed of citizens, and in former times amounted to a considerable number of men, did not at the period in question exceed 1,000. Anciently, the tallest men were armed with pikes, and those of a lower stature with firelocks, and both were provided with defensive armour. The captain of each company, eight in number, instructed his men one day in every week in the exercise of arms;⁶ but the pikes and armour were afterwards laid aside, and since the Revolution the Trained Bands had appeared in arms only once in the year, to celebrate the king's birth-day, on which occasion they were furnished with arms for the service of the day from a magazine belonging to the city.

As it was obvious that, under these circumstances, no effectual resistance could be made to the entrance of an army into the city, the provost and magistrates held a meeting on the 27th of August, at which some of the principal citizens attended, to devise means of defence. At this meeting it was resolved to repair the walls and to raise a regiment of 1,000 men, to be paid by a voluntary contribution of the inhabitants. A standing committee was, at the same time, appointed to carry this resolution into effect, and to advise with the Lord-Justice-Clerk and other judges then in town, and the crown lawyers, as to such other steps as might be considered necessary in the present crisis. To obtain the requisite permission to embody the proposed regiment, an application was sent to London by the Lord Advocate; and leave to that effect was granted on the 4th of September.⁷

Up to the 31st of August, no certain intelligence had been received at Edinburgh of the movements of the Highlanders; but in the evening of that day the inhabitants were thrown into a state of great alarm by receiving intelligence of the march of the Highland army into Athole, and of the ominous departure of Cope for Inverness. Instantly the drum beat to arms, and the town-council having met,

⁶ Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, p. 285. Home, p. 67.

⁷ Home, p. 67.

they ordained that the keys of the city should be lodged with the captain of the city guard, and ordered sentries to be placed at each of the gates, and the city guard to be augmented. As an additional security, Hamilton's dragoons, then quartered in the vicinity of the city, were kept under arms that night. The repairs of the city walls were commenced; orders were issued to place cannon on them, and to throw up a ditch on the north side of the castle, and arms were sent from the city magazine to Leith to arm its inhabitants. These preparations, and the hurry and bustle with which it may be supposed they were attended, may appear ludicrous when contrasted with the result; but the public functionaries were bound to put the city in as defensible a state as their means would admit of, and without the least possible delay.

It would have been perhaps fortunate for the honour of the city, if on the present occasion the civic authorities had been allowed, in conjunction with the committee which had been named, to follow out such measures as they might have deemed necessary for defending the city; but, unluckily, there existed a party consisting of ex-magistrates and councillors, who, by the course they adopted, brought dissension among the citizens. This party, at the head of which was ex-provost Drummond, "a zealous loyalist, and one of the most valuable municipal chiefs whom Edinburgh has possessed,"⁸ had been succeeded in the town-council by Stewart, the then provost, and his friends, who, for five years, had kept possession of the municipal government, to the entire exclusion of Drummond and his party. Desirous of regaining their lost power, they availed themselves of the present opportunity, the elections being at hand, to instil distrust of the existing magistracy into the minds of the electors, by representing the members of the town-council as Jacobitically inclined, and as indifferent to the preservation of the city from the rebels. And indeed it appears that Stewart showed himself incapable of performing effectually the responsible duties of his office at this important juncture.⁹ The opposition party, partly, no doubt, to ingratiate themselves still

farther with the electors, the majority of whom were whigs, and warmly attached to the government, really showed greater zeal in organising measures for the defence of the city. They presented, on the 6th of September, a petition to the provost, signed by about 100 citizens, praying that they, the subscribers, might be authorised to form themselves into an association for the defence of the city,—that they might be allowed to name their own officers,—and that an application should be made by the provost to General Guest, for a supply of arms from the castle for their use.¹

This petition was laid before an extraordinary meeting of the council next day, and the law officers of the crown having given their opinion that the council could legally authorise an arming of the inhabitants for the contemplated purpose, they acceded to its prayer, with the exception of that part which craved that the volunteers should have the nomination of their own officers, a privilege which the provost reserved to himself, in virtue of his office of chief magistrate. To ascertain the names of the citizens who were willing to serve as volunteers, a paper was lodged, on the 9th of September, in the Old-church aisle, and all loyal persons were invited by handbills to subscribe: 418 persons joined this association, and were supplied with arms from the castle. Simultaneously with the formation of the association, the magistrates exerted themselves to raise the regiment they had petitioned for, the warrant for which was received by the provost on the 8th of September; but their efforts were ineffectual, not being able, after a week's recruiting, to raise 200 men. This paltry force, however, was named the Edinburgh regiment, to distinguish it from the volunteer association.

Hitherto the repairs of the city walls had been steadily progressing, and, to the great scandal of the more religious part of the inhabitants, no cessation took place even upon the Sunday; but although the persons employed upon the walls might plead necessity in justification of their work on the day of rest, they seem to have overlooked that necessity on the 10th of September, the day when the city elections commenced. So great was the anxiety

⁸ Burton.

⁹ Burton, vol. ii. p. 451.

¹ Home, p. 69.

of all classes to ascertain the names of the craftsmen sent up by the different incorporations to the council to represent them, that a total suspension of every business took place, and the magistrates, who felt little difficulty in procuring men to work upon the Sunday, now saw the works almost entirely deserted by the artificers employed upon them.

A few days after receipt of the intelligence of the march of the Highlanders into the low country, Captain Rogers, an aid-de-camp of Sir John Cope, arrived at Edinburgh from Inverness, with instructions to General Guest to send down a number of transports to Aberdeen to carry his men to the southern shores of the Frith of Forth. These vessels sailed from Leith roads on the 10th, under convoy of a ship of war, and their return was expected with the greatest anxiety by the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who were continually looking up to the weather-cocks to ascertain the direction of the wind.

The volunteers being officered and organised, were regularly drilled twice every day. Cannon were brought up from Leith and mounted on the walls, and the defensive works were proceeded with under the superintendence of Maclaurin, the celebrated mathematician, who had furnished the designs.

CHAPTER XXXI.

A. D. 1745.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George II., 1727—1760.

Charles leaves Perth and proceeds southwards—Crosses the Forth—Proceeds towards Edinburgh—Great confusion in Edinburgh—The Edinburgh volunteers—Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons—Meeting of inhabitants—Message from Prince Charles at Corstorphine—Deputations to the Prince—Cope arrives off Dunbar—Capture of Edinburgh by the Highlanders—Arrival of Charles at Holyrood—The Chevalier de St. George proclaimed—Cope marches from Dunbar towards Haddington and Preston—The Prince leaves Edinburgh and marches towards Preston—Battle of Preston.

As early as the 7th of September, Charles had received notice of Cope's intention to embark at Aberdeen; and, that he might not be anticipated by Cope in his design of seizing the capital, he began to make arrangements for leaving Perth for the south. Before the 11th

his force was considerably augmented by tributary accessions from the uplands of Perthshire, and, as his coffers had been pretty well replenished, he resolved to take his departure that day. With this view, Lord George Murray sent an express to his brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, on the 7th, requesting him to march with such forces as he had collected, on the morning of Tuesday the 10th, so as to reach Crieff next day, that he might be able to form a junction with the main army at Dunblane or Doune the following day.²

Charles, accordingly, left Perth on Wednesday the 11th of September on his route to the south. The van of the army, or rather a few of each of the clans, reached Dunblane that night, in the neighbourhood of which they encamped. The greater part of the men lagged behind, and did not get up till next day, when they appeared to be greatly fatigued. As this result was imputed to the good quarters they had enjoyed for the last eight days at Perth, and the want of exercise, it was resolved that henceforth the army should encamp in the open air, and be kept constantly in motion. On his march to Dunblane, the prince was joined by Maedonald of Glencoe,³ with 60 of his men, and by James Drummond or Macgregor of Glengyle at the head of 255 Macgregors, the retainers of Macgregor of Glen cairnaig.⁴

Having been obliged to halt a whole day for the remainder of his army, Charles remained in his camp till the 13th, on which day he crossed the Forth at the fords of Frew, almost in the face of Gardiner's dragoons, who retired towards Stirling on the approach of the Highland army, without attempting to dispute its passage. While passing by Doune, Charles received particular marks of attention from some of the ladies of Menteith, who had assembled in the house of Mr. Edmondstone of Cambuswallace, in the neighbourhood of Doune to see him as he passed. A collation had been provided for him, in the expectation that he would have entered the house; but he

² *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 31.

³ Sixty of these Macdonalds had previously joined at Perth.

⁴ The Gartmore MS. quoted in the appendix to Burt's Letters makes the number only forty; but Home gives it as above.

courteously excused himself, and stopping before the house, without alighting from his horse, drank a glass of wine to the healths of his fair observers. The daughters of Mr. Edmondstone, who served the prince on this occasion, respectfully solicited the honour of kissing his hand—a favour which he readily granted; but he was asked to grant a higher favour by Miss Robina Edmondstone, cousin to the daughters of the host. The favour sought was the liberty “to preo his royal highness’s mou.” Charles not being sufficiently acquainted with broad Scotch, was at a loss to comprehend the nature of the request; but on its being explained to him, he instantly caught her in his arms, and instead of allowing her to perform the operation, he himself kissed her from ear to ear, to the great amusement of the spectators, and the envy of the bold recipient’s cousins.⁵

The passage of the Forth had always been considered one of the most daring and decisive steps which a Highland army could take. In their own country the Highlanders possessed many natural advantages over an invading foe, which gave them almost an absolute assurance of success in any contest even with forces greatly superior in numbers; and, in the adjoining Lowlands, they could, if worsted, easily retreat to their fastnesses; but their situation was very different on the south of the Forth, where they were more particularly exposed to be attacked by cavalry,—a species of force which they greatly dreaded, and from which they could, if routed, scarcely expect to escape. It is said, but not upon sufficient authority, that some of Charles’s officers at first demurred to the propriety of exposing the army to the dangers of a Lowland campaign in the south, but that he would listen to no arguments against the grand design he had formed of seizing the capital. To cheer his men in the hazardous enterprise, the dangers of which now, for the first time, began to develop themselves, the prince is reported, on arriving on the bank of the river, to have brandished his sword in the air, and pointing to the other side, to have rushed into the water, and darting across, to have taken his station on the opposite bank,

⁵ Nimmo’s *History of Stirlingshire*, edited by the Rev. Macgregor Stirling, p. 564.

on which he stood till all the detachments had crossed, and congratulated each successive detachment as it arrived.⁶ In crossing the Forth, the prince may be said to have passed the Rubicon: he had not only committed himself in a struggle with a powerful government, but he had, with intrepid daring, and with a handful of men, entered a country whence retreat was almost impossible.

After passing the Forth, Charles, accompanied by a party of his officers, proceeded to Leckie House, the seat of Mr. Moir, a Jacobite gentleman, where he dined; but the proprietor was absent, having been seized by a party of dragoons, and carried off to Stirling castle the preceding night, in consequence of information having been received at the castle that he was preparing to receive and entertain the prince at his house. The army passed the night on the moor of Sauchie, a few miles south from the ford.⁷ The prince himself slept in Bannockburn House, belonging to Sir Hugh Paterson, a zealous Jacobite. During this day’s march great abuses were committed by the men in taking and shooting sheep, which the Duke of Perth and others did every thing in their power to prevent. Lochiel was so enraged at the conduct of his men, that he is said to have shot one of them himself, as an example to deter the rest.⁸

⁶ Dougal Graham’s *Metrical History*, p. 15.

⁷ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 487.

⁸ Dougal Graham, in his *Metrical History* of the insurrection, as quoted by Chambers, thus alludes to the conduct of the Highlanders on the present occasion:—

“Here for a space they took a rest,
And had refreshment of the best
The country round them could afford,
Though many found but empty board,
As sheep and cattle were drove away,
Yet hungry men sought for their prey;
Took milk and butter, kirk and cheese,
On all kinds of eatables they seize;
And be who could not get a share,
Sprang to the hills like dogs for hare;
There shot the sheep and made them fall,
Whirled off the skin, and that was all;
Struck up fire and boiled the flesh,
With salt and pepper did not fash :*
This did enrage the Cameron’s chief,
To see his men so play the thief;
And finding one into the act,
He fired and shot him through the back;
Then to the rest himself addressed,
‘This is your lot I do protest,—
Whoe’r amongst you wrongs a man;
Pay what you get, I tell you plain;
For yet we know not friend or foe,
Nor how all things may chance to go.’”

* *Anglice*,—trouble themselves.

Next day Charles put his army in motion towards Falkirk. In passing by Stirling, a few shots were fired at them from the castle, but without damage. Lord George Murray sent a message to the magistrates of the town, requiring a supply of provisions; on receiving which they immediately opened the gates, and having given notice of the demand to the inhabitants, the dealers in provisions went out and met the Highland army near Bannockburn, and sold a considerable quantity of commodities to the men. The army, after receiving this supply, resumed its march, and finally halted on a field a little to the eastward of Falkirk. Charles took up his abode in Callender House, where he was entertained with the greatest hospitality by the Earl of Kilmarnock, who gave him assurances of devoted attachment to his cause. By the earl, Charles was informed that Gardiner's dragoons, who, on his approach to Falkirk, had retired in the direction of Linlithgow, were resolved to dispute the passage of Linlithgow bridge with him, and that they had encamped that night in its neighbourhood.⁹

On receiving this intelligence, Charles immediately held a council of war, at which it was resolved to attack the dragoons during the night. For this purpose a detachment of 1,000 well-armed men was despatched at one o'clock in the morning under the command of Lord George Murray. They marched with the utmost order, regularity, and quietness; but they were disappointed in their object, as the dragoons had retired during the night to Kirkliston, eight miles west from Edinburgh. The detachment entered Linlithgow before break of day, where they were joined by the prince and the rest of the army about ten o'clock that morning.¹ The day was Sunday; but the prince does not appear to have gratified the burghers by going to church as he had done the citizens of Perth the preceding Sunday. He, however, partook of a repast which some of the Jacobite inhabitants had prepared for him. The provost preserved a neutrality by absenting himself from town; but his wife and daughters are said to have paid their respects

to the prince by waiting upon him at the cross, attired in tartan gowns, and wearing white cockades, and doing themselves the honour of kissing his hand.

Advancing from Linlithgow about four o'clock in the afternoon, the Highland army encamped on a rising ground, nearly four miles east from Linlithgow, near the twelfth milestone from Edinburgh, where they passed the night. The prince slept in a house in the neighbourhood. Next morning, Monday the 16th, Charles renewed his march eastwards, and reached Corstorphine, the dragoons all the while retiring before him as he approached.

Charles was now within three miles of Edinburgh, and could not proceed farther in a direct line, without exposing his army to the fire of the castle guns. To avoid them, he led it off in a southerly direction, towards Slateford—a small village about the distance of a mile from Corstorphine. The prince fixed his headquarters at Gray's mills, between two and three miles from the city, and his troops bivouacked during the night of the 16th, in an adjoining field called Gray's Park.

When intelligence of the prince's departure from Perth reached Edinburgh, the anxiety for the arrival of Cope increased every hour. The Jacobites, of whom there was a respectable party in the city, on the other hand, longed for the arrival of Charles. No certain information of the movements of the Highland army reached Edinburgh till the morning of Sunday the 15th, when a messenger brought intelligence that the insurgents were in full march upon the capital, and that their van had already reached Kirkliston. The last part of this information was, however, incorrect.

At the time the messenger arrived, all the armed volunteers, in terms of an order given the preceding evening, were assembled in the college yards. About ten o'clock, Drummond, the ex-provost, who was captain of a company, which, from its being partly composed of students belonging to the university, was called the college company, made his appearance. After consultation with his brother officers, he informed the company of the advance of the Highland army,—that it had been proposed to General Gnest to make a stand with the two dragoon regiments, and fight the insurgents on

⁹ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 445.—*Forbes Papers*, p. 35.

¹ *Idem*.

their way to the city; but that the general did not think the measure advisable, as there was not a body of foot to act with the dragoons to draw off the fire of the enemy,—that he (Drummond), knowing that he could answer for 250 volunteers, if Provost Stewart would allow 50 of the town-guard to go along with them, had asked the general if that number would be sufficient; and that Guest had given him an answer in the affirmative. “Now, gentlemen,” said the ex-provost, “you have heard the general’s opinion, judge for yourselves. If you are willing to risk your lives for the defence of the capital of Scotland and the honour of your country, I am ready to lead you to the field.” The volunteers to whom Drummond seemed particularly to address himself, threw up their hats in the air, at the conclusion of this address, and began a huzza, in which the rest of the company joined.²

Having obtained the consent of his own company to march, he went to the other companies in succession; but instead of advising them to follow the example which his own men had set, he told them that though his men were, all of them, going out to conquer or die with him, yet that such a resolution was only proper for young unmarried men, who were at liberty to dispose of their own lives. Accordingly very few of the volunteers in the other companies would give their consent; but Drummond’s company becoming clamorous, the others seemed to yield, and Drummond despatched a messenger to the castle to inform General Guest that the volunteers were ready to march out with the dragoons and engage the rebels. At the request of the general, Provost Stewart ordered a detachment of the town guard and the Edinburgh regiment to accompany the volunteers. General Guest, on being informed of this, directed Hamilton’s dragoons, who were encamped on Leith links, to march

through the city, and join Gardiner’s regiment at Corstorphine.³

For the first time since they had been embodied, the volunteers now loaded their pieces. In terms of an order which had been issued the preceding day, the fire-bell was rung as a signal of approaching danger, and the volunteers, who had assembled in the college-yards, instantly repaired in a body to the Lawn-market, the appointed place of rendezvous. Most of the city ministers had enrolled themselves as volunteers, but they were absent on the present occasion, being engaged celebrating divine service in their respective churches. *Semper parati* being the motto they had adopted in their new vocation, they had gone to church equipped *a la militaire*, and when the alarm-bell sounded, were preaching with their swords by their sides. In an instant the churches were deserted by the worshippers, and a universal panic seized all classes on learning the intelligence. The Lawn-market, where the volunteers had drawn up waiting for the arrival of Hamilton’s dragoons, was soon crowded with inhabitants: many of them, the wives, sisters, mothers, fathers, and friends of the devoted volunteers who clustered around them, and implored them, by ties the most sacred, to desist from the dangerous enterprise they were about to engage in. The attention of the people was diverted for a time by the appearance of Hamilton’s dragoons who rode up the street. They were received with huzzas by the volunteers, and the dragoons in passing huzzaed in return, and with a gasconading air clashed their swords against each other as they went along. The alarm among the relatives and friends of the volunteers was increased, and nothing was to be heard but the cries and lamentations of unhappy females. These doughty champions, who never had any serious intention of exposing their persons to the blows of the Highland broad-sword, moved in appearance by the tears, the entreaties, and embraces of their female friends, seemed rather inclined to allow the dragoons to shift for themselves; but neither the expostulations of the men, (for the male relations of the volunteers were equally solici

² Home, p. 79.—Mr Home says that several of these volunteers, of which he was one, were not inhabitants of the city, and were ignorant of the municipal cabals,—that they had little deference for the opinion either of Guest or Drummond; but being satisfied that the walls were untenable, and dreading the consequences to the city if taken by storm, they considered the proposal of marching out with the dragoons preferable to keeping within the walls, as, with their assistance, the dragoons might be able to break the force of the Highland army, and leave to the Highlanders, if victorious, a bloody and fatal victory.

³ Home, p. 80.

tous with the females in dissuading the volunteers from marching,) nor the tears of the women, had any effect upon the volunteers of Drummond's company, who had agreed to march.

An order being given to march, Drummond placed himself at the head of the volunteers of his company, and marched them up the Lawnmarket and down the West Bow to the Grassmarket: they were followed by an immense crowd of people lamenting their unhappy fate. Only 42 privates of Drummond's company followed him, but he certainly expected some accessions from the other companies. Not a single individual, however, belonging to them, accompanied him. Finding himself and his little party alone, Drummond halted his men near the West Port, and sent a lieutenant, named Lindsay, back to the Lawnmarket to ascertain the reason why the volunteers, who were expected to follow, had not joined their associates. Lindsay, on his return to the Lawnmarket, found the volunteers, who still remained in the street, in great confusion. Several of the officers told Lindsay that they themselves were willing to follow Drummond and his party, but that very few of their men would consent to march out. On the other hand, many of the privates complained that they could not get one officer to lead them. After some altercation, Lindsay, with the assistance of Captain Sir George Preston, and some other officers, succeeded in collecting 141, who professed a willingness to march with the dragoons, out of about 350 volunteers who had remained behind; Lindsay led off these to the Grassmarket, where they joined Drummond's party; but if we are to believe a pamphleteer of the day, even this small force was diminished by the way. The descent of *The Bow* presenting localities and facilities equally convenient for desertion, the volunteers are said to have availed themselves of these on their march. The author alluded to facetiously compared this falling off "to the course of the Rhine, which rolling pompously its waves through fertile fields, instead of augmenting in its course, is continually drawn off by a thousand canals, and at last becomes a small rivulet, which loses itself in the sands before it reaches the

ocean."⁴ The foot now assembled, comprehending the town guard and the Edinburgh regiment, which numbered only 189, amounted, exclusive of officers, to 363 men.⁵

Alarmed at the departure of the volunteers, Dr. Wishart, principal of the university of Edinburgh, with others of the city clergy, proceeded to the Grassmarket, and with great earnestness addressed the volunteers, and conjured them by every thing they held most sacred and dear, to reserve themselves for the defence of the city by remaining within the walls. Principal Wishart addressed himself particularly to the young men of Drummond's company, some few of whom affected to contemn his advice; but it was perfectly evident that there was scarcely an individual present, who did not in his heart desire to follow the advice of the ministers. The volunteers, however, had offered to serve without the walls, and they could not withdraw with honour. Drummond, on the departure of the clergy, and after a short consultation with his officers, sent a lieutenant with a message to the provost, to the effect, that the volunteers had resolved not to march out of town without his express permission, and that they would wait for his answer. In all this we have no reason to doubt the sincerity and courage of Drummond, but to the great satisfaction of his men, who were at first ignorant of the nature of the message, an answer was returned by Provost Stewart, stating that he was much opposed to the proposal of marching out of town, and was glad to find that the volunteers had resolved to remain within the walls. No sooner was this answer received, than Drummond returned with his men to the college-yards, where they were dismissed for a time. The town guard, and the men of the Edinburgh regiment, however, although shamefully deserted by their companions in arms, marched out of the city on receiving an order to that effect from the provost, and joined the dragoons at Corstorphine, about four miles west from Edinburgh,

⁴ "A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart, Esq., late Lord Provost of Edinburgh, in a letter to a friend. London, 1748." This pamphlet has been ascribed by a writer in the Quarterly Review, (No. 71, p. 172,) supposed to be Sir Walter Scott, to the pen of Hume the Historian.

⁵ Home, p. 83.

where the regiments of Hamilton and Gardiner formed a junction.⁶

Seeing no appearance of the enemy, Colonel Gardiner retired at sunset with the two regiments of dragoons, to a field between Edinburgh and Leith, to pass the night, leaving a party of his men behind him to watch the motions of the Highlanders; and the foot returned at the same time to the city. To guard the city during the night, 600 or 700 men, consisting of the trained bands, the volunteers, and some auxiliaries from the towns of Musselburgh and Dalkeith, were stationed along the walls and at the different gates; but the night passed off quietly. The same night, Brigadier General Fowkes arrived from London. Early next morning, he received an order from General Guest, to take the command of the dragoons, and to march to a field a little to the east of Coltbridge, about two miles west from the city, where he was joined in the course of the forenoon by the town guard, and the Edinburgh regiment.

For the first time during their march, the Highlanders descried some dragoons as they approached Corstorphine, on the morning of the 16th of September. This was the party which Colonel Gardiner had left at Corstorphine the preceding evening. To reconnoitre the dragoons, a few young well-armed Highlanders were sent forward on horseback, and ordered to go as near as possible to ascertain their number. These young men rode close up to the dragoons, and by way of frolic or defiance, for they could have no intention of attacking the dragoons, fired their pistols at them. To the utter astonishment of the Highlanders, the dragoons, instead of returning the fire, became panic-struck, and instantly wheeling about, galloped off towards the main body. Participating in the fears of his advanced guard, General Fowkes immediately ordered a retreat, and between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the inhabitants of Edinburgh beheld the singular spectacle of two regiments of dragoons flying along the "Long Dykes," now the site of Princes Street, when no one pursued. The faint-hearted dragoons stopped a short time at Leith, and afterwards proceeded

to Musselburgh. The foot returned to the city.

Several hours before the retreat of the dragoons, a gentleman of the city had brought in a message from the prince, requiring a surrender, and threatening, in case of resistance, to subject the city to all the rigours of military usage; but no regard was paid to the message, and although the messenger had the imprudence (for which he was sent to prison by the provost,) to communicate the message to the inhabitants, they manifested no great symptoms of alarm, relying, probably, on the resistance of the dragoons. After these had fled, however, the people became exceedingly clamorous, and crowds of the inhabitants ran about the streets crying, that since the dragoons had fled, it was madness to think of resistance. The provost, on returning from the West Port, where he had been giving orders after the retreat of the dragoons, was met by some of the inhabitants, who implored him not to persist in defending the town, for if he did, they would all be murdered. He reproved them for their impatience, and proceeded to the Goldsmiths' Hall, where he met the magistrates and town council and a considerable number of the inhabitants, who had there assembled. After some consultation, a deputation was sent to the law-officers of the crown, requiring their attendance and advice; but it was ascertained that these functionaries had left the town. The captains of the trained bands and volunteers were next sent for, and called upon for their opinion as to defending the city, but they were at a loss how to advise. The meeting was divided upon the question whether the town should be defended or not, and in the course of the debate much acrimony was displayed by the speakers on both sides. The hall being too small to contain the crowd which collected, the meeting adjourned to the New church aisle, which was immediately filled with people, the great majority of whom called out for a surrender, as they considered it impossible to defend the town. Some persons attempted to support the contrary view, but they were forced to desist by the noise and clamour of the majority.

While matters were in this train, a letter was handed in from the door addressed to the

⁶ Home, p. 84.

lord provost, magistrates, and town council of Edinburgh. The letter was put into the hands of Orrock, the deacon of the shoemakers, who, on opening it, informed the meeting that it was subscribed "Charles, P. R." On hearing this announcement, the provost stopped Deacon Orrock, who was about to read the letter, said he would not be a witness to the reading of such a communication, and rising from his seat, left the place, accompanied by the greater part of the council and a considerable number of the inhabitants. The provost, however, returned to the council-chamber with his friends, and sent for the city assessors to give their opinion as to whether the letter should be read or not. One of these lawyers appeared, but afraid to commit himself, stated that the matter was too grave for him to give an opinion upon. The provost still demurred, but the assembly getting impatient to know the contents of the letter, his lordship tacitly consented to its being read. It was as follows:

"From our Camp, 16th September, 1745.

"Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of his majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us, as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the town-council and take proper measures for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But if you suffer any of the usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition in it, (whether belonging to the public or private persons,) to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a heinous offence against the king and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of his majesty's subjects. But if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city; and in that case, if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war."

After this letter was read, the clamour for surrender became more loud and general than

ever, and, agreeably to the wish of the meeting, a deputation, consisting of four members of the council, was appointed to wait upon the prince immediately, and to request that he would grant the citizens time to deliberate on the contents of his letter.

While the meeting was debating the question as to the reading of Charles's letter, an incident occurred, which, it is believed, gave the finishing stroke to the mock heroism of the volunteers. After the retreat of the dragoons, the volunteers had assembled, on the ringing of the fire-bell, at their respective posts, to be in readiness to obey any instructions which might be sent to them. Four companies, out of the six, were drawn up in the Lawnmarket between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, but before they had sufficient time to recover from the agitation into which they had been thrown by the call to arms, a well-dressed person, unknown to those assembled, entered the Lawnmarket from the West-Bow, in great haste, mounted upon a grey horse, and galloping along the lines of the volunteers, intimated, in a voice sufficiently high to be heard by the astonished volunteers, that he had seen the Highland army, and that it amounted to 16,000 men! This "lying messenger did not stop to be questioned, and disappeared in a moment."⁷ Captain Drummond, soon after this occurrence, arrived upon the spot, and, after consulting with his brother officers, marched up the four companies to the castle, where they delivered up their arms. In a short time the other companies also went up and surrendered their arms, and were followed by the other bodies of militia that had received arms from the castle magazine.

About eight o'clock at night, the four deputies left the city to wait upon the prince at Gray's Mill; but they had scarcely cleared the walls, when intelligence was received by the lord provost and magistrates, (who still remained assembled in the council-chamber,) that the transports with General Cope's army on board had arrived off Dunbar, about 27 miles east from Edinburgh, and that as the wind was unfavourable for bringing them up the Frith, Cope intended to land his troops at Dun-

⁷ Home, p. 91.

bar and march to the relief of the city. As this intelligence altered the aspect of affairs, messengers were immediately despatched to bring back the deputies before they should reach their destination, but they did not overtake them. The deputies returned to the city about ten o'clock, and brought along with them a letter of the following tenor, signed by Secretary Murray:—

“His royal highness the prince regent thinks his manifesto, and the king his father's declaration, already published, a sufficient capitulation for all his majesty's subjects to accept with joy. His present demands are, to be received into the city as the son and representative of the king his father, and obeyed as such when there. His royal highness supposes, that since the receipt of his letter to the provost no arms or ammunition have been suffered to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. Lastly, he expects a positive answer before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he will think himself obliged to take measures conform.”

This letter gave rise to a lengthened discussion in the town-council, which ended in a resolution to send out a second deputation to the prince, and, under the pretence of consulting the citizens, to solicit a few hours' delay. The deputies accordingly set out in a coach to the prince's head-quarters at two o'clock in the morning, and had an interview with Lord George Murray, whom they prevailed upon to second their application for delay. His lordship went into the prince's apartment, and one of the deputies overheard him endeavouring to persuade Charles to agree to the request made by them, but the prince refused. Lord George having reported the failure of his attempt to the deputies, was induced by them to return and make another trial, but he was again unsuccessful. Charles then requested that the deputies should be ordered away, and being offended at Lord George Murray's entreaties, desired Lord Elcho, the son of the Earl of Wemyss, who had just joined him, to intimate the order to them, which he accordingly did.⁸

Apprehensive of the speedy arrival of Cope, Charles resolved not to lose a moment in obtaining possession of the capital. He saw that no effectual resistance could be made by the inhabitants in case of an assault; but as opposition might exasperate the Highlanders, and make them regardless of the lives of the citizens, he proposed to his officers that an attempt should be made to carry the city by surprise, which, if successful, would save it from the horrors which usually befall a city taken by storm. The plan of a surprise having been resolved upon, a select detachment of about 900 men, under Lochiel, Keppoch, Ardschiel, and O'Sullivan, was sent under cloud of night towards the city. They marched with great secrecy across the Borough moor, and reached the south-eastern extremity of the city, where they halted. A party of 24 men was thereupon despatched with directions to post themselves on each side of the Netherbow Port, the eastern or lower gate of the city, and another party of 60 men was directed to follow them half-way up St. Mary's Wynd, to be ready to support them, while a third body, still farther removed, and finally the remainder of the detachment, were to come up in succession to the support of the rest. In the event of these dispositions succeeding without observation from the sentinels on the walls, it had been arranged that a Highlander in a lowland garb should knock at the wicket and demand entrance as a servant of an officer of dragoons, who had been sent by his master to bring him something he had forgot in the city; and that if the wicket was opened, the party stationed on each side of the gate should immediately rush in, seize the guard, and make themselves masters of the gate. The different parties having taken the stations assigned them without being perceived by the guards, the disguised Highlander knocked at the gate and stated his pretended errand; but the guard refused to open the gate, and the sentinels on the walls threatened to fire upon the applicant if he did not instantly retire. The commanders were puzzled by this unexpected refusal, and were at a loss how to act. It was now near five o'clock, and the morning was about to dawn. The alternative of an assault seemed inevitable, but fortunately for the city, the Highlanders were destined to

⁸ *Provost Stewart's Trial*, p. 171.

obtain by accident what they could not effect by stratagem.⁹

While the party at the gate was about to retire to the main body in consequence of the disappointment they had met with, their attention was attracted by the rattling of a carriage, which, from the increasing sound, appeared to be coming down the High-street towards the Netherbow Port. It was, in fact, the hackney coach which had been hired by the deputies, which was now on its way back to the Canongate, where most of the proprietors of hackney coaches at that time lived. The Highlanders stationed at the gate stood prepared to enter, and as soon as it was opened to let out the coach, the whole party, headed by Captain Evan Macgregor, a younger son of Macgregor of Glencairnaig, rushed in, made themselves masters of the gate, and disarmed the guard in an instant. In a short time the whole of the Highlanders followed, with drawn swords and targets, and setting up one of those hideous and terrific yells with which they salute an enemy they are about to encounter, marched quickly up the street in perfect order, in expectation of meeting the foe;¹ but to the surprise, no less than the pleasure, of the Highlanders, not a single armed man was to be seen in the street. With the exception of a few half-awakened spectators, who, roused from their slumbers by the shouts of the Highlanders, had jumped out of bed, and were to be seen peeping out at the windows in their sleeping habiliments, all the rest of the inhabitants were sunk in profound repose.

Having secured the guard-house and disarmed the guards who were within, the Highlanders took possession of the different gates of the city and of the stations upon the walls. They made the guards prisoners, and replaced them with some of their own men, with as much quietness as if they had been merely changing their own guard.² The Highlanders conducted themselves on this occasion with the greatest order and regularity, no violence being offered to any of the inhabitants, and the utmost respect being paid to private property.

Anxious about the result, Charles had slept only two hours, and that without taking off

his clothes. At an early hour he received intelligence of the capture of the city, and immediately prepared to march towards it with the rest of the army. To avoid the castle guns, the prince took a circuitous direction to the south of the city, till he reached the Braid burn, when, turning towards the city, he marched as far as the Buek Stone,³ a mass of granite on the side of the turnpike road, near Morningside. On reaching this stone, he drew off his army by a solitary cross road, leading to the ground now occupied by Causewayside and Newington. Arrived near Priestfield, he entered the king's park by a breach, which had been made in the wall, and proceeded to the Hunter's bog, a deep valley between Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crag, where his army was completely sheltered from the guns of the castle.⁴

Charles was now within the royal domains, and little more than a quarter of a mile from the royal palace of Holyrood, where his grandfather, James II., when Duke of York, had, about 60 years before, exercised the functions of royalty, as the representative of his brother Charles II. Sanguine as he was, he could scarcely have imagined that within the space of one short month, from the time he had raised his standard in the distant vale of the Finnan, he was to obtain possession of the capital of Scotland, and take up his residence in the ancient abode of his royal ancestors. Exulting as he must have done, at the near prospect which such fortuitous events seemed to afford him of realizing his most ardent expectations, his feelings received a new impulse, when, on coming within sight of the palace, he beheld the park crowded with people, who had assembled to welcome his arrival. Attended by the Duke of Perth and Lord Elcho, and followed by a train of gentlemen, Charles rode down the Hunter's bog, on his way to the palace. On reaching the eminence below St. Anthony's well, he alighted from his horse for the purpose of descending on foot into the park below. On dismounting he was surrounded by many persons who knelt down and kissed his hand.

³ James IV. is said to have planted the lion standard of Scotland on this stone, as a signal for mustering his army, before its fatal march to Flodden.

⁴ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 446.

⁹ Home, p. 96. ¹ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 488.

² Home, p. 96.

He made suitable acknowledgments for these marks of attachment, and after surveying for a short time the palace and the assembled multitude which covered the intervening grounds, he descended into the park below amid the shouts of the spectators, whose congratulations he received with the greatest affability. On reaching the foot-path in the park, which, from its having been much frequented by the Duke of York, afterwards James II., when he resided at Holyrood, obtained the name of the Duke's walk, Charles stopped for a few minutes to exhibit himself to the people.⁵

In person Charles appeared to great advantage. His figure and presence are described by Mr. Home, an eye-witness, as not ill-suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the bloom of youth, tall⁶ and handsome, and of a fair and ruddy complexion. His face, which in its contour exhibited a perfect oval, was remarkable for the regularity of its features. His forehead was full and high, and characteristic of his family. His eyes, which were large, and of a light blue colour, were shaded by beautifully arched eye-brows, and his nose, which was finely formed, approached nearer to the Roman than the Grecian model. A pointed chin, and a mouth rather small, gave him, however, rather an effeminate appearance; but on the whole, his exterior was extremely prepossessing, and his deportment was so graceful and winning, that few persons could resist his attractions. The dress which he wore on the present occasion was also calculated to set off the graces of his person to the greatest advantage in the eyes of the vulgar. He wore a light-coloured peruke, with his hair combed over the front. This was surmounted by a blue velvet bonnet, encircled with a band of gold lace, and ornamented at top with a Jacobite badge, a white satin cockade. He wore a tartan short coat, and on his breast the star of the order of St. Andrew. Instead of a plaid, which would have covered the star, he wore a blue sash wrought with gold. His small clothes

were of red velvet. To complete his costume, he wore a pair of military boots, and a silver-hilted broadsword.⁷

Charles remained some time in the park among the people, but as he could not be sufficiently seen by all, he mounted his horse, a fine bay gelding which the Duke of Perth had presented to him, and rode off slowly towards the palace. Every person was in admiration at the splendid appearance he made on horseback, and a simultaneous huzza arose from the vast crowd which followed the prince in triumph to Holyrood House. Overjoyed at the noble appearance of the prince, the Jacobites set no bounds to their praises of the royal youth. They compared him to King Robert Bruce, whom, they said, he resembled in his figure as they hoped he would in his fortune.⁸ The Whigs, on the other hand, regarded him differently; and though they durst not avow their opinions to the full extent, and were forced to admit that Charles was a goodly person, yet they observed that even in that triumphant hour when about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy,—that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror. Their conclusion was, that the enterprise he had undertaken was above the pitch of his mind, and that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved.⁹

On arriving in front of the palace Charles alighted from his horse, and entering the gate proceeded along the piazza within the quadrangle, towards the Duke of Hamilton's apartments.¹ When the prince was about to enter the porch, the door of which stood open to

⁷ Dr. Chambers's *Rebellion*, p. 87.

⁸ Home, p. 100.

⁹ *Idem*.

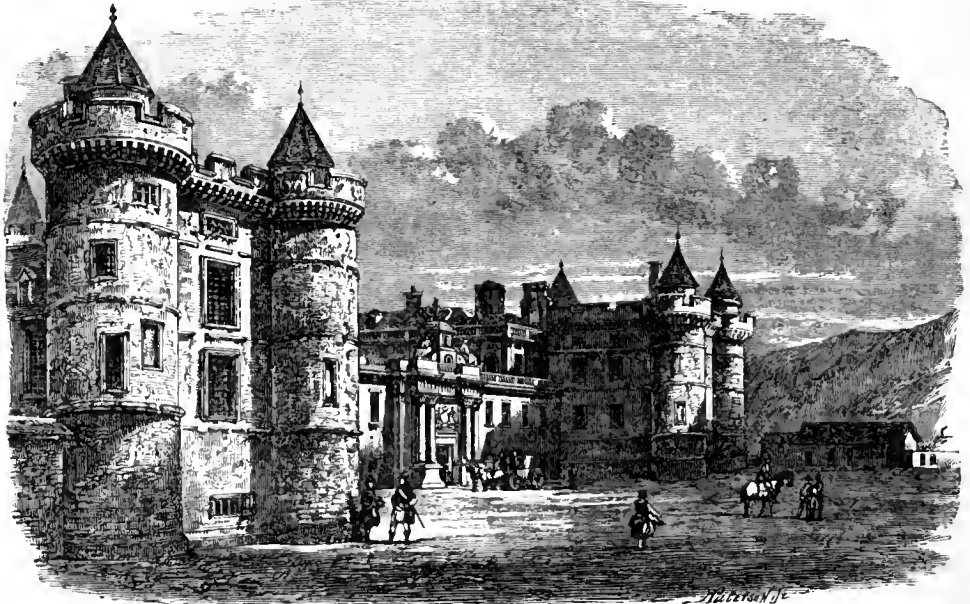
⁵ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 439. *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁶ Dr. Carlyle, who almost rubbed shoulders with him twice, describes the prince thus:—"He was a good-looking man of about 5 feet 10 inches; his hair was dark-red and his eyes black. His features were regular, his visage long, much sunburnt and freckled, and his countenance thoughtful and melancholy."—*Autobiography*, p. 153.

¹ It has been stated on the questionable authority of a local tradition, that when Charles arrived in front of the palace, a large bullet was fired from the castle, with such direction and force as to make it descend upon the palace,—that it struck a part of the front wall of James the Fifth's tower, near the window which lights a small turret-chamber connected with Queen Mary's state apartments; and that it fell into the court-yard, carrying along with it a quantity of rubbish which it had knocked out of the wall. If such a remarkable incident had occurred, it could scarcely have been overlooked by Mr. Home, who was near the spot at the time; and the fact that it is not alluded to in the pages of the *Caledonian Mercury*, the organ of the Jacobite party, seems conclusive that no such occurrence took place.

receive him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew his sword, and raising it aloft, walked up stairs before Charles. The person who took this singular mode of joining the prince, was James Hepburn of Keith, a gentleman of East Lothian. When a very young man he had been engaged in the rebellion of 1715, not from any devoted attachment to the house of Stuart, (for he disclaimed the heredi-

tary indefeasible right of kings, and condemned the government of James II.,) but because he considered the union, which he regarded as the result of the revolution, as injurious and humiliating to Scotland, and believed that the only way to obtain a repeal of that measure, was to restore the Stuarts. In speaking of the union, he said that it had made a Scottish gentleman of small fortune nobody, and that



Holyrood House in 1745. From an old print.

rather than submit to it, he would die a thousand deaths. For thirty years he had kept himself in readiness to take up arms to assert, as he thought, the independence of his country, when an opportunity should occur. Honoured and beloved by both Jacobites and Whigs, the accession to the Jacobite cause of this accomplished gentleman, whom Mr. Home describes as a model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour, was hailed by the former with delight, and deeply regretted by the latter, who lamented that a man whom they so highly revered, should sacrifice himself to the visionary idea of a repeal of the union between England and Scotland.²

On his way to the palace Charles had been cheered by the acclamations of the people; and on his entering that memorable seat of his an-

cestors, these acclamations were redoubled by the crowd which filled the area in front. On reaching the suite of apartments destined for his reception, he exhibited himself again to the people from one of the windows with his bonnet in his hand, and was greeted with loud huzzas by the multitude assembled in the courtyard below. He replied to these congratulations by repeated bows and smiles.

To complete the business of this eventful day, the proclamation at the cross of the Chevalier de St. George as James III., alone remained. The Highlanders who entered the city in the morning, desirous of obtaining the services of the heralds and the pursuivants, to perform what appeared to them an indispensable ceremony, had secured the persons of these functionaries. Surrounded by a body of armed men, the heralds and pursuivants, several of whom had probably been similarly employed

² Home, p. 101.

on the accession of "the Elector of Hanover," proceeded to the cross, a little before one o'clock afternoon, clothed in their robes of office, and proclaimed King James, amid the general acclamations of the people. The windows of the adjoining houses were filled with ladies, who testified the intensity of their feelings by straining their voices to the utmost pitch, and with outstretched arms waving white handkerchiefs in honour of the handsome young adventurer. Few gentlemen were, however, to be seen in the streets or at the windows, and even among the common people, there were not a few who preserved a stubborn silence.³ The effect of the ceremony was greatly heightened by the appearance of Mrs. Murray of Broughton, a lady of great beauty, who, to show her devoted attachment to the cause of the Stuarts, decorated with a profusion of white ribbons, sat on horseback near the cross with a drawn sword in her hand, during all the time the ceremony lasted.⁴

While the heralds were proclaiming King James at the market-cross of Edinburgh, Sir John Cope, who, as has been stated, arrived in the mouth of the Frith of Forth on the 16th, was landing his troops at Dunbar. The two regiments of dragoons had continued their inglorious flight during the night, and had reached that town, on the morning of the 17th, "in a condition," to use the soft expression of Mr. Home, "not very respectable." On arriving at Musselburgh, they had halted for a short time, and afterwards went to a field between Preston Grange and Dolphinston, where they dismounted for the purpose of passing the night; but between ten and eleven o'clock they were aroused by the cries of a dragoon who had fallen into an old coal-pit full of water. Conceiving that the Highlanders were at hand, they instantly mounted their horses and fled towards Dunbar with such precipitation and alarm, that they dropped their arms by the way. Next morning the road to Dunbar was found strewed with the swords, pistols, and firelocks, which had fallen from the nervous hands of these cowards. Colonel Gardiner, who had slept during the night in his own house at Preston, near the field where the dragoons were to bivouack, was surprised, when

he rose in the morning, to find that his men were all gone. All that he could learn was that they had taken the road to Dunbar. He followed them with a heavy heart, which certainly did not lighten when he saw the proofs they had left behind them of their pusillanimity. These arms were collected and conveyed in covered carts to Dunbar, where they were again put into the hands of the craven dragoons.⁵

⁵ Home, p. 102. The author of the pamphlet on the conduct of Provost Stewart, already quoted, gives a somewhat different account of the flight of the dragoons, but with circumstances equally ludicrous:—"Before the rebels," he observes, "came within sight of our king's forces, before they came within three miles distance of them, orders were issued to the dragoons to wheel, which they immediately did with the greatest order and regularity imaginable. As it is known that nothing is more beautiful than the evolutions and movements of cavalry, the spectators stood in expectation of what fine manœuvre they might terminate in: when new orders were immediately issued to retreat, they immediately obeyed, and began to march in the usual pace of cavalry. Orders were repeated every furlong to quicken their pace, and both precept and example concurring, they quickened it so well, that, before they reached Edinburgh, they quickened to a very smart gallop. They passed in inexpressible hurry and confusion through the narrow lanes at Barefoot's Parks, in the sight of all the north part of the town (Edinburgh,) to the infinite joy of the disaffected, and equal grief and consternation of all the other inhabitants. They rushed like a torrent down to Leith, where they endeavoured to draw breath; but some unlucky boy, (I suppose a Jacobite in his heart,) calling to them that the Highlanders were approaching, they immediately took to their heels again, and galloped to Prestonpans, about six miles farther. There, in a literal sense, *timor addidit alas*,—their fear added wings, I mean to the rebels. For otherwise they could not possibly have imagined that these formidable enemies could be within several miles of them. But at Prestonpans the same alarm was repeated. The Philistines be upon thee Sampson! They galloped to North Berwick, and being now about twenty miles to the other side of Edinburgh, they thought they might safely dismount from their horses and look out for vegetables. Accordingly, like the ancient Grecian heroes, each began to kill and dress his provisions: *egit amor dapis atque pugnæ*; they were actuated by the desire of supper and of battle. The sheep and turkies of North Berwick paid for this warlike disposition. But behold the uncertainty of human happiness! When the mutton was just ready to be put upon the table, they heard, or thought they heard, the same cry of the Highlanders. Their fear proved stronger than their hunger; they again got on horseback, but were informed time enough of the falseness of the alarm, to prevent the spoiling of their meal. By such rudiments as these, the dragoons were so thoroughly initiated in the art of running, till at last they became so perfect at their lesson, that at the battle of Preston they could practise it of themselves, though even there the same good example was not wanting. I have seen an Italian opera called *Cesaro in Egitto*, or *Cesar in Egypt*, where, in the first scene, *Cesar* is introduced in a great hurry, giving orders to his soldiers, *fugge, fugge, a' clo scampo*,—fly, fly, to your heels! This is a proof that the commander at the Coltbridge is not the first hero that gave such orders to his troops."

³ Home, p. 102.

⁴ Boyse, p. 77, referred to by Chambers.

The landing of Cope's troops was finished on Wednesday, the 17th of September; but the disembarkation of the artillery and stores was not completed till the 18th. On the last-mentioned day, Mr. Home, the author of the history of this Rebellion, arrived at Dunbar, and was introduced to Sir John, as a "volunteer from Edinburgh," desirous of communicating to him such information as he had personally collected respecting the Highland army. He told the general, that being curious to see the Highland army and its leader, and to ascertain the number of the Highlanders, he had remained in Edinburgh after they had taken possession thereof,—that for the last-mentioned purpose, he had visited the different parts they occupied in the city, and had succeeded in making a pretty exact enumeration,—that with the same view he had perambulated the Hunter's bog, where the main body was encamped,—and as he found the Highlanders sitting in ranks upon the ground taking a meal, that he was enabled to calculate their numbers with great certainty. He stated, from the observations he had been thus enabled to make, that all the Highlanders within and without the city did not amount to 2,000 men; but that he had been told that several bodies of men from the north were on their march, and were expected very soon to join the main body at Edinburgh. In answer to a question put by Cope, as to the appearance and equipment of the Highlanders, Home stated that most of them seemed to be strong, active, and hardy men, though many of them were of a very ordinary size: and if clothed like Lowlanders, would, in his opinion, appear inferior to the king's troops; but the Highland garb favoured them much, as it showed their naked limbs, which were strong and muscular; and their stern countenances and bushy uncombed hair gave them a fierce, barbarous, and imposing aspect. With regard to their arms, Mr. Home said that they had no artillery of any sort but one small unmounted iron cannon, lying upon a cart, drawn by a little Highland pony,—that about 1,400 or 1,500 of them were armed with firelocks and broadswords,—that their firelocks were of all sorts and sizes, consisting of muskets, fuses, and fowling pieces,—that some of the rest had firelocks

without swords, while others had swords without firelocks,—that many of their swords were not Highland broadswords but French,—that one or two companies, amounting to about 100 men, were armed, each of them with the shaft of a pitch-fork, with the blade of a scythe fastened to it, resembling in some degree the Lochaber axe. Mr. Home, however, added, that all the Highlanders would soon be provided with firelocks, as the arms belonging to the train bands of the city had fallen into their hands.⁶

At Dunbar, General Cope was joined by some judges and lawyers, who had fled from Edinburgh on the approach of the Highlanders. They did not, however, enter the camp as fighting men, but with the intention of continuing with the king's army, as anxious and interested spectators of the approaching conflict. Cope found a more efficient supporter in the person of the Earl of Home, then an officer in the guards, who considered it his duty to offer his services on the present occasion. Unlike his ancestors, who could have raised in their own territories a force almost equal to that now opposed to Sir John Cope, this peer was attended by one or two servants only, a circumstance which gave occasion to many persons to mark the great change in the feudal system which had taken place in Scotland, in little more than a century.

Desirous of engaging the Highland army before the arrival of its expected reinforcements, General Cope left Dunbar on the 19th of September, in the direction of Edinburgh. The cavalry, infantry, cannon, and baggage-carts, which extended several miles along the road, gave a formidable appearance to this little army, and attracted the notice of the country people, who, having been long unaccustomed to war and arms, flocked from all quarters to see an army on the eve of battle; and with infinite concern and anxiety for the result beheld the uncommon spectacle. The army halted on a field to the west of the town of Haddington, sixteen miles east from Edinburgh. As it was supposed that the Highlanders might march in the night time, and by their rapid movements surprise the army, a proposal was

⁶ Home, p. 103.

made in the evening, to the general, to employ some of the young men who followed the camp, to ride betwixt Haddington and Duddingston, during the night, so as to prevent surprise. This proposal was approved of by Cope, and sixteen young men, most of whom had been volunteers at Edinburgh, offered their services. These were divided into two parties of eight men each; one of which, subdivided into four parties of two men each, set out at nine o'clock at night, by four different roads that led to Duddingston. These parties returned to the camp at midnight, and made a report to the officer commanding the piquet, that they had not met with any appearance of the enemy. The other party then went off, subdivided as before, by the different routes, and rode about till day-break, when six of them returned and made a similar report, but the remaining two who had taken the coast road to Musselburgh, did not make their appearance at the camp, having been made prisoners by an attorney's apprentice, who conducted them to the rebel camp at Duddingston! The extraordinary capture of these doughty patrols, one of whom was Francis Garden, afterwards better known as a lord of session, by the title of Lord Gardenstone, and the other Mr. Robert Cunningham, known afterwards as General Cunningham, is thus humorously detailed by a writer in the *Quarterly Review*:—

“The general sent two of the volunteers who chanced to be mounted, and knew the country, to observe the coast road, especially towards Musselburgh. They rode on their exploratory expedition, and coming to that village, which is about six miles from Edinburgh, avoided the bridge to escape detection, and crossed the Esk, it being then low water, at a place nigh its junction with the sea. Unluckily there was at the opposite side a snug thatched cavern, kept by a cleanly old woman called Luckie F——, who was eminent for the excellence of her oysters and sherry. The patrols were both *bon-vivants*; one of them whom we remember in the situation of a senator, as it is called, of the college of justice, was unusually so, and a gay witty agreeable companion besides. Luckie's sign and the heap of shells deposited near her door, proved as great a temptation to this vigilant forlorn-hope, as the

wine-house to the abess of Andonillet's nu-leteer. They had scarcely got settled at some right *Pandores*, with a bottle of sherry as an accompaniment, when, as some Jacobite devil would have it, an unlucky north-country lad, a writer's (*i. e.* attorney's) apprentice, who had given his indentures the slip, and taken the white-cockado, chanced to pass by on his errand to join Prince Charlie. He saw the two volunteers through the window, knew them, and guessed their business; he saw the tide would make it impossible for them to return along the sands as they had come. He therefore placed himself in ambush upon the steep, narrow, impracticable bridge, which was then, and for many years afterwards, the only place of crossing the Esk, ‘and how he contrived it,’ our narrator used to proceed, ‘I never could learn, but the courage and assurance of the province from which he came are proverbial. In short, the Norland whippersnapper surrounded and made prisoners of my two poor friends, before they could draw a trigger.’”⁷

Cope resumed his march on the morning of the 20th of September, following the course of the post road to Edinburgh, till he came near Haddington, when he led off his army along another road, nearer the coast, by St. Germain's and Seaton. His object in leaving the post road was to avoid some defiles and inclosures which would have hindered, in case of attack, the operations of his cavalry. In its march the army was followed by a number of spectators, all anxious to witness the expected combat; but they were assured by the officers that as the army was now rendered complete by the junction of the horse and foot, the Highlanders would not venture to engage. As some persons who ventured to express a different opinion were looked upon with jealousy, it is not improbable that the officers who thus expressed themselves did not speak their real sentiments.

On leaving the post road the general sent forward the Earl of Loudon his adjutant-general, with Lord Home and the quarter-master-general, to select ground near Musselburgh, on which to encamp the army during the night; but this party had not proceeded far when they observed

⁷ *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxvi. p. 177.

some straggling parties of Highlanders advancing. The Earl of Loudon immediately rode back at a good pace, and gave Sir John the information just as the van of the royal army was entering the plain betwixt Seaton and Preston, known by the name of Gladsmuir. Judging the ground before him a very eligible spot for meeting the Highlanders, the general continued his march along the high road to Preston, and halted his army on the moor, where he formed his troops in order of battle, with his front to the west. His right extended towards the sea in the direction of Port Seaton, and his left towards the village of Preston. These dispositions had scarcely been made when the whole of the Highland army appeared.

The disembarkation of the royal army, and the advance of Cope towards Edinburgh, were known to Charles in the course of Thursday the 19th. Judging it of importance that no time should be lost in meeting Cope and bringing him to action, Charles had left Holyrood house on the evening of that day, and had proceeded to Duddingston, near which place his army was encamped. Having assembled a council of war, he proposed to march next morning and give battle to Sir John Cope. The members of the council having signified their acquiescence, the prince then asked the Highland chiefs how they thought their men would conduct themselves on meeting a commander who had at last mustered courage to meet them. As Maedonald of Keppoch had served in the French army, and was considered, on that account, to be a fit judge of what the Highlanders could do against regular troops, he was desired by the other chiefs to give his opinion. Keppoch observed that as the country had been long at peace, few or none of the private men had ever seen a battle, and that it was not therefore very easy to form an opinion as to how they would behave; but that he would venture to assure his royal highness that the gentlemen of the army would be in the midst of the enemy, and that as the clans loved both the cause and their chiefs, they would certainly share the danger with their leaders. Charles thereupon declared that he would lead on the Highlanders himself, and charge at their head; but the chiefs checked

his impetuosity by pointing out the ruin that would befall them if he perished in the field, though his army should be successful. They declared that, should he persist in his resolution, they would return home and make the best terms they could for themselves. This remonstrance had the desired effect upon the young Chevalier, who agreed to take a post of less danger.⁸

According to the calculation of Home, which has been alluded to, the Highland army, at the date of the capture of Edinburgh, did not exceed 2,000 men; but it was increased by about 400 more, by a party of 150 Maclauchlans who joined it on the 18th, and by an accession of 250 Athole-men on the following day. This force was further augmented by the Grants of Glenmoriston, who joined the army at Duddingston on the morning of Friday the 20th. In pursuance of the resolution of the council, the prince put himself at the head of his army on that morning, and presenting his sword, exclaimed, "My friends, I have flung away the scabbard!"⁹ This was answered by a loud huzza, on which the army marched forward in one column of three files or ranks towards Musselburgh. Passing the Esk by the bridge of Musselburgh, the army proceeded along the post road towards Pinkie. On arriving opposite the south side of Pinkie gardens, Lord George Murray, who led the van, received information that Sir John Cope was at or near Preston, and that his intention probably was to gain the high grounds of Fawside near Carberry. As there was no time to deliberate or wait for orders, and as Lord George, who was very well acquainted with these grounds, considered the occupation of them by the Highlanders as of great importance; he struck off to the right at Edgebuekling Brae, and passing through the fields by the west side of Wallyford, gained the eminence in less than half an hour, where he waited for the rear.¹

From Fawside hill the prince descried the army of Cope drawn up in the manner before described, but its position being different from

⁸ Home, p. 108.

⁹ Account of the battle of Prestonpans, published in the Caledonian Mercury of 23d September, 1745.

¹ Lord George Murray's Narrative, *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 36.—Home, 109.

that anticipated, Charles drew off his army towards the left, and descending the hill in the direction of Tranent, entered again upon the post road at some distance to the west of the village, along which he continued his march. On approaching Tranent the Highlanders were received by the king's troops with a vehement shout of defiance, which the Highlanders answered in a similar strain. About two o'clock in the afternoon the Highland army halted on an eminence called Birsley Brae, about half a mile to the west of Tranent, and formed in order of battle about a mile from the royal forces.

In the expectation that the Highlanders were advancing by the usual route through Musselburgh, Cope had taken up the position we have described with his front to the west; but as soon as he observed the Highlanders on the heights upon his left he changed his front to the south. This change of position, while it secured Cope better from attack, was not so well calculated for safety as the first position was in the event of a defeat. On his right was the east wall of a park, belonging to Erskine of Grange, which extended a considerable way from north to south, and still farther to the right was the village of Preston. The village of Seaton was on his left, and the village of Cockenzie and the sea in his rear. Almost immediately in front was a deep ditch filled with water, and a strong and thick hedge. Farther removed from the front, and between the two armies was a morass, the ends of which had been drained, and were intersected by numerous cuts. And on the more firm ground at the ends were several small inclosures, with hedges, dry stone walls, and willow trees.

As the Highlanders were in excellent spirits, and eager to close immediately with the enemy, Charles felt very desirous to comply with their wishes; but he soon ascertained, by examining some people of the neighbourhood, that the passage across the morass, from the nature of the ground, would be extremely dangerous if not altogether impracticable. Not wishing, however, in a matter of such importance to trust altogether to the opinion of the country people, Lord George Murray ordered Colonel Ker of Graddon, an officer of some military experience, to examine the ground, and to report.

Mounted upon a little white pony he descended alone into the plain below, and with the greatest coolness and deliberation surveyed the morass on all sides. As he went along the morass several shots were fired at him, by some of Cope's men, from the sides of the ditches; but he paid so little regard to these annoyances that, on coming to a dry stone wall which stood in his way, he dismounted, and making a gap in it led his horse through. After finishing this perilous duty he returned to the army, and reported to the lieutenant-general that he considered it impracticable to pass the morass and attack the enemy in front, without risking the whole army, and that it was impossible for the men to pass the ditches in a line.²

While his lieutenant-general was, in consequence of this information, planning a different mode of attack, the prince himself was moving with a great part of his army towards Dolphinstone on Cope's right. Halting opposite Preston tower he seemed to threaten that flank of the English general, who, thereupon, returned to his original position with his front to Preston, and his right towards the sea. As Lord George Murray considered that the only practicable mode of attacking Cope was by advancing from the east, he led off part of the army about sunset through the village of Tranent, and sent notice to the prince to follow him with the remainder as quickly as possible. When passing through the village Lord George was joined by fifty of the Camerons, who had been posted by O'Sullivan in the churchyard at the foot of Tranent. This party being within half cannon shot of Cope's artillery, had been exposed during the afternoon to a fire from their cannon, and one or two of the Camerons had been wounded. To frighten the Highlanders, who, they imagined, had never seen cannon before, Cope's men huzzaed at every discharge; but the Camerons remained in their position, till, on the representation of Lochiel, who went and viewed the ground, and found his men unnecessarily exposed, they were ordered to retire in the direction of Tranent. O'Sullivan, who was in the rear when this order was given, came up on the junction of the party, and asking Lord George the mean-

² Home, 111. — Lord George Murray's Narrative in *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 37.

ing of the movement he was making, was told by him, that as it was not possible to attack the enemy with any chance of success on the west side of the village, he had resolved to assail them from the east, and that he would satisfy the prince that his plan was quite practicable,—that for this purpose he had ordered the army to march to the east side of the village, where there were good dry fields covered with stubble, on which the men could bivouack during the night,—and that with regard to the withdrawal of the party which O'Sullivan had posted in the churchyard, they could be of no service there, and were unnecessarily exposed. On being informed of the movement made by Lord George Murray, Charles proceeded to follow him, but it was dark before the rear had passed the village. To watch Cope's motions on the west, Charles left behind the Athole brigade, consisting of 500 men under Lord Nairne, which he posted near Preston above Colonel Gardiner's parks.³

After the Highland army had halted on the fields to the east of Tranent, a council of war was held, at which Lord George Murray proposed to attack the enemy at break of day. He assured the members of the council that the plan was not only practicable, but that it would in all probability be attended with success,—that he knew the ground himself, and that he had just seen one or two gentlemen who were also well acquainted with every part of it. He added, that there was indeed a small defile at the east end of the ditches, but if once passed there would be no farther hinderance, and though, from being obliged to march in a column, they would necessarily consume a considerable time on their march, yet when the whole line had passed the defile they would have nothing to do but face to the left, form in a moment, and commence the attack. Charles was highly pleased with the proposal of the lieutenant-general; which having received the unanimous approbation of the council, a few piquets were, by order of Lord George, placed around the bivouack, and the Highlanders, after having supped, wrapped themselves up in their plaids, and lay down upon the ground to repose for the night. Charles, taking a sheaf of pease

for a pillow, stretched himself upon the stubble, surrounded by his principal officers, all of whom followed his example. Before the army went to rest, notice was sent to Lord Nairne to leave his post with the Athole brigade at two o'clock in the morning as quietly as possible. To conceal their position from the English general, no fires or lights were allowed, and orders were issued and scrupulously obeyed, that strict silence should be kept, and that no man should stir from his place till directed.⁴

When Cope observed Charles returning towards Tranent, he resumed his former posi-

⁴ *Idem*, p. 38.—Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 449. The accounts given by Home and the Chevalier Johnstone differ in some respects from that of Lord George Murray. Home says, that Mr. Robert Anderson (son of Anderson of Whitbrough in East Lothian, who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1715) had confirmed Ker of Gradob's account of the ground after his survey, on being consulted by Lord George Murray,—that he was present at the council of war, but did not give any opinion; but that after Charles and his officers had separated, Anderson told Hepburn of Keith that he knew the ground perfectly, and was certain there was a better way to come at the king's army than that which the council had resolved to follow,—that he would undertake to show them a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and without being exposed to their fire,—that Hepburn listened attentively to this information, and expressed his opinion of it in such terms that Anderson desired he would carry him to Lord George Murray,—that Hepburn advised him to go himself to Lord George, who knew him, and would like better to receive information from him alone than when introduced by another person,—that when Anderson came to Lord George Murray he found him asleep in a field of cut pease with several of the chiefs near him,—that on awakening his Lordship, he repeated what he had said to Mr. Hepburn, and offered to lead the men through the morass,—that Lord George considering this information important, awoke Charles, who was lying near him with a sheaf of pease for his pillow, and who, pleased with Anderson's information, ordered Lochiel and the other chiefs to be called, all of whom approved of the plan of attack. The Chevalier Johnstone says that the officers of the army were perplexed how to act, from the apparent impossibility of making a successful attack, but that Anderson came to the prince in the evening very *a propos*, and relieved them from their embarrassment by informing them that there was a place in the marsh which could be crossed with safety, and that upon examining it Anderson's information was found to be correct. Lord George's own account appears, however, to give the real *res gestæ*. From it he appears to have communicated with Anderson and Hepburn before the council of war had assembled. As his Lordship says that "at midnight the principal officers were called again," it is probable he alludes to the scene described by Home, when the prince himself and the chiefs were awakened by Anderson; but as Anderson was present in the council, and as Lord George says, that, after this midnight call "all was ordered as was at first proposed," it is very likely that Anderson was anxious to afford some additional information which he had formerly omitted to give.

³ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 33.

tion with his front to the west and his right to the sea. He now began to perceive that his situation was not so favourable as he had imagined, and that while the insurgents could move about at discretion, select their ground, and choose their time and mode of attack, he was cramped in his own movements, and could act only on the defensive. The spectators, who felt an interest in the fate of his army, and who had calculated upon certain success to Cope's arms during the day, now, that night was at hand, began to forebode the most gloomy results. Instead of a bold and decided movement on the part of Cope to meet the enemy, they observed that he had spent the day in doing absolutely nothing,—that he was in fact hemmed in by the Highlanders, and forced at pleasure to change his position at every movement they were pleased to make. They dreaded that an army which was obliged to act thus upon the defensive, and which would, therefore, be obliged to pass the ensuing night under arms, could not successfully resist an attack next morning from men, who, sheltered from the cold by their plaids, could enjoy the sweets of repose and rise fresh and vigorous for battle.⁵

To secure his army from surprise during the night, Cope placed advanced piquets of horse and foot along the side of the morass, extending nearly as far east as the village of Seaton. He, at the same time, sent his baggage and military chest down to Cockenzie under a guard of 40 men of the line and all the Highlanders of the army, consisting of four companies, viz., two of newly raised men belonging to Loudon's regiments, and two additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, which had been diminished by desertion to fifteen men each.⁶ Although the weather had been very fine, and the days were still warm, yet the nights were now getting cold and occasionally frosty. As the night in question, that of Friday the 20th of September, was very cold, Cope ordered fires to be kindled along the front of his line, to keep his men warm. During the night he amused himself by

firing off, at random, some cohorn, ⁷ probably to alarm the Highlanders or disturb their slumbers, but these hardy mountaineers, if perchance they awoke for a time, disregarded these empty bravadoes, and fell back again into the arms of sleep.

In point of numbers the army of Cope was rather inferior to that of Charles; but many of the Highlanders were badly armed, and some of them were without arms. The royal forces amounted altogether to about 2,300 men; but the number in the field was diminished to 2,100 by the separation of the baggage-guard which was sent to Cockenzie. The order of battle formed by Cope along the north side of the morass was as follows:—He drew up his foot in one line, in the centre of which were eight companies of Lascelles's regiment, and two of Guise's. On the right were five companies of Lee's regiment, and on the left the regiment of Murray, with a number of recruits for different regiments at home and abroad. Two squadrons of Gardiner's dragoons formed the right wing, and a similar number of Hamilton's composed the left. The remaining squadron of each regiment was placed in the rear of its companions as a reserve. On the left of the army, near the waggon-road from Tranent to Cockenzie, were placed the artillery, consisting of six or seven pieces of cannon and four cohorn, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Whiteford, and guarded by a company of Lee's regiment, commanded by Captain Cochrane. Besides the regular troops there were some volunteers, consisting principally of small parties of the neighbouring tenantry, headed by their respective landlords. Some Seceders, actuated by religious zeal, had also placed themselves under the royal standard.⁸

Pursuant to the orders he had received, Lord Nairne left the position he had occupied during the night at the appointed hour, and rejoined the main body about three o'clock in the morning. Instead of continuing the order of march of the preceding night, it had been determined by the council of war to reverse it. The charge of this movement was intrusted to Colonel Ker, who had signalized himself by

⁵ Home, p. 112.

⁶ A party of 200 Munroes followed Cope to Aberdeen, but refused to embark as harvest-time was at hand.

⁷ Lockhart Papers, vo. ii. p. 439. ⁸ Home, p. 113.

the calm intrepidity with which he had surveyed the marsh on the preceding day. To carry this plan into effect, Ker went to the head of the column, and passing along the line, desired the men to observe a profound silence, and not to stir a step till he should return to them. On reaching the rear he ordered it to march from the left, and to pass close in front of the column, and returning along the line, he continued to repeat the order till the whole army was in motion. This evolution was accomplished without the least confusion, and before four o'clock in the morning the whole army was in full march.⁹

The Duke of Perth, who was to command the right wing, was at the head of the inverted column. He was attended by Hepburn of Keith, and Mr. Robert Anderson, son of Anderson of Whitbrough, who, from his intimate knowledge of the morass, was sent forward to lead the way. A little in advance of the van was a select party of 60 men doubly armed, under the command of Macdonald of Glenalladale, major of the regiment of Clanranald, whose appointed duty it was to seize the enemy's baggage. The army proceeded in an easterly direction till near the farm of Ringanhead, when, turning to the left, they marched in a northerly direction through a small valley which intersects the farm. During the march the utmost silence was observed by the men, not even a whisper being heard; and lest the trampling of horses might discover their advance, the few that were in the army were left behind. The ford or path across the morass was so narrow that the column, which marched three men abreast, had scarcely sufficient standing room, and the ground along it was so soft, that many of the men were almost at every step up to the knees in mud. The path in question, which was about two hundred paces to the west of the stone-bridge afterwards built across Seaton mill-dam, led to a small wooden bridge which had been thrown over the large ditch that ran through the morass from east to west. This bridge, and the continuation of the path on the north of it, were a little to the east of Cope's left. From ignorance of the existence of this bridge, from

oversight, or from a supposition that the marsh was not passable in that quarter, Cope had placed no guards in that direction, and the consequence was, that the Highland army, whose march across could have been effectually stopped by a handful of men, passed the bridge and cleared the marsh without interruption.¹

The army was divided into two columns or lines, with an interval between them. After the first line had got out of the marsh, Lord George Murray sent the Chevalier Johnstone, one of his aides-de-camp, to hasten the march of the second, which was conducted by the prince in person, and to see that it passed without noise or confusion. At the remote end of the marsh there was a deep ditch, three or four feet broad, over which the men had to leap. In jumping across this ditch, Charles fell upon his knees on the other side, and was immediately raised by the Chevalier Johnstone, who says, that Charles looked as if he considered the accident a bad omen.²

Hitherto the darkness had concealed the march of the Highlanders; but the morning was now about to dawn, and at the time the order to halt was given, some of Cope's piquets, stationed on his left, for the first time heard the tramp of the Highlanders. The Highlanders then heard distinctly these advanced guards repeatedly call out, "Who is there?" No answer having been returned, the piquets immediately gave the alarm, and the cry of "cannons, cannons; get ready the cannons, cannoners," resounded on Cope's left wing.³

Charles proceeded instantly to give directions for attacking Cope before he should have time to change his position by opposing his front to that of the Highland army. It was not in compliance with any rule in military science, that the order of march of the Highland army had been reversed; but in accordance with an established punctilio among the clans, which, for upwards of seven centuries, had assigned the right wing, regarded as the post of honour, to the Macdonalds. As arranged at the council of war on the preceding evening, the army was drawn up in two lines. The first consisted of the regiments of Clan-

⁹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 39.—*Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 449.—Home, p. 89

¹ *Idem*.

² *Memoirs*, 3d edition, p. 35.

³ *Lockhart*, vol. ii. p. 491.

ranald, Keppoch, Glengary, and Glencoe,⁴ under their respective chiefs. These regiments formed the right wing, which was commanded by the Duke of Perth. The Duke of Perth's men and the Macgregors composed the centre; while the left wing, commanded by Lord George Murray, was formed of the Camerons under Lochiel, their chief, and the Stewarts of Appin commanded by Stewart of Ardshiel. The second line, which was to serve as a reserve, consisted of the Athole-men, the Robertsons of Strowan, and the Maclauchlans. This body was placed under the command of Lord Nairne.

As soon as Cope received intelligence of the advance of the Highlanders, he gave orders to change his front to the east. Some confusion took place in carrying these orders into execution, from the advanced guards belonging to the foot not being able to find out the regiments to which they belonged, and who, in consequence, stationed themselves on the right of Lee's five companies, and thereby prevented the two squadrons of Gardiner's dragoons, which had been posted on the right of the line, from forming properly. For want of room the squadron under Colonel Gardiner drew up behind that commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Whitney. In all other respects the disposition of each regiment was the same; but the artillery, which before the change had been on the left, and close to that wing, was now on the right somewhat farther from the line, and in front of Whitney's squadron.⁵

There was now no longer any impediment to prevent the armies from coming into collision; and if Cope had had the choice he could not have selected ground more favourable for the operations of cavalry than that which lay between the two armies. It was a level field of considerable extent without bush or tree, and had just been cleared of its crop of grain. But unfortunately for the English general, the celerity with which the Highlanders com-

menced the attack prevented him from availing himself of this local advantage.

After both lines of the Highland army had formed, Charles addressed his army in these words:—"Follow me, gentlemen; and by the assistance of God I will, this day, make you a free and happy people."⁶ He then went up to the right wing and spent a little time in earnest conversation with the Duke of Perth and Clanranald, and, having given his last instructions to them, returned to the station which, in compliance with the wish of his council, he had taken between the lines, where, surrounded by his guard, he waited the signal to advance. If, as alleged by Chevalier Johnstone, Charles exhibited symptoms of alarm when he fell on crossing the ditch, he now certainly showed that fear had no longer a place in his mind. The coolness and self-possession which he displayed when giving his orders would have done honour to the most experienced general; but these qualities are to be still more valued in a young man playing the important and dangerous game that Charles had undertaken. The officer to whose tuition Charles had been indebted for the little knowledge he had acquired of Gaelic, mentions an occurrence indicative of the prince's firmness on this occasion. In returning from the right wing to his guard after giving his orders to the Duke of Perth and Clanranald, he saw the officer alluded to passing near him, and with a smile, said to him in Gaelic,—"*Gres-ort, gres-ort!*" that is, "*Make haste, make haste!*"⁷

By the time the arrangements for commencing the attack were completed, the morning had fully dawned, and the beams of the rising sun were beginning to illuminate the horizon; but the mist which still hovered over the corn fields prevented the two armies from seeing each other. Every thing being now in readiness for advancing, the Highlanders took off their bonnets, and, placing themselves in an attitude of devotion, with upraised eyes uttered a short prayer.⁸ As the Highlanders had advanced considerably beyond the main ditch, Lord George Murray was apprehensive that Cope might turn the left flank, and to guard

⁴ Home puts the Macdonalds of Glencoe on the left of the second line; but the author of the *Journal and Memoirs*, (*Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 491,) an officer in the Highland army who was in the battle, says that the Macdonalds of Glencoe were on the right of the first line. The official account published in the *Caledonian Mercury* by Charles, also places the Glencoe men in the same situation.

⁵ Home, p. 117.

⁶ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 490.

⁷ *Idem*, p. 401.

⁸ *Caledonian Mercury* of 23d Sept. 1745.

against such a contingency, he desired Lochiel, who was on the extreme left, to order his men in advancing to incline to the left.⁹

Lord George Murray now ordered the left wing to advance, and sent an aid-de-camp to the Duke of Perth to request him to put the right in motion. The Highlanders moved with such rapidity that their ranks broke; to recover which, they halted once or twice before closing with the enemy. When Cope, at day-break, observed the first line of the Highland army formed in order of battle, at the distance of two hundred paces from his position, he mistook it for bushes; but before it had advanced half way, the rays of the rising sun bursting through the retiring mist showed the armies to each other. The army of Cope at this time made a formidable appearance; and some of Charles's officers were heard afterwards to declare, that when they first saw it, and compared the gallant appearance of the horse and foot, with their well-polished arms glittering in the sunbeams, with their own line broken into irregular clusters, they expected that the Highland army would be instantly defeated, and swept from the field.¹

The Highlanders continued to advance in profound silence. As the right wing marched straight forward without attending to the oblique movement of the Camerons to the left, a gap took place in the centre of the line. An attempt was made to fill it up with the second line, which was about fifty paces behind the first, but before this could be accomplished, the left wing, being the first to move, had advanced beyond the right of the line, and was now engaged with the enemy. By inclining to the left, the Camerons gained half the ground originally between them and the main ditch; but this movement brought them up directly opposite to Cope's cannon. On approaching the cannon the Highlanders fired a few shots at the artillery guard, which alarmed an old gunner, who had charge of the cannon, and his assistants to such a degree that they fled, carrying the powder flasks along with them. To check the advance of the Highlanders, Colonel Whiteford fired off five of the field pieces with his own hand; but though

their left seemed to recoil, they instantly resumed the rapid pace they had set out with. The artillery guard next fired a volley with as little effect. Observing the squadron of dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney advancing to charge them, the Camerons set up a loud shout, rushed past the cannon, and after discharging a few shots at the dragoons, which killed several men, and wounded the lieutenant-colonel, flew upon them sword in hand. When assailed, the squadron was reeling to and fro from the fire; and the Highlanders following an order they had received, to strike at the noses of the horses without minding the riders, completed the disorder. In a moment the dragoons wheeled about, rode over the artillery guard, and fled followed by the guard. The Highlanders continuing to push forward without stopping to take prisoners, Colonel Gardiner was ordered to advance with his squadron, and charge the enemy. He accordingly went forward, encouraging his men to stand firm; but this squadron, before it had advanced many paces, experienced such a reception, that it followed the example which the other had just set.²

After the flight of the dragoons, the Highlanders advanced upon the infantry, who opened a fire from right to left, which went down the line as far as Murray's regiment. They received this volley with a loud huzza, and throwing away their muskets, drew their swords and rushed upon the foot before the latter had time to reload their pieces. Confounded by the flight of the dragoons, and the furious onset of the Highlanders, the astonished infantry threw down their arms and took to their heels. Hamilton's dragoons, who were stationed on Cope's left, displayed even greater pusillanimity than their companions; for no sooner did they observe the squadrons on the right give way, than they turned their backs and fled without firing a single shot, or drawing a sword.³ Murray's

² Home, p. 119. *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 40. *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 490. *Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 35.

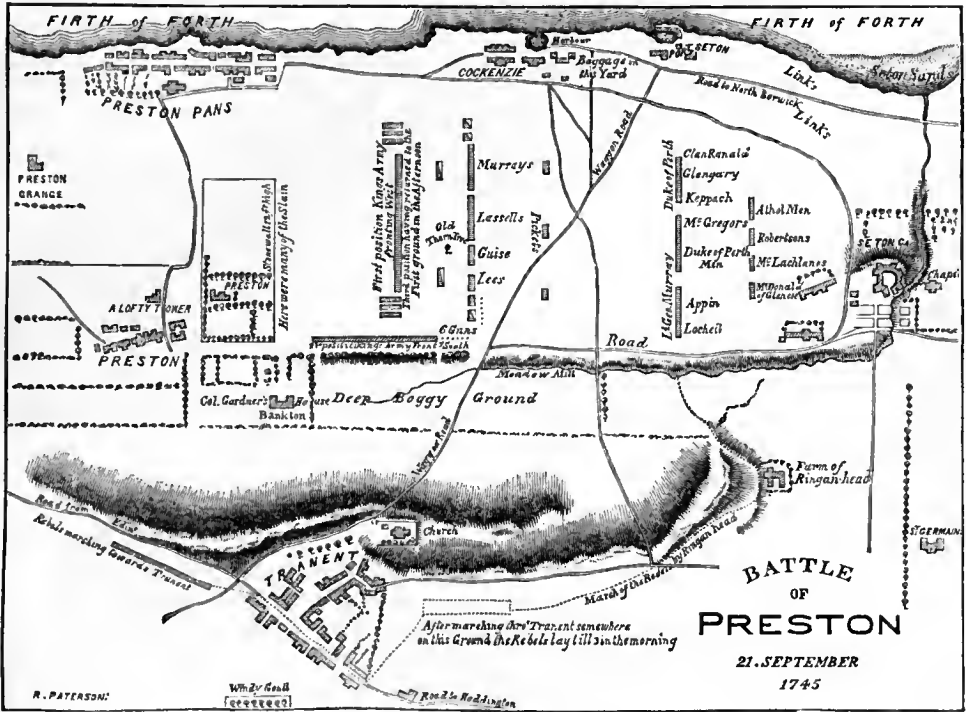
³ Old General Wightman, who commanded the centre of the royalist army at the battle of Sheriffmuir, was present at this battle as a spectator. Mounted on his "old cropt galloway," he posted himself by break of day about a musket shot in the rear of Hamilton's dragoons, and had not taken his ground above three minutes when "the scuffle" began. He says it lasted about four minutes. After "all was in route," Wight-

⁹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 40.

¹ Home, p. 118.

regiment being thus left alone on the field, fired upon the Macdonalds who were advancing, and also fled. Thus, within a very few minutes after the action had commenced, the whole army of Cope was put to flight. With the exception of their fire, not the slightest resistance was made by horse or foot, and not a single bayonet was stained with blood. Such were the impetuosity and rapidity with which the

first line of the Highlanders broke through Cope's ranks, that they left numbers of his men in their rear who attempted to rally behind them; but on seeing the second line coming up they endeavoured to make their escape.⁴ Though the second line was not more than fifty paces behind the first, and was always running as fast as it could to overtake the first line, and near enough never to lose sight of it, yet such



Plan of the Battle of Prestonpanns.

was the rapidity with which the battle was gained, that, according to the Chevalier Johnstone,⁵ who stood by the side of the prince in the second line, he could see no other enemy

on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground killed and wounded.

man remained in his station, "calm and fearless," according to his own account, till he saw all the dragoons out of the field, and the foot surrounded on all sides. Ex-provost Drummond, "who (says Wightman) would needs fight among the dragoons," was also present, mounted on an old dragoon horse, which one Mathie had purchased for £4, and had used as a cart horse. Not being able to reach Gardiner's dragoons before the battle began, Drummond joined the squadrons under Hamilton; but "to his great luck," and to the "great comfort," of his friend Wightman, he was swept away out of the field by the cowardly dragoons, and accompanied Cope to Berwick.—*Culloden Papers*, p. 224.

Unfortunately for the royal infantry, the walls of the inclosures about the village of Preston, which formed their great security on their right, now that these were in their rear, operated as a barrier to their flight. Having disencumbered themselves of their arms to facilitate their escape, they had deprived themselves of their only means of defence, and driven as they were upon the walls of the inclosures, they would have all perished under the swords of the High-

⁴ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 40.

⁵ *Memoirs*, p. 37.

landers, had not Charles and his officers strenuously exerted themselves to preserve the lives of their discomfited foes. The impetuosity of the attack, however, and the sudden flight of the royal army, allowed little leisure for the exercise of humanity, and before the carnage ceased several hundreds had fallen under the claymores of the Highlanders, and the ruthless scythes of the Macgregors. Armed with these deadly weapons, which were sharpened and fixed to poles from seven to eight feet long, to supply the place of other arms, this party mowed down the affrighted enemy, cut off the legs of the horses, and severed, it is said, the bodies of their riders in twain. Captain James Drummond, alias Macgregor, son of the celebrated Rob Roy, who commanded this company, fell at the commencement of the action. When advancing to the charge he received five wounds. Two bullets went through his body, and laid him prostrate on the ground. That his men might not be discouraged by his fall, this intrepid officer resting his head upon his hand, called out to them, "My lads, I am not dead!—by God, I shall see if any of you does not do his duty!" This singular address had the desired effect, and the Macgregors instantly fell on the flank of the English infantry, which, being left uncovered and exposed by the flight of the cavalry, immediately gave way.⁶

⁶ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 36.—In the account of the battle published by the Highland army, Captain Macgregor is stated to have been mortally wounded; but he lived several years thereafter, and retired to France in 1753. On his arrival he addressed the following letter to Edgar, secretary to the Chevalier de St. George. The original is thus quoted in Edgar's handwriting, "Rob Roy's son, May 22d, 1753:"—

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER,
May 22d, 1753.

SIR.—I use the freedom to beg of you to lay before his Majesty my following unhappy case. What I am his Majesty will see by the inclosed certificate, and whatever little my vanity might make me imagine I have to his Majesty's protection, all I expect or desire at present is, that assistance which is absolutely necessary for the support of a man who has always shown the strongest attachment to his Majesty's person and cause. As long as I could stay in Scotland I never thought to have added to his Majesty a trouble or expense; but upon Dr. Cameron, Lochiel's brother, being taken up, a strict search was made over all, that I had no way of avoiding being taken but coming to this country, where I am in a situation so uneasy, that I am forced to applay to the generosity of the best of kings. I flatter myself that it is in my power to acquaint his Majesty with something of the greatest consequence to his cause and our country. But I think

Of the infantry of the royal army, only about 170 escaped.⁷ From a report made by their own sergeants and corporals, by order of Lord George Murray, between 1,600 and 1,700 prisoners, foot and cavalry, fell into the hands of the Highlanders, including about 70 officers. In this number were comprehended the baggage-guard, stationed at Cockenzie, which amounted to 300 men, who, on learning the fate of the main body and the loss of their cannon, surrendered to the Camerons.⁸ The cannon and all the baggage of the royal army, together with the military chest, containing £4,000, fell into the hands of the victors. The greater part of the dragoons escaped by the two roads at the extremities of the park wall, one of which passed by Colonel Gardiner's house in

it would be improper, unless I had the honor of being presented to him. The general character you, Sir, have for being ready to serve any body in distress, leaves me no room to doubt of your interesting yourself in my behalf, which I dare say will be of the greatest use to me, and I am sure will be conferring the highest obligation upon, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,
JAS. DRUMMOND

May I request the honor of an answer to the care of Lord Strathallan.

The following is the certificate referred to:—

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER,
May ye 22d, 1753.

We the underwritten certify that it consists with our knowledge, that James Drummond, son to the late Rob Roy, was employ'd in the Prince Regent's affairs by James, Duke of Perth, before his Royal Highness's arrival in Scotland, and that afterwards he behaved with great bravery in several battles, in which he received many dangerous wounds.

STRATHALLAN.
CHARLES BOYD.
WILLM. DRUMMOND.

To relieve his necessities, James ordered his banker at Paris to pay Macgregor 300 livres, in reference to which Lord Strathallan thus writes to Edgar, from Boulogne-sur-Mer, on 6th Sept., 1753:—"I had the honor of yours some time ago, and deferred writing you until I heard about the 300 livres for Mr. Drummond, (Macgregor); but I have never heard any more of it. I immediately acquainted Mr. D. with the contents of your letter. The attestation I signed was only as to his courage and personal bravery, for as to any thing else, I would be sorry to answer for him, as he has but an indifferent character as to real honesty."—*Stuart Papers*.

⁷ According to the Chevalier Johnstone, (*Memoirs*, p. 38,) 1,300 of Cope's men were killed; but Home states the number as not exceeding 200. He says, however, in a note, that some accounts of the battle written by officers in the rebel army, make the number killed to have been 400 or 500. These last seem to be nearer the truth.

⁸ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 41.

the rear on their right, and the other on their left, to the north of Preston-house. In retiring towards these outlets, the dragoons, at the entreaties of their officers, halted once or twice, and faced about to meet the enemy; but as soon as the Highlanders came up and fired at them, they wheeled about and fled. Cope, who was by no means deficient in personal courage, assisted by the Earls of Home and Loudon, collected about 450 of the panic-struck dragoons on the west side of the village of Preston, and attempted to lead them back to the charge; but no entreaties could induce these cowards to advance, and the whistling of a few bullets discharged by some Highlanders near the village, so alarmed them, that they instantly scampered off in a southerly direction, screening their heads behind their horses' necks to avoid the bullets of the Highlanders. The general had no alternative but to gallop off with his men.⁹ He reached Coldstream, a town about forty miles from the field of battle, that night; and entered Berwick next day.

Among six of Cope's officers who were killed, was Colonel Gardiner, a veteran soldier who had served under the Duke of Marlborough, and whose character combined a strong religious feeling with the most undaunted courage. He had been decidedly opposed to the *defensive* system of Cope on the preceding evening, and had counselled the general not to lose a moment in attacking the Highlanders; but his advice was disregarded. Anticipating the fate which awaited him, he spent the greater part of the night in devotion, and resolved at all hazards to perform his duty. He was wounded at the first onset at the head of his dragoons; but disdainful to follow them in their retreat, he joined a small body of foot, which attempted to rally near the wall of his own garden, and while fighting at their head

was cut down by the murderous scythe of a Macgregor, within a few yards of his own house. He was carried by a friend to the manse of Tranent in an almost lifeless state, where he expired within a few hours, and was interred in the north-west corner of the church of Tranent.¹ Captain Brymer of Lee's regiment, who appears to have participated in Gardiner's opinion as to attacking the Highlanders, met a similar fate. Having been at the battle of Sheriffmuir, he was satisfied of the capability of the Highlanders to contend with regular troops, and dreaded the result of an encounter if assailed by the Highlanders. When encamped at Haddington, his brother



Colonel James Gardiner, aged 40. From *same* painting by Van Deest (1727).

officers were in high spirits, and making light of the enemy; but Brymer viewed matters in a very different light. While reading one night in his tent he was accosted by Mr. Congalton of Congalton, his brother-in-law, who, observing him look pensive and grave, when all the other officers appeared so cheerful, inquired the reason. Brymer answered that the Highlanders were not to be despised

⁹ Report of Cope's examination. The story told by the Chevalier Johnstone, of Cope's having effected his escape through the midst of the Highlanders by mounting a white cockade, seems improbable, as Cope does not appear to have been in a situation to have rendered such a step necessary. If any officer made his escape in the way described, it is likely Colonel Lascelles was the man. He fell into the hands of the Highlanders; but in the hurry they were in, contrived to make his escape eastward, and arrived safe at Berwick. Amid the confusion which prevailed, he might easily have snatched a cockade from a dead or wounded Highlander, or procured one for a sum of money.

¹ Doddridge's *Life of Colonel Gardiner*.

and that he was afraid his brother officers would soon find that they had mistaken the character of the Highlanders, who would, to a certainty, attack the royal army, with a boldness which those only who had witnessed their prowess could have any idea of. These gloomy forebodings were not the result of an innate cowardice—for this officer was, as he showed, a brave man—but from a well-founded conviction that Cope's men could not stand the onset of such a body of Highlanders as Charles had assembled. Brymer was killed, with his face to the enemy, disdaining to turn his back when that part of the line where he was stationed was broken in upon by the Highlanders.²

The loss on the side of the Highlanders was trilling. Four officers,³ and between 30 and 40 privates, were killed; and 5 or 6 officers, and between 70 and 80 privates, wounded.⁴

After the termination of the fight, the field of battle presented an appalling spectacle, rarely exhibited in the most bloody conflicts. As almost all the slain were cut down by the broadsword and the scythe, the ground was strewed with legs, arms, hands, noses, and mutilated bodies, while, from the deep gashes inflicted by these dreadful weapons, the field was literally soaked with gore. An instance of the almost resistless power of the broadsword occurred when a Highland gentleman, who led a division, broke through Mackay's regiment: a grenadier, having attempted to parry off with his hand a blow made at him by the gentleman alluded to, had his hand lopped off and his skull cut above an inch deep. He expired on the spot.⁵

It was a most fortunate circumstance that the Highlanders, having no revengeful feeling to gratify on the present occasion, were easily induced to listen to the dictates of humanity. After the fury of their onset was abated, they not only readily gave, but even offered quarter; and when the action was over, appear to have displayed an unwonted sympathy for the

wounded. A Highland officer thus exultingly notices the conduct of his companions in arms. "Now, whatever notions or sentiments the low country people may entertain of our Highlanders, this day there were many proofs to a diligent spectator, amidst all the bloodshed, (which at the first shock was unavoidable,) of their humanity and mercy; for I can, with the strictest truth and sincerity, declare, that I often heard our people call out to the soldiers if they wanted quarter; and we, the officers, exerted our utmost pains to protect the soldiers from their first fury, when either through their stubbornness or want of language they did not cry for quarters, and I observed some of our private men run to Port Seton for ale and other liquors to support the wounded. And as one proof for all, to my own particular observation, I saw a Highlander supporting a poor wounded soldier and carry him on his back into his house, and left him a sixpence at parting."⁶

In their attentions to the wounded, the Highlanders had a good example in Charles himself, who not only issued orders for taking care of the wounded, but also remained on the field of battle till mid-day to see that his orders were fulfilled. Finding the few surgeons he had carried along with him inadequate to meet the demands of the wounded, he despatched one of his officers to Edinburgh to bring out all the surgeons, who accordingly instantly repaired to the field of battle. As the Highlanders felt an aversion to bury the dead, and as the country people could not be prevailed upon to assist in the care of the wounded,⁷ Charles experienced great obstacles in carrying through his humane intentions. Writing to his father, on the evening of the battle, he thus alludes to them: "'Tis hard my victory should put me under new difficulties which I did not feel before, and yet this is the case. I am charged both with the care of my friends and enemies. Those who should bury the

² Home, p. 121.

³ These were Captain Robert Stewart of Ardshiel's battalion; Captain Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch's; Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lindavra; and Ensign James Cameron of Lochiel's regiment.

⁴ Account published by the Highland army.—Kirkconnel MS.

⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, 25th September 1745.

⁶ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 491.

⁷ Lord George Murray says, that when traversing the field of battle in the afternoon he observed that some of Cope's men, "who were the worst wounded, had not been carried to houses to be dressed; and though there were several of the country people of that neighbourhood looking at them, I could not prevail with them to carry them to houses, but got some of our people to do it."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 42.

dead are run away, as if it were no business of theirs. My Highlanders think it beneath them to do it, and the country people are fled away. However, I am determined to try if I can get people for money to undertake it, for I cannot bear the thought of suffering Englishmen to rot above the ground. I am in great difficulties how I shall dispose of my wounded prisoners. If I make a hospital of the church, it will be looked upon as a great profanation, and of having violated my manifesto, in which I promised to violate no man's property. If the magistrates would act, they would help me out of this difficulty. Come what will, I am resolved not to let the poor wounded men lye in the streets, and if I can do no better, I will make a hospital of the palace and leave it to them."⁸

When congratulating themselves on the victory they had obtained, the Highlanders related to each other what they had done or seen.

⁸ All the wounded privates of both armies were carried to the different villages adjoining the field of battle. Those of Cope's officers who were dangerously wounded were lodged in Colonel Gardiner's house, where surgeons attended them. In the evening, the remainder, (who had given their parole,) accompanied by Lord George Murray, went to Musselburgh, where a house had been provided for their reception. Some of them walked, but others, who were unable to do so, had horses provided for them by his lordship. The house into which they were put was newly finished, and had neither table, bed, chair, nor grate in it. Lord George caused some new thrashed straw to be purchased for beds, and the officers on their arrival partook of a tolerable meal of cold provisions and some liquor, which his lordship had carried along with him. When about to retire, the officers entreated him not to leave them, as being without a guard, they were afraid that some of the Highlanders, who were in liquor, might come in and insult or plunder them. Lord George consented, and lay on a floor by them all night. Some of the officers, who were valetudinary, slept that night in the house of the minister. Next day, after the departure of the prince for Edinburgh, the officers had quarters provided for them in Pinkie-house. The other prisoners, privates, were quartered in Musselburgh and the gardens of Pinkie for two nights, and were afterwards removed, along with the officers, to Edinburgh. The latter were confined for a few days in Queensberry-house, when they were released on parole, and allowed to reside in the city, on condition that they should hold no communication with the castle. The privates were confined in the church and jail of the Canongate. Such of the wounded as could be removed were put into the Royal Infirmary, where great care was taken of them. One of the officers having broke his parole by going into the castle, the others were sent to Perth. The privates were removed to Logierait in Athole; and the wounded were dismissed as they recovered, on taking an oath that they should not carry arms against the prince before the 1st of January, 1747.—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 42. *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 451. *Caledonian Mercury*.

Instances were given of individual prowess which might appear incredible, were it not well-known that when fear seizes an army all confidence in themselves or their numbers is completely destroyed. On this occasion "the panic-terror of the English surpassed all imagination. They threw down their arms that they might run with more speed, thus depriving themselves by their fears of the only means of arresting the vengeance of the Highlanders. Of so many, in a condition from their numbers to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken entire possession of their minds."⁹ Of the cases mentioned, one was that of a young Highlander about fourteen years of age, scarcely formed, who was presented to the prince as a prodigy, having, it was said, killed fourteen of the enemy. Charles asking him if this was true, he replied, "I do not know if I killed them, but I brought fourteen soldiers to the ground with my sword." Another instance was that of a Highlander, who brought ten soldiers, whom he had made prisoners, to the prince, driving them before him like a flock of sheep. With unexampled rashness, he had pursued a party of Cope's men to some distance from the field of battle, along a road between two inclosures, and striking down the hindermost man of the party with a blow of his sword, called aloud at the same time, "Down with your arms." The soldiers, terror-struck, complied with the order without looking behind them; and the Highlander, with a pistol in one hand and a sword in the other, made them do as he pleased. Yet, as the Chevalier Johnstone observes, these were "the same English soldiers who had distinguished themselves at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who might justly be ranked amongst the bravest troops of Europe."¹

After doing every thing in his power for the relief of the wounded of both armies, and giving directions for the disposal of his prisoners, Charles partook of a small repast upon the field of battle, and thereafter proceeded to Pinkie House, a seat of the Marquis of Tweeddale, where he passed the night.

⁹ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 93.

¹ *Ibidem*, p. 40.



Colonel Gardiner's House, near Prestonpans.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A. D. 1745.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN :—George II., 1727—1760.

Charles returns to Holyrood—State of public feeling—Charles resolves to remain at Edinburgh—Measures taken to increase the army—Charles's proceedings at Edinburgh—Blockade of the Castle—Disorder in the city—Blockade removed—Exertions of Lord President Forbes—Arrival of reinforcements at Edinburgh—Charles issues a second manifesto—Arrival of supplies from France and detachment from the north—Charles resolves to invade England—Preparations—Department of Charles at Holyrood—Declaration of the Highland army—Preparations of the government—Riot at Perth on the King's birth-day.

ON the evening of Sunday the 22d of September, the day after the battle of Preston or Gladsmuir, as that affair is named by the Highlanders, Charles returned to Holyrood House, and was received by a large concourse of the inhabitants, who had assembled round the palace, with the loudest acclamations. His return to the capital had been preceded by a large portion of his army, which, it is said, made a considerable display as it marched up the long line of street, leading from the Watergate to the castle, amid the din of a number of bagpipes, and carrying along with it the enemy's standards, and other trophies of victory which it had taken upon the field.

Apprehensive that the alarm, which Cope's disaster would excite in the city, might obstruct

the public worship on the Sunday, Charles had sent messengers on the evening of the battle, to the dwelling-houses of the different ministers, desiring them to continue their ministrations as usual; but although the church bells were tolled at the customary hour next morning, and the congregations assembled, one only of the city clergymen appeared, all the rest having retired to the country. The minister who thus distinguished himself among his brethren on this occasion was a Mr. Hog, morning lecturer in the Tron church. The two clergymen of the neighbouring parish of St. Cuthbert's, Messrs. Macvicar and Pitcairn, also continued to preach as usual, and many inhabitants of the city went to hear them. No way dismayed by the presence of the Highland army, they continued to pray as usual for King George; and Mr. Macvicar even went so far in his prayers, as to express a hope that God would take Charles to himself, and that instead of an earthly crown, he would "give him a crown of glory." Charles is said to have laughed heartily on being informed of Mr. Macvicar's concern for his spiritual welfare. To induce the ministers to return to their duty, the prince issued a proclamation on Monday, repeating the assurances he had so often given them, that no interruption should be given to public worship; but that, on the contrary, all concerned should be protected. This intimation, however, had no effect upon the fugitive

ministers, who, to the great scandal of their flocks, deserted their charges during the whole time the Highlanders occupied the city.

In the first moments of victory, Charles felt a gleam of joy, which for a time excluded reflection; but when, after retiring from the battle-field, he began to ruminate over the events of the day, and to consider that it was British blood that had been spilt, if we can trust his own words, his spirit sunk within him. "If I had obtained this victory," says he to his father, in the letter already quoted, "over foreigners, my joy would have been complete; but as it is over Englishmen, it has thrown a damp upon it that I little imagined. The men I have defeated were your majesty's enemies, it is true, but they might have become your friends and dutiful subjects when they had got their eyes opened to see the true interest of their country, which you mean to save, not to destroy." For these reasons he was unwilling that the victory should be celebrated by any public manifestation, and on being informed that many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh intended to testify their joy on the occasion by some public act, the prince, in the same proclamation which enjoined the clergymen to return to their charges, prohibited "any outward demonstrations of public joy."

The news of the prince's victory was received every where, by the Jacobites, with the most unbounded delight. Unable any longer to conceal their real sentiments, they now publicly avowed them, and like their predecessors, the cavaliers, indulged in deep potations to the health of "the king" and the prince. But this enthusiasm was not confined to the Jacobites alone. Many persons whose political creed was formerly doubtful, now declared unequivocally in favour of the cause of the prince; whilst others, whose sentiments were formerly in favour of the government, openly declared themselves converts to an order of things which they now considered inevitable. In short, throughout the whole of Scotland the tide of public opinion was completely changed in favour of the Stuarts. The fair sex, especially, displayed an ardent attachment to the person and cause of the prince, and contributed not a little to bring about the change in public feeling alluded to. Duncan Forbes has well

described this strong revolution in public feeling. "All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but hereditary rights and victory; and what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young Adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner."²

In England the news of the prince's victory created a panic, causing a run upon the bank, which would have been fatal to that establishment, had not the principal merchants entered into an association to support public credit by receiving the notes of the bank in payment.³ Scotchmen were everywhere looked upon with distrust by their southern neighbours, and the most severe reflections were indulged in against the Scottish nation. Sir Andrew Mitchell, writing to President Forbes, notices with deep regret this feeling against his countrymen: "The ruin of my country, and the disgrace and shame to which it is, and will continue to be, exposed, have affected me to that degree, that I am hardly master of myself. Already every man of our country is looked on as a traitor, as one secretly inclined to the Pretender, and waiting but an opportunity to declare. The guilty and the innocent are confounded together, and the crimes of a few imputed to the whole nation."⁴ Again, "I need not describe to you the effects the surrender of Edinburgh, and the progress the rebels made, had upon this country. I wish I could say that they were confined to the lower sort of people; but I must fairly own that their betters were as much touched as they. The reflections were national; and it was too publicly said that all Scotland were Jacobites; the numbers of the rebels and their adherents were magnified for this purpose; and he that in the least diminished them was called a *secret Jacobite*."⁵

Elated by the news of the victory of Preston, a party of armed Highlanders entered Aberdeen on the 25th of September, seized the provost,

² *Culloden Papers*, p. 250.

³ *Id.*, p. 227.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 426.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 253.

and carrying him to the cross, held their drawn swords over his head, till they proclaimed the Chevalier de St. George. They then requested him to drink the health of "the king," but having refused to do so, they threw a glass of wine into his breast. Not wishing to have his loyalty put a second time to such a severe test, the provost left the city, not thinking himself safe, as he observes, "in the way of those who had used him in so unreasonable and odd a manner."⁶

With the exception of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and a few insignificant forts, the whole of Scotland may be said to have been now in possession of the victor. Having no longer an enemy to combat in North Britain, Charles turned his eyes to England; but against the design which he appears to have contemplated, of an immediate march into that kingdom, several very serious objections occurred. If the prince could have calculated on a general rising in England in his favour, his advance into that kingdom with a victorious army, before the government recovered from the consternation into which it had been thrown by the recent victory, would have been a wise course of policy; but it would have been extremely rash, without an absolute assurance of extensive support from the friends of the cause in England, to have entered that kingdom with the small army which fought at Gladsmuir, and which, instead of increasing, was daily diminishing, by the return of some of the Highlanders to their homes, according to custom, with the spoils they had collected. There were indeed, among the more enthusiastic of the prince's advisers, some who advocated an immediate incursion into England; but by far the greater part thought the army too small for such an undertaking. These urged that although the success which had attended their arms would certainly engage a number of friends, who either had not hitherto had an opportunity of joining, or had delayed doing so, because they saw little or no appearance of success, yet it was prudent to wait for such aid,—that French succours might now be depended upon, since the prince had given convincing proofs of his having a party in Scotland,—that, at any rate, it was

better to remain some little time at Edinburgh, till they saw what prospects there were of success, and that in the mean time the army would be getting stronger by reinforcements which were expected from the north, and would be better modelled and accoutred. The latter opinion prevailed, and Charles resolved to make some stay in Edinburgh.⁷

Alluding to this resolution, Mr. Maxwell observes, "Those who judge of things only by the event, will condemn this measure, and decide positively that if the prince had marched on from the field of battle, he would have carried all before him. As the prince's affairs were ruined in the end, it is natural to wish he had done any thing else than what he did. Things could hardly have turned out worse, and there was a possibility of succeeding. But to judge fairly of the matter, we must have no regard to what happened, but consider what was the most likely to happen. The prince had but 3,000 men at the battle, where he had 100 at least killed and wounded. He might reckon upon losing some hundreds more, who would go home with the booty they had got, so that he could not reckon upon more than 2,500 men to follow him into England, where he had no intelligence, nor hopes of being joined, nor resource in case of a misfortune. But what would the world have said of such an attempt had it miscarried!"⁸

According to the Chevalier Johnstone,⁹ the prince was advised by his friends, that as the whole of the towns of Scotland had been obliged to recognise him as regent of the kingdom, in the absence of his father, his chief object should be to endeavour by every possible means to secure himself in the government of Scotland; and to defend himself against the English armies, which would be sent against him, without attempting for the present to extend his views to England. There were others who strongly advised Charles to annul the union between Scotland and England, as an act made during the usurpation of Queen Anne, by a cabal of a few Scotch peers, and to summon a Scottish parliament, to meet at Edinburgh, to impose taxes in a legal manner, and obtain supplies for his army. This party

⁶ *Culloden Papers*, p. 429.

⁷ Kirkeconnel MS.

⁸ *Id.*

⁹ *Memoirs*, p. 45.

assured the prince that these steps would give great pleasure to all Scotland, and that the tendency of them would be to renew the ancient discord between the two countries, and that the war would thereby be made national: they informed him, that, so far from being prepared to run an immense risk, for the sake of acquiring England, they wished for nothing more than to see him seated on the throne of Scotland. As the chief object of his ambition, however, was to obtain the crown of England, he rejected the proposal made to him, to confine his views to Scotland.

As soon as it was determined to remain in Scotland till the army should be reinforced, every measure was adopted that could tend to increase it. Letters were despatched to the Highlands, and other parts of Scotland, containing the news of the victory, and urging immediate aid; and messengers were sent to France to represent the state of the prince's affairs, and to solicit succours from that court. Officers were appointed to beat up for recruits, and every inducement was held out to the prisoners taken at Preston to join the insurgents. Many of these, accordingly, enlisted in the prince's army, and were of considerable service in drilling recruits, but before the Highland army left Edinburgh, almost the whole of them had deserted, and joined their former companions at Berwick.¹ The principal person selected by Charles to go to the Highlands, on the present occasion, was Mr. Alexander Macleod, a gentleman of the Scottish bar, who carried along with him a paper of instructions, dated the 24th of September, and signed by secretary Murray.² By these instructions, Macleod was directed forthwith to proceed to the Isle of Skye, to assure Sir Alexander Macdonald, and the laird of Macleod, and other gentlemen of their names, that the prince did not impute their not having hitherto joined him, to any failure of loyalty or zeal on their part, for his father's cause; but to the private manner in which he had arrived in Scotland, which was from a desire to restore his royal father without foreign assistance—that he was ready still to receive them with the same affection he would have welcomed

them, had they joined him on his landing,—and that as they well knew the dispositions of the Highlanders, and their inclination to return home after a battle, they would be sensible how necessary it was to recruit the army with a strong body of men from their country. After giving them these assurances, Macleod was directed to require of these chiefs to repair with all possible speed with their men to Edinburgh, where they should be furnished with arms. In case they were found refractory, Macleod was directed to use all proper means with the gentlemen of their different families, to bring them to the field with as many followers as possible,—that to encourage them to take up arms, he was to acquaint them that the prince had received undoubted assurances of support from France and Spain,—that the Earl Marischal was expected to land in Scotland with a body of troops,—that the Duke of Ormond was also expected in England, with the Irish brigade, and a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and money,—and that before passing the Forth, he had received letters from the Spanish ministry, and the Duke of Bouillon, containing positive assurances of aid. In conclusion, Macleod was ordered to assure these gentlemen that the encouragement and favour which would be shown them, if they joined the prince's standard, would be in proportion to their loyalty and the backwardness of their chiefs. He was likewise directed to send for the chief of Mackinnon, and to tell him that the prince was much surprised that one who had given such solemn assurances, as Mackinnon had done, to join him, with all the men he could collect, should have failed in his promise. As Macleod of Swordland, in Glenelg, who had visited the prince in Glenfinnan, had there engaged to seize the fort of Bernera, and to join Charles with a hundred men, whether his chief joined or not, the messenger was instructed to ask him why he had not fulfilled his engagement. The result of this mission will be subsequently noticed.

Seated in the palace of his ancestors, Charles, as Prince Regent, continued to discharge the functions of royalty, by exercising every act of sovereignty, with this difference only between him and his rival in St. James's, that while King George could only raise troops and levy

¹ Home, p. 120.

² Appendix to Home's *Rebellion*, No. xxviii.

money by act of parliament, Charles, by his own authority, not only ordered regiments to be raised for his service, and troops of horse-guards to be levied for the defence of his person, but also imposed taxes at pleasure. To give credit to his proceedings, and to impress upon the minds of the people, by external acts, the appearances of royalty, he held a levee every morning in Holyrood-house, and appointed a council which met every morning at ten o'clock, after the levee was over. This council comprised the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, the lieutenant-generals of the army, O'Sullivan, the quarter-master-general, Lord Pitligo, Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Secretary Murray, and all the Highland chiefs.³

As nothing could injure his cause more in the eyes of the people than acts of oppression on the part of his troops, one of Charles's first acts after his return to Edinburgh, was to issue an edict granting protection to the inhabitants of the city and the vicinity, in their persons and properties; but farmers, living within five miles of Edinburgh, were required, before being entitled to the protection, to appear at the secretary's office, in Holyrood-house, and grant bond that they should be ready, on twelve hours' notice, to furnish the prince with horses for carrying the baggage of his army to Berwick-upon-Tweed, or a similar distance, according to their plowgates. By another proclamation put forth the same day, viz. the 23d of September, he denounced death or such other punishment as a court-martial should order to be inflicted on any seldier or person connected with his army, who should be guilty of forcibly taking from "the good people of Edinburgh," or of the country, any of their goods without a fair equivalent to the satisfaction of the parties. These orders were in general scrupulously attended to, though, in some instances, irregularities were committed, under the pretence of searching for arms. The greater part, however, were the acts of persons who, though they wore the white cockade, did not belong to the army.

Besides the clergymen of the city, a considerable number of the volunteers had deserted their homes in dread of punishment for having

taken up arms. To induce these, as well as the ministers of the city, to return, Charles issued a proclamation on the 24th of September, granting a full pardon to all or such of them, as should, within twenty days after the publication thereof, present themselves to Secretary Murray, or to any other member of the council, at Holyrood-house, or at such other place as the prince might be at the time. A few volunteers only took advantage of this offer.

When the Highland army first approached the city, the directors of the two banks then existing, had removed all their money and notes to the castle, under the apprehension that the prince would appropriate them to his own use. As great inconvenience was felt in the city by the removal of the banks, Charles issued a proclamation on the 25th of September, in which, after disclaiming any intention to seize the funds belonging to the banks, he invited them to resume their business in the city, pledging himself to protect them. He declared that the money lodged in the banks should be free from any exactions on his part; and that he himself would contribute to the re-establishment of public credit, by receiving and issuing the notes of the banks in payment. The banks, however, declined to avail themselves of the prince's offer; but when applied to for money in exchange for a large quantity of their notes in possession of the Highland army, the directors answered the demand.

As the wants of his army were many, the next object of the prince's solicitude was to provide against them. Anxious as he was to conciliate all classes of the people, he had no alternative on the present occasion, but to assess the burghs of Scotland, in sums proportionate to the duties of excise drawn from them. He accordingly sent letters, dated the 30th of September, to all the chief magistrates of the burghs, ordering them, under pain of being considered rebel, to repair, upon receipt, to Holyrood-house, to get the contributions to be paid by their respective burghs ascertained, and for payment of which, he promised to assign the duties of excise. For immediate use, he compelled the city of Edinburgh, on pain of military execution, to furnish his army with 1,000 tents, 2,000 targets, 6,000 pair of shoes, and other articles, to the value of upwards of

³ Home, p. 124.

£15,000, to liquidate which, a tax of 2s. 6d. per pound was laid on the city, and in the Canongate and Leith. From the city of Glasgow he demanded £15,000, a sum which was compromised by a prompt payment of £5,500. The prince, at the same time, despatched letters to the collectors of the land-tax, the collectors and comptrollers of the customs and excise, and to the factors upon the estates forfeited in the former insurrection, requiring all of them, upon receipt, to repair to Holyrood-house with their books, and to pay such balances as might appear upon examination to be in their hands,—the first and last classes, under the pain of rebellion and military execution, and the second class, besides the last-mentioned penalty, under the pain of high-treason. Charles, at the same time, seized all the smuggled goods in the custom-houses of Leith and other sea-ports, which being sold, yielded him £7,000. Besides the exactions from public bodies, he compelled several of the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to supply him with considerable quantities of hay and oats. Parties of Highlanders were sent to the seats of the Dukes of Hamilton and Douglas, and the Earl of Hoptoun, to carry off arms and horses. From the last mentioned noblemen they took nearly 100 horses.⁴

For some days after the Highlanders resumed possession of Edinburgh, a sort of tacit understanding existed between the garrison and them, under which the communication between the castle and the city continued open. A guard of Highlanders was posted at the Weigh-house, an old square building, which stood at the head of West Bow, at the distance of a few hundred yards from the fortress. This guard allowed provisions of every description to pass, particularly for the use of the officers; and matters might have remained for some time in this quiescent state, to the great comfort of the inhabitants, had not the garrison one night, most unaccountably fired off some cannon and small arms in the direction of the West Port. In consequence, it is believed, of this breach of the implied armistice, orders were given to the guards, on the 29th of September, to block up all the avenues leading to the castle, and allow

no person to pass. On being made acquainted with this order, General Guest sent a letter, in the evening, addressed to the Lord Provost, intimating, that unless the communication between the castle and the city was renewed, and the blockade removed, he would be obliged to dislodge the Highland guards with his cannon, and bombard the city. Nothing could be more unreasonable and absurd than this threat. Though willing, the citizens had it not in their power, either to keep up the communication with the castle, or to take off the blockade, and though they were as unable to remove the Highlanders from the city “as to remove the city itself out of its seat,”⁵ or prevent them from acting as they pleased, yet the citizens would be the only sufferers in the event of a bombardment; for the Highlanders, if the city were destroyed, would only be obliged to change their quarters, and neither the destruction of the one, nor the removal of the other, could be of any service to the castle. These views were represented to the governor by a deputation from the city; but Guest remained inflexible, and pleaded in his justification a peremptory order, which he said he had received from the king himself, and which left him no discretion. At the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants, Guest was prevailed upon to grant a respite for one night. Next morning, six deputies waited on the prince, at the palace, with General Guest's letter, which was in reality intended for him. After perusing the letter, Charles returned an answer immediately to the deputies in writing, in which he expressed surprise at the barbarity of the orders from the castle, at a time when it was admitted, that the garrison had six weeks provisions on hand,—that, in pleading, as Guest had done, the directions of “the Elector of Hanover,” as an excuse, it was evident, that the Elector did not consider the inhabitants of Edinburgh as his subjects, otherwise he would not have made a demand upon them which they could not fulfil,—and that, should he, the prince, out of compassion to the citizens, comply with the extravagant demand now made, he might as well quit the city at once, and abandon all the advantages he had obtained,—that, if any mischief should befall the city, he

⁴ Marchant's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 113.—Boyse, p. 91.

⁵ Kirkconnel MS.

would take particular care to indemnify the inhabitants for their loss,—and that, in the meantime, if forced by the threatened barbarity, he would make reprisals upon the estates of the officers in the castle, and also upon all who were “known to be open abettors of the German government.”

This letter was laid before a meeting of the inhabitants, who sent deputies with it to General Guest. After some altercation, he agreed to suspend hostilities till the return of an express from London, on condition that the Highland army should, in the mean time, make no attempt upon the castle. This condition was, however, infringed by the Highlanders, who, on the following day, discharged some musket shots with the intention, it is supposed, of frightening some persons who were carrying up provisions to the castle. General Guest, considering that he was no longer restrained from executing his threat, immediately opened a fire upon the guard stationed at the Weigh-house, by which some houses were damaged and two persons wounded. Charles retaliated by issuing a proclamation next day, in which he prohibited all correspondence with the castle, under pain of death. This proclamation was followed by an order to strengthen the blockade, by posting additional guards at several places about the castle. To revenge this step the garrison fired at every Highlander they could discover from the battlements, and, by this reckless proceeding, killed and wounded several of the inhabitants. A daring exploit was performed at the same time by a soldier, who slipped down from the castle, set fire to a house in Livingston’s yards, where a guard was posted, and after shooting one of the guards dead upon the spot, returned safe to the fortress. Shortly after this occurrence a party sallied out from the castle, killed some of the guards stationed at the same place, took an officer and a few prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

Meanwhile General Guest sent a message to the city, intimating that he meant to demolish the houses where the guards were posted, but that care would be taken to do as little damage as possible to the city. Accordingly, on the 4th of October, about two o’clock in the afternoon, a cannonade was opened from the half-

moon battery, near the Castle-gate, which was kept up till the evening. When it grew dark the garrison made a sally, and set fire to a foundry and a house on the Castle-hill which had been deserted. They then dug a trench fourteen feet broad, and sixteen feet deep, across the Castle-hill, about half-way between the gate and the houses on the Castle-hill, and along the parapet made by the earth taken from the trench on the side next the castle, they posted 200 men, who discharged some cartridge shot down the street, killing and wounding some of the inhabitants. The bombardment was resumed next day, with more disastrous effect. No person could with safety appear on the High-street, as the shots from the Castle-hill penetrated as far down as the head of the old Flesh-market close, and shattered several houses. At first, some of the better informed among the citizens were disposed to regard the threat of bombardment as a mere device to induce the prince to discontinue the blockade, as they could not bring themselves to believe that the government could have been guilty of issuing the barbarous order alluded to by the governor of the castle; but the inhabitants in general entertained more correct views, and before the cannonade commenced, the streets were crowded with women and children running towards the gates, in great confusion, while many of the citizens were to be seen carrying their most valuable effects out of the city. During the two days that the cannonade lasted, viz., the 4th and 5th of October, the utmost dismay prevailed among the inhabitants, and multitudes of them left the city, without knowing whither to flee or where to look for shelter.

To put an end to this disastrous state of affairs Charles issued a proclamation on the evening of the 5th of October, removing the blockade. In this document he stated that it was with the greatest regret that he was hourly informed of the many murders which were committed upon the innocent inhabitants of the city, by the inhuman commanders and garrison of the castle, a practice contrary, he observed, to all the laws of war, to the truce granted to the city, and even exceeding the orders which the government, it was alleged, had given upon the occasion,—that he might have,

as he had threatened, justly chastised those who had been instrumental in the ruin of the capital, by reprisals upon the estates and fortunes of the supporters of the government; but as he thought it noways derogatory to the glory of a prince, to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, if, by such a course, he could save the lives of innocent men, he had allowed his humanity to yield to the barbarity of the common enemy. This proclamation was followed by a cessation of the cannonade; but the garrison still continued to fire occasionally at the Highlanders whenever they made their appearance in the neighbourhood of the castle.

The object of Guest, according to Mr. Home, in thus annoying the town, and provoking the Highlanders, was not to secure a supply of provisions, of which he had already an abundance, but to prevent them from marching into England, by keeping them occupied in the siege of the castle. To deceive Charles, he wrote in the beginning of the week following the battle of Preston, several letters to the Duke of Newcastle, one of the secretaries of state, acquainting him that there was but a very small stock of provisions in the castle of Edinburgh,—that he would be obliged to surrender, if not immediately relieved, and recommending that any troops sent to his relief, should be forwarded by sea, to Berwick or Newcastle, for the sake of despatch. These letters, which were intended for the perusal of Charles, were sent so that they might fall into his hands; but lest any of them might find their way to London, Guest sent a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, by a sure conveyance, giving him an account of the real state of the garrison, and informing him of the deception he was endeavouring to practise upon the Highlanders.⁵

Whilst the adherents of Charles in the Highlands and the northern Lowlands were exerting all their energies to collect reinforcements, Lord-president Forbes was using all his influence to prevent the chiefs of doubtful loyalty from committing themselves with the government. To induce them to arm in its support after the success which had attended the prince's arms, was what he could scarcely have

expected; but by persuasion, and by pointing out in forcible terms the ruin which would befall them and their families, should the prince fail in his enterprise, he succeeded in making them at first to waver, and finally to abandon any design they may have entertained, of joining the prince. Among others who appear to have vacillated between two opinions, and in their perplexity to have alternately changed their minds, was Macleod of Macleod. This chief, influenced probably by the solicitations of his clansman, who had been sent to him on the mission before alluded to, attended a meeting of gentlemen of the name of Fraser, convened by Lord Lovat at Beaufort, or Castle Downie, as that seat of the chief of the Frasers was sometimes called, on Friday the 4th of October, and was despatched the following day to Skye, having engaged to join the Frasers with his men at Corriearrick on the 15th;⁶ but on advising with his friend Sir Alexander Macdonald, he resolved to stay at home.⁷

In neutralizing the efforts of the disaffected clans, and dissuading others of doubtful loyalty from joining the ranks of the insurgents, President Forbes had difficulties to contend with, which few men could have overcome, but which he finally surmounted by that firmness, zeal, and indomitable perseverance, which distinguished him among all his political contemporaries. At its commencement, Forbes treated the insurrection very lightly. Before his departure for the north, he considered the prospect of affairs very flattering, and that the object of his journey had no appearance of difficulty; but the alteration in public feeling, consequent on the battle of Preston, changed the scene. Instead of finding the ready support he anticipated from the professed adherents of the government, he saw himself, to use his own words, "almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue and some reputation; and, if you will except Macleod, whom I sent for from the Isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common sense or courage."⁸ The successes of the insurgents had, he observes, "blown up the spirit of mutiny to such a pitch,

⁵ Home, p. 127.

⁶ Home, p. 327.

⁷ Lovat's Trial, p. 138.

⁸ *Culloden Papers*, p. 250.

that nothing was heard of but caballing, and gathering together of men in the neighbourhood: every petty head of a tribe, who was in any degree tinged with Jacobitism, or desperate in his circumstances, assembled his kindred, and made use of the most mutinous, to drag the most peaceable out of their beds, and to force others to list by threatening destruction to their cattle and other effects; whilst we were unable to give them any assistance or protection."⁹ Exasperated at the president for the exertions he made to obstruct the designs of the disaffected, a plan was formed for seizing him by some of the Frasers, a party of whom, amounting to about 200 men, accordingly made an attack upon the house of Culloden during the night between the 15th and 16th of October; but the president being upon his guard, they were repulsed.¹ The apprehension of such an important personage would have been of greater service to the Jacobite cause than the gaining of a battle.

Confiding in the loyalty and discretion of President Forbes, the ministry had, at the suggestion of the Earl of Stair, sent down to the president, early in September, twenty commissions, for raising as many independent companies in the Highlands for the service of the

government. The names of the officers were left blank in the commissions, that the president might distribute them among such of the well-affected clans as he might think proper. The plan which his lordship laid down for himself, in disposing of these commissions, was to distribute them among the clans who adhered to the government in the former insurrection, without neglecting such other clans, who, though then opposed to the government, had, on the present occasion, shown an unwillingness to join the Jacobite standard. To raise the companies, which were fixed at 100 men each, as quickly as possible, the president resolved to leave the nomination of the officers to the chiefs of the clans, out of whom they were to be raised.² He accordingly despatched letters to the Earls of Sutherland and Cromarty, Lords Reay and Fortrose, Sir Alexander Macdonald, the lairds of Macleod and Grant, and other chiefs, requesting each of them to raise a company out of their respective clans, most of whom accordingly proceeded to enrol their men; but from the want of money and arms, only two companies were completed before the end of October, and several months expired before the whole were fully formed and drawn together.³

⁹ *Culloden Papers*, p. 246.

¹ *Idem*.

² *Idem*, p. 404.

³ The following is a list of the officers of eighteen of the independent companies, being the whole number raised, with the dates of the delivery of their commissions on the completion of their companies, and of their arrival at Inverness:—

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>	<i>Dates of completing the companies, and of their arrival at Inverness.</i>
1. George Monro,	Adam Gordon,	Hugh Monro,	1745, Oct. 23d.
2. Alexander Gunn,	John Gordon,	Kenneth Sutherland,	— — 25th.
3. Patrick Grant,	William Grant,	James Grant,	— Nov. 3d.
4. George Mackay,	John Mackay,	James Mackay,	— — 4th.
5. Peter Sutherland,	William Mackay,	John Mackay,	— — 8th.
6. John Macleod,	Alexander Macleod,	John Macaskill,	— — 15th.
7. Normand Macleod of Waterstein,	Donald Macleod,	John Macleod,	— — —
8. Normand Macleod of Bernera,	John Campbell,	John Macleod,	— — —
9. Donald Macdonald,	William Macleod,	Donald Macleod,	— — —
10. William Mackintosh,	Kenneth Mathison,	William Baillie,	— — 13th.
11. Hugh Macleod,	George Monro,	Roderick Macleod,	— — 28th.
12. Alexander Mackenzie,	John Mathison,	Simon Murchison,	— Dec. 20th.
13. Colin Mackenzie of Hilton,	Alexander Campbell,	John Macrae,	— — —
14. James Macdonald,	Allan Macdonald,	James Macdonald,	— — 31st.
15. John Macdonald,	Allan Macdonald,	Donald Macdonald,	— — —
16. Hugh Mackay,	John Mackay,	Angus Mackay,	1746, Jan. 6th.
17. William Ross,	Charles Ross,	David Ross,	— — 8th.
18. Colin Mackenzie,	Donald Mackaulay,	Kenneth Mackenzie,	— Feb. 2d.

Culloden Papers.

1. The Monros.
- 2 and 5. The Earl of Sutherland's men.
3. The Grants.
- 4 and 16. The Mackays.
- 6, 7, 8, and 9. The Macleods, under the laird of Macleod.
10. A company raised in the town of Inverness.

11. The Macleods of Assint, raised by Captain Macleod of Goanies.
- 12 and 13. The Mackenzies of Kintail.
- 14 and 15. The Macdonalds of Skye.
17. The Rosses.
18. The Mackenzies of Lewis.

If the majority of the people of Scotland had been favourably disposed to the cause of the Stuarts, they had now an opportunity of displaying their attachment to the representative of their ancient monarchs, by declaring for the prince; but Charles soon found that, with the exception of the Highlands, and a few districts north of the Tay, where catholicity and non-juring episcopacy still retained a footing, the rest of Scotland was not disposed to join a contest for legitimacy, which they might imagine would not, if successful, strengthen the liberties of the nation, and might possibly impair them. The regular line of hereditary succession had been departed from, and it did not seem wise after a trial of fifty-seven years, during which period the political frame and texture of society had undergone a complete revolution, to place the succession on its original footing, by restoring the son of James II. The Jacobites, however, imbued with ideas of indefeasible hereditary right, were deaf to every argument founded on expediency or the will of the nation, and contended that every departure from the direct line of succession was a usurpation, and contrary to the divine law. No sovereign was, therefore, held by them as legitimate, while there existed a nearer heir to the crown in the direct line of succession; but they did not reflect that, upon this principle, there was scarcely a legitimate sovereign in Europe.

Among the Lowland Jacobites who displayed the greatest zeal on the present occasion, was Lord Ogilvy, eldest son of the Earl of Airlv, who joined the prince at Edinburgh on the 3d of October with a regiment of 600 men, chiefly from the county of Forfar, where his father's estates were situated. Most of the officers of the regiment were either of the Airlv family, or bore the name of Ogilvy. Lord Ogilvy was followed by old Gordon of Glenbucklet, an equally zealous supporter of the Stuarts, who arrived at Edinburgh next day with a body of 400 men, which he had collected in Strathdon, Strathaven, Glenlivet, and Auchindoun. Glenbucklet had been a major-general in Mar's army, in 1715; but he now contented himself with the colonelcy of the regiment he had just raised, of which he made his eldest son lieutenant-colonel, and his younger sons captains, while

the other commissions were held by his relations or personal friends. On the 9th of October, Lord Pitsligo also joined the prince. He was accompanied by a considerable number of gentlemen from the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, with their servants, all well armed and mounted. These formed an excellent corps of cavalry. He also brought with him a small body of infantry. Lord Pitsligo, though possessed of a moderate fortune, had great influence with the gentlemen of the counties above named, by whom he was beloved and greatly esteemed, and having great reliance on his judgment and discretion, they did not hesitate, when he declared himself in favour of the prince, to put themselves under his command.

Having been informed that there were many persons, who, from infirmity and other causes, were unable to join him, but were disposed to assist him with money, horses, and arms, the Chevalier issued a proclamation on the 8th of October, calling upon all such persons to send such supplies to his secretary; and as an order had been issued, summoning the parliament to meet on the 17th, he, by another proclamation dated the 9th, prohibited all peers and commoners from paying obedience to any order or resolution that might be published in the name of either house, in case they should meet.

On the 10th of October, Charles issued a second rather spirited manifesto, justifying the step he had taken, proclaiming his father's gracious intention to redress every grievance, including the repeal of the union, endeavouring to show that the government of the Elector of Hanover was a grievous tyranny supported by foreign mercenaries. It concluded thus:—

“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 enterprise 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."

During Charles's stay in Edinburgh the magisterial authority was in complete abeyance, and thieves and robbers, no longer restrained by the arm of power, stalked about, in open day, following their vocation. Under pretence of searching for arms, predatory bands, wearing white cockades and the Highland dress, perambulated the country, imposing upon and robbing the people. One of the most noted of these was headed by one James Ratcliffe, the same individual who figures so conspicuously in the Heart of Mid-Lothian, and who, having spent all his life in the commission of acts of robbery, had twice received sentence of death, but had contrived to effect his escape from jail.⁴ To suppress these and other acts of violence, Charles issued several edicts, and in one or two instances the last penalty of the law was inflicted by his orders upon the culprits.

Early in October a ship from France arrived at Montrose with some arms and ammunition and a small sum of money. On board this vessel was the Marquis Boyer d'Eguille, who arrived at Holyrood house on the 14th of October. The object of his journey was not exactly known, but his arrival was represented as a matter of great importance, and he was passed off as an ambassador from the French court. This vessel was soon followed by two others in succession, one of which brought, in addition to a supply of arms and money, some Irish officers in the service of France. The other had on board six field-pieces and a company of artillerymen. These succours, though small, were opportune, and were considered as an earnest of more substantial ones, of which d'Eguille gave the prince the strongest assurances. To facilitate and shorten the conveyance of arms and cannon, and of the reinforcements still expected from the north, batteries were raised at Alloa and on the immediately

opposite side of the Frith of Forth, across which these were transported without any annoyance, although the Fox, a British man-of-war, was stationed in the Frith.

The army of the prince continued to increase by the arrival of several additional detachments from the north, and before the end of October he found that his forces amounted to nearly 6,000 men; but this number was far below what Charles had expected. He had entertained hopes that by the exertions of Lord Lovat and other chiefs, whom he expected to declare in his favour, about triple that number would have been raised; but a messenger who arrived at Edinburgh from his lordship, brought him intelligence which rendered his expectations less sanguine. Lovat had calculated that he would be able to raise by his own influence a force of 4,000 or 5,000 men for the service of Charles; and, the better to conceal his design, he opened a correspondence with President Forbes, in which, with his characteristic duplicity and cunning, he avowed himself a warm supporter of the government, and succeeded for a considerable time in throwing the president off his guard. By degrees, however his real intentions began to develop themselves, and after the battle of Preston he resolved to assemble his clan for the purpose of joining the prince. To deceive the government he compelled his son, (afterwards known as General Fraser,) a youth of eighteen who had been pursuing his studies at the university of St. Andrews, to put himself at the head of the clan, and afterwards pretended that his son had, by this proceeding, acted in direct opposition to his orders.⁵ The only force raised south of the Tay was a regiment of 450 men which Colonel Roy Stewart formed in Edinburgh during the stay of the Highland army; for, although the prince was joined at Edinburgh by the Earls of Kilmarnock and Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Maxwell of Kirkconnel, and other south-country gentlemen, they did not bring as many men along with them as would have formed the staff of a company.

Having now spent nearly six weeks in Edinburgh, the prince considered that he could no longer delay his intended march into England

⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 11th October, 1745.

⁵ *Culloden Papers*, pp. 231—254.

By postponing that measure a few days longer he might have still farther increased his force by the return of the men who had gone home after the battle, of whom he had received favourable accounts; by the accession of a body of Gordons which Lord Lewis, brother to the Duke of Gordon, was raising among the followers of the family; and by other small corps from the north. But it was judged that this advantage would be more than counterbalanced by other circumstances attendant upon delay. The long stay of the Highland army in Scotland had enabled the government to concentrate a considerable force in the north of England, already far superior, in point of numbers, to the prince's troops, and this force was about to receive large additions from the south and from the continent. Nothing but a dread of the Highlanders and ignorance of their real strength kept the English army, already concentrated in the north, from entering Scotland; but terrible as was the impression made upon the minds of the English troops, by the reports which had been carried to England of the prowess of the Highlanders, it was not to be supposed, that, after the arrival of large reinforcements, their commanders would remain inactive. Had the government been aware of the weakness of the prince's army after the battle of Gladsmuir, it would probably not have delayed a single week in sending an army into Scotland; but the exaggerated reports which had been every where spread, of the great strength of the Highland army, were fully credited. Attempts were made by some friends of the government, as well as by others, to ascertain their numbers; but Charles, by perpetually shifting their cantonments, and dividing them into detached bodies, not only contrived to conceal his weakness, but to impress these prying persons with an idea that he was much stronger than he really was.⁶

Another reason for hastening his march south was the danger that the army might be diminished by desertion if kept in a state of inactivity. Desertions were frequent, and it was thought that nothing but an active life would put an end to a practice imputed to idleness and repose, and which allowed the

men time to think on their families, and contemplate the hardships and dangers they were likely to undergo in a foreign land. But the chief motive which urged Charles and his council to put the army in motion was an apprehension that their supplies of money would be soon exhausted, in which event it would be quite impossible to keep the army together for a single day. By adhering to a declaration he had made, that he would not enforce the obnoxious malt tax; the public money, which had been collected, and was still in course of being raised, was far from being adequate to support the army which Charles had collected; and the contributions of his friends, which at first were considerable, were now beginning to fail. The supplies which had lately been received from France were therefore very opportune; but without additional and early pecuniary succours, which, though promised, might not speedily arrive or might miscarry, it was considered that unless the exchequer was replenished in England, the abandonment of the enterprise was inevitable. For these reasons, and as the prince informed his council⁷ that he had received the strongest assurances of support from numbers of the English Tories and Jacobites, a unanimous resolution was entered into to march forthwith into England.⁸

Upon this resolution being adopted, the prince despatched a messenger to France with

⁷ Maxwell of Kirkconnel had a very sorry opinion of the capabilities of most of the members of the council. After stating, that by degrees all the colonels of the army were admitted into it, he thus proceeds:—"I must acknowledge that very few of the members of this assembly were either able statesmen or experienced officers; but as those who knew least were generally led by the opinions of those they thought wiser than themselves, and they in their turn had private conferences with the ablest of the prince's secret friends in Edinburgh, things might have been well enough conducted had there been as much harmony and union as the importance of the affair required; but an ill-timed emulation soon crept in, and bred great dissensions and animosities. The council was insensibly divided into factions, and came to be of little use when measures were approved of or condemned, not for themselves, but for the sake of their author. These dissensions, begun at Edinburgh, continued ever after, and their fatal influence was not always confined to the council; by degrees it reached the army; and though the prince's orders were ever respected and punctually obeyed by the army, there were, nevertheless, a certain discontent and dilidence which appeared on sundry occasions, especially towards the end, and was very detrimental to his affairs."

Kirkconnel MS.

⁸ *Idem.*

⁶ *Kirkconnel MS.*

intelligence of his intentions, and to solicit the French court to make a descent on England. As this court had all along given as its reason for not seconding the prince's designs, by sending an army into England, the doubt which it had of his having a considerable party in that country, the messenger was instructed to represent the situation of the prince's affairs in the most favourable point of view. This person, by name Alexander Gordon, a Jesuit, left Edinburgh accordingly on the 28th of October. On arriving in France he drew up a most flattering report, which he put into the hands of the prince's brother, Henry, Duke of York, then at Paris, to be laid before the French king. In this report he stated, that while the prince had about 12,000 men with him in Edinburgh and its vicinity, there were 4,000 more expected to arrive—that he had already upwards of 1,000 cavalry, and that a great number more were on their march to join him,—that almost all these troops were well armed, and were amply provided with every necessary,—and that all the inhabitants of the counties and towns where the prince had appeared, and particularly those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, had furnished the army with clothing, arms, and money, and, in short, with every thing in their power. He stated, that besides the Highland chiefs and the noblemen of different counties, who had declared in favour of the prince before the battle of Preston, a great number of persons of distinction had since joined him at Edinburgh, among whom he particularly enumerated Lord Nithsdale and Kenmure, and Maxwell of Kirkconnel,—that besides these there were many others, who, being unable to give their personal services, had sent the prince horses, arms, and money, and that after the prince's father had been proclaimed in the capital and the most considerable towns in Scotland, those who had formerly shown themselves least disposed to acknowledge him had displayed the most favourable dispositions towards the prince, being either subdued by the charms of his manners, or gained over by his manifestoes and proclamations. In short, that by the astonishing victory he had achieved, many persons, who would otherwise have still been in connexion with the court of London, had submitted themselves to the prince, who

might be said to be now absolute master of Scotland. That with regard to England, the people of that kingdom were ready to receive the prince with open arms as soon as he should appear among them with an army supported by France,—that, independently of the general discontent of the nation with the government, the prince was emboldened to enter England by upwards of a hundred invitations which he had received from the nobility of England, and by large sums of money which he had obtained for the payment of his troops,—that the English government, alarmed at this state of things, had, as was reported, hesitated accepting offers, which some counties had made of raising bodies of militia, for fear that this force would be employed against itself. In fine, that such was the disposition of men's minds throughout the whole of Great Britain, that the fear of the prince not being supported by foreign aid, of which the court of London was in great dread, alone prevented the people from openly declaring themselves, and that every person was persuaded, that for every thousand of foreign troops which the prince could bring into the field, his army would receive an accession, four times as large, from the English people, who only wanted the presence of a foreign force to encourage them to take up arms against the government.⁹

The last days of October were occupied in making the necessary arrangements for the march of the Highland army; preparatory to which, orders were issued, near the end of that month, to call in the different parties which were posted at Newhaven, Leith, and other places in the vicinity of Edinburgh. The army which, for three weeks after the battle of Preston had lain in camp at Duddingston, had, since the middle of October, been quartered in and around the city; but on the 26th of that month the main body left Edinburgh, and encamped on a field a little to the west of Inveresk church, with a battery of seven or eight pieces of cannon pointing to the south-west.¹ Hitherto Charles, to conceal his weakness, had reviewed his army in detached

⁹ Vide the report in the *Stuart Papers*, and a letter of 26th November, 1745, from Gordon to the Chevalier de St. George, inclosing a copy of his report.

¹ Marchant, p. 130.

portions; but he now ordered a general review of his whole force on the 28th of October. The place appointed was Leith links; but being warned by a few bombs which were thrown from the castle as the army was approaching the ground, that he might expect some annoyance, Charles abandoned his intention, and reviewed his army on the sands between Leith and Musselburgh.²

Of the deportment of Charles, and the mode in which he spent his time during his abode at Holyrood house, it may now be necessary to say a few words. It has been already stated on the authority of an officer in his army, whose memoirs are quoted by Mr. Home, that before the meeting of his council, Charles held a levee. The same writer adds, that after the rising of the council, which generally sat very long, he dined in public with his principal officers, and that while the army lay at Duddingston he rode out there after dinner, accompanied by his life-guards.³ The object of these visits was to keep the Highlanders together; and to show them that the change of circumstances had not altered his disposition towards them, he frequently supped and slept in the camp.⁴

Another writer, an eye-witness,⁵ says that "the prince's court at Holyrood soon became very brilliant, and that every day from morning to night there was a vast concourse of well-dressed people. Besides the gentlemen that had joined the prince, there was a great number of ladies and gentlemen who came either from affection or curiosity. People flocked from all quarters to see the novelty of a court which had not been held in Scotland for sixty years, and from its splendour, and the air of satisfaction which appeared in every person's countenance, one would have thought the king was already restored, and in peaceable possession of all the dominions of his ancestors, and that the prince had only made a trip to Scotland to show himself to the people, and receive their homage. The conduct of Charles corresponded in all respects with the attentions shown him. He professed the warmest attachment to Scotland, and was often heard to say, that should he succeed in his attempt, he would make Scot-

land his Hanover, and Holyrood house his Herenhausen;⁶ an expression by which he not only marked his devotion to the Scotch nation, but conveyed a severe rebuke upon King George, who was justly accused of an undue predilection for his native soil.

To mark his sense of the respect shown him, and to ingratiate himself still more with his new friends, Charles gave a series of balls and entertainments in the palace, which were attended by all the persons of rank and fashion assembled in the capital. On these occasions, the young Chevalier appeared sometimes in an English court-dress with the blue ribbon, star, and other insignia of the order of the garter, and at other times in a Highland dress of fine silk tartan, with crimson velvet breeches, and the cross of St. Andrew.⁷ His politeness, affability, and condescension, were the theme of universal conversation. Captivated by the charms of his conversation, the graces of his person, and the unwearied attentions which he bestowed on them, the ladies entered warmly into the prince's views; and their partizanship became so available to his cause as to attract, as we have seen, the especial attention of President Forbes. Indeed, so strong was the hold which the spirit of Jacobitism had taken of the hearts of the ladies of Edinburgh, that when afterwards overawed by the presence of an English army, they, nevertheless, continued to wear the Jacobite badge, and treated the approaches of the Duke of Cumberland's officers with supercilious indifference. As Charles was almost wholly destitute of every household requisite, his female friends sent plate, china, linen, and other articles of domestic use to the palace.⁸

At the present stage of this history, it seems proper to record a manifesto which emanated from Charles's army on the eve of its departure for England, which, as an historical document of considerable interest, shall be given entire. It was titled, "The declaration and admonitory letter of such of the nobility, gentry, and free-born subjects of his majesty, as, under the auspicious conduct of his royal highness, Charles, prince of Wales, steward of Scotland, &c., have taken up arms in support of the cause

² Boyse, p. 95.

³ Home, p. 139.

⁴ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁵ Maxwell of Kirkconnel.

⁶ Henderson, p. 92.

⁷ Boyse, p. 89.

⁸ *Idem.*

of their king and country." It was addressed "unto those who have not as yet declared their approbation of this enterprise; and to such as have, or may hereafter, appear in arms against it."

"COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS,—It is with abundance of regret, and not without indignation, that we daily hear and see this our undertaking, which in glory and disinterestedness may vie with any to be met with, either in ancient or modern history, traduced, misrepresented, and reviled in those fulsome addresses and associations made to and in favours of the Elector of Hanover, by those very bishops of the church of England, who, for so many years, have contributed their utmost endeavours to abet and support every measure the most unpopular, pernicious, and hurtful, that the worst of ministers, be he of what party he would, could ever devise for the undoing of these nations.

"Is it from such patterns of virtue and piety that the nation now must take the alarm? Are we by these old bugbears of popery, slavery, and tyranny, for ever to be hindered from pursuing our only true interest? Or, is the groundless fear of an imaginary evil to prevent our shaking off the heavy yoke we daily feel?

"What further security, in the name of God, can a people desire for the enjoyment of their ecclesiastical rights? Have not both the king and prince regent sworn in the most solemn manner to maintain the protestant religion throughout his majesty's dominions? Nay, more, have they not promised to pass any laws which shall be thought necessary for the further security of it? Are we not protestants who now address you? And is it not by the strength of a protestant army that he must mount the throne? Can any man, or number of men, persuade you, that we, who are your brethren, born in the same island, and who have the same interest, do not love ourselves, our religion, laws and liberties, as well as you do?

"What further security can the nature of the thing admit of? You have your prince's promises, and here you have laid before you the sentiments of his army; who, having thankfully accepted of them, are determined

and resolved to set their country at liberty, by establishing that glorious plan which has been freely offered to us by the only rightful prince of the British nations; and this must be done before we sheath our swords.

"Our enemies have represented us as men of low birth and of desperate fortunes. We, who are now in arms, are, for the greatest part, of the most ancient families of this island, whose forefathers asserted the liberties of their country, long, long before the names of many of our declaimers were ever heard of. Our blood is good, and that our actions shall make appear. If our fortunes be not great, our virtue has kept them low; and desperate we may be truly called, for we are determined to conquer or die.

"The justice, therefore, of the cause we now appear for, the interest of the nation which we support and pursue, and the glorious character of our royal leader, may each by itself, or all together, abundantly convince the nation, that now at last there appears an happy and unforeseen opportunity of acquiring all those blessings which a distress nation has been so long wishing for in vain.

"This golden opportunity we have laid hold of; and in justice to ourselves and fellow-subjects, are obliged thus to apprize them of the uprightness of our intentions in carrying into execution a scheme calculated and adapted to those principles of liberty which the true lovers of their country have been polishing and refining for these many years past.

"Perhaps you may find fault that you were not apprized of this undertaking. No more were we. God has conducted, the prince of Wales has executed; and we are thereby in possession of Scotland, and victorious over one of the Elector's armies, which nothing could have saved from total destruction but the authority and mercy of a young conqueror, possess of all the shining virtues which can adorn a throne, and who may challenge the keenest enemy of his royal family to impute to him a vice which can blacken the character of a prince. Compare his clemency towards all the prisoners and wounded at the battle of Gladsmuir, with the executions, imprisonments, and banishments, exercised by the German family after their success at Preston in the year

1715, and your affections will tell you who is the true father of the people.

“We have hitherto only spoke to your interests: when his royal highness comes himself amongst you, let his appearance, his moderation, his affability, his tenderness and affection for those he can truly call his countrymen, speak to your passions; then you who, at the instigation of your enemies, are now arming for the defence, as you imagine, of your respective communities, will be able to judge from whom you will have the best reason to expect protection. Thus far we can take upon us to promise in his highness’s name, that such as shall make no resistance to our troops, though before our arrival they may have been levying war against us, may nevertheless depend upon the most ample security for their persons and estates, provided, by a timely surrender of their arms, they put in our power to protect them against the fury of the army: and how foolish will it be, after this assurance, for any city, corporation, or county, to attempt to make head against the combined force of a whole nation, collected in a numerous army, and flushed with success? If any misfortune, therefore, ensue from a disregard of this admonition, we of his royal highness’s army declare ourselves free of all blame therein.

“It is time for you now, O countrymen! to lay aside all animosities, all distinctions of families or names, and to confine your thoughts only to the interest of these kingdoms, connecting with them as you go along the sentiments you had a few years ago.

“What transport of joy would the bulk of the British nation have felt upon a certain remarkable and never-to-be-forgotten period in our political history, (that great change of ministry which happened not long ago, when the cries of a distressed people, supported by the interest and influence of powerful, though designing men, accomplished the ruin of a mighty minister,) how great would have been your joy had you then had from the Elector of Hanover such a declaration as that emitted the 10th of this month by his royal highness, the heir and representative of our natural and only rightful sovereign?

“Is it possible to conceive the universal satisfaction which such a declaration would have

occasioned, unless we judge of it by our fatal disappointment?—We leave it to yourselves to make the application. As it is not our intention here to set forth the domestic grievances of the nation, nor the scandalous preference showed upon all occasions to a pitiful foreign concern; for as we address ourselves chiefly to the friends of liberty and the constitution, we suppose you all abundantly instructed in them: nor would it serve but to lengthen this letter, to enumerate the many promises in the king’s and prince’s declarations and manifestoes to his subjects upon this occasion; we have abundantly explained our own motives for now appearing in arms, and would willingly use a little serious expostulation with you, gentlemen, who intend to oppose us.

“What then, in the name of God, do you propose to yourselves? Is it also the interest of Great Britain and Ireland? Or, is it the support of the Elector of Hanover’s family in the succession to the crown of these realms? If your armaments proceed from the first of these motives, tell us what a prince can do more to make you a free and a happy people? What security can you have more than his word and his army’s guarantee, until the nation shall have time abundantly to secure themselves by parliament?

“If you be satisfied with the promises made you, and the security of the performance, do you disapprove of this method of bringing about the execution by force of arms? If you do, be so good as suggest another equally efficacious.

“That by parliament, indeed, would have been universally the most acceptable; but we cannot be so infatuated as to remain in eternal bondage, unless a parliament, composed of hirelings, should set us at liberty; nor have we any hopes that the Elector will strip himself of that pecuniary influence by which alone he has carried, over the bellies of the nation, every destructive measure.

“On the other hand, if the dispute is to be whether the Stuart or Hanoverian family shall reign over Great Britain, without reference to the interest of the nation, we need use no other argument than the sword with such as shall oppose us upon these principles.

“To conclude, we desire to lay this import-

ant question before you in a new light. Suppose, for it is only a supposition, that this dreadful and unnatural rebellion, as you are taught to call it, should be extinguished and quashed, and every man concerned in it executed on a scaffold; your joy, no doubt, would be very great upon so glorious an event; your addresses would then be turned into thanksgivings,—your parliament would then meet and cloath your beloved sovereign with new powers,—your standing army, which has hitherto been looked upon as the bane of the constitution, would then be consecrated as your deliverers; and the reverend bishops of the church of England would be hailed from the most distant corners of the island by the glorious appellation of patriots and protectors of British liberty. O happy, thrice happy nation, who have such an army and such a bench of bishops ready upon this occasion to rescue them from popery, and slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power!

“When, indeed, the first transport of your joy would be over,—for you are not to expect that these halcyon days are ever to remain,—you might perhaps find, to your fatal experience, that the constitution of your country was not in the least improved; and upon the return of the unavoidable consequences of those evils all along complained of, and which now you have so fair an opportunity of having redressed, you would at last be sensible that we were those who, in truth, deserved the appellation of deliverers, patriots, and protectors of the British liberty. But this last part of our letter is addressed only to such as we expect to meet with in a field of battle, and we are hopeful that those will prove but an inconsiderable part of the nations of Great Britain and Ireland; and that you, our countrymen and fellow-subjects, upon being advised and informed, as you now have been, of the whole plan of this glorious expedition, will cheerfully join issue with us, and share in the glory of restoring our king and in setting our country free, which, by the strength of our arm, the assistance of our allies, and the blessing of Almighty God, we shortly expect to see accomplished.”

Whilst the prince and his partizans were

thus spreading the seeds of insurrection, and endeavouring to improve the advantages they had gained, the ministry of Great Britain, aroused to a just sense of the impending danger, took every possible measure to retard the progress of the insurrection. King George had returned to London on the 31st of August. He met with a cordial reception from the nobility and gentry in the capital, and loyal addresses were voted by all the principal cities, and towns and corporations in the kingdom. A demand was made upon the states-general for the 6,000 men stipulated by treaty, part of whom were landed at Berwick the day after Cope's defeat. Three battalions of guards, and seven regiments of foot, were ordered home from Flanders, and a cabinet council was held at Kensington on the 13th of September, which directed letters to be sent to the lords-lientenant and *custodes rotulorum* of the counties of England and Wales to raise the militia. Marshal Wade was despatched to the north of England to take the command of the forces in that quarter, and two regiments, of 1,000 each, were ordered to be transported from Dublin to Chester. A number of blank commissions were, as has been before stated, sent to the north of Scotland to raise independent companies; the Earl of Loudon was despatched to Inverness to take the command, and two ships of war were sent down with arms to the same place.

As popery had been formerly a servicable bugbear to alarm the people for their religion and liberties, some of the English bishops issued mandates to their clergy, enjoining them to instil into their people “a just abhorrence of popery” and of arbitrary power, both of which they supposed to be inseparably connected; a proceeding which formed a singular contrast with the conduct of their brethren, the Scottish protestant episcopal clergy, who to a man were zealously desirous of restoring the Stuarts. The clergy attended to the injunctions they had received, and their admonitions were not without effect. Associations were speedily formed in every county, city, and town in England, of any consideration, in defence of the religion and liberties of the nation, and all persons, of whatever rank or degree, seemed equally zealous to protect both.

The parliament met on the 17th of October, and was informed by his majesty that he had been obliged to call them together sooner than he intended, in consequence of an unnatural rebellion which had broken out, and was still continued in Scotland, to suppress and extinguish which rebellion he craved the immediate advice and assistance of the parliament. Both houses voted addresses, in which they gave his majesty the strongest assurances of duty and affection to his person and government, and promised to adopt measures commensurate with the danger. The *habeas corpus* act was suspended for six months, and several persons were apprehended on suspicion. The Duke of Cumberland, the king's second son, arrived from the Netherlands shortly after the opening of the session, and on the 25th of October a large detachment of cavalry and infantry arrived in the Thames from Flanders. The trainbands of London were reviewed by his majesty on the 28th; the county regiments were completed; and the persons who had associated themselves in different parts of the kingdom as volunteers, were daily engaged in the exercise of arms. Apprehensive of an invasion from France, the government appointed Admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to watch the motions of the enemy by sea. Cruisers were stationed along the French coast, particularly off Dunkirk and Boulogne, which captured several ships destined for Scotland with officers, soldiers, and ammunition for the use of the insurgents.

The birth-day of George II., which fell on the 30th of October, was celebrated throughout the whole of England with extraordinary demonstrations of loyalty. Many extravagant scenes were enacted, which, though they may now appear ludicrous and absurd, were deemed by the actors as deeds of the purest and most exalted patriotism. In Scotland, however, with one remarkable exception, the supporters of government did not venture upon any public display. The exception alluded to was the town of Perth, some of whose inhabitants took possession of the church and steeple about mid-day, and rang the bells. Oliphant of Gask, who had been made deputy-governor of the town by the young Chevalier, and had under

him a small party, sent to desire those who rang the bells to desist; but they refused to comply, and continued ringing at intervals until midnight, two hours after the ordinary time. Mr. Oliphant, with his small guard and three or four gentlemen, posted themselves in the council-house, in order to secure about 1,400 small arms, some ammunition, &c., belonging to the Highland army, deposited there and in the adjoining jail. At night seven north-country gentlemen, in the Jacobite interest, came to town with their servants, and immediately joined their friends in the council-house: when it grew dark the mob made bonfires in the streets, and ordered the inhabitants to illuminate their windows, an order which was generally obeyed, and the few that refused had their windows broken. About nine o'clock at night a party sallied from the council-house, and marching up the street to disperse the mob, fired upon and wounded three of them. The mob, exasperated by this attack, rushed in upon the party, and disarmed and wounded some of them. After this rencounter the mob placed guards at all the gates of the town, took possession of the main-guard and rung the fire-bell, by which they drew together about 200 people. They thereupon sent a message to Mr. Oliphant, requiring him to withdraw immediately from the town and yield up the arms, ammunition, &c. Mr. Oliphant having refused, they rang the fire-bell a second time, and hostilities commenced about two o'clock in the morning, and continued about three hours. The people fired at the council-house from the heads of lanes, from behind stairs, and from windows, so that the party within could not look out without the greatest hazard. About five o'clock the mob dispersed. An Irish captain in the French service was killed in the council-house, and three or four of Mr. Oliphant's party were wounded. Of the mob, which was without a leader, four were wounded. To preserve order, about 60 of Lord Nairne's men were brought into the town next day, and these were soon thereafter joined by about 130 Highlanders⁹

⁹ Adamson's *Muses Threnodie*, Perth ed. of 1774. Appendix, No. 2, p. 165.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A. D. 1745.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George II., 1727—1760.

Plan of the march of the rebels into England—Composition of the Highland army—Highland mode of fighting—March of Prince Charles into England—Siege and capture of Carlisle—Dissension in the Prince's council—Resignation of Lord George Murray—Proceedings of Marshal Wade—The Highland army marches south—Arrives at Manchester—The Manchester regiment—Rebels march to Derby—Consternation at London—Charles's council resolve to retreat—Charles desires to proceed to London—Overruled—The Chevalier's agents in France—French expedition under Lord John Drummond—His arrival and proceedings—Retreat of the Highland army to Scotland—Skirmish at Clifton—Recapture of Carlisle.

WHEN Charles's resolution to march into England was finally agreed to by his officers, the next thing to be determined was the route to be taken. After some deliberation the council advised the Prince to march straight to Berwick, of which town they thought he could easily make himself master, and thence to Newcastle and give battle to Marshal Wade, who had collected a force in the neighbourhood of that town. If victorious, the prince was to march to London by the east coast, so as to favour the disembarkation of any troops that France might send over destined to land on that coast. But this plan, though unanimously approved of, was overturned by Lord George Murray, who was of a very different opinion from the rest of the council. In presence of several of the principal officers of the army he represented the plan of a march along the east coast as an affair of great difficulty, and that its advantages, if it really had any, would be more than compensated by the loss of time it would occasion, which at the present juncture was very precious. He therefore proposed that the army should march into England by the western road, and that to conceal its route it should march in two columns, one by Kelso and the other column by Moffat, so that both columns could easily join near Carlisle, on a day to be appointed. Finding that Lord George's arguments had prevailed with most of the officers, Charles agreed to his scheme, though he considered the route by Berwick as the better of the two.¹

¹ *Kirkconnel MS.* Lord George Murray's Narrative, in *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 47.

Preparatory to their march the insurgents removed their camp to a strong position to the west of Dalkeith, six miles south of Edinburgh, having that town on their left, the South Esk in front, the North Esk in their rear, with an opening on their right towards Polton. From this camp a detachment was sent with three pieces of cannon to secure the pass of the Forth above Stirling, lest Lord Loudon should march south with the independent companies he was forming, and attempt to force the passage.²

On the evening of Thursday the 31st of October, Prince Charles finally left Holyrood House accompanied by his life-guards, and several of the clan-regiments, amid the regrets of a vast concourse of spectators, most of whom were never to see him again. He slept that night at Pinkie House, and went next morning to Dalkeith, and took up his quarters in Dalkeith House, the seat of the Duke of Buccleuch. On that day he was joined by the clan Pherson, under the command of their chief, Macpherson of Cluny, by Menzies of Shien and his men, and some small parties of Highlanders, amounting altogether to between 900 and 1,000 men.

At this period the state of the insurgent army was as follows. Of cavalry, the first troop of horse-guards, which was commanded by Lord Elcho, consisted of 62 gentlemen with their servants, under 5 officers. It amounted in all to 120. The second troop, which was commanded by the honourable Arthur Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Balmerino, was not complete, and did not exceed 40 horse. A small squadron, called the horse-grenadiers, was commanded by the Earl of Kilmarnock, with which were incorporated some Perthshire gentlemen, in absence of Lord Strathallan their commander, who had been appointed governor of Perth and commander of the Jacobite forces in Scotland during the stay of the Highland army in England. These last united, amounted to nearly 100. Lord Pitsligo was at the head of the Aberdeen and Banffshire gentlemen, who, with their servants, amounted to about 120; and besides those enumerated, there was a party of between 70 and 80 hussars, under the nominal command of Secretary Murray as colonel, but in reality under the direction of

² *Kirkconnel MS.*

one Baggot, an Irish officer, who had lately arrived from France. The infantry, all of whom wore the Highland garb, consisted of thirteen battalions or regiments, six of which consisted of the clans, properly so called; of these six regiments, three were of the Macdonalds, and the other three were each composed of the Camerons, the Stewarts of Appin, and the Macphersons. Three regiments of Athole men, commonly called the Athole brigade, the regiments of the Duke of Perth, Lord Ogilvy, Glenbucket, and Roy Stewart, made up the thirteen regiments.³ Of the infantry, which amounted to about 5,000 men, about 4,000 were real Highlanders. Thus the total amount of the army did not exceed 6,000 men.⁴

The clan-regiments, according to custom, were commanded by their respective chiefs; but in some instances, in the absence of the chief, the regiment of the clan was commanded by his son, and failing both, by the nearest kinsman of the chief. In these regiments every company had two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns, all of whom were generally related, by ties of blood, to the chief. The pay of a captain in the army was half-a-crown *per diem*; that of a lieutenant two shillings; and of an ensign one shilling and sixpence. The front rank of each clan-regiment was composed of persons who were considered gentlemen by birth, though without

fortune or means. The pay of these was one shilling *per diem*. The gentlemen in the front rank were better armed than the men in the rear rank. All the former had targets, which many of the latter had not. When fully armed, as was generally the case, every gentleman of the front rank carried a musket and broadsword, with a pair of pistols and a dirk stuck in the belt which surrounded his body. In some rare instances another dagger was stuck within the garter of the right leg, to be used in cases of emergency. A target, formed of wood and leather thickly studded with nails, covered the left arm, and enabled the wearer to parry and protect himself from the shots or blows of an assailant.

Thus armed, the success of a Highland army depended more upon individual bravery than upon combined efforts, and their manner of fighting was, as the Chevalier Johnstone observes, adapted for brave but undisciplined troops. "They advance," says that writer, "with rapidity, discharge their pieces when within musket length of the enemy, and then, throwing them down, draw their swords, and holding a dirk in their left hand with their target, they dart with fury on the enemy through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of the enemy's bayonets, bending their left knee, they, by their attitude, cover their bodies with their targets that receive their thrusts of the bayonets, which they contrive to parry, while at the same time they raise their sword-arm, and strike their adversary. Having once got within the bayonets, and into the ranks of the enemy, the soldiers have no longer any means of defending themselves, the fate of the battle is decided in an instant, and the carnage follows; the Highlanders bringing down two men at a time, one with their dirk in the left hand, and another with the sword. The reason assigned by the Highlanders for their custom of throwing their muskets on the ground is not without its force. They say they embarrass them in their operations, even when slung behind them, and on gaining a battle they can pick them up along with the arms of their enemies; but if they should be beaten, they have no occasion for muskets. They themselves proved that bravery may supply the place of discipline at times, as discipline

³ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁴ The Highland army about the middle of November, according to a list then published, was thus composed:—

Regiments.	Colonels.	Men.
Lochiel, .	Cameron, younger of Lochiel,	740
Appin, .	Stewart of Ardshiel,	360
Athole, .	Lord George Murray,	1,000
Clanranald, .	Macdonald, yr. of Clanranald,	200
Keppoch, .	Macdonald of Keppoch,	400
Glencoe, .	Macdonald of Glencoe,	200
Ogilvy, .	Lord Ogilvy,	500
Glenbucket, .	Gordon of Glenbucket,	427
Perth, .	{ Duke of Perth (including } Pitsligo's foot), }	750
Robertson, .	Robertson of Strowan,	200
Maclauchlan, .	Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan,	260
Glencairnock, .	Macgregor of Glencairnock,	300
Nairne, .	Lord Nairne,	200
Edinburgb, .	John Roy Stewart,	450
Several small corps,	1,000
Horse, .	{ Lord Elcho, } { Lord Kilmarnock, }	160
Horse, .	Lord Pitsligo's,	140
		7,287

The numbers, however, are overrated.

supplies the place of bravery. The attack is so terrible, that the best troops in Europe would with difficulty sustain the first shock of it; and if the swords of the Highlanders once come in contact with them, their defeat is inevitable."⁵

In entering upon such a desperate enterprise as the invasion of England with the handful of men he had mustered, Charles certainly must have calculated on being supported by a large party in that country. Indeed, his chief reason for urging such a step was the numerous assurances he alleged he had received from his friends in that kingdom, that he would be joined by a very considerable body of the people; but there seems reason to believe, that, in his expectations of support, he was guided almost solely by the reports of his agents, and that he had very little communication with any of the parties on whose support he relied.⁶ In a memoir⁷ which the prince presented to the King of France on his return from Scotland, he states, that, if after the battle of Preston he had had 3,000 regular troops under his command, in addition to his other forces, he could have penetrated into England, and marched to London, without opposition, as none of the English troops which were on the continent had arrived; but the case was now widely different, and without a general rising, it was next to impossible to succeed in the face of a large regular army, which was assembling at different points, supported by a numerous militia.

Pursuant to the plan of Lord George Murray, the advanced guard of the first division of the army left Dalkeith on the evening of Friday the 1st of November, and took the road to Peebles. The main body, consisting of the

⁵ *Memoirs*, p. 113.

⁶ Letters from Moor and Smart, two of the agents of the Chevalier de St. George, will be found among the *Stuart Papers*. Smart held an appointment in the London post-office, and is often alluded to in the correspondence between Sempil and Drummond of Bochalduy, and the Chevalier, as their "post-office correspondent." Smart was furnished with a list of the addresses, under which the correspondence between the Chevalier's agents on the continent, and their friends in England, was carried on, and, as his duty appears to have been to examine all letters passing through the post-office, he passed the letters to such addresses without examination. When he found any letters from abroad, giving information to the government about the Jacobite party, he always burnt them.—Letter from Drummond to the Chevalier de St. George, 19th October, 1745, among the *Stuart Papers*.

⁷ *Stuart Papers*.



Duke of Perth.—From original in possession of Sir William Drummond Stenart, Bart. of Grandtully.

Athole brigade, the Duke of Perth's regiment, the regiments of Lord Ogilvy, Glenbucket, and Roy Stewart, and the greater part of the horse followed next day. The artillery and baggage were sent along with this column. This division was under the command of the Marquis of Tullibardine. The second division, which consisted of the life-guards and the clan regiments, headed by the prince in person, marched from Dalkeith on the 3d of November in the direction of Kelso. The guards formed the van, and the prince marched on foot at the head of the clans with his target over his shoulder. It was supposed that he would have mounted his horse after proceeding a mile or two; but, to the surprise of every person, he marched on foot the whole day, and continued the same practice during the whole of the expedition, wading through mud and snow, and it was with difficulty that he could be prevailed upon to get on horseback, even to cross a river. The example he thus set to his men, joined to the condescension and affability he displayed, endeared him to the army. Charles arrived at Lauder the same night, and took up his residence in Thirlstane castle, the seat of the Earl of Lauderdale.

After despatching part of his men by a middle course towards Selkirk and Hawick, the prince next day marched to Kelso. As Marshal Wade was supposed to be on his way north from Newcastle, Charles sent his life-guards across the Tweed, not so much for the purpose of reconnoitring, as for amusing the enemy. After advancing several miles on the road to Newcastle, they halted at a village, and made some inquiries as to quarters and accommodation for the army, which they stated was on its march to Newcastle. Charles even sent orders to Wooler, a town on the road to Newcastle, to provide quarters for his army. The design was to keep Wade in suspense, and draw off his attention from the movements of the Highland army upon Carlisle. While at Kelso, Charles sent a party of between 30 and 40 men across the Tweed, to proclaim his father upon English ground. Having performed the ceremony, they returned to Kelso.⁸ The prince remained at Kelso till the 6th of November, on the morning of which day he crossed the Tweed. The river was scarcely fordable, but the men were in high spirits, and when up to the middle in the water, they expressed the ardour they felt by setting up a loud shout and discharging their pieces.⁹ After crossing the river, the prince turned to the left, and marched towards Jedburgh, where he arrived in a few hours.

As his next route lay through a dreary waste of considerable extent, he halted at Jedburgh for the night, to refresh his men, and departed early next morning. Marching up Rule water, Charles led his men into Liddisdale over the *Knot o' the Gate*, and after a fatiguing march of about twenty-five miles, arrived at Haggiehaugh upon Liddel water, where he slept. Charles marched down Liddel water on the following day, being Friday the 8th of November, and entered England in the evening. When crossing the border, the Highlanders drew their swords, and gave a hearty huzza; but a damp came over their spirits, on learning that Lochiel had cut his hand in the act of unsheathing his sword, an occurrence which the Highlanders superstitiously regarded as a bad omen.¹ Charles lay at Reddings in Cumber-

land that night. The division belonging to the prince's column, consisting of horse, which had taken the middle route by Hawick and Langholm, reached Longtown the same day.

While the eastern division was thus moving in a circuitous direction to the appointed place of rendezvous near Carlisle, the western column, which started on the road to Peebles, was following a more direct route, by Moffat and down Annandale. This division entered England near Longtown. On the 9th of November, Charles marched with his division to Rowcliff, four miles below Carlisle, where he crossed the river Eden, and quartered his men in the villages on the west side of the city. In the afternoon, Charles was joined by the greater part of the other division, under the Marquis of Tullibardine. This march was judiciously planned, and was executed with such precision, that scarcely two hours elapsed between the arrival of the two main divisions at the appointed place of rendezvous. The march, according to the Chevalier Johnstone, resembled on a small scale that of Marshal Saxe, a few years before, when he advanced to lay siege to Maestricht.

The plan for deceiving Marshal Wade succeeded so well, that that commander, who had now an army of 11,000 men under him, had no idea that the Highland army was marching on Carlisle, and accordingly directed his whole attention to the protection of Newcastle. Such was the secrecy with which the motions of the army were conducted, that, with the exception of Charles and his principal officers, no person knew its real destination.² On arriving in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, desertion had diminished the prince's army by some hundreds.

The city of Carlisle, the capital of Cumberland, had formerly been a place of great strength, and had, during the wars between England and Scotland, been considered one of the keys of England on the side of the latter; but since the union of the crowns, its fortifications had been allowed to fall into decay. It was surrounded by walls flanked with towers, and a fosse or ditch. The city was protected by a castle on the north-west, supposed to be as old as the time of William Rufus, and by a

⁸ Marchant, p. 161.

⁹ *Kirkconnel MS.*

¹ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 455.

² Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 56.

citadel on the south-east, erected in the reign of Henry the Eighth. The castle, on the present occasion, was well furnished with artillery, and was garrisoned by a company of invalids; but, like the city, its fortifications were not in good repair. To aid the inhabitants in defending the city, the whole militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland had been assembled within its walls.

When approaching the city on the 9th, a party of the prince's horse advanced to Stanwix Bank, a small hill near Carlisle, to reconnoitre; but they were forced to retire by a few shots from the castle. The whole of the army having passed the Eden next day, Charles proceeded to invest the city on all sides. One of his parties, in marching round from the Irish to the English gate, was fired upon both from the castle and the town, but did not sustain any loss. Having completed the investment, the prince, about noon, sent a letter to the mayor of the city, requiring him to open its gates, and allow the army to enter in a peaceable manner; promising, in case of compliance, to protect the city from insult, but threatening an assault in the event of a refusal. The prince stated, that should an assault be made, he might not have it in his power to prevent the dreadful consequences which usually befall a city captured in that way. An answer was required within two hours, but none was given, and a discharge of cannon from the besieged announced their determination to hold out. In consequence of this reception, the trenches were opened at night, under the orders of the Duke of Perth, at the distance of eighty yards from the walls. Mr. Grant, an Irish officer, of Lally's regiment, who had lately arrived from France, and who was an experienced engineer, ably availing himself of some ditches, approached close to the city without suffering from the fire of the besieged. The artillery consisted of six Swedish field pieces, which had been received from France, and of the pieces which had been taken at Preston.³

Having received intelligence that Marshal Wade was advancing from Newcastle to relieve Carlisle, and that he had already arrived at Hexham, Charles resolved to meet him on some

of the hilly grounds between Newcastle and Carlisle. Leaving, therefore, a sufficient force to blockade Carlisle, he departed with the remainder of the army on the morning of the 11th, and reached Warwick castle about ten o'clock. He then despatched Colonel Ker with a party of horse, in the direction of Hexham, to reconnoitre, and ordered his men to take up their quarters for the night. Ker having ascertained that the news of Wade's march was false, returned to Brampton, and made his report. After waiting two days at Brampton without hearing any thing of Wade, a council of war was held, at which several opinions were offered. One opinion, in which Charles concurred, was that the army should advance to Newcastle, and give battle to Wade. Some of the council thought that this would be a dangerous step; for even were they to defeat the marshal, his army might take refuge in Newcastle, which it was vain for them to think of taking, as, besides the strength of the place, the army had lost many men upon its march. Others were for returning to Scotland till joined by a greater body of their friends; but Lord George Murray opposed all these views, and proposed, that while one part of the party should besiege and blockade Carlisle, the other should remain at Brampton. The Duke of Perth seconded this opinion, and offered to undertake the charge of the battery, if Lord George would take the command of the blockade. The council having all agreed to Lord George's proposal, six of the Lowland regiments were sent to blockade the town, besides the Duke of Perth's, which was to be employed on the battery.⁴

Whilst the main body of the army was at Brampton, the party left before the city occupied themselves in cutting down wood in Corby and Warwick parks, with which they made scaling-ladders, fascines, and carriages. On the 13th, about noon, the regiments appointed for the blockade and siege of the city re-appeared before it. Lord George Murray took up his quarters at Harbery, and posted his men in the villages around the city to stop all communication with it. The besieging party broke ground in the evening within musket-shot of the walls, about half-way be-

³ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 57.

⁴ Lord George Murray's *Narrative*, *Jacobite Memoirs*, pp. 47, 48.

tween the English and Scotch gates.⁵ A constant firing was kept up from the city; but as these operations were carried on under cloud of night, the party in the trenches received no injury. Having completed their battery, the besiegers brought up all their cannon, consisting of thirteen pieces, to play upon the town. Next morning the fire from the garrison was renewed, but with little effect, and the besiegers, instead of returning the fire, held up their bonnets on the end of their spades in derision.⁶

Alarmed by the preparations of the Highlanders, and the state of affairs within the city, a meeting of the inhabitants was held, at which it was resolved to surrender the town. For seven days the garrison of the city, kept in constant alarm by the Highlanders, had scarcely enjoyed an hour's continued repose; and while many of the men had, from illness, absolutely refused to assist any longer in the defence of the city, numbers were hourly leaving it clandestinely by slipping over the walls; so that in several cases the officers of some companies had not more than three or four men left. In this state of matters the only alternative was a surrender; and as a crisis appeared to be at hand, a white flag was exhibited from the walls, and a messenger despatched to the Duke of Perth to request terms. His Grace sent an express to Brampton to know the prince's pleasure; but his Royal Highness refused to grant any terms to the city unless the castle surrendered at the same time. At the request of the mayor, a cessation of arms was granted till next day; but before the time expired, Colonel Durand, the commander of the castle, agreed to surrender the fortress along with the town. The conditions were, that the liberties and properties of the inhabitants, and all the privileges of the town, should be preserved inviolate;—that both garrisons, on taking an oath not to serve against the house of Stuart for one year, should be allowed to retire,—and that all the arms and ammunition in the castle and the city, and all the horses belonging to the militia, should be delivered up to the prince. This capitulation was signed by the Duke of Perth and Colonel Durand on the night of the 14th.⁷

Next morning at ten o'clock the Duke of Perth entered the city at the head of his regiment, and was followed by the other regiments at one o'clock in the afternoon. The castle, however, was not given up till next morning. The Duke of Perth shook hands with the men of the garrison, told them they were brave fellows, and offered them a large bounty to enlist in the service of the prince.⁸ The mayor and his attendants went to Brampton, and delivered the keys of the city to the prince.⁹ The duke found 1,000 stand of arms in the castle, besides those of the militia. He also found 200 good horses in the city, and a large quantity of valuable effects in the castle, which had been lodged there by the gentry of the neighbourhood for safety.¹

On the day following the surrender, the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed in the city with the usual formalities; and, to give greater eclat to the ceremony, the mayor and aldermen were compelled to attend with the sword and mace carried before them. Along with the manifestoes formerly noticed, another declaration for England, dated from Rome, 23d December, 1743, was also read, of much the same tenor as the others.

After the Chevalier had been proclaimed, and the different manifestoes read, the corporation went out to meet the prince, who entered the city under a general salute of artillery.²

In many points of view the capture of Carlisle would have been of great importance to the prince, if he had been strong enough to have availed himself of the state of terror which that event, and his subsequent advance into the very heart of England, had thrown the people of that kingdom; but his means were soon found quite inadequate to accomplish his end. Even if his resources had been much greater than over they were, it seems doubtful whether the jealousies and dissensions, which, at an early period, began to distract his councils, would not have rendered all his exertions, for obtaining the great object of his ambition, unavailable.

The *origo mali*, the source of the discord, and all the misfortunes, as the Jacobites would say, that flowed from it, are attributed by au

⁶ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 493.

⁷ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁶ Ray, p. 96.

⁸ Marchant, p. 169.

⁹ Boyse, p. 100.

¹ Marchant, p. 169.

² Ray, p. 99. Boyse, p. 100.

individual³ who had good opportunities of judging, and whose narrative appears to be impartial, to "the unbounded ambition of Secretary Murray, who from the beginning aimed at nothing less than the whole direction and management of every thing. To this passion he sacrificed what chance there was of a restoration, though that was the foundation on which all his hopes were built. He had an opportunity of securing the prince's favour long enough before he could be rivalled. He was almost the only personal acquaintance the prince found in Scotland. It was he that had engaged the prince to make this attempt upon so slight a foundation, and the wonderful success that had hitherto attended it was placed to his account. The Duke of Perth, whose character indeed was well known to the prince, judging of Murray's heart by his own, entertained the highest opinion of his integrity, went readily into all his schemes, and confirmed the prince in the esteem he had already conceived for Murray. After Mr. Kelly was gone, there was only Sir Thomas Sheridan and Mr. Sullivan, of these that had come along with the prince that had any thing to say with him, and these Murray had gained entirely. Lord George Murray was the man the secretary dreaded most as a rival. Lord George's birth, age, capacity, and experience, would naturally give him great advantage over the secretary; but the secretary had got the start of him, and was determined to stick at nothing to maintain his ground.

"He began by representing Lord George as a traitor to the prince. He assured him that he had joined on purpose to have an opportunity of delivering him up to the government. It was hardly possible to guard against this imposture. The prince had the highest opinion of his secretary's integrity, and knew little of Lord George Murray, so the calumny had its full effect. Lord George soon came to know the suspicion the prince had of him, and was affected as one may easily enough imagine. To be sure, nothing could be more shocking to a man of honour, and one that was now for the third time venturing his life and fortune for the royal cause. The prince was partly unde-

ceived by Lord George's gallant behaviour at the battle [of Preston], and had Lord George improved that opportunity he might have perhaps gained the prince's favour, and got the better of the secretary; but his haughty and overbearing manner prevented a thorough reconciliation, and seconded the malice and malicious insinuations of his rival. Lord George did not altogether neglect making his court. Upon some occasions he was very obsequious and respectful, but had not temper to go through with it. He now and then broke out into such violent sallies, as the prince could not digest, though the situation of his affairs forced him to bear with them.

"The secretary's station and favour had attached to him such as were confident of success, and had nothing in view but making their fortunes. Nevertheless, Lord George had greater weight and influence in the council, and generally brought the majority over to his opinion, which so irritated the ambitious secretary, that he endeavoured all he could to give the prince a bad impression of the council itself, and engaged to lay it entirely aside. He had like to have prevailed at Carlisle, but the council was soon resumed, and continued ever after to be held upon extraordinary emergencies. It was not in this particular only that Murray's ambition was detrimental to the prince's affairs. Though he was more jealous of Lord George Murray than of any body, Lord George was not the only person he dreaded as a rival. There were abundance of gentlemen in the army, in no respect inferior to Mr. Murray, but his early favour gave him an opportunity of excluding most of them from the prince's presence and acquaintance. All those gentlemen that joined the prince after Murray were made known under the character he thought fit to give of them, and all employments about the prince's person, and many in the army, were of his nomination. These he filled with such as, he had reason to think, would never thwart his measures, but be content to be his tools and creatures without aspiring higher. Thus some places of the greatest trust and importance were given to little insignificant fellows, while there were abundance of gentlemen of figure and merit, that had no employment at all, and who

³ Maxwell of Kirkeconel.

might have been of great use had they been properly employed."⁴

Till the siege of Carlisle, Secretary Murray had been able to disguise his jealousy of Lord George Murray, who, from his high military attainments, had been able hitherto to rule the council; but, on that occasion, the secretary displayed his hostility openly, and Lord George thereupon resigned his command as one of the lieutenant-generals of the army. The circumstances which led to the resignation of Lord George were these. It appears that, before the blockading party left Brampton, he desired Charles to give him some idea of the terms his royal highness would accept of from Carlisle, not with the view of obtaining powers to conclude a capitulation, but merely to enable him to adjust the terms according to the prince's intentions, and thereby save a great deal of time. Charles not being able to come to any resolution before Lord George's departure, his lordship begged of him to send his instructions after him, that he might know how to conduct himself in the event of an offer of surrender by the city; but the secretary interposed, and told Lord George plainly, that he considered the terms of capitulation as a matter within his province, and with which Lord George had no right to interfere.⁵ Lord George has not communicated the answer he gave to Murray on this occasion. The part of the army destined for the blockade, though willing to take their turn along with the rest of the army, was averse to bear the whole burden of it. Their commander was aware of this feeling, and, in a letter written to his brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, from his head-quarters at Harbery, on the 14th of November, proposed a plan which he thought would satisfy both parties. After alluding to the indefatigable exertions of the Duke of Perth, who had himself wrought in the trenches to encourage his men to erect the battery, and the great difficulties he had to encounter from the nature of the ground, Lord George requested the marquis to represent to the prince, that the men engaged on the blockade would not expose themselves either in trenches or in the open air within cannon shot, or even within musket shot of

the town, but by turns with the rest of the army; and he proposed that it should be decided by lot who should mount guard the first night, second night, and so on. To carry the views of his men into effect, Lord George proposed the following plan, subject to the approval of a council of war, viz., that 50 men should be draughted out of each of the battalions that remained at Brampton, with proper officers, and at least two majors out of the six battalions; and that these should be sent to Butcherly, within a mile of the battery; and that as 150 men might be a sufficient guard for the battery, the six battalions would in this way furnish two guards, in addition to which, he proposed that two additional guards should be draughted, one from the Athole brigade, and the other from General Gordon's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments; and, by the time these four guards had served in rotation, he reckoned that the city would be taken, or the blockade removed. A council of war was held at Brampton upon this proposal, which came to the resolution, that as soon as the whole body forming the blockade had taken their turn as guards, the division of the army at Brampton should occupy its place, and form the blockade, but that no detachments should be sent from the different corps; nor did the council think it fair to order any such, as these corps had had all the fatigue and danger of the blockade of Edinburgh.⁶

Such were the circumstances which preceded the resignation of Lord George Murray, who, in a letter to Prince Charles dated the 15th of November, threw up his commission, assigning as his reason the little weight which his advice, as a general officer, had with his royal highness. He, however, stated, that as he had ever had a firm attachment to the house of Stuart, "and in particular to the king," he would serve as a volunteer, and that it was his design to be that night in the trenches. In a letter, which he wrote the same day to the Marquis of Tullibardine, he stated that he was constantly at a loss to know what was going on in the army, and that he was determined never again to act as an officer; but that as a volunteer, he would show that no man wished

⁴ *Kirkconnel MS.* ⁵ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 49.

⁶ *Jacobite Memoirs*, pp. 49—50.

better to the cause, and that he would do all in his power to advance the service. At the request of the marquis, who informed Lord George that Charles wished to see him, Lord George waited upon the prince, who appears to have received him dryly. On being informed by Lord George, that he had attended in consequence of a message from the prince, Charles denied that he had required his attendance, and told him that he had nothing particular to say to him. His lordship then repeated his offer to serve as a volunteer. Charles told him he might do so, and here the conversation ended. In a conversation which took place afterwards, between Lord George and Sir Thomas Sheridan, the former entered into some details, to show that in his station, as lieutenant-general, he had had no authority, and that others had usurped the office of general, by using the name of the prince. He complained that, while he was employed in the drudgery, every thing of moment was done without his knowledge or advice. He concluded by observing, that he had ventured his all,—life, fortune, and family,—in short, every thing but his honour,—that, as to the last, he had some to lose, but none to gain, in the way things were managed, and that, therefore, he had resolved upon serving in a humble capacity.⁷

There appears to be no foundation for the statement⁸ that Lord George resigned his commission from a dislike to serve under the Duke of Perth, whom he never mentions but with respect, although he was much inferior to Lord George in ability. He has also been accused of arrogance both to those of his own rank and even to the prince. But as Burton⁹ well remarks, “men of ability like Murray, unless they preserve a rigid restraint, are apt to let the contempt they feel for the silly people they are embarked with become unreasonably apparent, especially when they are interrupted in their plans by those who do not understand them.” The Duke of Perth, who was a Roman Catholic, on its being represented to him that it might injure the prince’s cause to have at the head of the army one of his persuasion, cheerfully resigned his commission. On this, Lord George, with whose valuable services the

army could not dispense, was persuaded to assume his command. He thus became virtually general of the army, under the prince; for his brother, Tullibardine, who was in a bad state of health, took nothing upon him.¹

Although Marshal Wade must have been duly apprised of the arrival of the Highland army in England, yet it was not until he had received intelligence of their march to Brampton, and of their probable advance upon Newcastle, that he began to move. He set out from Newcastle on the 16th of November, the day after the surrender of Carlisle; but a deep snow, which had just fallen, so retarded his march, that his army did not reach Ovington till eight o’clock that night. Next day he advanced to Hexham, where the first column of his army arrived about four o’clock in the afternoon; but the rear did not get up till near midnight. The army, unable to proceed farther on account of the snow, encamped on a moor near the town, and the men were provided with a sufficient quantity of straw to repose upon by the inhabitants, who kindled large fires all over the ground to protect the troops from the cold, which was unusually severe. At Hexham, Wade was informed of the reduction of Carlisle. He remained there three days in the expectation of a thaw; but the road to Carlisle continuing impassable, he returned to Newcastle, which he reached on the 22d of November.² The conduct of Marshal Wade, in delaying his march from Newcastle, has been justly censured, for there can be no doubt that had he made a movement in advance upon Carlisle about the time the insurgents marched to Brampton, that town would have been saved.

The sudden and unexpected success which had attended Charles’s arms in England, spread a general alarm through all the northern and western parts of that kingdom, and extended even to the capital itself. Such was the alternation of hope and fear in the minds of the people of all classes, that whilst the most trifling article of good news led them to indulge in the most extravagant manifestations of joy, the smallest reverse of fortune plunged them into the most abject distress. Sir Andrew Mitchell, alluding to this circumstance in

⁷ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 52. ⁸ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁹ *Scotland*, (1689—1747) vol. ii. p. 476.

¹ *Kirkconnel MS.*

² *Boyse*, p. 101.

a letter to President Forbes, says, that if he had not lived long enough in England to know the natural bravery of the people, he should have formed a very false opinion of them from their demeanour at the period in question.³

As soon as the news of the surrender of Carlisle was known in London, the government resolved to assemble an army of 10,000 men in Staffordshire, under Sir John Ligonier, an officer of considerable military experience. For this purpose, Sir John left London on the 21st of November, taking along with him nine old battalions, two regiments of dragoons, and part of his own regiment of horse. In addition to this and the other army under Wade, a third army, to be placed under the immediate command of his majesty, was ordered to be raised, and encamped in the vicinity of London for its protection. The city and castle of Chester were put in a proper state of defence, and the town of Liverpool raised a regiment of 700 men, who were clothed and maintained at the expense of the inhabitants.

When mustered at Carlisle, the prince's army amounted only to about 4,500 men.⁴ The idea of marching to London and overturning the government with such a force, in the face of three armies and a numerous militia, amounting in all to upwards of 60,000 men, could scarcely have been entertained by any adventurer, however sanguine his hopes may have been; but Charles was so full of his object, that he shut his eyes to the great difficulties of the enterprise, which he imagined would be surmounted by the tried valour of his troops, and the junction of a considerable party in England devoted to his cause.

To determine upon the course to be next pursued, Charles called a council of war a few days after the capture of Carlisle, in which different opinions were maintained. As there was no appearance of either an invasion from France, or an insurrection in England, some of the members proposed returning to Scotland, where a defensive war could be carried on till such time as the prince should be in a condition to resume offensive operations. Others

were for remaining at Carlisle, and quartering the army in the neighbourhood till they saw whether there should be any indications of a rising in England. A third party proposed that they should march to Newcastle and engage Wade's army. A fourth, that the army should continue its route to London by the west or Lancashire road, in support of which opinion they urged, that being now in possession of Carlisle, they had, at the worst, a safe retreat. This last proposal being quite in accordance with the prince's own sentiments, he declared that his opinion of marching directly to London, in terms of the resolution entered into at Edinburgh, was in no respect altered since he entered England. Lord George Murray, who had hitherto remained silent, was then desired by the prince to give his opinion. His lordship entered at some length into the question; stated the advantages and disadvantages of each of the different opinions; and concluded, by observing, that for himself he could not venture to advise his royal highness to march far into England, without receiving more encouragement from the country than he had hitherto got; but he was persuaded, that if his royal highness was resolved to make a trial of what could be expected, and would march south, his army, though small, would follow him. After Lord George had done speaking, Charles immediately said he would venture the trial. In giving his opinion, Lord George says he spoke with the more caution, in consequence of the recent circumstances which had led to his resignation.⁵

As a considerable number of men had been collected at Perth since the prince's departure from Scotland, and more were on their way thither from the north, Charles, before leaving Carlisle for the south, sent Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan to Scotland with an order to Lord Strathallan, to march with all the forces under his command, and join the army in England; but this order was disregarded.

Whilst encamped at Duddingston, the Highlanders preferred sleeping in the open air, and had with difficulty been prevailed upon to use the tents which had been captured at Preston and those provided at Edinburgh. These tents

³ *Culloden Papers*, p. 255.

⁴ The Chevalier Johnstone says it did not exceed 4,500; and Maxwell of Kirkconnel, that it amounted to 4,400.

⁵ Lord George Murray's Narrative, *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 43. Home's *Rebellion*, p. 143.

were packed up for the campaign in England: but the party, to whose care they were intrusted, most unaccountably left the whole of them at Lockerby along with other baggage. The whole, consisting of thirty cart-loads, were captured by a party of country people, who carried them to Dumfries. After the surrender of Carlisle, Lochiel went with a party to reclaim the baggage, failing which, he was ordered to exact £2,000 from the town; but before he reached Dumfries he was recalled. The army, therefore, being now without tents, and the season very severe, it was resolved so to arrange the order of march as to get the men accommodated in the towns. For this purpose, it was determined that one part of the army should precede the other by a day's march, the second division always occupying the quarters vacated by the first; but that, where the country would admit of it, there should be only half-a-day's march betwixt them.⁶

In accordance with this plan, the first division, commanded by Lord George Murray, left Carlisle on the 20th of November. It consisted, with the exception of the Duke of Perth's regiment, which being appointed to guard the thirteen cannon and ammunition, was not included in either division, of the whole of the low country regiments,⁷ six in number, with the life-guards under Lord Elcho, who marched at the head of the division. Each of these regiments led the van in its turn. This division reached Penrith the same day, having performed a march of eighteen miles. The second division, consisting of the clan regiments and the remainder of the cavalry, headed by the prince in person, left Carlisle next day, and arrived at Penrith that night, and entered the quarters occupied by the first division, which marched the same day to Shap, where it passed the night.⁸ In the march of

the prince's division the cavalry always marched at its head, and each of the clan regiments led the van by turns, agreeably to the plan observed by the division under Lord George Murray. A garrison of about 200 men was left in Carlisle under the command of one Hamilton, who had been made deputy-governor under the Duke of Perth, on whom the governorship had been conferred.⁹

On reaching Penrith, Charles, for the first time, heard of the march of Wade from Newcastle, and of his arrival at Hexham. Resolved to return to Carlisle and give battle to Wade, should he advance upon that city, Charles remained all the next day at Penrith, waiting for further intelligence of the marshal's movements; but receiving information from Lord Kilmarnock, who still remained with his horse at Brampton, that the English general was on his way back to Newcastle, Charles marched to Kendal on the 23d. The van of the army, which had arrived at Kendal on the previous day, marched on the 23d to Lancaster, where it halted for the night. The prince resumed his march on the 25th, and reached Lancaster, on which day the first division went to Garstang. On the 26th the whole army reached Preston, where it halted till the 27th. Recollecting the fate of the Highland army at Preston in 1715, the Highlanders had become possessed of the idea that they would never get beyond that town; but Lord George Murray, on being informed of it, dispelled this superstitions dread by crossing the bridge over the Ribble, and quartering a considerable number of his men on the other side of that river.¹

During his progress to Preston, Charles received no marks of attachment from the inhabitants of the towns and country through which he passed; but at Preston his arrival was hailed with acclamations and the ringing of bells. With the exception, however, of Mr. Townley, a Catholic gentleman who had been in the French service, and two or three other

over, that he and his wife had every day two dishes of meat at dinner, and as many at supper, at the cost of the prince. But Charles's liberality was not confined to landlords, for Gib states, that whenever he happened to pass even a night in a gentleman's house, his ordinary custom was to give at least five guineas of 'drink-money' to the servants.

⁶ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁷ So called, to distinguish them from the clan regiments, though the greater part were Highlanders, and wore the Highland garb, which was indeed the dress of the whole army.—*Idem.*

⁸ Charles, during his stay at Carlisle, lived in the house of a Mr. Hymer, an attorney, to whom he paid twenty guineas, being five guineas *per diem*, for the use of his house, as noted in the prince's household book, published in the *Jacobite Memoirs*. James Gib, his master of household, appears to have grudged Charles's liberality, as he observes that Hymer furnished nothing, not even coal or candle; and, more-

⁹ *Kirkconnel MS. Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 49.

¹ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 457.

gentlemen, no person of any note joined him. By dint of entreaty a few recruits were indeed raised; but it was not with such levies that Charles could expect to strengthen his army. At Preston Charles held a council of war, at which he repeated the assurances he alleged he had received from his English partisans, and gave fresh hopes of being joined by them on their arrival at Manchester. The Highland chiefs were prevailed upon to continue their march. Lord George Murray proposed to march with his column to Liverpool, and to join the other division at Macclesfield; but this proposal was overruled.²

Accordingly, on the 28th, the Highland army left Preston and marched to Wigan,³ where they passed the night. Next day the whole army entered Manchester, amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, who illuminated their houses, and lighted up bonfires in the evening, to express their joy. The same evening one Dickson, a sergeant, enlisted by the Chevalier Johnstone, from the prisoners taken at Preston, presented 180 recruits whom he had raised in the course of the day in Manchester. This young Scotsman, whom the Chevalier represents to have been "as brave and intrepid as a lion," disappointed at his own ill success in raising recruits at Preston, had requested permission from Johnstone, in whose company he was, to proceed to Manchester—a day's march before the army—to make sure of some recruits before it should arrive there. The Chevalier reproved him sharply for entertaining so wild and extravagant a project, which would expose him to the danger of being taken and hanged, and ordered him back to his company; but Dickson, reckless of consequences, quitted Preston on the evening of the 28th, with his mistress and a drummer, and travelling all night, entered Manchester next morning, and immediately began to beat up for recruits for "The Yellow Haired Laddie." Conceiving that the Highland army was at hand, the populace at first did not interrupt him; but when they ascertained that the army would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous

manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner dead or alive. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, charged with slugs, threatened to blow out the brains of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle which a crowd of people had formed around him. Having contrived for some time to manœuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester, who were attached to the house of Stuart, took arms, and flew to the assistance of Dickson, to rescue him from the fury of the mob; so that he had soon 500 or 600 men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time. Dickson now triumphed in his turn; and putting himself at the head of his followers, he proudly paraded undisturbed the whole day with his drummer, enlisting all who offered themselves. That evening, on presenting his recruits, it was found that the whole amount of his expenses did not exceed three guineas. This adventure gave rise to many a joke, at the expense of the town of Manchester, from the singular circumstance of its having been taken by a sergeant, a drummer, and a girl.⁴

The van of the prince's army, consisting of 100 horse, entered Manchester on the evening of the 28th of November, and, to magnify their numbers, ordered quarters to be prepared for 10,000 men. Another party of cavalry entered the town at ten o'clock next morning, and about two o'clock in the afternoon, Charles himself, accompanied by the main body, marched in on foot, surrounded by a select body of the clans. He wore on this occasion a light tartan plaid belted with a blue sash, a grey wig, and a blue velvet bonnet with silver lace, having a white rose in the centre of the top, by which latter badge he was distinguished from his general officers, who wore their cockades on one side.⁵ Here, as in all the other towns through which the Highlanders had passed, the Chevalier de St. George was proclaimed. The bells of the town were rung, and in the

² *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 52.

³ At Wigan, Charles gave "a woman" ten guineas for one night for the use of her house, her husband, "a squire, being from home."—*Household Book*.

⁴ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 63. This statement of the Chevalier Johnstone's is corroborated in the main by a contemporary journal in Marchant, p. 197.

⁵ Boyse, p. 103.

evening an illumination was made and bonfires lighted, by order of the prince, who also issued a proclamation requiring all persons, who had public money in their hands, to pay it into his treasury. The army halted a day at Manchester and beat up for recruits. They were joined by some young men of the most respectable families in the town, by several substantial tradesmen and farmers, and by upwards of 100 common men. These, with the recruits raised by Dickson, were formed into a corps called the Manchester regiment, the command of which was given to Mr. Townley, on whom the rank of Colonel was conferred. This regiment never exceeded 300 men, and were all the English who ever openly declared for the prince.⁶

Though Charles's reception at Manchester had been rather flattering, yet the countenance he received was not such as to encourage him to proceed, and a retreat now began to be talked of. One of Lord George Murray's friends ventured to hint to him that he thought they had advanced far enough, as neither of the events they had anticipated, of an insurrection in England, or a landing from France, were likely to take place. Lord George, who, it is understood, had always a retreat in view, if not supported by a party in England or by succours from abroad, said that they might make a farther trial by going as far as Derby, but that if they did not receive greater encouragement than they had yet met with, he would propose a retreat to the prince.

Conceiving that it was the intention of Charles to march by Chester into Wales, the bridges over the Mersey, on the road to Chester, had been broken down by order of the authorities; but this precaution was quite unnecessary. After halting a day at Manchester the army proceeded to Macclesfield on the morning of the 1st of December, in two divisions. One took the road to Stockport, and the other that to Knottesford. The bridge near Stockport having been broken down, Charles crossed the river up to his middle in water. At Knottesford the other division crossed the river over temporary bridges, made chiefly out of poplar trees laid length-ways

with planks across. The horse and artillery crossed at Chedle-ford. In the evening both divisions joined at Macclesfield, where they passed the night.⁷

At Macclesfield Charles received intelligence that the army of Ligonier, of which the Duke of Cumberland had taken the chief command, was on its march, and was quartered at Lichfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Lyme. The prince resolved to march for Derby. To conceal their intentions from the enemy, Lord George Murray offered to go with a division of the army to Congleton, which lay on the direct road to Lichfield, by which movement he expected that the duke would collect his army in a body at Lichfield, and thereby leave the road to Derby open.⁸ This proposal having been agreed to, Lord George went next day with his division to Congleton, whence he despatched Colonel Ker at night with a party towards Newcastle-under-Lyme, whither the Duke of Kingston had retired with his horse, on the approach of the Highlanders, to get intelligence of the enemy. Ker came to a village within three miles of Newcastle, and had almost surprised a party of dragoons, and succeeded in seizing one Weir, a noted spy, who had been at Edinburgh all the time the prince was there, and who had kept hovering about the army during its march to give intelligence of its motions.⁹ The main body of the royal army, which was posted at Newcastle-under-Lyme, on hearing of the march of the division of the Highland army upon Congleton, retreated towards Lichfield, and other bodies that were beyond Newcastle advanced for the purpose of concentrating near that town, by which

⁷ Boyse, p. 104.

⁸ Lord George Murray's Narrative, in *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 53.

⁹ When Weir was taken, Mr. Maxwell says, "he was immediately known to be the same person that had been employed in that business in Flanders, the year before. It was proposed to hang him immediately, in punishment of what he had done, and to prevent the mischief he might do in case the prince did not succeed. But the prince could not be brought to consent. He still insisted that Weir was not, properly speaking, a spy, since he was not found in the army in disguise. I cannot tell whether the prince, on this occasion, was guided by his opinion or by his inclination. I suspect the latter, because it was his constant practice to spare his enemies, when they were in his power. I don't believe there was one instance to the contrary to be found in his whole expedition."—*Kirkconnel MS.*

⁶ *Kirkconnel MS.* Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 66.

movements the design of Lord George Murray was completely answered. Having thus succeeded in deceiving the duke, Lord George Murray, after passing the night at Congleton, went off early next morning with his division, and turning to the left, passed through Leek, and arrived at Ashbourne in the evening. Charles, who had halted a day at Macclesfield, took the road to Derby by Gawsorth, and entered Leek shortly after the other division had left it. He would have remained there till next morning; but as he considered it unsafe to keep his army divided at such a short distance from the royal forces, who might fall upon either division, he set out from Leek about midnight, and joined the other column at Ashbourne early in the morning.¹ The Duke of Devonshire, who had been posted in the town of Derby, with a body of 700 militia, on hearing of the approach of the Highland army had retired from the town on the preceding evening.²

On the 4th of December Charles put the first division of his army in motion, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon his van-guard, consisting of thirty horse, entered Derby and ordered quarters for 9,000 men. About three o'clock in the afternoon Lord Elcho arrived with the life-guards and some of the principal officers on horseback. These were followed, in the course of the evening, by the main body, which entered in detached parties to make the army appear as numerous as represented. Charles himself did not arrive till the dusk of the evening; he entered the town on foot, and took up his quarters in a house belonging to the Earl of Exeter. During the day the bells were rung, and bonfires were lighted at night. The magistrates were ordered to attend in the market-place, in their gowns, to hear the usual proclamations read; but having stated that they had sent their gowns out of town, their attendance was dispensed with, and the proclamations were made by the common crier.³

The fate of the empire and his own destiny may be said to have now depended upon the next resolution which Charles was to take. He had, after a most triumphant career, ap-

proached within 127 miles of London, and there seemed to be only another step necessary to complete the chivalrous character of his adventure, and to bring his enterprise to a successful termination. This was, to have instantly adopted the bold and decisive measure of marching upon and endeavouring to seize the capital. The possession of the metropolis, where Charles had a considerable party, would have at once paralysed the government; and the English Jacobites, no longer afraid of openly committing themselves, would have rallied round his standard. The consternation which prevailed in London when the news of the arrival of the Highland army at Derby reached that capital, precludes the idea that any effectual resistance would have been offered on the part of the citizens; and it was the general opinion, that if Charles had succeeded in beating the Duke of Cumberland, the army which had assembled on Finchley Common would have dispersed of its own accord.⁴ Alluding, in a number of the *True Patriot*, to the dismay which pervaded the minds of the citizens of London, Fielding says, that when the Highlanders, by "a most incredible march," got between the Duke of Cumberland's army and the metropolis, they struck a terror into it, "scarce to be credited." The Chevalier Johnstone, who collected information on the spot shortly after the battle of Culloden, says, that when the intelligence of the capture of Derby reached London, many of the inhabitants fled to the country, carrying along with them their most valuable effects, and that all the shops were shut,—that there was a prodigious run upon the bank, which only escaped bankruptcy by a stratagem,—that although payment was not refused, the bank, in fact, retained its specie, by keeping it continually surrounded by agents of its own with notes, who, to gain time, were paid in sixpences; and as a regulation had been made, that the persons who came first should be entitled to priority of payment; and as the agents went out by one door with the specie they had received, and brought it back by another, the *bona fide* holders of notes could never get near enough to present them;—that King George had ordered his

¹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 54.—*Kirkconnel MS.*

² Boyse, p. 164.

³ Marchant, p. 202. Boyse, p. 164.

⁴ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 78.

yachts—on board of which he had put all his most precious effects—to remain at the Tower stairs in readiness to sail at a moment's warning,—and that the Duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the war department, had shut himself up in his house a whole day,⁵ deliberating with himself upon the part it would be most prudent for him to take, doubtful even whether he should not immediately declare for the prince.⁶

The only obstacle to Charles's march upon the capital was the army of the Duke of Cumberland, which was within a day's march of Derby. From the relative position of the two armies, the Highlanders might, with their accustomed rapidity, have outstripped the duke's army, and reached the capital at least one day before it; but to Charles it seemed unwise to leave such an army, almost double his own in point of numbers, in his rear, whilst that of Wade's would advance upon his left flank. Of the result of an encounter with Cumberland, Charles entertained the most sanguine hopes. His army was small, when compared to that of his antagonist; but the paucity of its numbers was fully compensated by the personal bravery of its component parts, and the enthusiastic ardour which pervaded the bosom of every clansman. At no former stage of the campaign were the Highlanders in better spirits than on their arrival at Derby. They are represented by the Chevalier Johnstone as animated to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, breathing nothing but a desire for the combat; and were to be seen during the whole day waiting in crowds before the shops of the cutlers to get their broadswords sharpened, and even quarrelling with one another for priority in whetting those fearful weapons.⁷ It was not without reason, therefore, that Charles calculated upon defeating Cumberland; and although there was a possibility that that bold and daring adventurer or his army, and perhaps both, might perish in the attempt to seize the capital, yet the importance of the juncture, and the probability that such a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his

object might never again occur, seem to justify Charles in his design of advancing immediately upon London. However, whatever might have been the result of the advance of the rebel army, other counsels prevailed, and Charles reluctantly yielded to the entreaties of his friends, who advised a retreat.⁸

On the morning after the arrival of the Highland army at Derby, Charles held a council of war to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. The prince, who never for a moment entertained the least idea of a retreat, and who considered his own personal safety a minor consideration, urged every argument in his power for an immediate advance, with all the vehemence and ardour characteristic of an enterprising and fanatic mind. He said that he did not doubt, that, as his cause was just, it would prevail,—that he could not think of retreating after coming so far,—and that he was hopeful there would be a defection in the enemy's army, and that some of their troops would join him. Lord George Murray, however, proposed a retreat, and used a variety of arguments, which appeared to him unanswerable, in support of that measure. He represented to his royal highness and the council, that they had advanced into England depending upon French succours, or an insurrection in that kingdom, and that they had been disappointed in both,—that the prince's army, by itself, was by no means a match for the troops which the government had assembled,—that besides the Duke of Cumberland's army, which was between 7,000 and 8,000 men strong, and which was expected that night at Stafford, Marshal Wade was coming up by hard marches by the east road with an army of 10,000 men, and that he was already at Ferrybridge, which was within two or three days' march of the Highland army,—that in addition to these two armies, there was a third at least equal to either of them already forming in the neighbourhood of London, consisting of guards and

⁵ Burton discredits these statements, there being, he says, no contemporary evidence in their favour.—*Scotland* (1689—1747), vol. ii. p. 483.

⁶ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 75.

⁷ Idem, p. 67.

⁸ Burton appears to think that there was little danger of any serious consequences following the possession of London by Charles. "The days were long past," he says, "when the rising of a body of the English gentry brought a certain force into the field; and a few wealthy peers and squires, with their lacqueys and grooms, would have gone little way to help some five thousand janissaries in keeping down the people of England."—*Scotland* (1689—1747), vol. ii. p. 485.

horse, with troops which the government would bring from the coast, where they were quartered; so that there would be three armies of regular troops, amounting together to about 30,000 men, which would surround the Highland army, which was not above a sixth of that number. That, admitting that the prince should beat Cumberland or Wade, he might, should he lose 1,000 or 1,500 of the best of his men, be undone by such a victory, as the rest would be altogether unfit to engage a fresh army, which he must expect to encounter,—that, on the other hand, should the prince be defeated, it could not be supposed that he or any of his men could escape, as the militia, who had not hitherto appeared much against the Highland army, would, upon its defeat, possess themselves of all the roads, and the enemy's horse would surround them on all sides,—that as Lord John Drummond had lately landed in Scotland with his own regiment and some Irish troops from France, the prince would have a better chance of success by returning to Scotland,—that the forces under Lord John Drummond and the Highlanders assembled at Perth, would, when united, form an army almost as numerous as that under the prince,—that since the court of France had begun to send troops, it was to be hoped it would send considerable succours, and as the first had landed in Scotland, it was probable the rest would follow the same route,—that if the prince was cut off, all the succours France could send would avail nothing, and “the king's” affairs would be ruined for ever,—that the prince had no chance of beating in succession the armies opposed to him, unless the English troops should be seized with a panic, and run away at the sight of the Highlanders, a circumstance barely possible, but not to be depended upon,—that the whole world would blame the prince's counsellors as rash and foolish, for venturing an attempt which could not succeed,—and that the prince's person, should he escape being killed in battle, would fall into the enemy's hands. In fine, that nothing short of an absolute certainty of success could justify such a rash undertaking, but that retreat, which was still practicable, and of which Lord George offered to undertake the conduct, would give the prince a much better chance of

succeeding than a battle under such circumstances, and would do him as much honour as a victory.⁹

Charles still persevered in his resolution, and insisted on giving battle next morning to the Duke of Cumberland, and advancing to London; but the chiefs of the clans unanimously supported the views of Lord George Murray, and represented to his royal highness, that although they had no doubt the Highlanders could easily beat the army of the Duke of Cumberland, though greatly superior in point of numbers, yet such a victory could not be obtained without loss; and that an army of 4,500 men opposed to the whole force of England, could not admit of the smallest diminution, especially as they would soon have to fight another battle before entering London with the army on Finchley Common. But supposing that by some extraordinary occurrence they should arrive at the capital without losing a man, what a figure would such a small body of men make amidst its immense population? They added, that the prince ought now to perceive clearly how little he had to expect from his English partisans, since, after traversing all the counties reputed as to have been most attached to his family, not a single person of distinction had declared for him.¹ With the exception of the Duke of Perth, who, from deference to the prince, concurred in his opinion, all the persons present were for a retreat; the duke himself at last also declaring for that measure.²

Finding his council resolved upon a retreat, Charles proposed marching into Wales instead of returning to Carlisle; but this proposal was also opposed by all present. His royal highness at last reluctantly yielded to the opinion of his council. In conducting the retreat, Lord George Murray offered to remain always in the rear himself, and proposed that each regiment

⁹ Lord George Murray's *Narrative*. *Kirkconnel MS.*

¹ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 71.

² There seems to be an apparent discrepancy between Lord George's statement, (*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 55,) and that of the Chevalier Johnstone, (*Memoirs*, p. 71,) relative to the conduct of the Duke of Perth: but the account in the text agrees with the account of Charles himself, (in Appendix, No. 33, to *Home's Works*,) who says, that with the exception of himself, all the members of the council “were of opinion that the retreat was absolutely necessary.”

should take it by turns till the army reached Carlisle; and that it should march in such order, that if Lord George was attacked he might be supported as occasion required, and without stopping the army unless assailed by a great body of the enemy. He also stipulated that the cannon and carriages, with the ammunition, should be placed in the van, and that he should not be troubled with the charge of them.³

To prevent any unpleasant feeling on the part of the army on account of the retreat, and to conceal the intelligence of their movements as long as possible from the enemy, the council agreed to keep the resolution to retreat secret; but it was divulged to Sir John Macdonald, an Irish gentleman, and an officer in the French service, who had come over with the prince. In the course of the afternoon, Lord George Murray, Keppoch, and Lochiel, while walking together, were accosted by this gentleman, who had just dined heartily, and made free with his bottle, and were rallied by him a good deal about the retreat. "What!" addressing Keppoch, "a Macdonald turn his back!" and turning to Lochiel, he continued, "For shame! A Cameron run away from the enemy! Go forward, and I'll lead you." The two chiefs and Lord George endeavoured to persuade Sir John that he was labouring under a mistake; but he insisted that he was right, as he had received certain information of the retreat.⁴

Disappointed at the result of the deliberations of the council, Charles was exceedingly dejected. To raise his spirits, or to ingratiate themselves with him, some of the council, and particularly Sir Thomas Sheridan and Secretary Murray, though they had approved highly of the motion to retreat in the council, now very inconsistently blamed it. They were, however, aware that the retreat would, notwithstanding their opposition, be put in execution, and to excuse themselves for agreeing to it, they alleged that they did so, because they knew the army would never fight well when the officers were opposed to its wishes. The prince was easily persuaded that he had consented too readily to a retreat, but he would not retract the consent he had given unless he could bring

over those to whom he had given it to his own sentiments, which he hoped he might be able to do. With this view he called another meeting of the council in the evening, and in the meantime sent for the Marquis of Tullibardine, who had been absent from the meeting in the morning, to ask his opinion. The marquis finding the prince bent upon advancing, declared himself against a retreat; but after hearing the arguments of the advocates of that measure at the meeting in the evening, the marquis retracted his opinion, and declared himself fully satisfied of its necessity. Having been informed of the conduct of those who had tampered with the prince, the rest of the officers told him at meeting, that they valued their lives as little as brave men ought to do, and if he was resolved to march forward, they would do their duty to the last; but they requested, for their own satisfaction, that those persons who had advised his royal highness to advance, would give their opinion in writing. This proposal put an end to farther discussion, and Charles, finding the members of council inflexible in their opinion, gave way to the general sentiments.⁵

Hitherto the French court had not come under any written engagement to support the enterprise of Charles; but after the news of the capture of Edinburgh reached France, a treaty was entered into with the French crown. By this treaty, which was signed at Fontainebleau, on the 24th of October, by the Marquis D'Argenson, on the part of the French king, and by Colonel O'Bryen, on the part of Prince Charles, as regent of Scotland, the French king among other things agreed to furnish the prince with a body of troops to be taken from the Irish regiments in the service of France, along with other troops, to serve under his royal highness, to defend the provinces.

Lord John Drummond, who commanded a regiment in the French service, known by the name of Royal Scots, was appointed to the command of the troops destined for Scotland. Preparations were immediately made to fit out the expedition, and Lord John received written instructions, dated from Fontainebleau, October

³ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 56.

⁴ *Id.* p. 57.

⁵ *Idem.* *Kirkconnel MS.*

28th, and signed by the French king, requiring him to repair immediately to Ostend, to superintend the embarkation of the troops. By these instructions, Lord John was directed to disembark the troops if possible upon the coast between Edinburgh and Berwick, and as soon as he had landed to give notice of his arrival to Prince Charles, and that the succours which he had brought were entirely at the disposal of the orders of the prince, to which Lord John himself was directed to conform, either by joining his army, or acting separately, according to the views of Charles. Lord John was also instructed to notify his arrival to the commander of the Dutch troops lately arrived in England, and to intimate to him to abstain from hostilities, agreeably to the capitulations of Tournay and Dendermonde. He was required to ask a prompt and categorical answer as to how he meant to act without sending to the Hague, as the states-general had declared to the Abbé de la Ville, that they had given positive orders to the commanders of these troops not to infringe the said capitulations; and if, notwithstanding such notification, the Dutch troops should commit acts of hostility against those of the King of France, his lordship was ordered to confine closely such Dutch prisoners he might make, and to listen to no terms which would recognise a violation of the capitulations, or dispense the King of France from enforcing the engagement that had been entered into with the Dutch, as to the exchange of prisoners of war.⁶

Lord John Drummond accordingly proceeded to the coast, and having completed the embarkation of the troops, he set sail from Dunkirk about the middle of November, carrying along with him his own regiment, a select detachment from each of the six Irish regiments in the service of France, and Fitz-James's regiment of horse, so called from the Duke of Berwick, natural son of James the Second, who had been their colonel. Along with these troops were embarked a train of artillery and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. The forces embarked amounted to about 1,000 men, but they did not all reach their destination, as some of the transports were taken by

English cruisers, and others were obliged to return to Dunkirk.

From Montrose, where he arrived about the end of November, Lord John despatched part of his forces to Aberdeen to aid Lord Lewis Gordon, and proceeded with the rest to Perth, where he established his head-quarters. In terms of his instructions, he sent a messenger to England with a letter to Count Nassau, the commander-in-chief of the Dutch auxiliaries, notifying his arrival, and requiring him to observe a neutrality. He also carried letters to the commanders of the royal forces. The bearer of these despatches, having obtained an escort of eight dragoons at Stirling, proceeded to Edinburgh, and having delivered a letter to General Guest, the commander of the castle, went on to Newcastle, and delivered letters to the Count and Marshal Wade. The Marshal, however, refused to receive any message "from a person who was a subject of the king, and in rebellion against his majesty." At the same time his lordship sent another messenger with a letter to Lord Fortrose, announcing his arrival, and urging him to declare for the prince as the only mode he had of retrieving his character. To induce him to join, Lord John informed his lordship that the prince had entered Wales, where he had about 10,000 friends, and that "his royal highness, the Duke of York," accompanied by Lord Marischal, would immediately join him at the head of 10,000 men.⁷

Apprehensive that Lord John would cross the Forth above Stirling, two regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, which had arrived at Edinburgh from Berwick, on the 14th of November, began their march to Stirling, on the 7th of December, to guard the passages of the Forth, and were joined at Stirling by the Glasgow regiment of 600 men, commanded by the Earl of Home. Lord John Drummond, however, it appears, had no intention of crossing the Forth at this time.

Almost simultaneously with Lord John Drummond's expedition, the French ministers appear to have contemplated a descent upon England under Lord Marischal, preparatory to which, Prince Henry repaired, by invitation,

⁶ See these instructions in the *Stuart Papers*.

⁷ Home, Appendix, No. 35.

to Paris. Twelve thousand men were to have been employed upon this expedition; but the retreat of Charles from Derby, and the difficulty of transporting such a large force to England, seem to have prevented its execution.

On arriving at Derby, Charles had sent forward a party on the road to London to take possession of Swarkstone bridge, about six miles from Derby. Orders had been given to break down this bridge, but before these orders could be put in execution, the Highlanders had possessed themselves of it. The Duke of Cumberland, who, before this movement, had left Stafford with the main body of his army for Stone, returned to the former place, on the 4th of December, on learning that the Highland army was at Derby. Apprehending that it was the intention of Charles to march to London, he resolved to retire towards Northampton, in order to intercept him; but finding that the young Chevalier remained at Derby, his royal highness halted, and encamped on Meriden Common in the neighbourhood of Coventry.⁸

Agreeably to a resolution which had been entered into the previous evening, the Highland army began its retreat early on the morning of the 6th of December, before daybreak. Scarcely any of the officers, with the exception of those of the council, were aware of the resolution, and all the common men were entirely ignorant of the step they were about to take. To have communicated such a resolution to the army all at once, would, in its present disposition, have produced a mutiny. To keep the army in suspense as to its destination, a quantity of powder and ball was distributed among the men, as if they were going into action, and by some it was insinuated that Wade was at hand, and that they were going to fight him; whilst by others it was said that the Duke of Cumberland's army was the object of their attack.⁹ At the idea of meeting the enemy, the Highlanders displayed the greatest cheerfulness; but as soon as they could discriminate by daylight the objects around them, and could discover by an examination of the road, that they were retracing their steps, nothing was to be heard throughout the whole army, but expres-

sions of rage and lamentation. Had it sustained a defeat, the grief of the army could not have been more acute. Even some of those who were in the secret of the retreat, and thought it the only reasonable scheme that could be adopted, could scarcely be reconciled to it when about to be carried into effect.¹

Charles himself partook deeply of the distress of his men. Overcome by the intensity of his feelings, he was unable for a time to proceed with the army, and it was not until his men had been several hours on their march that he left Derby. Forced in spite of himself to give a reluctant assent to a measure, which, whilst it rendered useless all the advantages he had obtained, rendered his chance of gaining the great stake he was contending for extremely problematical; his spirits sunk within him, and an air of melancholy marked his exterior. In marching forwards, he had always been first up in the morning, put his men in motion before break of day, and had generally walked on foot; but in the retreat, his conduct was totally changed. Instead of taking the lead, he allowed the army to start long before he left his quarters, kept the rear always behind waiting for him, and when he came out, mounted his horse, and rode straight forward to his next quarters with the van.²

After the first burst of indignation had in some degree subsided, and when the men began to speculate upon the reasons which could have induced the retreat, a statement was given out that the reinforcements expected from Scotland were on the road, and had already entered England,—that Wade was endeavouring to intercept them,—that the object of the retrograde movement was to effect a junction with them,—and that as soon as these reinforcements had joined the army, the march to London would be resumed. It was hinted that they would probably meet these reinforcements about Preston or Lancaster. The prospect thus held out to them of a speedy advance upon London, tended to allay the passions of the men, but they continued sullen and silent during the whole of the day.³

¹ *Kirkconnel MS.*

² Lord George Murray's Narrative in *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 59.

³ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁸ Boyse, p. 106.

⁹ *Kirkconnel MS* Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 78.

The army lay the first night at Ashbourne. It reached Leek next day ; but that town being too small to accommodate the army, Elcho's and Pitsligo's horse, and Ogilvy's and Roy Stuart's regiments of foot, went on to Macclesfield, where they passed the night. The remainder of the army came next day to Macclesfield, and the other division, which had passed the night there, went to Stockport. On the 9th both divisions met on the road to Manchester, and entered that town in a body. There had been considerable rioting and confusion in Manchester on the preceding day. Imagining from the retreat that the Highland army had sustained a reverse, a mob had collected, and, being reinforced by great numbers of country people with arms, had insulted the Jacobite inhabitants, and seemed disposed to dispute the entrance of the Highland army into the town ; but upon the first appearance of the van, the mob quietly dispersed, and order was restored.⁴ In the retreat some abuses were committed by stragglers, who could not be prevented from going into houses. As Lord George Murray found great difficulty in bringing these up, he found it necessary to appoint an expert officer out of every regiment to assist in collecting the men belonging to their different corps who had kept behind, a plan which he found very useful.⁵

It was Charles's intention to have halted a day at Manchester, and he issued orders to that effect ; but on Lord George Murray representing to him that delay might be dangerous, the army left that town on the forenoon of the 10th, and reached Wigan that night. Next day the army came to Preston, where it halted the whole of the 12th. From Preston the Duke of Perth was despatched north with 100 horse, to bring up the reinforcements from Perth.⁶

The prince arrived at Lancaster late in the evening of the 13th. On reaching his quarters, Lord George Murray found that orders had been given out, that the army was to halt there all the next day. On visiting Charles's quarters next morning, Lord George was told by the prince that he had resolved to fight the enemy, and desired him to go along with

O'Sullivan, and reconnoitre the ground in the neighbourhood for the purpose of choosing a field of battle. His lordship, contrary to the expectations of those who had advised Charles to fight, and who supposed that Lord George would have opposed that measure, offered no advice on the subject. He merely proposed that as the ground suitable for regular troops might not answer the Highlanders, some Highland officers should also inspect the ground, and as Lochiel was present, he requested that he would go along with him,—a request with which he at once complied. With an escort of horse and foot, and accompanied by Lochiel and O'Sullivan, Lord George returned back about two miles, where he found a very fine field upon a rising ground sufficiently large for the whole army, and which was so situated, that from whatever quarter the enemy could come, the army would be completely covered till the enemy were close upon them. After surveying these grounds very narrowly, and taking three of the enemy's rangers prisoners, the reconnoitring party returned to Lancaster. From the prisoners Lord George received information that the corps called the rangers was at Garstang, and that a great body of Wade's dragoons had entered Preston a few hours after he had left it. His lordship reported to the prince the result of the survey, and told him that if the number of his men was sufficient to meet the enemy, he could not wish a better field of battle for the Highlanders ; but Charles informed him that he had altered his mind, and that he meant to proceed on his march next day.⁷

It is now necessary to notice the movements of the Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade. By retaining possession of Swarkestone bridge for some time after his main body left Derby, Charles deceived Cumberland as to his motions, and the Highland army was two days' march distant from the duke's army before he was aware of its departure from Derby. As soon, however, as he was apprised of the retreat, the duke put himself at the head of his horse and dragoons, and 1,000 mounted volunteers, furnished by some of the gentlemen of Warwickshire, for the purpose of

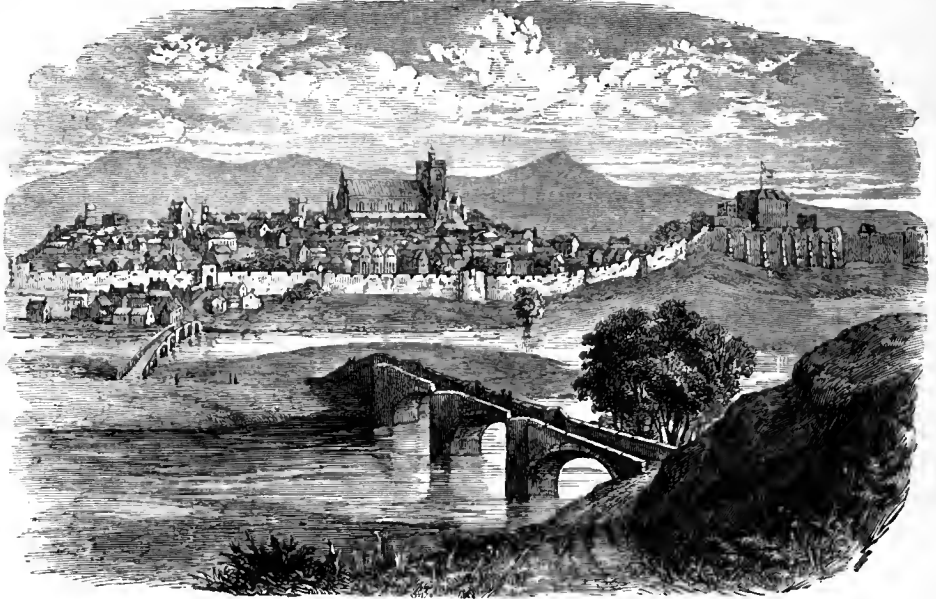
Kirkconnel MS. ⁵ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 58.

⁶ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁷ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 60. *Kirkconnel MS.*

stopping the Highlanders till the royal army should come up, or, failing in that design, of harassing them in their retreat. He marched by Uttoxeter and Cheadle; but the roads being excessively bad, he did not arrive at Macclesfield till the night of the 10th, on which day the Highland army had reached Wigan. At Macclesfield the duke received intelligence that the Highlanders had left Manchester that day. His royal highness thereupon sent orders to the magistrates of Manchester to seize all stragglers belonging to the Highland army; he directed Bligh's regiment, then at Chester, to march to Macclesfield, and, at the same time, ordered the Liverpool Blues to return to Warrington, where

they had been formerly posted. Early on the 11th, he detached Major Wheatley with the dragoons in pursuit of the Highlanders. Meanwhile Marshal Wade having held a council of war on the 8th, at Ferrybridge, in Yorkshire, had resolved to march by Wakefield and Halifax into Lancashire, in order to intercept the insurgents in their retreat northwards. He accordingly came to Wakefield on the 10th at night, where, learning that the vanguard of the Highland army had reached Wigan, he concluded that he would not be able to overtake it, and therefore resolved to return to his old post at Newcastle by easy marches. He, however, detached General Oglethorpe with the horse to join the duke. This officer



Carlisle, from Stanwix Bank—1745.

crossed Blackstone Edge with such expedition, that he reached Preston on the same day that the Highlanders left it, having marched about 100 miles in three days, over roads at any time unfavourable, but now rendered almost impassable by frost and snow. At Preston, Oglethorpe found the Georgia rangers, and was joined by a detachment of Kingston's horse, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Mordaunt. Here these united forces halted nearly a whole day, in consequence of an express which the Duke of Cumberland had received from London, announcing that a French expedition from Dunkirk had put to sea, and requiring him

to hold himself in readiness to return to the capital. This information was afterwards found to be erroneous; but it was of service to the Highlanders, who, in consequence of the halt of the royal forces, gained a whole day's march a-head of their pursuers.

In his retreat, the chief danger the prince had to apprehend was from the army of Wade, who, by marching straight across the country into Cumberland, might have reached Penrith a day at least before the prince; but by the information he received of the route taken by Wade's cavalry, he saw that the danger now was that the united cavalry of both armies

might fall upon his rear before he could reach Carlisle. He therefore left Lancaster on the 15th; but the rear of his army was scarcely out of the town when some of the enemy's horse entered it. The town bells were then rung, and the word being given from the rear to the front, that the enemy was approaching, the Highlanders formed in order of battle; but the alarm turning out to be false, the army continued its march to Kendal. The enemy's horse, however, followed for two or three miles, and appeared frequently in small parties, but attempted nothing. The army entered Kendal that night, where they were met by the Duke of Perth and his party. In his way north, the duke had been attacked in this town by a mob, which he soon dispersed by firing on them; but in the neighbourhood of Penrith he met with a more serious obstruction, having been attacked by a considerable body of militia, both horse and foot, and being vastly outnumbered, was obliged to retreat to Kendal.⁹

As Lord George Murray considered it impossible to transport the four-wheeled waggons belonging to the army to Shap, he proposed to the prince to substitute two-wheeled carts for them,¹ and as he was afraid that no provisions could be obtained at Shap, he suggested that the men should be desired to provide themselves with a day's provision of bread and cheese. Orders were accordingly issued agreeably to these suggestions, but that regarding the waggons seems not to have been attended to; and by some oversight, the order about the provisions was not communicated to many of them till they were on their march next morning. The consequence was, that the men who were unprovided returned to the town, and

much confusion would have ensued, had not Lord George Murray sent some detachments of the rear with officers into the town to preserve order, and to see the men return to the army. This omission retarded considerably the march of the army. The difficulties which Lord George Murray had anticipated in transporting the waggons across the hills were realised, and by the time he had marched four miles and got among the hills, he was obliged to halt all night, and take up his quarters at a farm house about a gun-shot off the road. The Glengarry men were in the rear that day, and though reckoned by his lordship not the most patient of mortals, he says he "never was better pleased with men in his life," having done all that was possible for men to do.²

With the exception of the Glengarry regiment, the army passed the night between the 16th and 17th at Shap.³ On the morning of the 17th, Lord George received two messages from Charles, ordering him upon no account to leave the least thing, not so much as a cannon ball behind, as he would rather return himself than that any thing should be left. Though his lordship had undertaken to conduct the retreat on the condition that he should not be troubled with the charge of the baggage, ammunition, &c., he promised to do all in his power to carry every thing along with him. To lighten the ammunition waggons, some of which had broken down, his lordship prevailed upon the men to carry about 200 cannon balls, for which service he gave the bearers sixpence each. With difficulty the rear-guard reached Shap that night at a late hour. Here he found most of the cannon, and some of the ammunition with Colonel Roy Stuart and his battalion.⁴ The same night, the prince with the main body arrived at Penrith. Some parties of militia appeared at intervals; but they kept at a considerable distance, without attempting hostilities.⁵

⁹ Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 460. *Kirkconnel MS.*

¹ Maxwell of Kirkconnel gives a different version of this matter from that of Lord George Murray. After stating that his lordship represented to Charles the dangerous situation he might be in if the united armies of Wade and Cumberland overtook him before reaching Carlisle, he says that Lord George "proposed to avoid them by sacrificing the cannon and all the heavy baggage to the safety of the men, which was now at stake. He observed that the country is mountainous betwixt Kendal and Penrith, and the roads, in many places, very difficult for such carriages; but the prince was positive not to leave a single piece of his cannon. He would rather fight both their armies than give such an argument of fear and weakness. He gave peremptory orders that the march should be continued in the same order as hitherto, and not a single carriage to be left at Kendal."

² *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 63.

³ In the prince's *Household Book*, printed among the *Jacobite Memoirs*, the following entries occur:—

Dec. 17th, at Shape, Tuesday.

To ale, wine, and other provisions, £4 17
The landlady for the use of her house, 2 2

N.B. The landlady a sad wife for imposing.

⁴ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 65.

⁵ *Kirkconnel MS.*

Early in the morning of the 18th, the rear-guard left Shap; but as some of the small carriages were continually breaking, its march was much retarded. It had not proceeded far when some parties of English light-horse were observed hovering at some distance on the eminences behind the rear-guard. Lord George Murray notified the circumstance to the prince at Penrith; but as it was supposed that these were militia, the information was treated lightly. No attempt was made to attack the rear-guard, or obstruct its progress, till about mid-day, when a body of between 200 and 300 horse, chiefly Cumberland people, formed in front of the rear-guard, behind an eminence near Clifton Hall, and seemed resolved to make a stand. Lord George Murray was about to ascend this eminence, when the party was observed marching two and two abreast on the top of the hill. They suddenly disappeared to form themselves in order of battle behind the eminence, and made a great noise with trumpets and kettle-drums. At this time two of the companies of Roy Stuart's regiment, which the Duke of Perth had attached to the artillery, were at the head of the column. The guns and ammunition waggons followed, behind the two other companies of the same regiment. The Glengarry regiment, which marched with Lord George Murray at its head, was in the rear of the column. Believing, from the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums, that the English army was at hand, the rear-guard remained for a short time at the bottom of the hill, as if at a loss how to act in a conjuncture which appeared so desperate. It was the opinion of Colonel Brown, an officer of Lally's regiment, who was at the head of the column, that they should rush upon the enemy sword in hand, and either open a passage to the army at Penrith, or perish in the attempt. The men of the four companies adopting this opinion, immediately ran up the hill, without informing Lord George Murray of their resolution; and his lordship, on observing this movement, immediately ordered the Glengarry men to proceed across the inclosure, and ascend the hill from another quarter, as they could not conveniently pass the waggons which had almost blocked up the roads. The Glengarry men, throwing off their plaids, reached the summit of the hill

almost as soon as the head of the column, on gaining which, both parties were agreeably surprised to find, that the only enemy in view was the light horse they had observed a few minutes before, and who, alarmed at the appearance of the Highlanders, galloped off in disorder. One of the fugitives fell from his horse, and was cut to pieces in an instant by the Highlanders.⁶

The rear-guard resumed its march, and on reaching the village of Clifton, Lord George Murray sent the artillery and heavy baggage forward to Penrith under a small escort. Being well acquainted with all the inclosures and parks about Lowther Hall, the seat of Lord Lonsdale, about the distance of a mile from Clifton, Lord George Murray, at the head of the Glengarry regiment and some horse, examined these parks and inclosures in the hope of falling in with the light horse; but, although he saw several of them, he only succeeded in making two prisoners. By these prisoners Lord George was informed that the duke himself, with a body of 4,000 horse, was about a mile behind him. As Clifton was a very good post, Lord George Murray resolved to remain there; and on his return to the village he sent Colonel Roy Stuart with the two prisoners to Penrith, to inform Charles of the near approach of the duke, and that he would remain at Clifton till further orders. In the event of the prince approving of his intention of making a stand at Preston, his lordship requested that 1,000 men might be sent him from Penrith. On returning to Clifton from Lowther parks, Lord George found the Duke of Perth there; and, besides Colonel Roy Stuart's men, who amounted to about 200, he also found the Macphersons with their chief, Cluny Macpherson, and the Stewarts of Appin, headed by Stewart of Ardshiel.⁷

Before the return of Colonel Roy Stuart from Penrith, the enemy appeared in sight, and proceeded to form themselves into two lines upon Clifton moor, about half a mile from the village. The Duke of Perth thereupon rode back to Penrith to bring up the rest of the army to support Lord George, who he supposed would, from the strength of his position,

⁶ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 87.

⁷ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 66.

be able to maintain himself till joined by the main body. The duke was accompanied by an English gentleman who had attended Lord George during the retreat, and, knowing the country perfectly well, had offered to lead without discovery the main body a near way by the left, by which movement they would be enabled to fall upon the enemy's flank. Had Lord George received the reinforcement he required, his design was to have sent half of his men through the inclosures on his right, so as to have flanked the duke's army on that side, whilst it was attacked on the other by the other half. He expected that if he succeeded in killing but a small number of Cumberland's horse that the rest would be thrown into disorder, and that as they would be obliged to retreat through a lane nearly a mile long, between Lord Lonsdale's inclosures, that they would choke up the road, and that many of them would be unable to escape. In absence of this reinforcement, however, the Lieutenant-general was obliged to make the best dispositions he could with the force he had with him, which amounted to about 1,000 men in all, exclusive of Lord Pitsligo's horse and hussars, who, on the appearance of the enemy, shamefully fled to Penrith.⁸

The dispositions of Lord George were these. Within the inclosures to the right of the highway he posted the Glengarry men, and within those to their left he placed the Stewarts of Appin and the Macphersons. On the side of the highway, and close to the village of Clifton, he placed Colonel Roy Stuart's regiment. As some ditches at the foot stretched farther towards the moor on the right than on the left, and as that part was also covered by Lord Lonsdale's other inclosures, the party on the right could not easily be attacked; and they had this advantage, that they could with their fire flank the enemy when they attacked the left. To induce the enemy to believe that his numbers were much greater than they were, Lord George, after exhibiting the colours he had at different places, caused them to be rolled up, carried to other places, and again unfurled.⁹

About an hour after the Duke of Cumber-

land had formed his men, about 500 of his dragoons dismounted and advanced forward to the foot of the moor, in front of a ditch at the bottom of one of three small inclosures between the moor and the places where Roy Stuart's men were posted at the village. At this time Colonel Stuart returned from Penrith, and, after informing Lord George that the prince had resolved to march immediately to Carlisle, and that he had sent forward his cannon, he stated that it was his royal highness's desire that he should immediately retreat to Penrith. From the situation in which the Lieutenant-general was now placed, it was impossible to obey this order without great danger. The dismounted horse were already firing upon the Highlanders, who were within musket-shot; and, if retreat was once begun, the men might get into confusion in the dark, and become discouraged. Lord George proposed to attack the dismounted party, and stated his confidence that he would be able by attacking them briskly to dislodge them; Cluny Macpherson and Colonel Stuart concurring in Lord George's opinion, that the course he proposed was the only prudent one that could be adopted, they agreed not to mention the message from the prince.

In pursuance of this determination, Lord George Murray went to the right where the Glengarry men were posted, and ordered them, as soon as they should observe him advance on the other side, to move also forward and keep up a smart fire till they came to the lowest ditch. He observed that if they succeeded in dislodging the enemy from the hedges and ditches, they could give them a flank fire within pistol-shot; but he gave them particular injunctions not to fire across the highway, nor to follow the enemy up the moor. After speaking with every officer of the Glengarry regiment, his lordship returned to the left, and placed himself at the head of the Macphersons, with Cluny by his side. It was now about an hour after sunset, and the night was somewhat cloudy; but at short intervals the moon, which was in its second quarter, broke through and afforded considerable light. The Highlanders had this advantage, that whilst they could see the disposition of the enemy, their own movements could not be observed. In taking their

⁸ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 63.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 67.

ground the dismounted dragoons had not only lined the bottom inclosures which ran from east to west, directly opposite the other inclosures in which the Highlanders were posted, but some of them had advanced up along two hedges that lay south and north.

The Highlanders being ready to advance, the Stewarts and Macphersons marched forward at the word of command, as did the Macdonalds on the right. The Highlanders on the right kept firing as they advanced; but the Macphersons, who were on the left, came sooner in contact with the dragoons, and received the whole of their fire. When the balls were whizzing about them, Cluny exclaimed, "What the devil is this?" Lord George told him that they had no remedy but to attack the dragoons, sword in hand, before they had time to charge again. Then drawing his sword, he cried out, "Claymore," and Cluny doing the same, the Macphersons rushed down to the bottom ditch of the inclosure, and clearing the diagonal hedges as they went, fell sword in hand upon the enemy, of whom a considerable number were killed at the lower ditch. The rest fled across the moor, but received in their flight the fire of the Glengarry regiment. In this skirmish only twelve Highlanders were killed; but the royal forces sustained a loss of about one hundred in killed and wounded, including some officers. The only officer wounded on the side of the Highlanders was Macdonald of Lochgarry, who commanded the Glengarry men. Lord George Murray made several narrow escapes. Old Glenbucket, who, from infirmity, remained at the end of the village on horseback, had lent him his target, and it was fortunate for Lord George that he had done so. By means of this shield, which was convex, and covered with a plate of metal painted, his lordship protected himself from the bullets of the dragoons, which cleared away the paint off the target in several places.¹ The only prisoner taken on this occasion was a footman of the Duke of Cumberland, who stated that his master would have been killed, if a pistol, with which a Highlander took aim at his head, had not

missed fire. This man was sent back to his royal highness by the prince.²

After remaining a short time at Clifton after the skirmish, Lord George went to Penrith, where he found the prince ready to mount for Carlisle. His royal highness was very well pleased with the result of the action. The men who had been engaged halted at Penrith a short time to refresh themselves; and the prince, after sending Clanranald's and Kepoch's regiments as far back as Clifton bridge, to induce the inhabitants to believe that he meant to fight the Duke of Cumberland, left Penrith for Carlisle with the main body. Next morning the whole army reached Carlisle, where the prince found letters, though rather of an old date, from Lord John Drummond and Lord Strathallan. Lord John gave him great encouragement from the court of France, and informed his royal highness that it was the desire of the King of France that the prince should proceed with great caution, and if possible avoid a decisive action till he received the succours the king intended to send him, which would be such as to put his success beyond all doubt, and that, in the mean time, he (Lord John) had brought over some troops and a train of artillery, sufficient to reduce all the fortresses in Scotland. Lord Strathallan gave a very favourable account of the state of the army assembled at Perth, which he represented as better than that which the prince had with him. As nothing positive, however, was known at Carlisle of the operation of the Jacobite forces in the north, Charles resolved to continue the retreat into Scotland. Contrary to the opinion of Lord George Murray, who advised him to evacuate Carlisle, Charles resolved to leave a garrison there to facilitate his return into England, of which at the time he had strong hopes when joined by the forces under Lords Strathallan and Drummond.³ As Carlisle was not tenable, and as the Highland army could easily have re-entered England independent of any obstruction from any garrison which could be put into it, the conduct of Charles in leaving a portion of his army behind has been justly reprehended; but there is certainly no room for the accusation which

¹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 72. — *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 463.

² *Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 92. ³ *Kirkconnel MS.*

has been made against him, of having wilfully sacrificed the unfortunate garrison.⁴ It was not without difficulty that Charles could make up a garrison. The Duke of Perth was unwilling to allow any of his men to remain; and appearing to complain in the presence of the prince that a certain number of the Athole men had not been draughted for that service, Lord George Murray told him, also in the prince's presence, that if his royal highness would order him, he would stay with the Athole brigade, though he knew what his fate would be.⁵ The number of men left in garrison amounted to about 400. Mr. Hamilton was continued in the command of the castle, and Mr. Townley was made commandant of the town.

The Highland army halted the whole of the 19th in Carlisle, and departed next day for Scotland. The Esk, which forms part of the boundary between England and Scotland on the west, was, from an incessant rain of several days, rendered impassable by the nearest road from Carlisle; but at the distance of about eight miles from Carlisle it was still fordable. The army reached the place, where they intended to cross, about two o'clock in the afternoon. Before crossing the water, the following route was fixed upon by the advice of Lord George Murray, whose opinion had been asked by Charles in presence of some of his officers, viz., that Lord George, with six battalions, should march that night to Ecclefechan, next day to Moffat, and there halt a day; and after making a feint towards the Edinburgh

road, as if he intended to march upon the capital, to turn off to Douglas, then to Hamilton and Glasgow,—that the prince should go with the clans and most of the horse that night to Annan, next day to Dumfries, where they should rest a day; then to Drumlanrig, Leadhills, Douglas, and Hamilton, so as to be at Glasgow the day after the arrival in that city of Lord George's division.⁶

Though the river was usually shallow at the place fixed upon for passing, it was now swollen, by continued rains, to the depth of four feet. The passage was not without its dangers; but as the river might be rendered impassable by a continuation of the rain during the night, and as it was possible that the Duke of Cumberland might reach the Esk next morning, it was resolved to cross it immediately. After trying the water to ascertain that the ford was good, a body of cavalry formed in the river, a few paces above the ford, to break the force of the stream, and another body was likewise stationed in the river below the ford to pick up such of the infantry as might be carried away by the violence of the current. This arrangement being completed, the infantry entered the river a hundred men abreast, each holding one another by the neck of the coat, by which plan they supported one another against the rapidity of the river, leaving sufficient intervals between their ranks for the passage of the water. Lord George Murray, who was among the first to enter the water in his philibeg, says, that when nearly across, there were about 2,000 men in the water at once. The appearance of the river, in the interval between the cavalry, presented an extraordinary spectacle. As the heads of the Highlanders were generally all that was seen above the water, the space of water occupied in the passage looked like a paved street. Not one man was lost in the transit; but a few girls who had followed their lovers in their adventurous campaign, were swept away by the current. After the army had passed, the pipes began to play; and the Highlanders, happy on setting their feet again on Scottish ground, forgot for a time the disappointment they had suffered at Derby, and testified their

⁴ Alluding to the retention of Carlisle, Mr. Maxwell observes, "This was perhaps the worst resolution the prince had taken hitherto. I cannot help condemning it, though there were specious pretexes for it. It was, to be sure, much for the prince's reputation upon leaving England, to keep one of the keys of it, and he was in hopes of returning before it could be taken; but he could not be absolutely sure of that, and the place was not tenable against a few pieces of artillery, of battering cannon, or a few mortars. It's true he had a good many prisoners in Scotland, and might look upon them as pledges for the lives of those he left in garrison; but that was not enough. He did not know what kind of people he had to deal with, and he ought to be prepared against the worst that could happen. The lives of so many of his friends ought not to have been exposed without an indispensable necessity, which was not the case; for blowing up the castle, and the gates of the town, would have equally given him an entry into England."

⁵ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 73.

⁶ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 73.

joy by dancing reels upon the northern bank of the Esk.⁷

The expedition into England, though not signalised by any great military achievement, will always hold a distinguished place in the annals of bold and adventurous enterprise. It was planned and carried through in all its details with great judgment; and if circumstances had not delayed its execution, it might have terminated in success. From the consternation into which the English people were thrown by the invasion of the Highland army,⁸

⁷ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 74.—Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 99.

⁸ "The terror of the English," says the Chevalier Johnstone, *Memoirs*, p. 101, "was truly inconceivable, and in many cases they seemed quite bereft of their senses. One evening as Mr. Cameron of Lochiel entered the lodgings assigned to him, his landlady, an old woman, threw herself at his feet, and with uplifted hands and tears in her eyes, supplicated him to take her life, but to spare her two little children. He asked her if she was in her senses, and told her to explain herself; when she answered, that every body said the Highlanders ate children, and made them their common food. Mr. Cameron having assured her that they would not injure either her or her little children, or any person whatever, she looked at him for some moments with an air of surprise, and then opened a press, calling out with a loud voice, 'Come out children; the gentleman will not eat you.' The children immediately left the press where she had concealed them, and threw themselves at his feet. They affirmed in the newspapers of London that we had dogs in our army trained to fight, and that we were indebted for our victory at Gladsmuir to these dogs, who darted with fury on the English army. They represented the Highlanders as monsters, with claws instead of hands. In a word, they never ceased to circulate, every day, the most extravagant and ridiculous stories with respect to the Highlanders. The English soldiers had indeed reason to look upon us as extraordinary men, from the manner in which we had beaten them with such inferior numbers, and they probably told these idle stories to the country people by way of palliating their own disgrace." The able editor of Johnstone's *Memoirs* relates in a note to the above, that Mr. Halkston of Rathillet, who was in the expedition, stated that the belief was general among the people of England, that the Highlanders ate children:—"While the army lay at Carlisle he was taken ill, and went with a few of his companions to a farmer's house in the neighbourhood, where he remained several days. Perceiving his landlady to be a young woman, he asked her if she had any children, and where they were. When she found that he was no cannibal, she told him the truth was, that all the children were sent out of the way for fear the Highlanders should devour them."

A Derby gentleman, who had a party of forty men quartered in his house, in a letter which appeared in all the newspapers of the period, describes most of them as looking "like so many fiends turned out of hell to ravage the kingdom and cut throats; and under their plaids nothing but various sorts of butchering weapons were to be seen." He complains that they had eaten up "near a side of beef, eight joints of mutton, four cheeses, with abundance of white and brown bread, (particularly white,) three couples of fowls, and would have drams continually, as well as

it seems certain, that without the aid of a regular army their militia would scarcely have ventured to oppose the march of the Highlanders to the metropolis; but after the return of the British forces from Flanders, the arrival of the Dutch auxiliaries, and the assembling of the armies under Wade and Ligonier, the attempt appeared to be hopeless. It was not, however, until the retreat from Derby that the government was relieved from its anxiety for the safety of the monarchy. -

The Duke of Cumberland halted at Penrith on the 20th of December, and marched next day to Carlisle, which he invested the same day. As he was under the necessity of sending to Whitehaven for heavy cannon, the fire from his batteries did not commence till the morning of the 28th. During the blockade the garrison fired repeatedly upon the besiegers, but with little effect. A fire was kept up by the besiegers from a battery of six eighteen-pounders, during the 28th and 29th. Another battery of three thirteen-pounders was completed on the 30th; but on the first fire from the old battery that day, the besieged hung out a white flag, and offered hostages for a capitulation. The Duke of Cumberland, on observing this signal, sent one of his aides-de-camp with a note, desiring to know its meaning; to which Governor Hamilton answered, that the object was to obtain a cessation for a capitulation, and desiring to know what terms his royal highness would grant to the garrison. The only condition the duke would grant was, that the garrison should not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the king's pleasure; and Hamilton, seeing the impossibility of holding out, surrendered the same day. The garrison, including officers, consisted of 114 men of the Manchester regiment; of 274 men, also including officers, chiefly of the Scotch low country regiments, and a few Frenchmen and Irishmen. The number of cannon in the

strong-ale, beer, tea, &c." In the midst of this general devastation our host was convulsed with "unavoidable laughter to see these desperadoes, from officers to the common men, at their several meals, first pull off their bonnets, and then lift up their eyes in a most solemn manner, and mutter something to themselves, by way of saying grace, as if they had been so many pure primitive Christians!!!" This is merely a specimen of the many ridiculous stories with which the English journals of the period were crammed.

castle was sixteen, ten of which had been left by the Highland army on its return to Scotland. Among the prisoners were found twelve deserters from the royal forces, who were immediately hanged. The officers were kept prisoners in the castle, but the privates were confined in the cathedral and town-jail. The whole were afterwards dispersed in several jails through England. The Duke of Cumberland, after putting Bligh's regiment in garrison at Carlisle, returned to London, in consequence of an order from court.⁹

CHAPTER XXXIV.

A. D. 1745—46.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George II., 1727—1760.

The Highland army returns to Scotland—Arrives at Glasgow—Proceedings of the Jacobites in the North—Arrest and escape of Lord Lovat—Skirmish at Inverury—Alarm at Edinburgh—Arrival of an English army—The Prince at Glasgow—Marches towards Stirling—Investment and surrender of the town—Skirmishing on the Forth—Highland army reinforced—Hawley's army arrives at Falkirk—Preparations for battle—Battle of Falkirk,

PURSUANT to the plan of march fixed upon at crossing the Esk, the Highland army separated, and Lord George Murray, at the head of the low country regiments, proceeded to Ecclefechan, where he arrived on the night of the 20th, and marched next day to Moffat. The prince, at the head of the clans, marched to Annan, where he passed the night of the 20th. The horse of the prince's division under Lord Elcho were, after a short halt, sent to take possession of Dumfries, which they accomplished early next morning, and the prince, with the clans, came up in the evening. In no town in Scotland had there been greater opposition displayed to the restoration of the house of Stuart than in Dumfries, from the danger to which the inhabitants supposed their religious liberties, as presbyterians, would be exposed under a catholic sovereign. This feeling, which was strongly manifested by them in the insurrection of 1715, had now assumed even a more hostile appearance from the existence of the new body of dissenters called "Seceders," which had

lately left the bosom of the established church of Scotland, and which professed principles thought to be more in accordance with the gospel than those of their parent church. A body of these dissenters had volunteered for the defence of Edinburgh shortly after Charles had landed, and, on his march for England, a party of them had taken up arms, and had captured and carried to Dumfries thirty waggons belonging to the Highland army, which had been left at Lockerby by the escort appointed to protect them. To punish the inhabitants for their hostility, Charles ordered them to pay £2,000 in money, and to contribute 1,000 pairs of shoes. About £1,100 only were raised; and, in security for the remainder, Mr. Crosbie, the provost, and a Mr. Walter Riddel, were carried off as hostages. The prince also levied the excise at Dumfries, and carried off some arms, horses, &c. Some outrages were committed in the town by the Highlanders, who told the inhabitants that they ought to think themselves gently used, and be thankful that their town was not burned to ashes.

After halting a day at Dumfries, the prince proceeded with his division up Nithsdale on the evening of the 23d, and passed the night at Drumlanrig, the seat of the Duke of Queensberry. Next day he entered Clydesdale, and halted at Douglas. The prince slept that night in Douglas castle. He reached Hamilton on the 25th, and took up his residence in the palace of the Duke of Hamilton. Next day the Chevalier occupied himself in hunting, an amusement of which he was uncommonly fond, and to which he had been accustomed from his youth. The division under Lord George Murray, after halting a day at Moffat, where, being Sunday, his men heard sermon in different parts of the town from the episcopal ministers who accompanied them, proceeded by Douglas and Hamilton, and entered Glasgow on Christmas day. On the evening of the 26th the prince also marched into Glasgow on foot at the head of the clans. Here he resolved to halt and refresh his men for a few days after their arduous march, and to provide them with clothing, of which they stood greatly in need. In passing through Douglas and Lesmahago, the Highlanders pillaged and

⁹ Boyse, p. 129.

burnt some houses, in revenge for the capture of Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, who, in his way south from the Highlands, had been seized on Brokenecross moor, near Lesmahago, by the country people, headed by a student of divinity named Linning, and carried to Edinburgh castle.¹

Before noticing Charles's proceedings at Glasgow, it is necessary to give a short summary of those of his friends in the north, up to the period of his arrival in that city.

When intelligence of the Chevalier's march into England, and his unexpected success at Carlisle was received in the north, the zeal of the Jacobites was more and more inflamed. Whilst the Frasers, headed by the Master of Lovat, blockaded Fort Augustus, Lord Lewis Gordon was busily employed in raising men, and levying money by force and threats of military execution, in the shires of Banff and Aberdeen. Of two battalions which his lordship raised, one was placed under the command of Gordon of Abbachie, and the other under Moir of Stonywood. To relieve Fort Augustus, the Earl of Loudon left Inverness on the 3d of December with 600 men of the independent companies, and passing through Stratherrick during a very severe frost, reached Fort Augustus without opposition, and having supplied the garrison with every thing necessary for its defence, returned to Inverness on the 8th, after notifying to the inhabitants of Stratherrick the risk they would incur should they leave their houses and join the insurgents.²

As the future progress of the insurrection in the Highlands depended much upon the Frasers, Lord Loudon, in conjunction with Lord President Forbes, resolved to march to Castle Downie, the seat of Lord Lovat, and to obtain the best satisfaction that could be got for the peaceable behaviour of that powerful clan. For this purpose, two companies of the Mackenzies, which had been posted near Brahan, were called into Inverness on the 9th of December, and after allowing the detachment, which had been at Fort Augustus, one day's rest, his lordship left Inverness on the 10th, taking along with him that detachment and

the two companies, amounting together to 800 men, and proceeded to Castle Downie. The earl prevailed upon Lord Lovat to go with him to Inverness, and to live there under his own eye, until all the arms of which the clan were possessed, (and of which he promised to obtain the delivery,) were brought in. But instead of delivering the arms on the day fixed, being the 14th of December, he made excuses and fresh promises from day to day till the 21st, when Lord Loudon, thinking that he was deceived, placed sentries at the door of the house where Lord Lovat resided, intending to commit him to the castle of Inverness next morning; but his lordship contrived to escape during the night through a back passage, and, being very infirm, was supposed to have been carried off on men's shoulders.³

Next in importance to the keeping down of the Frasers, was the relief of the shires of Banff and Aberdeen from the sway of Lord Lewis Gordon. To put an end to the recruiting and exactions of this nobleman, the laird of Macleod was sent the same day that Lord Loudon proceeded to the seat of Lord Lovat with a body of 500 men, composed of 400 of his own kindred, and 100 of the Macleods of Assint, towards Elgin, and these were to be followed by as many men as could be spared from Inverness, after adjusting matters with Lord Lovat. Accordingly, on the 13th, 200 men were detached under Captain Munro of Culcairn, to follow Macleod to Elgin and Aberdeen, and these were again to be followed by other small bodies, and by Lord Loudon himself, as soon as matters were finally settled with Lovat. The escape of that wily old chief, however, put an end to this part of the plan, as it was considered dangerous to reduce the force near Inverness any farther, while Lord Lovat was at large.

In the meantime Macleod reached Elgin, where he received intelligence that a party of 200 of the insurgents had taken possession of the boats on the Spey at Fochabers, and that they intended to dispute the passage with him. Macleod advanced to the banks of the Spey on the 15th; but the insurgents, instead of waiting for him, retired on his approach, and he

¹ *Culloden Papers*, p. 263.

² *Idem*, p. 461.

³ *Culloden Papers*, p. 461.

passed the river without molestation. On the 16th and 17th he marched to Cullen and Banff. Meanwhile Munro of Culcairn arrived with his detachment at Keith, where he was joined by Grant of Grant at the head of 500 of his clan, and on the 18th they proceeded, in conjunction, to Strathbogie. Next day it was agreed upon between Macleod and Culcairn, that whilst the former should march next morning from Banff to Old Meldrum, which is twelve miles from Aberdeen, the latter, with Grant and his men, should at the same time proceed to Inverury, which is about the same distance from Aberdeen; but Grant, apprehensive that his own country would be harassed in his absence, returned home.⁴

When Lord Lewis Gordon heard of the arrival of Macleod at Inverury, he resolved to attack him. With his own regiment, the men whom Lord John Drummond had sent, and a battalion of 300 Farquharsons, commanded by Farquharson of Monaltry, he left Aberdeen on the 23d, and arrived near Inverury with such expedition and secrecy, that he almost surprised Macleod in his quarters. It was late before Lord Lewis reached the place, and Macleod had barely time to put his men under arms, and to seize some advantageous posts in the town. Day-light had disappeared before the action commenced; but the light of the moon enabled the combatants to see one another. Both sides continued to fire for some time; but Lord John Drummond's soldiers and the Farquharsons having advanced close upon the Macleods, the latter fled, and never halted till they had recrossed the Spey. Very few men were killed on either side; but the victors took forty-one prisoners, among whom were Mr. Gordon, younger of Ardoch; Forbes of Echt; Maitland of Petrichie; and John Chalmers, one of the regents of the university of Aberdeen.⁵

Shortly after this skirmish, Lord Lewis Gordon marched his men to the general rendezvous at Perth, where, about the time of Prince Charles's return from England, about 4,000 men were collected. These consisted of the Mackintoshes, the Frasers, the part of the Mackenzies attached to Charles, and the Far-

quharsons; of recruits sent from the Highlands to the clan regiments that had gone to England; of the forces raised by Lord Lewis Gordon, Sir James Kinloch, and other gentlemen in the low country of the north; and of the troops brought over from France by Lord John Drummond.

While this mixed body lay at Perth, a disagreement occurred between the Highlanders and the other troops, which might have led to serious consequences if the arrival of an order sent by the prince from Dumfries, requiring them to hold themselves in readiness to join him, had not put an end to the dispute. This disagreement was occasioned by the conduct of Lord Strathallan and his council of officers, on receiving the order which Charles had sent from Carlisle by Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan, to march with all their forces, and to follow the army into England. This order, contrary to the opinion of Maclauchlan and all the Highland officers, they had considered it inexpedient to obey. The result was, that the Highland officers caballed together, and resolved to march; but as the Highlanders had no money, as many of those who had come last from the Highlands wanted arms, and as Lord Strathallan was in possession of the money, arms, ammunition, and stores, they could not proceed. In this dilemma they entered into a combination to seize the money and arms, and, persisting in their resolution to march, matters were proceeding to extremities when Rollo of Powhouse arrived at Perth with the order alluded to, which at once put an end to the dispute.⁶

The inhabitants of Edinburgh, relieved from the presence of the Highland army, had lived for five weeks in a state of comparative security. Public worship had been resumed in several of the city churches on the 3d of November, and in all of them on the 10th. The state officers who had retired to Berwick, did not, however, return till the 13th, when they entered the city with an air of triumph, which accorded ill with their recent conduct as fugitives. On the following day, Lieutenant-general Handasyde arrived, as before stated, at Edinburgh with Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, and

⁴ *Culloden Papers*, p. 462.

⁵ *Kirkconnel MS.* Home, 159.

⁶ Home, p. 169.

Hamilton's and Ligonier's (lately Gardiner's,) dragoons; and, on the 7th of December, these troops were sent west to Stirling, where, in conjunction with the Glasgow and Paisley militia, amounting to nearly 700 men, commanded by the Earl of Home, they guarded the passes of the Forth. In the mean time, exertions were made to re-embody the Edinburgh regiment; but these do not appear to have been attended with success. With the exception of some young men who formed themselves into a volunteer company, few of the inhabitants were disposed to take up arms, as they were fully sensible, that without a sufficient force of regular troops, no effectual resistance could be opposed to the Highlanders, should they return to the city.

In this situation of matters, the news of the Highlanders having crossed the Esk in their retreat from England, reached Edinburgh, and threw the civil and military authorities into a state of consternation. Ignorant of the route the Highlanders meant to follow, they were extremely perplexed how to act. They naturally apprehended another visit, and their fears seemed to be confirmed by the return to Edinburgh of the regular troops from the west, on the 23d of December, and by the arrival of the Glasgow regiment the next day, all of whom had retreated to Edinburgh on the approach of the Highlanders. A resolution was adopted by the public authorities to put the city in a proper state of defence, and, on the 29th, a paper was read in the city churches, acquainting the inhabitants, that it had been resolved in a council of war to defend the city. Next day a considerable number of men from the parishes in the neighbourhood, who had been provided with arms from the castle, entered the city, and were drawn up in the High Street. The men of each parish marched by themselves, and were attended in most instances by their respective ministers.⁷ These were joined by other small corps, one of the most remarkable of which was a body of Seceders, belonging to the associated congregations of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, carrying a standard with the inscription, "For Religion, Covenants, King, and Kingdoms."

Had the Highlanders chosen to march upon Edinburgh, the resolution to defend it would not have been carried into effect, as it was the intention of the regular troops to have retired to Berwick on their approach; but, fortunately for the reputation of the new defenders of the capital, an army under Lieutenant-general Hawley was now on its march into Scotland. This gentleman, who had just been appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, though described by the Duke of Newcastle as "an officer of great ability and experience,"⁸ was in fact a man of very ordinary military attainments, and in no way fitted for the important duty which had been assigned him. His whole genius lay, as Mr. John Forbes of Culloden observed to his father, the president, in the management of a squadron, or in prosecuting with vigour any mortal to the gallows. He had a very sorry opinion of the prowess of the Highlanders, whom he was confident of beating, if his troops were in good condition, without regard to the numbers of their opponents;⁹ but he was destined soon to find out his mistake.

To expedite the march of the English army, the gentlemen and farmers of Teviotdale, the Merse, and the Lothians furnished horses, by means of which the first division of the royal army, consisting of a battalion of the Scots Royals and Battereau's foot, reached Edinburgh as early as the 2d of January, where they were shortly joined by Fleming's and Blakeney's regiments, that of Major-general Husko, by Hawley himself, by the regiments of Wolfe (not, as has been supposed, the immortal general of that name) and Cholmondeley, Howard's (the old Buffs) and Monro's, and by Barrel's and Pulteney's. At Dunbar, Aberlady, and other places, these troops were entertained by the proprietors in East Lothian, who allowed each soldier a pound of beef, a pound of bread, a glass of spirits, and a bottle of ale.¹ They were also feasted at Edinburgh at the expense of the city, where they were courteously received by the terrified inhabitants, who furnished them with blankets, and evinced great anxiety to make them comfort-

⁷ Home, p. 162.

⁸ *Culloden Papers*, p. 264.

⁹ *Idem*, p. 265.

¹ *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii. p. 32.

able.³ The citizens also illuminated their houses; and such as declined had their windows broken by the mob, who also demolished with an unsparing hand all the windows of such houses as were uninhabited. On his arrival in the city, the commander-in-chief justified Mr. Forbes's opinion by causing one gallows to be erected in the Grassmarket, and another between Leith and Edinburgh, on which it is supposed he meant to hang such unfortunate victims as might fall into his hands.⁴

To return to Charles. On his arrival at Glasgow, his first care was to provide for the necessities of his men, who were in a most pitiable plight from the want of clothing. He ordered the magistrates to furnish the army with 12,000 shirts, 6,000 cloth coats, 6,000 pairs of stockings, and 6,000 waistcoats. Enraged at the conduct of the citizens for having subscribed to the fund for raising troops against him, the prince sent for Buchanan the provost, and demanded the names of the subscribers, and threatened to hang him in case of refusal; but the provost, undismayed, replied that he would name nobody except himself, that he had subscribed largely, as he thought he was discharging a duty, and that he was not afraid to die in such a cause. The provost had to pay a fine of £500 as the penalty of his refusal.⁵

The mansion which Charles occupied during his residence in Glasgow belonged to a rich merchant named Glassford. It was the best house in the city, and stood at the western extremity of the Trongate, but has long since disappeared. While in Glasgow he ate twice a-day in public. The table was spread in a small dining-room, at which he sat down without ceremony with a few of his officers in the Highland dress. He was waited upon on these occasions by a few Jacobite ladies. Charles courted popularity, and, to attract attention, dressed more elegantly in Glasgow than at any other place;⁶ but the citizens of Glasgow kept

up a reserve, which made Charles remark, with a feeling of mortified disappointment, that he had never been in a place where he found fewer friends. Though dissatisfied with the people, he seemed, however, greatly to admire the regularity and beauty of the buildings.⁷

Having refitted his army, Charles, within a few days after his arrival, reviewed it on Glasgow Green, in presence of a large concourse of spectators, and had the satisfaction to find that, with the exception of those he had left at Carlisle, he had not lost more than 40 men during his expedition into England. Hitherto he had carefully concealed his weakness, but now, thinking himself sure of doubling his army in a few days, he was not unwilling to let the world see the handful of men with which he had penetrated into the very heart of England, and returned in the face of two powerful armies almost without loss.⁸

Abandoning, in the mean time, his project of returning to England, Charles resolved to lay siege to the castles of Stirling and Edinburgh. He depended much for success upon the artillery and engineers brought over by Lord John Drummond, and looked confidently forward for additional succours from France in terms of the repeated assurances he had received. Having determined on beginning with Stirling, he sent orders to Lord Strathallan, Lord John Drummond, Lord Lewis Gordon, and other commanders in the north, to join him forthwith with all their forces. To accelerate a junction with the forces at Perth, the prince marched his army from Glasgow on the 4th of January, 1766, in two divisions; one of which, commanded by the prince, took the road to Kilsyth, where it passed the night. Charles himself took up his quarters in Kilsyth house, then belonging to Mr. Campbell of Shawfield. Mr. Campbell's steward, it is said, was ordered to provide every thing necessary for the comfort of the prince, under a promise of payment, but was told next morning that the bill should be allowed to his master at accounting for the rents of Kilsyth, which was a forfeited estate. Next day Charles marched towards Stirling, and encamped his division at Denny, Bannockburn, and St. Ninians. He passed the night

³ "The zeal (says General Wightman) which the inhabitants have shown in accommodating the troops, will help to ridd us of the suspicion of Jacobitism; but we have a pack of vermin (Qu. Jacobites!) within our walls, who take unaccountable libertys, of whom I hope we shall be for ever ridd ere long."—*Culloden Papers*, p. 470.

⁴ *Culloden Papers*, p. 270.

⁵ Boyse, p. 131.

⁶ Household Book in *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 155.

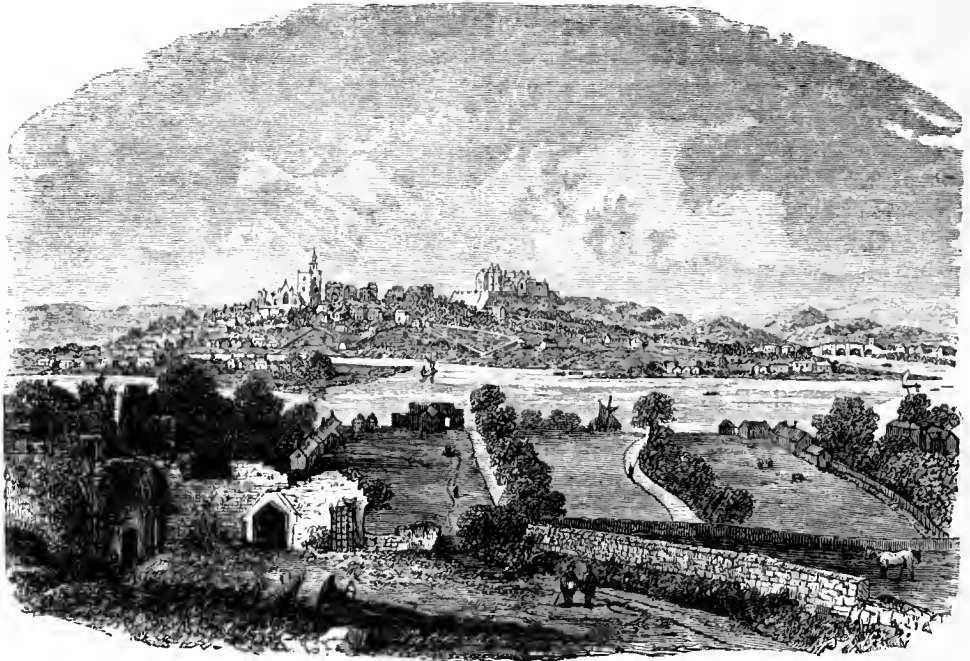
⁷ Boyse, p. 132.

⁸ *Kirkconnel MS.*

at Bannockburn-house, the seat of Sir Hugh Paterson, where he was received with Jacobite hospitality. The other division, consisting of six battalions of the clans, under Lord George Murray, spent the first night at Cumbernauld, and the next at Falkirk, where they fixed their quarters.

Preparatory to the siege of the castle, Charles resolved to reduce the town of Stirling. The inhabitants, encouraged by General Blakeney,

the governor of the castle, determined to defend the town; and a body of about 600 volunteers, all inhabitants of the town, was supplied by the governor with arms and ammunition from the castle, and promised every assistance he could afford them. He told them, at the same time, that if they should be overpowered they could make a good retreat, as he would keep an open door for them. Animated by the activity of the magistrates and the clergymen



Stirling, about the beginning of the 18th Century.—From Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiae*.

of the town—among whom the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, the father of the Secession,⁹ who commanded two companies of Seceders, was particularly distinguished—the inhabitants proceeded to put the town in a posture of defence.

On the afternoon of Saturday the 4th of January, the Highlanders had nearly surrounded the town; but they did not complete the investment till next day, which was partly occupied in cutting down some trees intended for fascines, on which they meant to construct a battery. About eight o'clock in the evening they sent a drummer to the east gate with a message; but, being fired upon by the sentinels, he threw away his drum and fled. The insur-

gents fired several shots into the town during the night, which were responded to by the volunteers, who were all under arms, and posted in different parties at the different by-ways and paths into the town, and at such parts of the wall as were deemed insufficient. During the night the utmost alarm prevailed among the inhabitants, and few of them went to bed. Some fled from the town, and others retired into the castle; but the magistrates and the other principal inhabitants remained all night in the council chamber in which they had assembled, to give such direction and assistance as might be necessary, in case an assault should be attempted during the night.¹

⁹ Now embodied in the United Presbyterian Church.

¹ *History of Stirling*, p. 116.

Next morning the insurgents were discovered erecting a battery within musket-shot of the town, almost opposite to the east gate, in a situation where the cannon of the castle could not be brought to bear upon them. The volunteers kept up a constant fire of musketry upon them; but, in spite of this annoyance, the Highlanders completed the battery before noon. Charles, thereupon, sent a verbal message to the magistrates, requiring them instantly to surrender the town; but, at their solicitation, they obtained till ten o'clock next day to make up their minds. The message was taken into consideration at a public meeting of the inhabitants, and the question of surrender was long and anxiously debated. The majority having come to the resolution that it was impossible to defend the town with the handful of men within, two deputies were sent to Bannockburn, the head-quarters of the Highland army, who offered to surrender on terms; stating that, rather than surrender at discretion, as required, they would defend the town to the last extremity. After a negotiation, which occupied the greater part of Tuesday, the following terms of capitulation were agreed upon: viz., that no demand should be made upon the town revenues,—that the inhabitants should not be molested in their persons or effects,—and that the arms in the town should be returned to the castle. Pending this negotiation, the Highlanders, to terrify the inhabitants into a speedy submission, as is supposed, discharged twenty-seven shots from the battery into the town, which, however, did no other damage than beating down a few chimney tops. After the arms were carried into the castle, the gates were thrown open on Wednesday the 8th, and the Highlanders entered the town about three o'clock in the afternoon.²

Being in want of battering cannon for a siege, Charles had, before his departure from Glasgow, sent orders to Lord John Drummond, to bring up the pieces which he had brought over from France. As General Blakeney had broken down part of Stirling bridge, to prevent the insurgents at Perth from crossing the Forth at Stirling, some of the battering cannon were

sent to the Frews, and were transported across that ford by means of floats, while the rest were brought to Alloa as a nearer road for the purpose of being transported across the Frith of Forth. Great difficulty was experienced in getting over these pieces, and as there was but a small guard along with them, they might have fallen into the hands of a party of troops sent up the Frith by Hawley, had not Lord George Murray, on hearing of their embarkation, sent over Lochiel with his regiment, which had lately been augmented by recruits, and was now 700 strong.³

As there were no ships at Alloa, Lord George seized a vessel lying off Airth to transport his cannon across the Frith. This was a fortunate circumstance, as two sloops of war, the Pearl and Vulture, sailed up the Frith next tide from Leith roads to seize all the vessels and boats in the neighbourhood, and otherwise to obstruct the conveyance of the cannon. General Hawley, about the same time, viz., on the 8th of January, sent up some armed boats, and a small vessel with cannon from Leith, manned with 300 men under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Leighton, to destroy all the works the Highlanders had made to cover the passage of their cannon. The sloops of war anchored in Kincardine roads, whence, on the morning of the 8th, two long boats well manned were sent up towards Airth, in conjunction with the other boats and small armed vessel, to burn two vessels lying in the neighbourhood which could not be launched till the spring tides. This service they effected without the loss of a single man, though the boats were fired upon by the Highlanders who were posted in the village. Having been prevented from returning to the station off Kincardine, by the lowness of the tide, the Highlanders opened a battery of three pieces of cannon next morning upon the flotilla, but without doing it any damage. The Highlanders are said to have had two of their cannon dismounted on this occasion by the fire from the sloop, and to have sustained a loss of several men, including their principal engineer.⁴

³ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 77.

⁴ General Hawley, alluding to this affair, in a letter to the lord-president, 12th Jan. 1745-6, says, "We have had a small brush with them (the Highlanders)"

² *History of Stirling*, p. 150.

Apprehensive that the flotilla would next attempt to set fire to the other vessel, Lord George Murray erected a battery of four guns at Elphinstone Pans to command the river, and to keep off the sloops of war, should they attempt to come up. In addition to the troops stationed at Airth, his lordship sent a reinforcement of between 300 and 400 men from Falkirk, which arrived at Elphinstone and Airth on the 10th. At this time the vessel which had been seized at Airth was lying at Alloa, and had taken two out of seven pieces of cannon, with some ammunition on board. To capture this vessel, a large boat, having 50 soldiers on board, along with the boats belonging to the sloops of war, well manned and armed, were sent up the river during the night of the 10th, with instructions to lie all night a mile above Alloa, in order to intercept the vessel should an attempt be made to carry her up the river during the night. Unfortunately, however, for this design, the boats grounded after passing the town, and the Highlanders who were posted in the town, having, by this accident, come to the knowledge that the enemy was at hand, immediately beat to arms, and commenced a random fire from right to left, which forced the boats to retreat down the river. Next morning, however, the two sloops of war, accompanied by some smaller vessels, went up the river with the tide, and casting anchor opposite to, and within musket-shot of the battery, opened a brisk fire. Three of the smaller vessels anchored in a convenient place to play upon the village of Elphinstone, and two more hovered along as if inclined to land some soldiers, with which they were crowded. The firing was kept up on both sides, for upwards of three hours, without much damage on either side. The cable of one of the sloops of war having been cut asunder by a cannon shot, an accident which forced her from her station, and the two pilots in the other having each lost a leg, the assailants abandoned the enterprise, and fell down the river with the ebb-tide. Being now relieved from the pre-

yesterday at Airth, up the Forth with 300 men in boats; killed and wounded about fifty, with their chief French engineer; crippled two of their guns, burnt all their boats, and hindered their transporting their great cannon from Alloway for some days."—*Culloden Papers*, p. 266.

sence of the enemy, Lord George brought over the cannon and stores without further opposition.⁵

On the 12th of January, two days after he had taken possession of the town, Charles broke ground before Stirling castle, between the church and a large house at the head of the town, called *Marr's work*. Here he raised a battery against the castle, upon which he mounted two sixteen-pounders, two pieces of eight, and three of three. The prince thereupon summoned General Blakeney to surrender, but his answer was, that he would defend the place to the last extremity; that as honour had hitherto been his rule through life, he would rather die than stain it by abandoning his post, and that his royal highness would assuredly have a very bad opinion of him, were he to surrender the castle in such a cowardly manner.⁶ To prevent any intelligence of their operations being carried to the enemy, the Highlanders shut the gates of the town, and placed guards at all the outlets. The siege went on very slowly, and Charles soon perceived that he had chosen a bad situation for his battery, which was so exposed to the fire of the castle, that its works were speedily demolished, and the cannon dismounted.

While the siege was going on, the forces in the north under Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond began to arrive at Stirling. By these reinforcements the prince's army was increased to 9,000 men, all in the highest spirits. The Macdonalds, the Camerons, and the Stuarts, were now twice as numerous as they were when the Highland army entered England, and Lord Ogilvy had got a second battalion, under the command of Sir James Kinloch, as lieutenant-colonel, much stronger than the first. The Frasers, the Mackintoshes, and Farquharsons, were reckoned 300 men each, and in addition to these, the Earl of Cromarty, and his son, Lord Macleod, had also brought up their men.⁷

Conceiving himself in a sufficiently strong condition to give battle to the Highlanders, General Hawley began to put the troops he

⁵ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 78. *Kirkconnel MS. Scots Magazine*, vol. viii.

⁶ *Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 116.

⁷ *Kirkconnel MS.*

had assembled at Edinburgh in motion towards the west. His force amounted to upwards of 9,000 men, of whom 1,300 were cavalry, and he might in a few days have increased it considerably by the addition of some regiments which were on their march to join him. He had also reason to expect the immediate arrival in the Frith of Forth of a body of 6,000 Hessians who had embarked at Williamstadt on the 1st of January, by which accession his army would have been almost doubled. Impatient, however, to acquire a renown which had been denied to Copo, his predecessor, of whose capacity he had been heard to speak very contemptuously, Hawley resolved not to wait for his expected reinforcements, but to seize the laurels which were in imagination already within his grasp.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 13th of January, the first division of the royal army, consisting of five regiments of foot, together with the Glasgow regiment of militia, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's dragoons, all under the command of Major-general Huske, left Edinburgh and marched westward to Linlithgow. Hearing that preparations had been made at Linlithgow for the reception of these troops, and that provisions and forage had been collected in that town for the use of Hawley's army, Lord George Murray left Falkirk at four o'clock the same morning for Linlithgow, with five battalions of the clans for the purpose of capturing these stores. He was joined on the road by Lord Elcho's and Lord Pittligo's troops of life-guards, whom he had ordered to meet him. Before sunrise he had completely surrounded the town, and as Lord George had been informed that Huske's division was to enter the town at night, he called his officers together before marching into town, and having told them the object for which they had come, he desired that they would continue ready to assemble in the street on a moment's warning, in order to march wherever they might be directed. After taking possession of the town, and apprehending a few militia, Lord George sent forward some patrols on the road to Edinburgh, to reconnoitre while the Highlanders were engaged in seizing the articles prepared for the royal forces; but they had scarcely been an hour in town when these

advanced parties discovered a body of dragoons advancing in their direction. Two of the patrols came back at full speed, and having given Lord George notice of their approach, he marched with his men out of the town. The dragoons retired as the Highlanders advanced. Their horse, with 200 of the best foot, followed them about two miles; but the main body returned to Linlithgow, where they dined. With the exception of a few small reconnoitring parties, the advanced body also returned to the town; but in less than an hour one of these parties came in with information that the dragoons were again returning with a large body of horse and foot. Lord George resolved to attack them when the half of them should pass the bridge, half a mile west from the town, and after waiting with his men on the streets till Huske had reached the east end of the town, he retired in the expectation that the royalist general would follow him; but Huske, who marched above the town, though he followed the Highlanders to the bridge, did not pass it. Lord George returned to Falkirk, and by orders of the prince marched next day to Bannockburn.⁸

On the 14th other three regiments marched from Edinburgh towards Borrowstownness, to support the division under Huske, and these were followed next day by three additional regiments. With these forces Huske marched on the 16th to Falkirk, and encamped to the north-west of the town with his front towards Stirling. In the evening he was joined by the remainder of the army, and the artillery, consisting of ten pieces of cannon. General Hawley himself arrived at Callander House the same evening. Next morning the army was joined by Cobham's dragoons, who had just arrived from England, and by about 1,000 Argyleshire men, chiefly Campbells, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, afterwards Duke of Argyll. Besides this corps, this whig clan furnished another of 1,000 men, which was posted about Inverary, under Major-general Campbell, the colonel's father, to guard the passes. Along with the army was a company called the Yorkshire Blues, raised, maintained, and commanded, by

⁸ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 79. *Kirkconnel MS*

a gentleman of the name of Thornton. Several volunteers, among whom were several clergymen, also accompanied the army on this occasion.

Having received intelligence of the advance of the royalists to Falkirk, Charles, on the evening of the 16th, ordered the different detachments of his army to concentrate upon Plean moor, about seven miles from that town, and two miles to the east of Bannockburn, where his head-quarters were. He, however, left several battalions, amounting to about 1,000 men, in Stirling, under the Duke of Perth, to push on the siege of the castle. Nobody supposed that the prince, in issuing this order, had any other object in contemplation than to review his army, and of so little importance was it considered, that although the order was immediately made known on all sides, it was near twelve o'clock next day before the different parts of the army arrived from their quarters.⁹ After the army had been drawn up in line of battle, Charles called a council of war, and for the first time stated his intention of giving immediate battle to Hawley. That general had, it is believed, been informed of the probability of an attack, but he treated the information lightly, and instead of attending to the affairs of his camp, spent the morning at Callander House with the Countess of Kilmarnock, with whom he breakfasted.¹ The Torwood, once a forest of great extent, celebrated as the chief retreat of the heroic Wallace, but now greatly decayed, lay between the two armies; and through what was once the middle of the forest, the high road from Stirling to Falkirk, by Bannockburn, passes.

From information which Charles had received, he supposed that Hawley would have advanced and offered him battle; but seeing no appearance of him, he put his army in motion about mid-day, towards Falkirk. While the main body of the army marched in two columns along the moor, on the west side of the Torwood, where they could not be seen from Hawley's camp, a third body of horse and foot, under Lord John Drummond, appeared upon the high road which runs through the centre of the Torwood, and moved about,

displaying their colours in view of the enemy, as if they intended to attack Hawley's camp. The object of this parade was to draw off the attention of the enemy from the main body, which was advancing unperceived towards Falkirk, by a different route. After the two columns had advanced about half a mile, Lord George Murray received an order from the prince to delay passing the water of Carron till night, as he did not think it advisable to cross in the face of the enemy, but his lordship having satisfied his royal highness of the impropriety of the order, he was allowed to proceed. Ignorant of the approach of the main body of the Highlanders, Hawley's officers thought the demonstration made by the body on the high road unworthy of attention; but they were aroused from their apathy by a countryman, who arrived in the camp with intelligence that the Highlanders were close upon them. Two of the officers immediately ascended a tree, and, by means of a telescope, descried the Highland army marching towards Falkirk, by the south side of the Torwood. This was a little before one o'clock, and the officers having communicated the circumstance to Lieutenant-colonel Howard, their commanding officer, he went to Callander House and informed the general of it. Instead, however, of ordering his men to get under arms, Hawley directed that they should merely put on their accoutrements. This order was obeyed, and the troops sat down to dinner, but before they had finished their repast, they were summoned to arms.

When the Highlanders came in sight of the water of Carron, the town of Falkirk, and the enemy's camp, also opened upon their view. It was now between one and two o'clock, and some well-mounted scouts, who were on the opposite side of the water, on observing the Highlanders, immediately rode off at full gallop, and reported that the Highland army was about to cross the Carron at Dunnipace. The alarm which this intelligence produced in the royalist camp was very great. Hawley was instantly sent for, and the commanding officers, who were exceedingly perplexed, formed their regiments as quickly as possible upon the ground in front of the camp. The general, instantly mounting his horse, galloped to the camp, and in his haste left his hat behind him.

⁹ *Kirkeonnel MS.*

¹ *Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 120.

In taking the circuitous route by the south side of the Torwood, Charles had a double object in view—to conceal his approach from the enemy as long as he could, and to obtain possession of Falkirk moor, about two miles south-west of Hawley's camp, and which, from the nature of the ground, was considered well fitted for the operations of a Highland army. Suspecting that it was the prince's design to secure the heights of the moor, Hawley at once determined to prevent him, if possible, and accordingly on his arrival at the camp he ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march towards the moor, and take possession of the high ground between them and the insurgents. He also directed the infantry to follow them with fixed bayonets. This was a rash and inconsiderate step, as Hawley had never examined the ground, which he found, when too late, was by no means a suitable field of battle for his troops. In ordering his army to march up the moor, the English commander is said to have been impressed with the idea that the Highlanders did not mean to attack him, but to give him the slip, and march back to England, and that his object was to intercept them and bring them to action.² This explanation, however, is by no means satisfactory.

After crossing the Carron at Dunnipace Steps, the main body of the Highlanders stretched along the moor in two parallel lines, about two hundred paces asunder. The column next the royal army consisted of the clan regiments which had been in England, and of the recruits which had lately arrived from the Highlands, with the Frasers, and a battalion of the Farquharsons. The other column, which was to the right of the last mentioned, consisted of the Athole brigade, the Maclauchlans, the battalions of Ogilvy and Gordon, and Lord John Drummond's regiment. After reaching the bottom of the hill, the columns faced to the left, and began to ascend the eminence. Almost simultaneously with this movement, Hawley's dragoons, proceeding along the eastern wall of Bantaskin inclosures, rapidly ascended the hill also, followed by the foot with fixed bayonets. At this instant, the sky, which till then had been unusually serene, became sud-

denly overcast, and before the foot had advanced far, a violent storm of wind and rain burst from the south-west, which beat directly in the faces of the soldiers, and retarded their march up the hill. A running contest seemed now to take place between the dragoons and the advanced divisions of the Highland columns, consisting of the Macdonalds and the Athole men, to gain the summit of the ridge of the moor. Both parties reached the top of the hill about the same time, and possessed themselves of two eminences, within musket-shot of each other. To prevent the dragoons gaining the advantage of the ground and the wind, the Macdonalds and Athole men had advanced with such rapidity, that they had left the rear of the columns considerably behind, and on reaching the height of the moor, they halted to give time to the rear to come up.

Meanwhile Lord George Murray, who commanded the right wing, proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for battle. In forming, the two columns merely faced to the left, by which simple movement the eastern column at once became, as originally designed, the front line. When completed, the order of battle of the Highland army was as follows. On the extreme right of the first line, stood the Macdonalds of Keppoch, next to these the Macdonalds of Clanranald, and in succession the regiment of Glengary, a battalion of Farquharsons under Farquharson of Bumarrel,³ the Mackenzies, the Mackintoshes, the Macphersons under Cluny their chief, the Frasers under the Master of Lovat, the Stuarts of Appin, and the Camerons, who formed the extreme left of this line. The second line, which chiefly consisted of the low country regiments, was composed of the Athole brigade, which formed the right wing, of Lord Ogilvy's regiment of two battalions in the centre, and of the regiment of Lord Lewis Gordon, also of two battalions, which formed the left of the line. At the distance of about twenty yards in the rear of the centre of the second line, the prince was stationed with some horse and foot, and was joined before the commencement of

³ There was another battalion of the Farquharsons under Farquharson of Monaltry, which, having the charge of the cannon belonging to the insurgent army, was not in the battle.

² Home, p. 176.

the action by Lord John Drummond, with a large body of horse, the Irish piquets and the other troops, with which he had made the feint, as a *corps de reserve*. Some of the horse guards under Lords Elcho and Balmerino, and also some of the hussars, who were on the right of the prince, were sent farther to the right to protect the flank, but they were prevented from extending farther, by a morass, which covered the right wing, and were obliged to draw up behind the Athole men. At the opposite extremity on the left of the prince, Lord Pitsligo's and Kilmarnock's horse were stationed.⁴

The infantry of the royal army was also formed in two lines, with a body of reserve in the rear; but the disposition of the cavalry, as will be seen, was altogether different from that of the insurgent army. The first line consisted of the regiments of Ligonier, Price, Royal Scots, Pulteney, Cholmondeley, and Wolfe, and the second of those of Battercau, Barrel, Fleming, Munro, and Blakeney. The names of the regiments are here given according to the order they held, beginning with the right. Behind the right of the second line, Howard's regiment was stationed as a reserve. The Glasgow regiment, and other Lowland militia, were posted as another body of reserve, near some cottages behind the left of the dragoons; and the Argyleshire men were placed at some distance from the right of the royal army, to watch the motions of the forces under Lord John Drummond, who seemed, before they joined the two columns on the moor, to threaten an attack upon the camp. The left of the dragoons was directly opposite to Keppoch's regiment, but by keeping large intervals between their squadrons, their right extended as far down as the centre of Lord Lovat's regiment, which stood the third from the left of the insurgent army. In consequence of this extension of the front line of the royal army, Lochiel's regiment, which was upon the left extremity of the opposite line, was outflanked by three of the royal regiments. With the exception of one or two regiments in each line, which, by their proximity to the top of the moor, had reached ground somewhat level, the

rest of the king's infantry stood on the declivity of the hill, and so great was the inequality of the ground, that the opposite wings alone of either army were visible to each other. Between the right of the royal army and the left of that of the insurgents, there was a ravine, which, beginning on the declivity of the hill, directly opposite the centre of the Fraser battalion, ran in a northerly direction, and gradually widened and deepened till it reached the plain. The right of the royal army was commanded by Major-general Huske, the centre by Hawley himself, and the left by Brigadier Cholmondeley, but the three regiments of dragoons on the left were under the immediate command of Lieutenant-colonel Ligonier. The colonel's own dragoon regiment, formerly Gardiner's, was stationed on the extreme left. Hamilton's dragoons were posted on the right, and Cobham's in the centre.

In the action about to commence, the combatants on both sides were deprived of the use of their artillery. The Highlanders, from the rapidity of their march, left their cannon behind them, and those belonging to Hawley's army, consisting of ten pieces, stuck fast in a swamp at the bottom of the hill. The royal forces were greatly superior to the Highlanders in numbers, but the latter had the advantage of the ground, and having the wind and the rain in their backs, were not annoyed to the same extent as their adversaries, who received the wind and rain directly in their faces.⁵

The right wing of the Highland army and Hawley's cavalry had remained upwards of a quarter of an hour within musket-shot of each other, waiting the coming up of the other forces, when General Hawley sent an order to Colonel Ligonier, to attack the Highlanders. At the time this order was despatched, some of his troops destined for the centre of his second line had not reached their posts, but Hawley, impatient of delay, and led astray by a mistaken though prevalent idea, that the Highlanders could not stand the shock of cavalry, resolved to commence the action with the dragoons only.

⁴ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 501. *Kirkconnel MS.* Home, p. 168. *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 85.

⁵ Some accounts make Hawley's forces of all descriptions at 15,000, being nearly double the number of the Highlanders, who amounted to 8,000; but these statements are exaggerated. Hawley's army, including the Argyleshire men, did not probably exceed 10,000 men.

Ligonier, who appears to have entertained more correct notions on this subject than the generalissimo, was surprised at the order; but he proceeded to put it in execution.⁶

Before advancing, Colonel Ligonier made several motions, with the design of drawing off the fire of the Highlanders, and riding in among them, and breaking their ranks; but they did not fire a shot. Conjecturing that the dragoons were to be supported by a body of infantry in their rear, Lord George Murray, to whom no such description of force was discernible at the time, sent Colonel Roy Stuart and Anderson, the guide at the battle of Preston, forward on horseback to reconnoitre. On receiving their report that they had not observed any foot, Lord George resolved to anticipate his opponent Ligonier, by attacking the dragoons. Accordingly he gave orders to the right wing to advance slowly, and, passing along the line, desired the men to keep their ranks, and not to fire till he gave them orders. Lord George, with his sword in his hand, and his target on his arm, then took his station at the head of the first line, which, with the second, continued to advance in good order. The dragoons, on observing the approach of the Highlanders, also began to move forward, and were instantly at the full trot. They came up in very good order, till within pistol-shot of the first line of the Highlanders, when Lord George Murray presented his piece as the signal to fire. The Highlanders, thereupon, discharged a volley with such precision and effect, that the dragoons were entirely broken, and many of them were killed and wounded. Hamilton's and Ligonier's regiments instantly wheeled about, and galloped down the hill, riding over and trampling upon some of their party, and carrying along with them a company of the Glasgow regiment. Cobham's regiment, which had just returned from foreign service, however, stood its ground for some time, and breaking through the first line of the Highlanders, trampled many of them under foot. A singular combat then ensued. Deprived of the use of their broadswords, some of the Highlanders, who lay stretched on the ground, had recourse to their dirks, which they plunged into the bellies of the horses. Others seized the riders by their clothes, and dragging them from their horses, stabbed them with the

same weapon. In this *melée* the chief of Clanranald made a narrow escape, having been trodden down, and before he was able to rise a horse fell dead upon him, the weight of which prevented him from extricating himself without assistance. While in this perilous situation, he saw a dismounted dragoon and a Highlander struggling near him, and for a time the issue seemed doubtful. The anxiety of the chief, whose own preservation seemed to depend on the success of his clansman, was soon relieved, when he saw the Highlander throw his antagonist, and instantly despatch him with his dirk. The Highlander thereupon came up to the prostrate chief, and drew him from under the horse. The dragoons, unable any longer to contend with the Macdonalds, galloped off to the right between the two armies, and received the fire of the remainder of the front line of the Highlanders, as they went along, as far down as Lord Lovat's regiment.

Afraid that, after the flight of the dragoons, the Highlanders would commence a disorderly pursuit, Lord George Murray ordered the Macdonalds of Keppoch to keep their ranks, and sent a similar order to the two other Macdonald regiments. But notwithstanding this command of the lieutenant-general, and the efforts of the officers, who, with drawn swords and cocked pistols, endeavoured to restrain them from an immediate pursuit, a considerable number of the men of these two regiments, along with all the regiments on their left, as far down as the head of the ravine, rushed down the hill in pursuit of the enemy. They were received with a volley from some of the regiments on the left of the first line of the royal army, and having returned the fire, the Highlanders threw away their muskets, and drawing their swords, rushed in upon the enemy. Unable to resist the impetuosity of the attack, the whole of the royal army, with the exception of Barrel's regiment, and part of the regiments of Price and Ligonier, gave way. At first the Highlanders supposed that the rout was complete, and General Hawley himself, who was huddled off the field among a confused mass of horse and foot, was of the same opinion; but the Highlanders were undeceived, when coming near the

⁶ Home, p. 175.

bottom of the hill, they received a fire in flank from the regiments which had remained firm; this threw them into great disorder, and thus obliged them to retire up the hill. The Camerons and the Stuarts, who were on the opposite side of the ravine, suffered also from the fire of this body, and were likewise obliged to fall back.⁷

This stand of the royal troops checked the pursuit, for the Highlanders, hearing so much firing behind them, returned to their original position, expecting to find their second line; but it also had joined in the pursuit, and thus fallen into confusion. Many, thinking that the King's troops had gained a victory, began to retreat, and went off toward the west, while the mass of the royal army was retreating toward the east. Farquharson of Monaltry, who commanded the Prince's artillery, had not been able to keep up with the rapid march of the army, and was still a mile distant when he heard the firing. He was soon afterwards met by some hundreds of the Highlanders retreating from the field. He compelled them to return with him, leaving his artillery behind. Before he arrived, however, the reserve had advanced to support the Highlanders, and Barrel's regiment and the other portion of the royal troops which had stood with them had commenced their retreat.

Meanwhile Lord George Murray, who observed the confusion in Hawley's army, was moving down the hill with the Athole men in good order, for the purpose of attacking it on its retreat. He had sent orders, by Colonel Ker, to the reserve to advance on the left, and having met scattered parties of the Macdonalds returning up the hill, he endeavoured to rally them as he marched down, but without effect. Before reaching the bottom of the hill, Lord George obtained a complete view of the disorder which prevailed in the enemy's ranks. With the exception of the three regiments of foot, and Cobham's dragoons, which were marching rapidly towards Falkirk, and covering the rear of the other fugitives, the remainder of the royal army was running off to the right and left, by forties and fifties; but as Lord George

had not more than 600 or 700 men with him, and as the rest of the Highland army was scattered over the face of the hill, he resolved to halt at its foot. Here he was joined by the Irish piquets, and by Lord John Drummond, and other officers. Some of the officers advised a retreat towards Dunipace, that the men might obtain shelter during the night from the rain, which was excessive; but his lordship strongly advised that they should endeavour to obtain possession of Falkirk immediately, while the confusion lasted, declaring that he would either lie in the town or in paradise. While this discussion was going on, the prince arrived, and approved highly of the views of Lord George Murray, his lieutenant-general. Charles was advised by his officers, in the meantime, to retire to some house on the face of the hill, till the result of the attempt should be known.

The battle had lasted barely twenty minutes, but by this time darkness had come on, being greatly increased by the rainstorm, which still continued. The confusion was dreadful, no one seeming to know for some time the result of the battle, or where to find either their regiment or their officers.

As the fires of Hawley's camp indicated an apparent intention on his part to retain possession of the town, the officers assembled at the bottom of the hill considered it unsafe to advance farther till they had ascertained the state of matters. To procure intelligence, Mr. Drummond, eldest son of Lord Strathallan, and Oliphant, younger of Gask, entered Falkirk, disguised as peasants, and having ascertained that General Hawley, after issuing orders to set fire to his tents, had abandoned the town, and was retreating on Linlithgow, they immediately returned to their friends with the information.

The body collected at the foot of the hill now advanced upon Falkirk, in three detachments; one of which, under Lochiel, entered the town at the west end, another under Lord George Murray, at the centre, and the other, under Lord John Drummond, by a lane called the Cow wynd, at the east end. Some stragglers, who had remained behind, were taken prisoners, one of whom fired at Lord John Drummond, when about to seize him, and wounded him slightly

⁷ Lord George Murray's Narrative in *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 85. *Kirkconnel MS.* Home, p. 171. *Cullooden Papers*, p. 272. *Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 122.

in the arm. Information of the occupation of the town, by the Highlanders, was sent to the prince, who immediately repaired thither, and took up his residence in a house which fronts the steeple.

So great was the disorder that existed in the Highland army, occasioned by the rash and impetuous conduct of the Macdonalds in leaving their ranks, and by the check received from the three regiments, that it was about four hours after the close of the battle, which lasted scarcely twenty minutes, before the greater part of the army had any information of the result. The Highlanders were dispersed in every direction over the hill, and the different clans were mingled together pell-mell. The confusion was greatly increased by the obscurity of the night, and for several hours they wandered over the moor, uncertain whether they were to meet friends or foes. Early in the evening, many of the Highlanders had retired from the field of battle, either thinking it lost, or intending to seek shelter from the weather.

During this disorder, the fate of the prince himself was equally unknown. Early in the action, he had sent one of his aides-de-camp with an order; but, on the latter returning with an answer, the prince was no more to be seen. The officer, in searching for him, fell in with the prince's own life-guards, drawn up in order of battle, near a cottage on the edge of the hill, with their commander, Lord Elcho, at their head; but his lordship could give him no information respecting the prince. Lord Lewis Gordon, and several chiefs of the clans, ignorant even of the fate of their own regiments, met together at the seat of Mr. Primrose, at Dunipace, where they were joined by other officers all equally ignorant of the result of the battle. At length, about eight o'clock in the evening, all doubt was removed from the minds of this party, by the arrival of Macdonald of Lechgarry, who announced that the Highland army had obtained a complete victory—that the English army was flying in disorder towards Edinburgh—and that the prince was in possession of the town of Falkirk, and was in the quarters which had been occupied by General Hawley.⁸ He added, that he had been sent to Dunipace, by

the prince, with orders for the rest of the army to repair to Falkirk next morning by break of day.

Partly from the darkness of the evening, and partly from the impossibility of collecting a sufficiently numerous body of the Highlanders together, the prince was unable to continue the pursuit. About 1,500 of them had entered the town, but so intent were they upon securing the spoils of the English camp, that it was with difficulty that sufficient guards could be got for the town, and the prince's person, during the night. Besides, the Highlanders had been upon their legs for twelve hours, without receiving any refreshment, and were drenched to the skin, so that even had pursuit been otherwise practicable, they must have speedily desisted from excessive fatigue, and might probably have suffered from the dragoons which covered the rear of Hawley's foot.

The victory of the Highlanders at Falkirk, after the confident boastings of Hawley, caused great consternation both at court and throughout the country, but it brought little or no advantage to the cause of Prince Charles. It excited considerable dissension among his officers as to the cause of their success not having been more complete, while the army was further weakened by the return of a considerable number of the clansmen to their mountain fastnesses to secure their plunder.

Hawley's consternation at his unexpected defeat was so great that he not only abandoned the town, leaving his artillery and baggage in the hands of the enemy, in addition to seven pieces of cannon which had been abandoned by the captain of the train at the commencement of the action, but did not halt till he reached Linlithgow. A portion of his disordered and demoralized troops were quartered there in the old palace of the Scottish kings, and next morning before their departure they deliberately set it on fire, and the fine old building was burnt to the ground. On the 18th General Hawley continued his retreat to Edinburgh, with his forces in such a pitiable state of disorder and terror as to resemble more a rout than a retreat. He endeavoured to restore order by hanging on the gibbets which he had prepared for the rebels a number of his own soldiers who had grossly misbehaved in the fight.

⁸ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 127.

materiel of the royal army, several standards and stands of colours fell into the hands of the victors. According to the official returns, the loss of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, was 280, including a considerable number of officers; but these returns are supposed to be greatly underrated.¹ There were sixteen officers killed on the government side, viz., Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Foulis; Lieutenant-colonel Whitney of Ligonier's regiment of dragoons; Lieutenant-colonel Biggar of Munro's regiment; Lieutenant-colonel Powell of Cholmondeley's regiment; five captains and one lieutenant of Wolfe's; and four captains and two lieutenants of Blakeney's regiment. Sir Robert's regiment, which consisted chiefly of his own clan, had particularly distinguished itself at the battle of Fontenoy; but on the present occasion it partook of the panic which had seized the other regiments on the left, and fled, leaving its colonel alone and unprotected. In this situation Sir Robert was attacked by six men of Lochiel's regiment, and, for some time gallantly defended himself with his half-pike. He killed two of his assailants, and would probably have despatched more, had not a seventh come up and shot him in the groin with a pistol. On falling, the Highlander struck him two blows across the face with his broadsword, which killed him on the spot. Dr. Munro of Obsdale, his brother, who, from fraternal affection, had attended Sir Robert to the field to afford him any medical assistance he might require, was standing close by his brother when he fell, and shared his fate at the hands of the same Highlander, who, after firing a pistol into his breast, cut him down with his claymore. The bodies of the two brothers having been recognised the next day, were honourably interred in one grave in the churchyard of Falkirk in presence of all the chiefs.²

The loss on the side of the Highlanders amounted only to about 40 men, among whom

¹ Mr. Home, who was in the engagement, states, that Hawley had about 300 or 400 private men killed. Maxwell of Kirkeconnel, who was also present, reckons his loss at between 400 and 500 killed, and some hundreds of prisoners. The Chevalier Johnstone makes, men 600 killed, and 700 prisoners. Such also is the estimate of the author of the *Journal and Memoirs* printed among the *Lockhart Papers*.

² *Culloden Papers*, p. 268.

were two or three captains, and some subaltern officers. They had, however, nearly double that number wounded. Besides Lord John Drummond, young Lochiel and his brother, and Dr. Archibald Cameron, were slightly wounded. Hawley's army could boast of only one prisoner, who fell into their hands by mere accident. This was Major Macdonald of Keppoch's regiment, cousin to the chief. Having pursued the flying English farther than any other person, he was in the act of returning to his corps, when in his way he observed, in the dusk of the evening, a body of men at some distance standing in a hollow near the bottom of the hill. Imagining this body to be Lord John Drummond's regiment and the French piquets, he ran forward towards the party with his sword still drawn, and when near them, cried out with a feeling of strong emotion, "Gentlemen, what are you doing here? Why don't ye follow after the dogs, and pursue them?" Scarcely, however, had he uttered these words, when he discovered that the body he accented was an English regiment, (Barrel's,) and the cry, "Here is a rebel! here is a rebel!" at once met his ears. Escape being impossible, the major, thinking that he would not be discovered by the colour of his white cockade, which was quite dirty with the rain and the smoke of the firing, pretended that he was one of their own Campbells; but General Husko observed that it was easy to discover what the prisoner was by his sword, the blade of which was covered over with blood and hair. Husko gave orders "to shoot the dog instantly," and a party of musketeers immediately presented their pieces at the major's breast; but Lord Robert Ker generously interposed, and, beating down the muskets, saved the major's life. The general having refused to receive the major's arms, they were accepted by Lord Robert. When pulling his pistol from his belt, previously to surrendering his arms, Husko was alarmed, and exclaimed with an oath, that "the dog" was going to shoot him; but Macdonald indignantly observed, that he was more of a gentleman than to do any such thing, and that he was only pulling off his pistol to deliver it up.³ The major was carried to Edinburgh,

³ Note in the prince's household book in *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 158.

and committed to the castle next day, and, after a few months' confinement, tried, convicted, and executed.

The victory would have been complete by the utter annihilation of the English army, had the prince taken the usual precautions to preserve unity of action among the different sections of his undisciplined host. Early in the morning, Lord George Murray had submitted a plan of the battle to his royal highness, and requested that he would name the officers that were to command, and assign them their different stations; but with the exception of Lord George himself, who was appointed to march at the head of the army, and who consequently had the command of the right wing, no other appointment appears to have been made. It seems to have been understood by Charles himself, that Lord John Drummond was to have commanded the left wing; but if such was the case, Lord John could have obtained no distinct notification thereof, as he never appeared in his place. It is maintained by Lord George Murray, that had there been an officer in command on the left, to have brought up two or three battalions from the second line, or from the *corps de reserve* so as to have extended the first line still farther to the left, and thus to have faced the English regiments which outflanked them, the whole of Hawley's foot must have been taken or destroyed, and that few even of the horse would have escaped, as the Highlanders would not have given over the chase till they had reached Linlithgow,—and that, in short, had the three regiments which outlined the Highlanders been faced, the battle would not have lasted ten minutes, as these regiments, instead of keeping their ground, pouring in part of their fire on the left flank of the Highlanders, and compelling those who attacked the right and centre of Hawley's foot sword in hand to retire to their former ground, would have given way with the rest of the main body. In the absence of Lord John Drummond, it was the duty of O'Sullivan, who, as adjutant-general, was chiefly intrusted by the prince with the formation of the left wing, to have brought up men for the purpose of extending the line; but instead of riding along the line as he should have done before the action, none of the officers

of the first line of the Highland army saw him till the battle was over.⁴ While Lord John Drummond could not but be sensible of the error which had been committed on the left, he retaliated upon the lieutenant-general, by ascribing the escape of Hawley's army to the conduct of Lord George himself, who prevented part of the right wing from joining in the charge upon the foot, after the flight of the dragoons.

The English imputed their defeat chiefly to the violence of the storm, which was full in their faces during the action; but this, though certainly a formidable difficulty, was not the only one they had to encounter. To a combination of unfortunate circumstances, and not to any particular incident, is to be ascribed the result which ensued; but mainly to Hawley's ignorance of the resistance which the Highlanders could oppose to cavalry. He had been major of Evans's dragoons at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where that regiment and the Scots Greys, led by the Duke of Argyle, after getting over a morass, which the intense frost of the preceding night had rendered passable, attacked the flank of the insurgent army, which conceived itself secure from that quarter, and rode down, and drove off the field several regiments of Highlanders. Imagining from this precedent, that the Highlanders could not withstand the charge of cavalry, he observed one day in a company of officers in Flanders, who were talking of the battle of Preston, that "*he* knew the Highlanders; they were good militia; but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dragoons, who attacked them well."⁵ Under this impression he began the battle with his dragoons, before his infantry had been fully formed into line; but he soon saw the consequences of his indiscretion.

Though the field of battle is about twenty-six miles distant from Edinburgh, the intelligence of Hawley's defeat was known there before nine o'clock at night, by the arrival of some spectators who had witnessed the action, and by some of the dragoons who, impelled by fear, did not halt till they reached the capital. The English general passed the evening of the battle at Linlithgow, and marched next morn-

⁴ *Jacobite Memoirs*, pp. 91, 92, 94. ⁵ Home, p. 177.

ing with the mass of his army to Edinburgh, where he arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. A prey to disappointment and vexation, the appearance of Hawley on the morning after the battle is said by an observer to have been most wretched, and even worse than that of Cope a few hours after his "scuffle," when the same person saw him at Fala on his retreat to Berwick.⁶

Before the return of Hawley's army, the greatest consternation prevailed among the friends of the government at Edinburgh from the reports of the fugitives, who brought accounts of the total rout and dispersion of the army, exaggerated by the relation of circumstances which had no existence, save in their own terrified imaginations; but the arrival of the greater part of the army served to dissipate their fears in some measure. Since the commencement of the rebellion, however, to its final close, never were the apprehensions of the supporters of the existing government more alarmingly excited than on the present occasion, when they saw the veteran troops, who had fought the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, return from Falkirk discomfited by a body of undisciplined mountaineers whom they had been taught to despise. The Jacobites, on the other hand, exulted at the victory, and gave expression to their feelings by openly deriding the vanquished.⁷

The prince spent the 18th, the day after the battle, at Falkirk; but, as the rain fell in torrents during the greater part of that day, few of the officers quitted their lodgings. Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the slain were interred by order of the prince, and a considerable body of Highlanders marched to Linlithgow, of which they took possession. Charles now took the advice of his friends as to the use he should make of his victory. Some were for following up the blow which had been struck, and driving Hawley out of Scotland. Others were for marching directly to London before the enemy had time to recover from their consternation. They argued that it was not to be supposed that Hawley would again face the prince and his victorious army till he should receive

new reinforcements; that even then the troops which had been beaten would communicate terror to the rest; and that the prince's army, flushed with victory, could never fight with greater advantages on their side. There were others, however, who thought differently, and maintained that the capture of Stirling castle was the chief object at present; that it had never been before heard of that an army employed in a siege, having beaten those that came to raise it, had made any other use of their victory than to take the fortress in the first place; that any other conduct would argue a great deal of levity; and that it was of the utmost importance to obtain possession of the castle, as it opened an easy and safe communication between the prince, (wherever he might happen to be,) and his friends in the north. This last view was supported by M. Mirabelle de Gordon, a French engineer of Scotch extraction, who gave the prince the strongest assurances that the castle would be forced to surrender in a few days, and added, moreover, that if the prince went immediately upon another expedition he would be obliged to sacrifice all his heavy artillery which he could not carry with him into England.⁸ The opinion of an individual, decorated with an order, and who was consequently considered a person of experience and talents, had great weight with the prince, who, accordingly, resolved to reduce the castle of Stirling before commencing any other operations; but Charles discovered, when too late, that Mirabelle's knowledge as an engineer was extremely limited, and that he had neither judgment to plan nor knowledge to direct the operations of a siege. This person, whose figure was as eccentric as his mind, was called, in derision, Mr. Admirable by the Highlanders.⁹

During the prince's short stay at Falkirk, a misunderstanding took place between a party of the Camerons and Lord Kilmarnock, which had nearly proved fatal to that nobleman. As this incident affords a remarkable illustration of clanship, the particulars cannot fail to be interesting. Lord Kilmarnock, having passed the evening of the battle in his house at Calander, came next morning to Falkirk with a

⁶ *Culloden Papers*, p. 267. ⁷ *Id.*, p. 272.

⁸ *Kirkconnel MS.* ⁹ *Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 117.

party of his men, having in their custody some Edinburgh volunteers, who, having fallen behind Hawley's army in its march to Linlithgow, had been taken and carried to Callander House. Leaving the prisoners and their guard standing in the street, opposite to the house where the prince lodged, his lordship went up stairs and presented to him a list of the prisoners, among whom was Mr. Home, the author of the Tragedy of *Douglas* and the *History of the Rebellion*. Charles opened the window to survey the prisoners, and while engaged in conversation with Lord Kilmarnock about them, as is supposed, with the paper in his hand, a soldier in the uniform of the Scots Royals, carrying a musket and wearing a black cockade, appeared in the street, and approached in the direction of the prince. The volunteers who observed this man coming up the street were extremely surprised, and, thinking that his intention in coming forward was to shoot the prince, expected every moment to see him raise his piece and fire. Observing the volunteers, who were within a few yards of the prince, all looking in one direction, Charles also looked the same way, and seeing the soldier approach appeared amazed, and, calling Lord Kilmarnock, pointed towards the soldier. His lordship instantly descended into the street, and finding the soldier immediately opposite to the window where Charles stood, the earl went up to him, and striking the hat off the soldier's head, trampled the black cockade under his feet. At that instant a Highlander rushed from the opposite side of the street, and, laying hands on Lord Kilmarnock, pushed him violently back. Kilmarnock immediately pulled out a pistol, and presented it at the Highlander's head; the Highlander in his turn drew his dirk, and held it close to the earl's breast. They stood in this position about half a minute, when a crowd of Highlanders rushed in and drove Lord Kilmarnock away. The man with the dirk in his hand then took up the hat, put it on the soldier's head, and the Highlanders marched off with him in triumph.

This extraordinary scene surprised the prisoners, and they solicited an explanation from a Highland officer who stood near them. The officer told them that the soldier in the royal uniform was a Cameron: "Yesterday," con-

tinued he, "when your army was defeated he joined his clan; the Camerons received him with joy, and told him that he should wear his arms, his clothes, and every thing else, till he was provided with other clothes and other arms. The Highlander who first interposed and drew his dirk on Lord Kilmarnock is the soldier's brother; the crowd who rushed in are the Camerons, many of them his near relations; and, in my opinion," continued the officer, "no colonel nor general in the prince's army can take that cockade out of his hat, except Lochiel himself."¹

An accident occurred about the same time, which had a most prejudicial effect in thinning the ranks of the Highland army. The Highlanders, pleased with the fire-arms they had picked up upon the field of battle, were frequently handling and discharging them. Afraid of accidents, the officers had issued orders prohibiting this abuse, but to no purpose. One of Keppoch's men had secured a musket which had been twice loaded. Not aware of this circumstance, he fired off the piece, after extracting one of the balls, in the direction of some officers who were standing together on the street of Falkirk. The other ball unfortunately entered the body of Æneas Macdonell, second son of Glengary, who commanded the Glengary regiment. He survived only a short time, and, satisfied of the innocence of the man that shot him, begged with his last breath that he might not suffer. To soothe the Glengary men under their loss, the prince evinced by external acts that he participated in their feelings, and, to show his respect for the memory of this brave and estimable youth, attended his funeral as chief mourner; but nothing the prince was able to do could prevent some of the men, who felt more acutely than others the loss of the representative of their chief, from returning to their homes.

On Sunday the 19th, the prince returned to Bannockburn, leaving Lord George Murray with the clans at Falkirk. At Bannockburn he issued, by means of a printing-press which he had carried with him from Glasgow, an account of the battle of Falkirk, a modest document when compared with that of Hawley,

¹ Home, v. 130.

who gravely asserted that had it not been for the rain his army would have continued in his camp, "being masters of the field of battle!"

After the battle of Falkirk, the Duke of Perth again summoned the castle of Stirling to surrender, but the governor returned the same answer he had sent to the first message. The prince therefore resumed the siege on his return to his former head quarters, and fixed his troops in their previous cantonments. An able mathematician, named Grant, who had been employed many years with the celebrated Cassini, in the observatory at Paris, and who had conducted the siege of Carlisle, had at the commencement of the siege communicated to the prince a plan of attack, by opening trenches and establishing batteries in the church-yard. He had assured the prince that this was the only place where they could find a parallel almost on a level with the batteries of the castle; and that if a breach were effected in the half-moon, which defended the entry to the castle, from a battery in the church-yard, the rubbish of the work would fill the ditch, and render an assault practicable through the breach. In consequence, however, of a remonstrance from the inhabitants, who stated that the fire from the castle in the direction of the church-yard would reduce the greater part of the town to ashes, the prince abandoned this plan, and consulted M. Mirabelle, with the view of ascertaining whether there was any other practicable mode of making an attack on the castle with effect. To borrow an expression of the Chevalier Johnstone, in reference to the conduct of Mirabelle on this occasion, that it is always the distinctive mark of ignorance to find nothing difficult, not even the things that are impossible, this eccentric person, without the least hesitation, immediately undertook to open the trenches on the Gowling or Gowan hill, a small eminence to the north of the castle, about forty feet below its level.²

As there were not above fifteen inches depth of earth above the rock, it became necessary to supply the want of earth with bags of wool and earth, an operation which occupied several days. On breaking ground a fire was opened on the trenches from the castle, which was

renewed from time to time during the progress of the works, and was answered from the trenches; but the fire from the castle was not sufficiently strong to hinder the operations, which, from the commanding position of the castle guns, could have been easily prevented. The design of General Blakeney in thus allowing the besiegers to raise their works, was, it is understood, to create a belief among them, that the castle would not be tenable against their batteries, and by this impression to induce the Highland army to remain before the fortress till Hawley should be again in sufficiently strong condition to advance from Edinburgh. Having, on the evening of the 28th, completed the battery on the Gowan hill, which consisted of three pieces of cannon, the rebels quickly raised another on a small rocky eminence called the Ladies' hill, on the south-east of the town. They were both unmasked on the morning of the 29th, and immediately opened with a brisk fire, which shattered two of the embrasures of the castle. As the guns of the batteries were pointed upwards, the balls generally went over the castle, and the few that struck the walls produced little effect; but the case was totally different with the besieged, who, from their elevated situation, from which they could see even the shoe-buckles of the French artillerymen behind the batteries, poured down a destructive fire upon the besiegers from two batteries mounting together thirteen pieces, which dismounted the besiegers' guns, broke their carriages, and forced them to retire with considerable loss. Thus defeated in their attack, the rebels abandoned the siege after wasting three weeks in a fruitless attempt to obtain possession of a post, which could have been of no essential service to them, and before which they lost some of their best men, chiefly among the French piquets, whom least of all they could spare.

CHAPTER XXXV.

A.D. 1746.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN: George II., 1727—1760.

Duke of Cumberland sent down to Scotland — Marches westward — Siege of Stirling castle raised — High-

² Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 118.

land army retreats to the north—Council held at Crieff—Duke of Cumberland pursues and arrives at Perth—Arrival of Hessians—Rout of Moy—Capture of the town and castle of Inverness by Charles—Duke of Cumberland arrives at Aberdeen—Highlanders capture Fort Augustus—Expedition against Lord Loudon—Expedition of Lord George Murray into Athole—Duke of Cumberland's movements—Takes possession of Old Meldrum and Strathbogie—Insurgents retreat across the Spey—Re-capture of the Hazard sloop-of-war—Siege of Fort William by the insurgents—Siege abandoned.

UNWILLING any longer to intrust the management of the war to a general who had given such a signal proof of incapacity as Hawley had done, the government, immediately on receipt of his despatches, sent down the Duke of Cumberland to Scotland, to take the command of the army, and to retrieve if possible the lost reputation of the heroes of Dettingen and Fontenoy. The duke was beloved by the army, and enjoyed its confidence, circumstances which rendered him peculiarly fitted to supersede Hawley, who, after his return to Edinburgh, had by his severities become unpopular with the soldiers. Another reason for putting the duke at the head of the army opposed to Prince Charles, was the favourable effect which, it was supposed, the appearance of a prince of the blood would have upon the minds of the people of Scotland, and which, it was expected, would neutralise the influence of his kinsman. But apart from his rank as the son of the king, Prince William had little to recommend him to the especial notice of a nation, rather fastidious in its respect for princes. His conduct while in Scotland showed that humanity, the brightest ornament which can adorn the soldier hero, had no place in the catalogue of his virtues. With a cruelty, partly the result, perhaps, of the military school in which he was trained,³

³ "But the Duke was no common man. He belonged to an age when high command was in a great measure a royal science, which men of inferior rank had scanty opportunities of studying. He was connected with the cluster of German princes, among whom, after the enticing example of the house of Brandenburg, a knowledge of the art of war was deemed a good speculation as a means of enlarging their dominions in the tangled contests created among the German states by every European war. After Frederick himself, perhaps none of these princes would have been so capable of successful appropriations of territory as the young man whose warlike pursuits were thrown into a different channel by his connection with the British throne. Though the subject of a constitutional government, however, he retained the spirit of the German soldier-prince. Mili-

and which fortunately has few parallels among civilised nations, he pursued his unfortunate victims, the misguided but chivalrous adherents of the fallen dynasty, with a relentless perseverance which disgusted even his own partisans.

Having received his instructions, the duke lost no time in preparing for his journey. He left London on the 25th of January, attended by Lord Cathcart, Lord Bury, Colonels Conway and York his aides-de-camp, and arrived at Holyrood House on the 30th. He was waited upon by the state-officers, the magistrates of the city, the professors of the university, and the clergy, all of whom were graciously received. His royal highness was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box. In the afternoon he held a sort of drawing-room, which was attended by a considerable number of ladies very richly dressed. The most conspicuous among them was a Miss Ker, who wore a busk, at the top of which was a crown done in bugles, surrounded with this inscription, "Britain's Hero, William, Duke of Cumberland." To celebrate his arrival the city was illuminated in the evening, but although the Jacobites, from prudential motives, concurred in this demonstration, their windows were broken by the mob.⁴

In the course of the day the duke inspected the army. His appearance revived the spirits tary law was the first of all laws; and to military necessity everything must yield. He followed the course which, perhaps, most men brought up in his school would have followed, if in possession of the same power; but in a constitutional country it had the character of brutal severity, and after having, as he deemed it, done his stern duty, he left behind him an execrating country to find that his little nephews ran away and hid themselves, in terror of his notorious cruelty."*—Burton's *Scotland*, (1689-1748), vol. ii. p. 507.

* "The bravery of the Duke of Cumberland," says the first historian of our day, "was such as distinguished him even among the princes of his brave house. The indifference with which he rode about amidst musket-balls and cannon-balls, was not the highest proof of his fortitude. Hopeless maladies—horrible surgical operations—far from unmaiming him, did not even discompose him. With courage, he had the virtues which are akin to courage. He spoke the truth, was open in enmity and friendship, and upright in all his dealings. But his nature was hard; and what seemed to him justice, was rarely tempered with mercy. He was therefore, during many years, one of the most unpopular men in England. The severity with which he treated the rebels after the battle of Culloden, had gained him the name of "the butcher." His attempts to introduce into the army of England, then in a most disorderly state, the rigorous discipline of Potsdam, had excited still stronger disgust. Nothing was too bad to be believed of him. Many honest people were so absurd as to fancy that if he were left regent during the minority of his nephews, there would be another smothering in the tower."—Macaulay's *Essays*—*Chatham*.

⁴ Marchant, p. 328.

of the soldiers, who, it is said, desired nothing so much as an opportunity of wiping away the disgrace of their late defeat. Such being the favourable disposition of the troops, it was resolved in a council of war held in the evening to march next morning to the relief of Stirling castle. Accordingly, early in the morning the army, which, by recent reinforcements, had been increased to fourteen battalions of foot, and four regiments of dragoons, besides the Argyshire men, left Edinburgh in two divisions, preceded by Hamilton's and Ligonier's dragoons. One of these divisions, comprising eight battalions, at the head of which the duke was to place himself, proceeded towards Linlithgow, and the other, consisting of six battalions under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, marched in the direction of Borrowstownness. The duke himself left Holyrood House at nine o'clock in the morning, in presence of a large assemblage of citizens, who, from curiosity, had collected before the palace at an early hour to witness his departure. He entered a splendid coach, which, with twelve beautiful horses, had been presented to him by the Earl of Hopetoun, and was accompanied in his progress through the city by many persons of distinction, and by a crowd of citizens. On reaching Castlebarns, a place about a quarter of a mile from the West-port, by which he left the city, the duke mounted his horse, and taking off his hat thanked the people for their attentions. He told them that he was in great haste to fulfil the object of his mission, and concluded by wishing them farewell. This short address was received with a loud huzza. The duke then took leave of the nobility and gentry who surrounded him, and at parting said, "Shall we not have one song?" He then began to sing an old Scottish song:—

"Will ye play me fair?
Highland laddie, Highland laddie."

But before he had finished the first stanza he stretched forth his hand, and, putting spurs to his horse, went off at full gallop to join the army.⁵

The duke took up his quarters for the night at Linlithgow with the eight battalions, and

Mordaunt stopped at Borrowstownness with the other division. The dragoons were quartered in the adjacent villages, and the Argyshire men were posted in front towards the river Avon. Early next morning, the duke received intelligence that the main body of the Highland army, quartered at Falkirk, had retired to the Torwood, where, they gave out, they intended to make a stand. Determined that no time should be lost in following the insurgents, the duke, after reviewing his army in the morning, advanced towards Falkirk. Several parties of the Highlanders, who were seen hovering on the hills between Falkirk and Linlithgow, retired with precipitation on his approach; but some stragglers were brought in by his advanced scouts, who reported that the Highlanders, afraid to risk another battle, on account of the increase of the royal army, and the diminution of their own by desertion, were repassing the Forth in great confusion. Two great explosions, like the blowing up of magazines, which were heard from a distance, seemed to confirm this intelligence. On reaching Falkirk, the duke found that all the wounded soldiers who had been made prisoners in the late action, had been left behind by the insurgents in their retreat. His royal highness halted at Falkirk with the main body of his army, and immediately detached Brigadier Mordaunt with the Argyshire men and all the dragoons, in pursuit of the Highlanders. The duke passed the night in the house which Charles had occupied on the evening of the late battle, and slept in the same bed on which the prince had reposed. Next morning Prince William marched to Stirling, of which Brigadier Mordaunt had taken possession the previous evening. He complimented General Blakeney on his defence of the castle, and was informed by the latter that, had the siege continued much longer, he (Blakeney) must have surrendered for want of ammunition and provisions.

In his march the duke was accompanied by several officers of the English army, who had been taken prisoners at Preston, and who, under the pretence of being forcibly released by armed parties of country people in Angus and Fife, had broken their parole, and returned to Edinburgh. The Duke of Cumberland, who appears to have thought it by no means dis-

⁵ Marchant, p. 329.

honourable to break faith with rebels, not only absolved these officers from their parole, but sent circulars to all the other officers, who continued prisoners of war, releasing them from the solemn obligation they had undertaken not to serve against Prince Charles for a certain time, requiring them to join their respective regiments, and threatening with the loss of their commissions such of them as should refuse to return immediately to the service. Only a few officers had the virtuous courage to refuse compliance, declaring their sense of the insult offered to men of an honourable profession, by remarking that the duke was master of their commissions, but not of their probity and honour.⁶

It was not without considerable reluctance that Charles had been induced to consent to a retreat. So late as the 28th of January, on which day he received information at Bannockburn that the Duke of Cumberland was expected at Edinburgh in a day or two, he had sent Secretary Murray to Falkirk to acquaint Lord George Murray, that it was his intention to advance and attack the Duke of Cumberland, when he should reach Falkirk, and to request his lordship to remain there till the duke came to Linlithgow. Lord George did not express any disapprobation of Charles's design, but immediately drew up a plan of the battle in contemplation, which he carried to Bannockburn, and showed to Charles. The prince, who was in high spirits, expressed himself much pleased with the plan, which differed in some respects from that he had sketched previous to the late battle; but, to his utter astonishment, he received a packet from Lord George Murray by an aid-de-camp, containing a representation by his lordship and all the chiefs,⁷ who were with him at Falkirk, advising a retreat to the north.

In this paper, after stating that they considered it their duty, "in this critical juncture," to lay their opinions in the most respectful

⁶ *Kirkconnel MS. Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 167. Among the honourable few were Sir Peter Halket, lieutenant-colonel of Lee's regiment; Mr. Ross, son of Lord Ross; Captain Lucy Scott; Lieutenants Farquharson and Cumming; and Mr. Home has been justly censured for suppressing in his history this fact, and others equally well known to him.

⁷ These were Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, Ardschiel, Lochgary, Scothouse, and the Master of Lovat.

manner before his royal highness, they proceeded to say, that they were certain that a vast number of his troops had gone home since the battle of Falkirk, and that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they found that the evil was hourly increasing, and that they had it not in their power to prevent it,—that as they were afraid Stirling castle could not be taken so soon as was expected, they could, from the inequality of their numbers to that of the enemy, anticipate nothing but utter destruction to the few troops that might remain behind, should the enemy advance before the castle fell into Prince Charles's hands. For these reasons, they gave it as their opinion, that the only way to extricate his royal highness, and those who remained with him, out of the imminent danger which threatened them, was to retire immediately to the Highlands, where the army could be usefully employed the remainder of the winter in taking the forts in the north,—that they were morally certain they could keep as many men together as would answer that end, and would hinder the enemy from following them to the mountains at that season of the year,—and that, in spring, they had no doubt that an army of 10,000 effective Highlanders could be brought together, who would follow his royal highness wherever he might think proper. Such a plan, they maintained, would certainly disconcert his enemies, and could not but be approved of by his royal highness's friends both at home and abroad, and that if a landing should happen in the meantime, the Highlanders would immediately rise either to join the invaders, or to make a powerful diversion elsewhere. On considering the hard marches which the army had undergone, the season of the year, and the inclemency of the weather, his royal highness, they said, as well as his allies abroad and his adherents at home, could not fail to approve of the proposal,—that the greatest objection to the retreat was the difficulty of saving the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but that it would be better that some of these were thrown into the Forth, than that his royal highness and the flower of his army should be exposed to the risk they inevitably would, should the proposed retreat not be agreed to, and put in execution without

loss of time; and that they thought that it would be the greatest imprudence to risk the whole on so unequal a chance, when there were such hopes of succour from abroad, besides the resources his royal highness would have from his adherents at home. In conclusion, they informed the prince that they had just been apprised, that numbers of their people had gone off, and that many were sick, and not in a condition to fight. They added, that nobody was privy to the address but the subscribers; and they assured him that it was with great concern and reluctance they found themselves obliged to declare their sentiments in so dangerous a situation,—a declaration which nothing could have prevailed upon them to make but the unfortunate diminution of the army by desertion.⁸

According to a statement made by John Hay, who occasionally acted as secretary to the prince, Charles was so transported with rage, after reading this paper, that he struck his head against the wall of the room till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against Lord George Murray. To dissuade the subscribers from their resolution, Charles sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Falkirk, who, not succeeding in his mission, returned to Bannockburn, accompanied by Keppoch and several other chiefs. These argued the matter with Charles himself, and ultimately prevailed upon him to consent to a retreat.⁹ This retreat was condemned by some of the prince's flatterers; but the simple fact, stated by Patullo the muster-master of the prince's army, that, before the retreat, the army had been diminished by desertion to 5,000 men, fully justifies the advice given by Lord George Murray and the chiefs at Falkirk.¹ Even Sir Thomas Sheridan, the especial favourite of the prince, admitted the necessity of the retreat, for reasons apart from the reduction of the army.²

In order to make the retreat with as little loss as possible, horses and carriages were ordered in from all quarters, under the pretext of carrying the field artillery and ammunition towards Edinburgh, whither it was given out that the army was to march immediately. The

army, however, began to suspect the design, and every person, not in the secret, looked dejected. During the 30th, a great deal of bustle took place in the country in collecting horses and carriages, but with little effect, as the country people, who also began to conjecture that a retreat was intended, were not disposed to attend to the order.³ At length the design of these preparations became apparent when, in consequence of a previous arrangement, Lord George Murray left Falkirk with the clans on the evening of the 31st for Bannockburn, leaving behind him Elcho's, Pitsligo's, and Kilmarnock's horse, who were directed to patrol betwixt Falkirk and Linlithgow till ten o'clock that night. Lord George continued at the prince's quarters till after twelve o'clock at night, when it was agreed that the army should rendezvous at nine o'clock next morning near St. Ninians; and a message was directed to be sent to the Duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond, both of whom were at Stirling, to be ready to march between nine and ten o'clock, but not to evacuate the town without further orders. However, after Lord George had left the prince's quarters for his own, these orders were countermanded without his knowledge, and orders were sent to Stirling to evacuate it by break of day.⁴

The appointed rendezvous at St. Ninians never took place, for the private men, imagining when they first heard of the retreat that the danger was much greater and nearer than it really was, had begun at day-break to take the road to the Frews. Before the hour appointed for assembling, many of them had arrived at that ford, so that when Charles left his quarters for St. Ninians, scarcely a vestige of his army was to be seen. Officers were sent after some parties, who were still visible, for the purpose of stopping them, but without effect. The troops in Stirling, in terms of the orders they had received, after spiking their cannon, also marched to the Frews, so that the prince and Lord George Murray found themselves almost deserted. Charles finding it impossible to recall his troops, marched off with some of the chiefs and the few troops that remained with him.⁵

⁸ No. 39 of Appendix to *Homo*.

⁹ No. 40 of *Idem*.

¹ No. 30 of *Idem*.

² Vide Letter from Sir Thomas in *Stuart Papers*, dated from the Castle of Blair, 8th December, 1746.

³ *Kirkconnel MS.* ⁴ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 100. ⁵ *Idem*

On the morning of the retreat the church of St. Ninians, in which the insurgents had fifty barrels of gunpowder, blew up with a terrible explosion, which was heard by the Duke of Cumberland's army at Linlithgow. Whether it happened from accident or design, is a point which cannot be ascertained. If from design, it must have been the act of some unknown individual, as there was no warning given to any person to keep out of the way. That it could not have been perpetrated by any person in the prince's interest, seems very evident from the fact, that Charles himself was near enough to have suffered injury, and that some of the Highlanders, as well as several of the inhabitants of the village, were killed.⁶ Yet, such was the spirit of misrepresentation which prevailed at the time, that, without the least assignable motive, the odium of the act was thrown upon Charles.

When this explosion took place, Lord George Murray was still at his head quarters. He thought the castle-guns had fired a volley; and on repairing to the town about an hour after the explosion, he was utterly amazed to find that the besiegers had disappeared. He, therefore, sent an aid-de-camp to call off some horse he had posted near Falkirk, and proceeded immediately, with the few troops that remained with him, to the Frews.

The Highland army was quartered that night at Donne, Dunblane, and adjacent villages, and continued to retire next day, the 2d of February, in a very disorderly manner. The prince halted at Crieff, where he reviewed his army, and, according to the statement of one of his officers,⁷ his army was found not to have lost above 1,000 men by desertion. Charles, who had consented to a retreat on the supposition that his army had lost a third of its numbers from this cause, is said to have been deeply affected on this occasion. Lord George Murray's enemies did not let slip the opportunity of reproaching him, and, indeed, all the chiefs who had signed the representation, with deception; but the author above referred to observes, that their mistake, if there really was a mistake, can be easily accounted for, if people will divest themselves of prejudice, and examine

the circumstances impartially. He observes, that, from the battle of Falkirk up to the time of the Duke of Cumberland's march from Edinburgh, the country being absolutely secure, the Highlanders had indulged their restless disposition by roaming about all the villages in the neighbourhood of their quarters, and that numbers of them were absent several days from their colours — that their principal officers knowing for certain that some had gone home, imagined that such was also the case with all who were not to be found in their respective quarters, but that all the stragglers had got to Crieff and appeared at the review. Without questioning such a respectable authority as Mr. Maxwell, who may be right in the main fact, as to the number of the army at Crieff, it seems more likely that the army had recruited its ranks on the retreat to Crieff, by overtaking the deserters on their homeward route, than that 2,000 or 3,000 men should have been absent on a sojourn in the neighbourhood of their camp.

After the review, the prince held a council of war, to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. At no former meeting did heats and party animosities break out to such an extent as at this council. Lord George Murray complained greatly of the flight, and requested to know the names of the persons who had advised it; but the prince took the whole blame on himself. After a great deal of wrangling and altercation, it was determined that the army should march north to Inverness in two divisions,—that the horse and low-country regiments should proceed along the coast road, and that the prince, at the head of the clans, should take the Highland road.⁸ Lord George, after other officers had refused, agreed to take the command of the coast division, which arrived at Perth late that night. The prince remained at Crieff, and passed the night at Fairnton, a seat of Lord John Drummond, in the neighbourhood. Next day, being the 4th, Charles marched from Crieff to Dunkeld, and thence to Blair Athole, where he remained several days, till he heard of the arrival of the other division at Aberdeen.

It would have been quite impossible, under

⁶ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁷ Maxwell of Kirkconnel.

⁸ *Kirkconnel MS.*

almost any circumstances, for the Duke of Cumberland's army to have overtaken the Highlanders; but slow as the movements of such an army necessarily were, it met with an obstruction which retarded its progress nearly three days. This was the impassable state of Stirling bridge, one arch of which had, as formerly mentioned, been broken down by General Blakeney to embarrass the intercourse between the Highland army when in the south, and its auxiliaries in the north. It was not till the morning of the 4th of February that the bridge was repaired, on which day the English army passed over. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire Highlanders and the dragoons, went on to Crieff, and the foot were quartered in and about Dunblane, where the duke passed the night. Next day he proceeded to Crieff, and on the 6th arrived at Perth, of which his advanced guard had taken possession the previous day.

Lord George Murray marched from Perth for Aberdeen with his division on the 4th. He left behind thirteen pieces of cannon, which were spiked and thrown into the Tay, a great quantity of cannon balls, and fourteen swivel guns, that formerly belonged to the Hazard sloop-of-war, which had been surprised and taken at Montrose by the Highlanders. These pieces were taken out of the river next day by the royal troops.

Having learned at Perth the different routes taken by the Highland army, and that it had gained two or three days' march in advance, the Duke of Cumberland resolved to halt a few days to refresh his men. From Perth parties were sent out to perambulate the neighbouring country, who plundered the lands and carried off the effects of the prince's adherents. The Duchess Dowager of Perth and the Viscountess of Strathallan were apprehended, carried to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle.

Shortly after his arrival at Perth, the Duke of Cumberland received an express announcing the arrival in the Frith of Forth of a force of about 5,000 Hessians, under the command of the Prince of Hesse, son-in-law of George II. These auxiliaries had been brought over from the continent to supply the place of the Dutch troops, who had been recalled by the states-

general in consequence of the interference of the French government, which considered the treaty entered into between the King of Great Britain and Holland, by which the latter agreed to furnish these troops to suppress the rebellion, as a violation of the capitulations of Tournay and Dendermonde.

The fleet which conveyed the Hessian troops anchored in Leith roads on the 8th of February, having been only four days from Williamstadt. The troops were disembarked at Leith on the 9th and the following day, and were cantoned in and about Edinburgh. On the 15th of February the Duke of Cumberland paid a visit to the Prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, at Edinburgh. On that evening they held a council of war in Milton-house, the residence of the lord-justice-clerk. In consequence of the sudden and disorderly retreat of the Highlanders, an opinion had begun to prevail among the friends of the government at Edinburgh, that it was the intention of the insurgents to disperse themselves, and that Charles would follow the example set by his father in 1716, by leaving the kingdom. Impressed with this idea, the generals who attended the council gave it as their unanimous opinion that the war was at an end, and that the duke had nothing now to do but to give orders to his officers to march into the Highlands, as soon as the season would permit, and ferret the insurgents out of their strongholds, as it appeared evident to them that they would never risk a battle with an army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. After the officers had delivered their sentiments, the duke requested Lord Milton to give his opinion, as he knew the Highlands and Highlanders better than any person present. His lordship at first declined doing so, as he was not a military man, but being pressed by the duke, he began by expressing a hope that he might be mistaken in the opinion he was about to give, but he felt himself bound to declare, from all he knew of the Highlands and Highlanders, that the war was not at an end, and that as the king's troops could not follow the Highlanders among their fastnesses in the winter season, they would, though now divided and scattered, unite again, and venture another battle before giving up the war. Acquiescing in the views of Lord

Milton, whose opinion turned out correct, the duke returned to Perth next day to put his army in motion towards the north.⁹

Meanwhile, the Highland army was proceeding in its march to Inverness. After remaining a few days at Blair-Athole, Charles marched to Ruthven in Badenoch, the barrack of which was taken and blown up by a party under Gordon of Glenbucklet, who made the small garrison prisoners. He reached Moy castle, a seat of the laird of Mackintosh, about ten miles from Inverness, on the 16th of February, with an advanced guard of about 50 men. As Charles's forces were widely scattered, he resolved to halt at Moy till he should concentrate a force sufficient to attack the Earl of Loudon, who was posted at Inverness with 2,000 men.

Hearing of Charles's arrival at Moy castle, and that he had not above 500 or 600 men with him, Lord Loudon formed a design to seize him during the night while off his guard. The better to conceal his project, his lordship, at three o'clock in the afternoon, completely invested Inverness on all sides, posting guards and a chain of sentinels round the town, with positive orders not to suffer any person to leave it on any pretext whatever. He ordered, at the same time, 1,500 men to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and, having assembled them without noise, he put himself at their head, and instantly set off, planning his march so as he might arrive at the castle of Moy about eleven o'clock at night.¹

Notwithstanding the secrecy, however, with which Lord Loudon concocted his scheme, the plan was divulged by the imprudence or perfidy of some persons intrusted with the secret. According to one account (for there are several), the design was communicated to Lady Mackintosh, a zealous Jacobite, by Fraser of Gorthleck, in a letter which he sent to her, and in another letter which she received at the same time from her mother, who, though a whig, felt a repugnance to allow Charles to be made a prisoner in her daughter's house, in which he had taken up his residence as a guest.² Another account is, that while some

English officers were drinking in a tavern in Inverness, waiting the hour of their departure, a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who happened to wait on them, paid great attention to their conversation, and, from certain expressions dropped by them, discovered their design,—that she immediately left the house, escaped from the town, notwithstanding the



Lady Anne Mackintosh, 1745.—From original painting in possession of The Mackintosh.

vigilance of the sentinels, and immediately took the road to Moy, running as fast as she was able, without shoes or stockings, which, to accelerate her progress, she had taken off,—and that on arriving she informed Lady Mackintosh of the design against the prince.⁴ The *Jacobite Memoirs*, however, have furnished a third version of this affair, which appears to be more correct in the details. It is there stated that Lady Mackintosh's mother, who lived in Inverness, having received notice of Lord Loudon's design, despatched a boy, about fifteen years of age, named Lauchlan Mackintosh, to Moy, to apprise the prince thereof.—

⁹ Home, p. 194. ¹ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 145.

² Home, p. 197.

⁴ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 145.

that the boy, finding he could not pass by Lord Loudon's men without running the risk of being discovered, concealed himself behind a wall till they had passed, when, taking a different road, he reached Moy and gave the alarm. The prince, who was in bed, was instantly awakened, and, jumping out, put on his clothes, left the house with a guard of about thirty men, and disappeared in a neighbouring wood.⁵

As soon as Lady Mackintosh was informed of Lord Loudon's design, she sent five or six of her people, headed by a country blacksmith, named Fraser, to watch the advance of Loudon's troops. This man, with a boldness almost incredible, formed the extraordinary design of surprising the advancing party, in the expectation that they would fall a prey to a panic. With this view, he posted his men on both sides of the road to Inverness, about three miles from Moy, and enjoined them not to fire till he should give directions, and then not to fire together, but one after the other, in the order he pointed out. After waiting for some time, the party was apprised of the advance of Lord Loudon's troops by the noise they made in marching. When the head of the detachment, which consisted of 70 men under the laird of Macleod, was within hearing, the blacksmith called out with a loud voice, "Here come the villains who intend to carry off our prince; fire, my lads; do not spare them; give them

no quarter." He thereupon discharged his piece in the direction of the detachment, and his party, after following his example, ran in different directions, calling upon the Macdonalds and Camerons to advance on the right and left, and repeating aloud the names of Lochiel and Keppoch. Impressed with the belief that the whole Highland army was at hand, the advanced guard instantly turned its back, and communicating its fears to the rear, a scene of indescribable confusion ensued. The *sauve-qui-peut* which burst forth from the discomfited legions of Napoleon on the plains of Waterloo, was not more appalling to the flying French than were the names of the Camerons and Macdonalds to the ears of Lord Loudon's troops on the present occasion. In the hurry of their flight many were thrown down and trodden upon, and so great was the panic with which the fugitives were seized, that the flight continued till they got near Inverness. The Master of Ross, who accompanied the party, and was one of those who were overwhelmed, observed to Mr. Home, that he had been in many perils, but had never found himself in such a grievous condition as that in which he was at the rout of Moy.⁶ In this affair the laird of Macleod's piper, reputed the best in Scotland, was shot dead on the spot. On the dispersion of Lord Loudon's party, Charles returned to the castle.

Having assembled his men next morning, Charles advanced upon Inverness with the intention of attacking Lord Loudon, and taking revenge for the attempt of the preceding night; but his lordship, not feeling inclined to wait for the prince, retired into Ross-shire, by crossing the Moray Frith at the ferry of Kessock. Charles took immediate possession of Inverness, and laid siege to the castle then named Fort George. This structure, which was situated on a hill to the south-west of Cromwell's fort, had been raised at the Revolution; and had cost the government, since its erection, above £50,000. The castle was fortified in the modern manner, being a regular square with four bastions, and it commanded the town and the bridge over the river Ness.

This fortress had a garrison of eighty regular

⁵ Stewart's Statement in *Jacobite Memoirs*. The statement given by Mr. Hume,—that Lady Mackintosh concealed Lord Loudon's design from the prince, and that he knew nothing of his lordship's march till next morning, is certainly erroneous. He says that "without saying a word to Charles or any of his company, she (Lady Mackintosh) ordered five or six of her people, well armed, under the conduct of a country smith, to watch the road from Inverness, and give notice if they should perceive any number of men coming towards Moy;" and that "Charles, for whose safety the lady had provided so effectually, knew nothing of Lord Loudon's march till next morning; for he was up and dressed when the smith and his party came to Moy, and gave an account of their victory. It is clear, however, that the blacksmith and his party were sent out by Lady Mackintosh before the arrival of the boy, as Gil, the prince's master of the household, who was sleeping in his clothes in the Castle of Moy when the boy arrived, says expressly that the blacksmith's adventure "happened much about the time when the boy (Lanchlan Mackintosh) arrived at Moy to give the alarm. It is probable, however, that the blacksmith and his party were sent out by Lady Mackintosh without the prince's knowledge."

⁶ Home, p. 193.

troops; but, on his departure from Inverness, Lord Loudon threw into it two of the independent companies, one of Grants, and the other of Macleods. The castle on the present occasion mounted sixteen pieces of cannon, and was well provided with ammunition and provisions. The prince summoned the fortress to surrender, but Grant of Rothiemurchus, the governor, refused to comply. Though Charles had left his heavy artillery behind, he found no difficulty in reducing this fort, as the little hill on which it was built was so contiguous to the town that it could be easily approached on that side, without exposure to its fire. It was resolved to undermine the castle and blow it up; but, after a siege of two days, and when the mine had been completed, the garrison surrendered. This event took place on the 20th of February. The prince, however, did not spare the fortress, which he blew up immediately after the surrender; a sergeant in the French artillery, who was charged with the operation, losing his life on the occasion.⁷

On the same day that Charles arrived at Moy, the division under Lord George Murray had reached Spey side; and the day before Fort George surrendered he had arrived with his men in the neighbourhood of Inverness. In consequence of a great fall of snow, which took place on the day Lord George marched from Aberdeen, his march had been most fatiguing; and the French piquets and Lord John Drummond's regiment were obliged to halt a day at Kintore and Inverury. After giving the prince an account of his march, Lord George, contemplating the possibility of a retreat to the Highlands, mentioned a plan, devised by him and Lord Pitligo, to assess the shires of Banff, Moray, and Nairn in 5,000 bolls of meal, for the use of the army; and he proposed that the greater part of it should be sent to the Highlands for subsistence, in case of retreat thither. The prince approved of the plan; but directed that the whole of the meal, when collected, should be brought to Inverness.⁸

With the exception of two detachments, which took possession of Blair and Castle Menzies, the army of the Duke of Cumberland lay inactive at Perth till the 20th of February,

on which day he put his army in motion for the north, in four divisions. He sent notice to the Prince of Hesse to march to Perth, and in his way to leave two battalions at Stirling. At the same time he directed the remains of Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons to be cantoned at Bannockburn, and St. George's dragoons to be posted at Bridge of Earn. With the assistance of these cavalry regiments, which were placed under the command of the Earl of Crawford, it was thought that the Prince of Hesse would be able to check the insurgents, and prevent their progress south, should they give the duke the slip. In marching north, the duke's army took the road along the coast, as Lord George Murray had done. On the 27th of February the army arrived at Aberdeen, where the duke took up his quarters, till the advance of spring should enable him to take the field. A few days before his arrival, a vessel from France had landed at Aberdeen three troops of Fitz-James's horse, with five officers, and a piquet of Berwick's regiment. These troops, with a party of men under Moir of Stonywood, left Aberdeen on the duke's approach.

Compelled by circumstances to abandon, within the short space of three weeks, the whole tract of low country from the Avon to the Don, on which he chiefly relied for the subsistence of his army, followed by a large army with powerful resources in its rear, which it could render speedily available, and narrowly watched by the forces under Lord Loudon, the situation of Charles now became very critical. The fertile province of Moray and part of the adjacent territory had, by the expulsion of Lord Loudon from Inverness, no doubt come into his possession; but he could not expect to maintain his ground in this district for any length of time without a precarious struggle. He had it in his power, whenever he pleased, to retire into the neighbouring Highlands, where his pursuers would scarcely venture to follow him; but, without previously securing a supply of provisions from the Low country, he could not keep his army together in a district where the means of subsistence were extremely scanty. The possibility of such a retreat was contemplated by Lord George Murray; but, from aversion to such a design, or from want of foresight, Charles, as just stated, over-

⁷ *Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 149.

⁸ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 104.

ruled his lordship's proposal to send a supply of provisions to the Highlands.

Judging from the slowness of the Duke of Cumberland's motions, that a considerable time would elapse before he would venture to cross the Spey, Charles resolved to employ the interval in carrying through a series of operations which he and his friends projected. The principal of these were the reduction of Fort Augustus and Fort William, and the dispersion of Lord Loudon's army. To secure subsistence for his army, he cantoned the greater part of the division which had marched by Aberdeen between that town and Inverness; and, as after the retreat from Stirling he had directed any supplies that might be sent him from France to be landed to the north of Aberdeen, he occupied all the little towns along that coast. As this district was generally disaffected to the government, it was an easy matter to guard it with the few troops that were dispersed over it; and no danger was to be apprehended till the English army came up, when the various parties were directed to fall back from post to post as the duke advanced.⁹

The first enterprise that Charles undertook, after capturing Fort George, was the siege of Fort Augustus. To reduce this fortress, and with the ulterior view of laying siege to Fort William, Brigadier Stapleton was sent into Stratherrick with the French piquets and a detachment of Lord John Drummond's regiment, and appeared before Fort Augustus about the end of February. Without waiting for his artillery, which consisted of a few pieces found at Fort George, he attacked the old barrack and carried it immediately, the garrison retiring to the fort. Mr. Grant, who had succeeded M. Mirabelle as chief engineer, since the siege of Stirling, opened a trench upon the 3d of March. The garrison held out two days, when, in consequence of the explosion of the powder magazine by the falling of a shell, the fortress surrendered, and the garrison, which consisted of three companies of Guise's regiment, were made prisoners of war. Leaving Lord Lewis Gordon with a few troops in command of the place, the brigadier marched to Fort William, which he invested on the land side.¹

Pursuant to his plan of operations, the prince, in the beginning of March, sent Lord Cromarty with a detachment, consisting of his own regiment, the Mackintoshes, Macgregors, and Barrisdale's men, to drive the forces under Lord Loudon out of Ross-shire. Finding that his lordship was unable to accomplish the task which had been assigned him, Charles despatched Lord George Murray to his assistance with the Macdonalds of Clanranald and a battalion of Lochiel's regiment. He reached Dingwall the first night, where he found Lord Cromarty's detachment; but his lordship had been absent two days at his own house with a strong guard of Mackenzies. Lord George marched next day for Tain, where he understood Lord Loudon was posted; but on the road he learned that his lordship had crossed the Dornoch Frith to Sutherland, and had quartered his troops in the town of Dornoch and the neighbourhood. Not having any boats to carry his men across the frith, his lordship, after consulting his officers, returned to Dingwall, where he quartered his men. The reason of retiring a day's march farther back was to throw Lord Loudon off his guard, as it was contemplated to bring boats along the coast and attempt the passage. There was nothing to prevent the detachment marching round the head of the frith; but Lord Loudon having a sufficiency of boats, might have eluded his pursuers by recrossing to Tain; and, as Lord George would, by such a course, have been several days' march from Inverness, the main body of the Highland army would have been in a critical situation, if the Duke of Cumberland's army had reached the neighbourhood of Inverness, while the corps under Lord George Murray was on the north side of the Frith of Dornoch.² After sending notice to Lord Cromarty of the disposition of his forces, and that the Duke of Perth would take the command, Lord George returned to Inverness the following day, to execute a design he and Macpherson of Cluny had concerted, to surprise the castle of Blair, and to heat up the quarters of the government troops in Athole, who, from information he had received, had committed great excesses in that district.

⁹ *Kirkconnel MS.*

¹ Home, p. 199. *Kirkconnel MS.*

² *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 105.

To carry the enterprise against Lord Loudon into execution, all the fishing boats that could be collected on the coast of Moray were brought to Findhorn. A few gentlemen, to whom the charge of collecting this small flotilla had been intrusted, had conducted the matter with such secrecy and expedition, that no person in the government interest was aware of it; but after the boats were all in readiness, a difficulty presented itself in getting them across the Moray frith without being perceived by the English cruisers that were continually passing along the coast. Moir of Stonywood, however, undertook to convey the boats to Tain, and he accordingly set out one night with this little fleet, and arrived at his destination next morning without being observed by the enemy.³ On the flotilla reaching Tain, the Duke of Perth divided his force into two parts; and while, with one of them, he marched about by the head of the frith, he directed the other to cross in the boats. Under cover of a thick fog this division landed without being discovered, and the duke, having united his forces on the north side of the frith, advanced upon Dornoch. When near that town, he came up with a party of 200 men, who were on their march to join Lord Loudon. This party instantly fled; but Major Mackenzie, who commanded it, with four or five officers, and sixty privates, were made prisoners. Among the officers was a son of Mr. Macdonald of Scothouse, who was taken prisoner by his own father.⁴ The main body, under Lord Loudon, abandoned Dornoch in great consternation, and fled north towards Glenmore, pursued by the Jacobite forces. Both parties marched all night; but the fugitives kept ahead of their pursuers. After a chase of about thirty miles, the Duke of Perth discontinued the pursuit, and halted at the head of Loch Shin. While following the enemy during the night, great anxiety prevailed among the Macdonalds in the Duke of Perth's detachment, lest, in the event of an engage-

ment, they might not be able, notwithstanding their white cockades, to distinguish themselves from the Macdonalds of Skye, who, like the other Macdonalds, wore heather in their bonnets.⁵ Upon reaching the head of Sutherlandshire, Lord Loudon separated his army. Accompanied by the lord-president and the laird of Macleod, he marched to the sea-coast with 800 of the Macdonalds and Macleods, and embarked for the Isle of Skye. Part of his own regiment, with several officers, took refuge in Lord Reay's country. Finding that Lord Loudon's troops had dispersed, the Duke of Perth returned to Inverness, leaving Lord Cromarty in Sutherland with a sufficient force to keep Lord Sutherland and Lord Reay's people in check. The dispersion of Lord Loudon's army was considered of such importance by Charles, that he immediately despatched an officer to Franco with the intelligence.⁶ In this expedition, several vessels in the Frith of Dornoch, having some valuable effects on board, fell into the hands of the insurgents.

Before Lord George Murray set out on his expedition into Athole, Macpherson of Cluny had secured the passes between that country and Badenoch, to prevent all communication between these districts. About the middle of March Lord George left Inverness with 400 men of the Athole brigade; and, on entering Badenoch, he was joined by Cluny with 300 Macphersons. On the 16th of March the whole detachment set out from Dalwhinnie in the dusk of the evening, and did not halt till they reached Dalnaspidal, about the middle of Drummochter, where the body was divided into a number of small parties, in each of which the Athole men and the Macphersons were proportionally mixed.

Hitherto, with the exception of Macpherson of Cluny and Lord George, no person in the expedition knew either its destination or object. The time was now come for Lord George to explain his design, which he said was to surprise and attack before day-light, and as nearly as possible at the same time, all the posts in Athole occupied by the royal forces. As an

³ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁴ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 164. Johnstone gives an affecting account of the paternal anxiety of Scothouse when ordered to set out as one of the detachment to attack Lord Loudon. Not anticipating the landing of the prince in Scotland, he had applied for and obtained a commission for his son in Lord Loudon's regiment, and his alarm now was lest his son should fall by his own hands.

⁵ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 305.

⁶ Vide Letter from Colonel Warren to the Chevalier de St. George, of 9th May, 1746, in the *Stuart Papers*.

encouragement, he offered a reward of a guinea to every man who should surprise a sentinel at his post. There were about thirty posts in all, including the different houses at which the royal troops were quartered; but the principal posts, more especially selected for attack, were Bun-Rannoch, the house of Keynnaichin, the house of Blairfettie, the house of Lude, the house of Faskally, and the inn at Blair, where, as Lord George Murray was informed, several officers of the twenty-first regiment were quartered. After the different parties had discharged their duty by attacking the posts assigned them, they were ordered to meet at the bridge of Bruar, about two miles north from Blair, as the general rendezvous for the detachment.

Having received their instructions, the different parties set out immediately: and so well was the scheme of attack laid, that betwixt three and five o'clock in the morning, all the posts, though many miles distant from one another, were carried. At Bun-Rannoch, where there was a late-wake held that night, the sentinel was surprised, and the whole of the party, (Argyleshire men,) while engaged in that festivity, were taken prisoners, without a shot being fired on either side. The sentinel at Keynnaichin being more upon his guard, discharged his piece and alarmed his friends, who defended themselves for a short time by firing from the windows, till the party broke into the house, and killing one man, made prisoners of the rest. At Blairfettie, where there were fifty Argyleshire men stationed, the sentinel was surprised, and the party, with the proprietor of the mansion at their head, entered the house before the soldiers within knew that they were attacked. They endeavoured to defend themselves, but were obliged to surrender. Lady Blairfettie was in bed at the time, and knew nothing of the affair, till informed by a servant that her husband was below, and wished to see her immediately. On coming down stairs she found the garrison disarmed, the prisoners in the dining-room, and about a dozen of her husband's tenants and servants standing over them with drawn swords. Blairfettie, thinking that his wife had been harshly treated, desired her to point out any of the prisoners who had used her ill; but she an-

swered that she had no other complaint to make than this, that the prisoners had eaten all her provisions, and that she and her children were starving.⁷ The parties at Faskally, at Lude, and the bridge of Tilt, were also taken; but that in the inn of Blair, after some resistance, escaped to the castle. Three hundred prisoners were taken by Lord George's parties, without the loss of a single man. While beating up the different posts, a party, by order of Lord George, secured the pass of Killiecrankie.⁸

Having been apprised, by the arrival of the party from the inn of Blair, of the presence of the enemy, Sir Andrew Agnew, who held the castle of Blair, instantly got his men under arms, and left the castle to ascertain who they were that had attacked his posts. Information of this circumstance was brought about day-break by an inhabitant of the village to Lord George Murray, who was then at the bridge of Bruar with a party of twenty-five men only and a few elderly gentlemen, waiting for the different parties he had despatched the previous night. This intelligence was of the utmost importance to Lord George and his party, all of whom would otherwise have probably fallen into the hands of the garrison. Lord George immediately consulted the gentlemen around him as to the course they should pursue. Some advised an immediate retreat in the direction of Dalwhinnie, but others were for crossing the nearest hills, and retiring by roads along which it would be difficult for the garrison to follow them. His lordship, however, was opposed to both opinions, as by quitting his post he was afraid that his different parties, as they came to the appointed place of rendezvous, would be surprised, and made prisoners. While pondering how to extricate himself from the dilemma in which he was placed, he espied a long unfinished turf-wall which ran across a field near the bridge. An idea at once occurred to him, that by disposing the few men that were with him behind this wall at a considerable distance from one another, and by displaying the colours of both regiments in front, he might deceive Sir Andrew Agnew's detachment, by inducing them to believe that they were to be opposed by a large body of men.

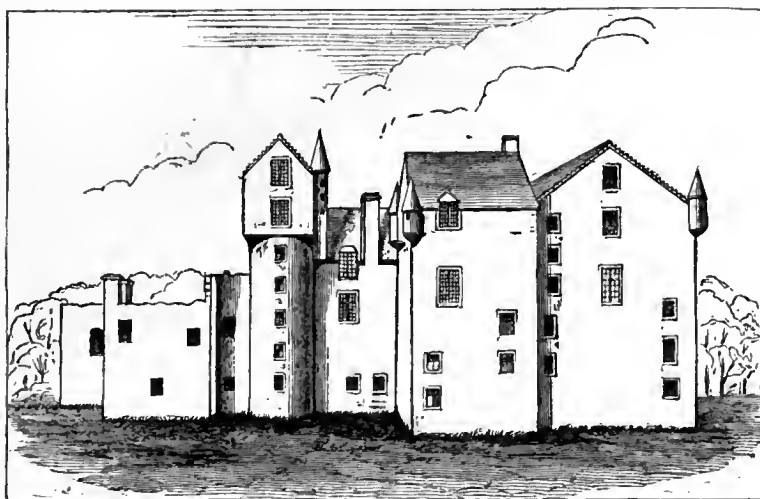
⁷ Note by the Editor of Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 155.

⁸ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 107.

Having disposed his small party in the way described, Lord George directed the pipers, (for luckily he had with him all the pipers of his detachment,) to keep their eyes fixed upon the road to Blair, and the moment they saw any military appear in that direction, to strike up at once with all their bagpipes. Just as the sun was rising above the horizon, Sir Andrew Agnew's men appeared, and their ears were instantly saluted by the noise of the bagpipes, when the pipers commenced playing one of their most noisy pibrochs. The party be-

hind the wall then drew their swords, and, as they had been previously ordered by Lord George, kept brandishing them above their heads. This *ruse* succeeded completely, and Sir Andrew, alarmed by the noise and the spectacle before him, at which he took only a short glance, ordered his men to the right about, and retired into the castle.⁹

Being now relieved from all apprehension of attack, Lord George remained at his post till joined by about 300 of his men, when he marched to Blair, and invested the castle



Blair Castle as it stood in 1745-6 before being dismantled. Copied by permission from an old drawing in possession of His Grace the Duke of Athole.

Having no battering-cannon, and only two small field-pieces, which could make no impression on walls that were seven feet thick, he resolved to blockade the castle, which he expected would be forced to surrender in two or three weeks for want of provisions. To cut off the communication between the castle and the neighbouring country, Lord George placed a guard of 300 men at the village of Blair, where he was himself stationed, and another near the Mains, at some stables which had been recently erected. Being joined by 400 or 500 men belonging to the district, who had been formerly in the Highland army, Lord George detached a party to Dunkeld, where they remained till the approach of the Hessians from Perth. This party then retreated to Pitlochrie, two miles below the pass of Killiecrankie, where they remained several days,

during which time repeated skirmishes took place between them and the hussars, and some of St. George's dragoons. During the time the Athole men kept possession of Pitlochrie, Lord George Murray went there generally twice every day to ascertain the state of matters. The Hessians showed no disposition to leave Dunkeld, where they had taken up their quarters, till the 31st of March, on which day a large body of them came up as far as the Haugh of Dalskean, about two miles from Pitlochrie. The dragoons and hussars continuing to advance, the Athole men retired to the foot of the pass of Killiecrankie, where they halted to dispute the passage; but after remaining six hours waiting for the Hessians, they were informed that a great part of them had returned to Dunkeld.¹

At this time the garrison of Blair castle was

⁹ Home, p. 205.

¹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 109.

reduced to great distress from the want of provisions, and if the blockade had been continued a few days longer they must have surrendered; but, fortunately for the besieged, Lord George Murray was ordered to return immediately to Inverness, in consequence of the expected advance of the Duke of Cumberland. Accordingly, on the 31st of March, Lord George sent off his two pieces of cannon, that he might not be impeded in his march, and about ten o'clock at night he drew off the party from the pass to Blair, taking his departure for Inverness, at two o'clock next morning. Finding the pass clear, Lord Crawford went through it the same morning, but the Hessians, alarmed at the dreadful aspect which it presented, positively refused to enter the pass. As, from the expresses which Lord George Murray received, he was led to infer that the Duke of Cumberland was about to leave Aberdeen, his lordship made a most rapid march, having performed the journey in seventy hours, four only of which he devoted to sleep. Cluny's men were left at Ruthven, to guard Badenoch from the incursions of the royal troops in Athole.²

To facilitate his march to the north, and to clear as much of the low country as possible from the presence of the insurgents, the Duke of Cumberland sent several detachments from Aberdeen, to scour the country, and possess themselves of certain posts between the Don and the Spey. One of these detachments, consisting of four battalions of infantry, the Duke of Kingston's horse, and Cobham's dragoons, under the command of General Bland, left Aberdeen on the 12th of March, and took possession of Old Meldrum, Inverury, and Old Rayne. Bland was preceded on his march by the Argyleshire men, and 100 of the laird of Grant's followers under the eldest son of that chief. At this time the insurgent forces on the east of the river Spey, which had been placed under the command of Lord John Drummond, were stationed as follows. Lord Strathallan's horse, which had been lately separated from Lord Kilmarnock's, and the hussars, occupied Cullen; part of the battalions of Roy Stewart and Gordon of Avochy, consisting of about 400 men, with 50 horse, were

quartered at Strathbogie, and the remainder were cantoned in the Fochabers, and the villages along the Spey.³

Having received intelligence of the occupation of Strathbogie by the Highlanders, the Duke of Cumberland sent orders on the 16th, to General Bland to march thither with all the troops under his command, and endeavour to surprise the forces there assembled, and failing in that design, to attack them and drive them across the river. To sustain General Bland, should occasion require, Brigadier Mordaunt marched by break of day next morning to Old Meldrum, with four battalions and four pieces of cannon. About the same time General Bland left Old Meldrum for Strathbogie, and almost succeeded in surprising the insurgents, who were ignorant of his approach till he came near the place. At the time the news of General Bland's march reached Strathbogie some of the Highlanders were absent, having been sent the preceding night for the purpose of intercepting the young laird of Grant, who was returning to his own country with a commission to raise a regiment out of his clan, and who was to pass within a few miles of Strathbogie. The party, however, did not succeed, as Mr. Grant got the start of them, and took up his quarters for the night in a strong castle belonging to Lord Forbes, which they found it impossible to force without artillery. This party returned to Strathbogie about one o'clock in the afternoon, greatly fatigued from want of rest, and found that intelligence had been received of Bland's advance. This news was fully confirmed by the arrival of some scouts, who came back at full speed with information that a large body of horse and foot was at hand.⁴

Alarmed at the unexpected approach of the enemy, the officers at Strathbogie were at first at a loss how to act. There was danger in retreat as well as in attempting to remain. It was impossible that the men, who were in want of sleep and refreshment, could march far without halting; and as they had left several stragglers behind, it appeared certain that, in the event of a retreat, these would be picked up by Bland's cavalry. On the other

² *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 110.

³ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁴ *Idem.*

hand, from the vast numerical superiority of the English forces, it was dreaded that the small party would not be able to make an effectual resistance, and that in the event of a defeat the whole would easily fall into the enemy's hands. In this dilemma it was resolved to remain an hour at Strathbogie, to give time to the stragglers to come up, and then to retreat. At this time the van of Bland's detachment had begun to appear, and before the hour had elapsed the whole was in sight, and the van within a quarter of a mile of the village. The small party of guards then marched out towards the enemy, and while they formed between the village and the bridge of Rogie, as if intending to dispute the passage of the bridge, the foot left the village. After they had cleared the village, and the enemy's cavalry had begun to file along the bridge, the small body of horse retired after the foot, towards the river Deveron, which they crossed. They thereupon formed again on the other side of the river to stop the enemy's horse, who had pursued them at full speed from Strathbogie to the river side, but they did not at first attempt the passage, a circumstance which enabled the foot to gain the adjoining hill without molestation, where, from the narrowness of the road and the rockiness of the ground on each side of it, they were perfectly safe from the attacks of cavalry. With the exception of some volunteers among the cavalry, who followed half-way up the hill, and skirmished with a few of the guards who were left behind to observe their motions, the rest of the cavalry gave over the pursuit. The Highlanders, however, did not halt till they reached Fochabers. Next day they crossed the Spey, along with the other troops which had been cantoned on the east side, and took up their quarters in the villages on the opposite side.⁵

From Strathbogie, General Bland sent forward a detachment of 70 Campbells, and 30 of Kingston's horse, to occupy Keith, but they were not allowed to hold this post long. Major Glasgow, an Irish officer in the service of France, having offered to the prince to carry it with a detachment of 200 men, he was allowed to attempt the enterprise, and succeeded, the

village having been invested on all sides before the enemy was aware of the attempt. On this occasion they became the victims of a little stratagem. After recrossing the Spey, Lord John Drummond sent a body of horse and foot across every morning. The foot remained generally all day at Fochabers, and the horse patrolled on the road between that village and Keith. On the 20th of March, a small party of Bland's light horse having appeared on the top of the hill that overlooks Fochabers, the party occupying the village, apparently alarmed, left it in a hurry, much earlier than usual, and repassed the river. The design in thus repairing across the river before the usual time, was to throw the party at Keith off their guard, who, fancying themselves secure, took no precautions against surprise. After it had grown quite dark, Glasgow crossed the Spey with his detachment, consisting of 200 foot and 40 horse, and marching direct to Keith, arrived there unperceived about one o'clock in the morning. The Campbells, who were quartered in the church, formed in the church-yard, and a smart fire was kept up for some time between them and their assailants; but upon being promised quarter, if they submitted, they laid down their arms. Of the whole party, including the horse, not above five or six escaped. Captain Campbell who commanded the detachment, a non-commissioned officer, and five privates were killed. Glasgow had twelve of his men killed or wounded.

The advantages obtained by the insurgents in their expeditions into Athole and Sutherland, and by the reduction of Fort Augustus, were in some degree balanced by the loss of the Prince Charles, formerly the Hazard sloop of war, and the capture of some treasure and warlike stores which she had brought from France for the use of Charles's army; and by the abandonment of the siege of Fort William.

Early in November the Hazard, a vessel mounting sixteen guns and some swivels, with a crew of 80 men, had anchored at Ferriden, opposite Montrose. The object of her commander, in taking this station, was to prevent the insurgents from taking possession of the town. At this time a party of Lord Ogilvy's men, under the command of Captain David Ferrier, held Brechin, of which Ferrier had

⁵ *Kirkcounel MS.*

been appointed deputy-governor by the prince before his march into England; and to hinder the approach of this party towards Montrose, a fire was kept up at intervals for three days and nights from the Hazard, the only effect of which was to annoy the inhabitants exceedingly. To put an end to such a state of matters, Ferrier formed the design of capturing the vessel by raising a battery at the entrance of the river, and thereby to prevent her getting out to sea. In pursuance of this plan he entered Montrose one night, and possessed himself of the island on the south side of the town, opposite to where the Hazard lay. Next day the Hazard attempted to dislodge the party from the isle by her fire, but without success. In the afternoon of the following day a vessel carrying French colours was observed at sea, standing in towards the river; this turned out to be a transport from France, with a party of Lord John Drummond's regiment, some Irish piquets, and six pieces of artillery. On observing this vessel, the Hazard fired a gun to leeward as a decoy; but, upon a signal from the party on the island, the commander of the French vessel ran her on shore out of reach of the Hazard's guns. The crew then landed the six guns, and a fire was opened from them upon the Hazard next morning from both sides of the river, on each of which three of the pieces had been planted. With the exception, however, of having some of her rigging cut, she sustained no damage. Before the arrival of Ferrier's party, Captain Hill, the commander of the Hazard, had taken four six-pounders, and two four-pounders, belonging to the town, which he had put on board a vessel in the harbour; but, by oversight, he left this vessel at the quay, and the consequence was, that she fell into the hands of the insurgents. This circumstance was fatal to the Hazard; for, finding that the guns lately landed were not sufficient to force the Hazard to surrender, Captain Ferrier carried the four six-pounders to the Dial hill, from which he fired upon her; and her commander, seeing escape hopeless, after hoisting a flag of truce, and making an ineffectual attempt for permission to leave the river, surrendered.⁷

⁷ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 112.

This vessel, being a first-rate sailer, was a great acquisition to the insurgents, and had made several trips to France. On the present occasion the Prince Charles, as the Hazard was now named by the Highlanders, was returning from France, having on board several officers and some privates, a supply of arms and ammunition, and a quantity of gold coin, amounting to between £12,000 and £13,000 sterling. She was observed, on the 24th of March, off the Bauffshire coast, by the Sheerness man-of-war, which immediately gave chase. The Prince Charles taking a north-west course, endeavoured to escape by entering the Pentland frith; but the Sheerness followed her into that dangerous gulf; and after a running fight, in which the Prince Charles is said to have lost 36 men, the latter ran ashore on the sands of Melness, on the west side of Tongue bay, near the house of Lord Reay, on the 25th of March. The officers, soldiers, and crew, immediately landed with the treasure, which was contained in small boxes, and carried it to the house of William Mackay of Melness, where it remained during the night. The dispersion of Lord Loudon's forces, an event which was considered at the time highly favourable to the interests of Charles in the north, turned out, in the present instance, to be very prejudicial. Part of them, as has been stated, had, upon their dispersion, retired into that wild and barren region called Lord Reay's country; and when the Prince Charles arrived in Tongue bay, there was a party of these troops quartered in the neighbourhood. On receiving notice of the landing, Lord Reay sent some persons in a boat across the bay, to ascertain the strength of the party that had disembarked; and, on being informed that it was not numerous, it was concerted between him and some of Lord Loudon's officers, to attack the party next morning with such forces as they could collect. Early next morning the French, conducted by George Mackay, younger of Melness, who had undertaken to lead them to Inverness, left Melness; but they had not proceeded far, when they were attacked, two hours after day-break, by a body of men, consisting of fifty of Lord Reay's people headed by his lordship's steward and a similar number of Lord Loudon's troops. After a short resistance, during which four or

six of their men were killed and as many wounded, the whole party, consisting of 20 officers and 120 soldiers and sailors, surrendered.

As Charles's coffers were almost exhausted at this time, the loss of such a large sum of money pressed with peculiar severity upon the army, which he had, in consequence, great difficulty in keeping together. Though sparing in his troops, the King of France had not been remiss in sending Charles pecuniary supplies, nor had the King of Spain been unmindful of him; but the remittances sent by these sovereigns did not all reach their destination, some of them having been intercepted by British cruisers on their way. Reckoning, however, the sums drawn and received from various sources, Charles must have got no inconsiderable sum; but he appears to have paid little attention to his pecuniary concerns, and a system of peculation is said to have been practised by the persons intrusted with the management, which told heavily upon his means. His principal steward in particular, to whom the administration of the finances was committed, is alleged not to have been scrupulously honest, and he is said to have contrived matters so as to prevent open detection. His underlings did not omit the opportunity which occasion offered, of filling their pockets: a system of imposition was also practised by means of false musters.⁸ Under such circumstances the early exhaustion of Charles's military chest is not to be wondered at. In this situation, seeing the impossibility of recruiting his finances at Inverness, he had resolved to return to the south country; but other circumstances induced him to forego his intention.

Judging from the unfortunate result of the siege of Stirling castle, neither Lord George Murray nor Brigadier Stapleton had any hopes of reducing Fort William, which, besides being a strong place, was regularly fortified; but, as Lochiel, Keppoch, and other chiefs, whose properties lay in its neighbourhood, were very desirous to obtain possession of a fortress which perpetually annoyed them, and the garrison of which had, during the prince's expedition into England, made frequent sallies, and burnt the

houses of the country people, and carried off their cattle, they did not object to the siege.⁹

To assist the troops under Stapleton, the Camerons and the Macdonalds of Keppoch were ordered to Fort William. Mr. Grant the engineer proposed to begin the siege by erecting a battery on a small hill, called the Sugar-loaf, which overlooked the fortress about 800 yards off; and as he observed that one of the bastions projected so far that it could not be defended by the fire of the first, he proposed to arrive at it by a trench and blow it up; but, while in the act of reconnoitring, he received a violent contusion from a cannon-ball, which completely disabled him. Brigadier Stapleton, having no other engineer, was obliged to send to Inverness for M. Mirabelle, the singular personage formerly alluded to. Meanwhile, the besieged heightened the parapets of the walls on the side where they dreaded an attack, and raised the two faces of the bastions seven feet high.¹

For several days a skirmishing was kept up between the garrison and two sloops of war stationed in the river, on the one side, and the besiegers on the other, with varied success; but the insurgents having completed a battery on the Sugar-loaf on March 20th, opened the siege that evening. On account of its distance from the fortress, and the smallness of the cannon, which consisted of six and four-pounders only, little execution was done. Next day the besiegers erected a new battery at the foot of the Cowhill, within half the distance of the other, which was also opened, but with little better effect. On the 22d, Brigadier Stapleton sent a drummer to Captain Scott, the commanding officer, with a letter, requiring him to surrender, but his answer was, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. The bombardment was thereupon renewed on both sides for some hours, but at last the garrison silenced the besiegers by beating down their principal battery. The besiegers then erected a third battery, and the bombardment continued, with little intermission, till the 31st, when the garrison made a sally, forced one of the batteries erected upon a place called the Craigs, about a hundred yards from the walls, and captured several

⁸ *Kirkconnel MS.*

⁹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 106. *Kirkconnel MS.*

¹ *Idem.*

pieces of cannon and two mortars. Notwithstanding this disaster, they continued to annoy the besieged from five cannon which they had still mounted, but with no other damage to the garrison than the destruction of the roofs of most of the houses. At length, on the 3d of April, Brigadier Stapleton, in consequence of instructions he had received from the prince to join him immediately, raised the siege, and, after spiking his heavy cannon, marched for Inverness with the piquets, taking his field pieces along with him. He left the Highlanders behind, on the understanding that they were to follow him with as little delay as possible. The loss sustained on either side was trifling.²

Abounding as the prince's enterprise did, in many brilliant points, there is, unquestionably, no part of it more deserving of admiration than that which now presents itself, near the end of his short, but very eventful career. At Glads-muir and at Falkirk, almost the whole of the prince's energies were directed to a single point, but at Inverness he projected a number of expeditions, attacks, and sieges, and conducted them with an energy and promptitude which astonished the government. The whole force he was able to collect, after his retreat to the north, did not exceed 8,000 men; and, although there was no certainty that the Duke of Cumberland might not advance immediately from Aberdeen, which is only a hundred miles from Inverness, yet he separated his forces, and, while with one detachment he kept General Bland in check, he, almost at the same time, carried on a series of operations with the isolated parts of his army in the distant territories of Athole, Lochaber, and Sutherland.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A. D. 1746.

BRITISH SOVEREIGN:—George II., 1727—1760.

Duke of Cumberland marches north—Crosses the Spey—Proceedings of Charles—Duke of Cumberland arrives at Nairn—Prince Charles leaves Inverness and forms his army on Drumossie Moor—Night-march to Nairn—Its failure—Highland army returns to Culloden—Advance of the Duke of Cumberland

—Preparations for battle—Battle of Culloden—Proceedings of Cumberland—Tumult in royal army—Barbarities committed by the troops—Skirmish at Golspie—Charles arrives at Glenboisdale—The Chiefs retire to Ruthven—Lord George Murray resigns his command—Letter from Charles—He lands in Ben-beu-la—Proceedings of the Duke—Association of Chiefs—Devastations committed by the royal troops—Apprehension of Lord Lovat and others—Macdonald of Barisdale and Glengarry—Escape of the Duke of Perth and others—Suppression of the rebellion.

HAVING spent upwards of five weeks at Aberdeen, the Duke of Cumberland began to prepare for his march to the north. As it was his intention to proceed by the coast road, he had ordered a number of victualling ships to rendezvous at Aberdeen; and early in April, these vessels, escorted by several ships of war provided with artillery, ammunition, and other warlike stores, had arrived at their destination, for the purpose of following the army along the coast and affording the necessary supplies. About this time the weather had become favourable, and though still cold, the snow had disappeared, and a dry wind which had prevailed for some days had rendered the river Spey, the passage of which was considered the most formidable obstacle to his march, fordable.³

³ The publication of the *Forbes Papers* has brought to light the meanness and rapacity of the Duke of Cumberland and General Hawley. The duke lived, all the time he was at Aberdeen, in the house of Mr. Alexander Thomson, advocate, and, although he made use of every kind of provisions he found in the house, and of the coals and candles, he did not pay Mr. Thomson a single farthing, nor did he even thank him. He left, however, six guineas for the servants, a boy and two women, one of whom had washed and dressed his linen. Mrs. Gordon of Hallhead was induced to yield possession of her house in the town to General Hawley, under a promise that the greatest care would be taken of every thing in the house. Having represented that she was unable to furnish linen and other necessaries for Hawley and his suite, Mrs. G. was informed, that as the general would bring every thing with him, she might lock up all she had, and that all that was wanted was the use of two of her maid-servants to do the work of the house. Mrs. G. accordingly secured her effects under lock and key; but Hawley had not been above a day in the house when he sent a messenger to Mrs. G. demanding delivery of all her keys, and threatening, in case of delay, to break open all the locks. Having received the keys, the general sent Major Wolfe, one of his aides-de-camp, to Mrs. G. in the evening, who intimated to her that she was deprived of every thing except the clothes on her back. The poor lady then desired to have her tea, but the major told her that it was very good, and that tea was scarce in the army. She next asked for her chocolate, and the same answer was returned. She expressed a wish to get other things, particularly her china, but the gallant major told her that she had a great deal of it, that it was

² *Scots Magazine*. Home, p. 212 *Kirkconnel MS.*

Accordingly, on the 8th of April the duke left Aberdeen with the last division of his army, consisting of six battalions of foot and a regiment of dragoons. The whole regular force under his command amounted to about 7,200 men, comprehending fifteen regiments of foot, two of dragoons, and Kingston's horse. Besides these, there were the Argyleshire men and other militia, whose united numbers may be stated at 2,000. At the time of the duke's departure, six battalions, with Kingston's horse and Cobham's dragoons, under Major-general Bland, were stationed at Strathbogie, and three battalions at Old Meldrum, under Brigadier Mordaunt. The duke quartered the first night at Old Meldrum and the next at Banff, where two spies were seized and hanged. One of them was caught while in the act of notching upon a stick the number of the duke's forces.⁴ On the 11th the duke marched to Cullen, and at Portsoy he was joined by the remainder of his army, which had been stationed at Old Meldrum and Strathbogie. The army being too numerous to obtain quarters in the town, the foot encamped for the night on some ploughed fields in the neighbourhood, and the

very pretty, and that the general and his friends were very fond of china themselves; but perhaps she might get back some of it. Mrs. G. petitioned the Duke of Cumberland to order her property to be restored to her. The duke, it is said, promised to grant the prayer of the petition, but no prohibitory order was issued, and General Hawley proceeded to pack up every thing in the least portable, and shipped the best things off to Edinburgh a fortnight before he left Aberdeen. Mrs. Gordon gives a very minute catalogue of the effects carried off, which she values at £600. Among those abstracted were the whole of her husband's body-clothes, three wigs, "with several shirts and night-gowns of Bob's," (Mr. Gordon's son). He carried off all the china and other crockery ware, and did not leave a single teacup or plate,—all the wine glasses and decanters,—the lincens and table napery, and even the kitchen towels. He stripped the beds of every thing, and left the bare posts standing. In short, he cleared the house of almost every thing,—of empty bottles, larding pens, iron skewers, flutes, music books, two canes with china heads, wash-balls, &c. &c. Mrs. Gordon insinuates that the Duke of Cumberland participated in the spoil. In a letter written by Thomas Bowdler, Esq. of Ashley, near Bath, brother of Mrs. Gordon, to the Rev. Robert Lyon, who lived in Lady Cotton's family in London, he observes, that a Mrs. Jackson, who knew Mrs. Gordon's china well, recognised part of it one day in the window of a china shop in London, and having the curiosity to inquire of the shopkeeper from whom he had bought it, was informed that he had purchased it from a woman of the town, who told him that the Duke of Cumberland had given it to her.

⁴ Ray, p. 313.

horse were quartered in Cullen and the adjacent villages. The Earl of Findlater, who, with his countess, had accompanied the army on its march from Aberdeen, on arriving at his seat at Cullen, made a present of two hundred guineas to the troops.

Next day, being Saturday, the 12th of April, the duke put his army again in motion, and, after a short march, halted on the moor of Arrondel, about five or six miles from the river Spey. He then formed his army into three divisions, each about half a mile distant from the other, and in this order they advanced towards the Spey. The left division, which was the largest, crossed the river by a ford near Gormach, the centre by another close by Gordon castle, and the division on the right by a ford near the church of Belly. In their passage, the men were up to their waists in the water, but, with the exception of the loss of one dragoon and four women, who were carried away by the stream, no accident occurred.

The Duke of Perth, who happened at this time to be with the Highland forces appointed to defend the passage of the Spey, not thinking it advisable to dispute the position against such an overwhelming force as that to which he was opposed, retired towards Elgin on the approach of the Duke of Cumberland. The conduct of the Duke of Perth, and of his brother, Lord John Drummond, has been censured for not disputing the passage of the Spey, but without reason. The whole of the Highland forces along the Spey did not exceed 2,500 men, being little more than a fourth of those under the Duke of Cumberland. Notwithstanding this great disparity, the Highlanders, aided by the swollen state of the river, might have effectually opposed the passage of the royal army had it been attempted during the month of March, but a recent drought had greatly reduced the quantity of water in the river, and had rendered it fordable in several places to such an extent, that at two of them a whole battalion might have marched abreast. As some of the fords run in a zig-zag direction, some damage might have been done to the royal army in crossing; but as the Duke of Cumberland had a good train of artillery, he could have easily covered his passage at these places.

The departure of the Duke of Cumberland from Aberdeen was not known at Inverness till the 12th, on the morning of which day intelligence was brought to Charles that he was in full march to the north with his whole army. Shortly after his arrival at Inverness, Charles had formed the design, while the Duke of Cumberland lay at Aberdeen, of giving him the slip, by marching to Perth by the Highland road, so as to induce the duke to return south, and thus leave the northern coast clear for the landing of supplies from France. With this view, he had directed the siege of Fort William to be pushed, and, calculating upon a speedy reduction of that fortress, had sent orders to the Macdonalds, the Camerons, and the Stewarts, who were engaged in the siege, immediately on the capture of the fort to march into Argyleshire, and, after chastising the whigs in that district, and giving an opportunity to their friends there to join them, to proceed to Perth.⁵ Charles, however, for the present, laid aside the intention of marching south, and knowing that the Duke of Cumberland would advance from Aberdeen early in April, he gave orders for concentrating his forces at Inverness, and, as soon as he was informed of the duke's march, he renewed these orders, by sending expresses every where to bring up his men. Those who had been at the siege of Fort William were already on their march, but Lord Cromarty was at a considerable distance with a large body of men, and could scarcely be expected to arrive in time if the duke was resolved on an immediate action.⁶

Besides the men who were absent on the expeditions in Lochaber and Sutherland, there were many others who had returned to their homes, either discontented with the situation in which they found themselves after they came to Inverness, or to see their families or friends. Up to the period of their arrival there, they had received their pay punctually, but at Inverness the face of affairs was completely changed in this respect, and instead of money the troops were reduced to a weekly allowance of oatmeal. The men murmured at first at the stoppage of their pay, but their clamours were quieted by their officers, who

gave them assurances that a supply of money would soon be received from France. This expectation would have been realised, but for the misfortune which befell the *Prince Charles*, and in consequence of that event, the soldiers began to murmur afresh, and some of them seeing no pressing occasion for their attendance, and choosing rather to enjoy a frugal repast with their friends at home than serve without pay, left the army. These absentees, however, had no intention of abandoning the service, and were resolved to rejoin their colours as soon as they saw a probability of coming to action. Accordingly, many of those who had returned to their homes set out of their own accord to rejoin the army, on hearing of the Duke of Cumberland's advance, though few of them arrived in time for the battle.⁷

Reduced in numbers as the prince's army was from the causes alluded to, they still burned with impatience to meet the enemy; and when intelligence of the Duke of Cumberland's march from Aberdeen reached Inverness, it was hailed with joy by the portion there assembled. From the fatigues and labours they had experienced during the campaign, and the numerous inconveniences to which they had been subjected from the want of pay, there was nothing the Highlanders dreaded more than another march to the south; but the near prospect they now had of meeting the English army upon their own soil, and of putting an end to the war by one bold and decisive blow, absorbed for a while all recollection of their past sufferings. By drawing the Duke of Cumberland north to Inverness, it was generally supposed that the prince could meet him on more equal terms than at Aberdeen, as he would have a better and more numerous army at Inverness, than he could have carried south. This unquestionably would have been the case had Charles avoided a battle till he had assembled all his troops, but his confidence on the present occasion got the better of his prudence.

After crossing the Spey, the Duke of Cumberland halted his army on the western bank, and encamped opposite to Fochabers, but the horse afterwards repassed the river and took

⁵ Home, App. No. 41. ⁶ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 120.

⁷ *Kirkconnel MS.*

up their quarters in the town. Here, as at Cullen, every precaution was taken to prevent surprise. Early next morning he raised his camp, and passing through Elgin, encamped on the moor of Alves, nearly midway between Elgin and Forres. The Duke of Perth, who had passed the previous night at Forres, retired to Nairn upon his approach. The Duke of Cumberland renewed his march on the 14th and came to Nairn, where the Duke of Perth remained till he was within a mile of the town, and began his retreat in sight of the English army. In this retreat, Clanranald's regiment, with the French piquets and Fitz-James's horse, formed the rear. To harass the rear, and retard the march of the main body till some of his foot should come up, the Duke of Cumberland sent forward his cavalry. Several shots were exchanged between the duke's cavalry and the French horse, and in expectation of an engagement with the duke's advanced guard, consisting of 200 cavalry and the Argyleshire men, the Macdonalds of Clanranald, and the Stewarts of Appin, were ordered back to support the French. These regiments accordingly returned and took ground, and Fitz-James's horse formed on their right and left. The duke's advanced guard thereupon halted, and formed in order of battle, but as the main body of the English army was in full march the rear recommenced their retreat. The advanced guard continued to pursue the Highlanders several miles beyond Nairn, but finding the chase useless, returned to the main body which was preparing to encamp on a plain to the west of Nairn.⁸

Neither at the time when Charles received intelligence of the Duke of Cumberland's march to Aberdeen, nor till the following day (Sunday), when news was brought to him that the English army had actually crossed the Spey, does Charles appear to have had any intention of speedily risking a battle. He probably expected that with the aid of the reinforcements he had sent to support the Duke of Perth, his grace would have been able, for some time at least, to maintain a position on the western bank of the river, and that time would be thus afforded him to collect the scattered

portions of his army, before being compelled, by the advance of the Duke of Cumberland, to come to a general engagement. But whatever his intentions were anterior to the receipt of the intelligence of the English army having crossed the Spey, that circumstance alone made him determine to attack the Duke of Cumberland without waiting for the return of his absent detachments.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 14th, Charles ordered the drums to beat, and the pipes to play, as the signal for summoning his men to arms. After those who were in the town had assembled in the streets, the prince mounted his horse, and putting himself at their head, led them out to Culloden, about four miles from Inverness.⁹ Leaving part of his men in the parks around Culloden house, Charles went onward with his first troop of guards and the Mackintosh regiment, and advanced within six miles of Nairn to support the Duke of Perth, but finding him out of danger, he returned to Culloden, where he was joined by the whole of the duke's forces in the evening. Lochiel also arrived at the same time with his regiment. That night the Highlanders bivouacked among the furze of Culloden wood, and Charles and his principal officers lodged in Culloden house.

Having selected Drummossie moor for a field of battle, Prince Charles marched his army thither early on the morning of the 15th, and drew his men up in order of battle across the moor, which is about half a mile broad. His front looked towards Nairn, and he had the river of that name on his right, and the inclosures of Culloden on his left. This moor, which is a heathy flat of considerable extent about five miles from Inverness and about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden house, forms the top of a hill which, rising at Culloden, dies gradually away in the direction of Nairn. The ascent to the moor is steep on both sides, particularly from the shore. In pitching upon this ground, Charles acted on the supposition that the Duke of Cumberland would march along the moor, which was better fitted for the free passage of his army than the common road between Nairn

⁸ *Kirkconnel MS. Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 507.

⁹ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 518.

and Inverness, which was narrow and inconvenient.

In expectation that the Duke of Cumberland would advance, Charles sent forward on the road to Nairn some parties of horse to reconnoitre, but they could observe no appearance of any movement among the royal troops. The ground on which the army was now formed had been chosen without consulting Lord George Murray, who, on arriving on the spot, objected to it, on the footing that though interspersed with moss and some hollows, the ground was generally too level, and consequently not well suited for the operation of Highlanders. He therefore proposed to look out for more eligible ground, and at his suggestion Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Ker were sent about ten o'clock to survey some hilly ground on the south side of the water of Nairn, which appeared to him to be steep and uneven, and of course more advantageous for Highlanders. After an absence of two or three hours, these officers returned and reported that the ground they had been appointed to examine was rugged and boggy, that no cavalry could act upon it, that the ascent on the side next the river was steep, and that there were only two or three places, about three or four miles above, where cavalry could pass; the banks of the river below being inaccessible. On receiving this information, Lord George Murray proposed, in the event of Cumberland's forces not appearing that day, that the army should cross the water of Nairn, and draw up in line of battle next day, upon the ground which had been surveyed; and that, should the Duke of Cumberland not venture to cross after them and engage them upon the ground in question, they might watch a favourable opportunity of attacking him with advantage. In the event of no such opportunity offering, his lordship said he would recommend that the army should, with the view of drawing the duke after them, retire to the neighbouring mountains, where they might attack him at some pass or strong ground. This proposal met with the general approbation of the commanding officers; but Charles who, two days before (when a suggestion was made to him to retire to a strong position till all his army should assemble), had declared his reso-

lution to attack the Duke of Cumberland even with a thousand men only, declined to accede to it. His grounds were that such a retrograde movement might discourage the men, by impressing them with a belief that there existed a desire on the part of their commanders to shun the English army; that Inverness, which was now in their rear, would be exposed, and that the Duke of Cumberland might march upon that town, and possess himself of the greater part of their baggage and ammunition.¹

Concluding from the inactivity of the Duke of Cumberland that he had no intention of marching that day, Charles held a council of war in the afternoon, to deliberate upon the course it might be considered most advisable to pursue in consequence of the duke's stay at Nairn. According to Charles's own statement, he had formed the bold and desperate design of surprising the English army in their camp during the night; but, desirous of knowing the views of his officers before divulging his plan, he allowed all the members of the council to speak before him. After hearing the sentiments of the chiefs, and the other commanders who were present, Lord George Murray proposed to attack the Duke of Cumberland during the night, provided it was the general opinion that the attack could be made before one or two o'clock in the morning. Charles, overjoyed at the suggestion of his lieutenant-general, immediately embraced him, said that he approved of it, that in fact he had contemplated the measure himself, but that he did not intend to have disclosed it till all the members of the council had delivered their sentiments.

Had the army been in a condition to sustain the fatigue of a night-march of ten or twelve miles, the plan of a night attack was unquestionably the best that could have been devised under existing circumstances. If surprised in the dark, even supposing the duke to have been on his guard, a night attack appeared to afford the only chance of getting the better of his superiority in numbers and discipline, and of rendering his cavalry and cannon, in which his chief strength lay, utterly useless.

¹ *A Particular Account of the Battle of Culloden.* In a letter from an officer (Lord George Murray) of the Highland army to his friend in London. London, 1749, p. 4. No. 42 of Appendix to Home. *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 121.

But the Highland army, from some unaccountable oversight on the part of the persons who had the charge of the commissariat department, was in a state bordering upon starvation, and consequently not able to perform such a fatiguing march. Although there was a quantity of meal in Inverness and the neighbourhood sufficient for a fortnight's consumption, no care had been taken to supply the men with an allowance on leaving Inverness, and the consequence was, that during this and the preceding day very few of them had tasted a particle of food. To appease their hunger a single biscuit was distributed to each man, but this pittance only increased the desire for more; and hunger getting the better of patience, some of the men began to leave the ranks in quest of provisions. In spite, however, of the deprivation under which they laboured, the army was never in higher spirits, or more desirous to meet the enemy; and it was not until all hopes of an immediate engagement were abandoned that the men thought of looking out for the means of subsistence.²

The expediency of a night attack was admitted by all the members of the council, but there were a few who thought that it should not be ventured upon until the arrival of the rest of the army, which might be expected in two or three days at farthest. Keppoch with his Highlanders had just come up and joined the army; but the Mackenzies under Lord Cromarty, a body of the Frasers whom the Master of Lovat had collected to complete his second battalion, the Macphersons under Cluny, their chief, the Macgregors under Glengyle, a party headed by Mackinnon, and a body of Glengarry's men under Barisdale, were still at a distance, though supposed to be all on their march to Inverness. The minority objected that, should they fail in the attempt, and be repulsed, it would be difficult to rally the Highlanders,—that even supposing no spy should give the Duke of Cumberland notice of their approach, he might, if alarmed by any of his patrols, have time to put his army in order in his camp, place his cannon, charged with cartouch-shot, as he pleased, and get all his horse in readiness to pursue the Highlanders if

beat off. Besides these objections, they urged the difficulty of making a retreat if many of their men were wounded, from the aversion of the Highlanders to leave their wounded behind them. They, moreover, observed that they had no intelligence of the situation of the duke's camp; and that even could a safe retreat be made, the fatigue of marching forwards and backwards twenty miles would be too much for men to endure, who would probably have to fight next day.³

All these arguments were however thrown away upon Charles, who, supported by the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, Lochiel, and others, showed the utmost impatience for an immediate attack. Those who supported this view were not insensible to the danger which might ensue should the attack miscarry; but, strange to say, they were urged to it from the very cause to which the failure was chiefly owing, the want of provisions. Apprehensive that if the army was kept on the moor all night, many of the men would go away to a considerable distance in search of food, and that it would be very difficult to assemble them speedily in the event of a sudden alarm, they considered an immediate attack, particularly as Charles had resolved to fight without waiting for reinforcements, as a less desperate course than remaining where they were.⁴

To prevent the Duke of Cumberland from obtaining any knowledge of the advance of the Highlanders from the spies who might be within view of his army, Charles fixed upon eight o'clock for his departure, by which time his motions would be concealed from observation by the obscurity of the evening. Meanwhile the commanding officers repaired to their respective regiments to put their men in readiness; but between six and seven o'clock an incident occurred which almost put an end to the enterprise. This was the departure of a large number of the men, who, ignorant of the intended march, went off towards Inverness and adjacent places to procure provisions and quarters for the night. Officers from the different regiments were immediately despatched on horseback to bring them back, but no per-

² *Kirkconnel MS. Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 518.

³ *Particular Account of the Battle of Culloden*, p. 6.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 9.

suasion could induce the men to return, who gave as their reason for refusing that they were starving. They told the officers that they might shoot them if they pleased, but that they would not go back till they got some provisions.⁵ By this defection Charles lost about 2,000 men, being about a third of his army.

This occurrence completely changed the aspect of affairs, and every member of the council who had formerly advocated a night attack now warmly opposed it. Charles, bent upon his purpose, resolutely insisted upon the measure, and said that when the march was begun the men who had gone off would return and follow the rest. The confidence which he had in the bravery of his army blinded him to every danger, and he was prompted in his determination to persist in the attempt from an idea that Cumberland's army having been that day engaged in celebrating the birth-day of their commander, would after their debauch fall an easy prey to the Highlanders.

Finding the prince fully resolved to make the attempt at all hazards, the commanding officers took their stations, waiting the order to march. The watchword was, "King James the VIII.," and special instructions were issued to the army, that in making the attack the troops should not make use of their fire-arms, but confine themselves to their swords, dirks, and bayonets; and that on entering the Duke of Cumberland's camp they should cut the tent strings and pull down the poles, and that wherever they observed a swelling or bulge in the fallen covering, they should strike and push vigorously with their swords and dirks.⁶ Before marching, directions were given to several small parties to possess all the roads, in order to prevent any intelligence of their march being carried to the Duke of Cumberland.

In giving his orders to march, Charles embraced Lord George Murray, who immediately went off at the head of the line, about eight o'clock, preceded by two officers, and about thirty men of the Mackintosh regiment, who from their knowledge of the country were to act as guides. Though the whole army marched in one line, there was an interval in the middle as if it consisted of two columns. The Athole

men led the van, and next to them were the Camerons, who were followed by the other clans. The low country regiments, the French piquets, and the horse, formed the rear. Lord John Drummond was in the centre, or at the head of the second column; and the Duke of Perth and Charles, who had Fitz-James's and other horse with him, were towards the rear. Besides the party of Mackintoshes, who served as guides in front, there were others of that clan stationed in the centre and rear, and generally along the line, to prevent any of the men from losing their way in the dark.⁷ The plan of attack, as laid down by Lord George Murray, was as follows:—The army was to have marched in a body till they passed the house of Kilraick or Kilravock, which is about ten miles from Culloden, on the direct road to Nairn. The army was then to have been divided, and while Lord George Murray crossed the river Nairn with the van, making about one-third of the whole, and marched down by the south side of the river, the remainder was to have continued its march along the north side till both divisions came near the duke's camp. The van was then to have re-crossed the river, and attacked the royal army from the south, while the other part was to have attacked it at the same time from the west.⁸ With the exception of Charles, who promised upon his honour not to divulge it to any person, and Anderson, who acted as guide at the battle of Preston, no person was made privy to the plan, as its success depended upon its secrecy.

In the outset of the march the van proceeded with considerable expedition, but it had gone scarcely half a mile when Lord George Murray received an express ordering him to halt till joined by the rear column, which was a considerable way behind. As a halt in the van always occasions a much longer one in the rear when the march is resumed, Lord George did not halt but slackened his pace to enable the rear to join. This, however, was to no purpose, as the rear still kept behind, and although, in consequence of numerous expresses enjoining him to wait, Lord George marched slower and slower, the

⁵ *Particular Account*, p. 10.

⁶ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 508.

⁷ *Particular Account*, p. 10.

⁸ *Appendix to Home*, No. 42.

rear fell still farther behind, and before he had marched six miles he had received at least fifty expresses ordering him either to halt or to slacken his pace. The chief cause of the stoppage was the badness of the roads.

About one o'clock in the morning, when the van was opposite to the house of Kilravock, Lord John Drummond came up and stated to Lord George Murray that unless he halted or marched much slower the rear would not be able to join. The Duke of Perth having shortly thereafter also come up to the front and given a similar assurance, his lordship halted near a small farm-house called Yellow Knowe, belonging to Rose of Kilravock, nearly four miles from Nairn, and about a mile from the place where it was intended the van should cross the river. In the wood of Kilravock the march of the rear was greatly retarded by a long narrow defile occasioned partly by a stone wall; and so fatigued and faint had the men become, by the badness of the road, and want of food, that many of them, unable to proceed, lay down in the wood. This circumstance was announced to Lord George Murray by several officers who came up from the rear shortly after the van had halted. Nearly all the principal officers, including the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, Lochiel, and General O'Sullivan, were now in the van, and having ascertained by their watches, which they looked at in a little house close by, that it was two o'clock in the morning, they at once perceived the impossibility of surprising the English army. The van was still upwards of three, and the rear about four miles from Nairn, and as they had only been able to advance hitherto at a rate little more than a mile in the hour, it was not to be expected that the army in its exhausted state would be able to accomplish the remainder of the distance, within the time prescribed, even at a more accelerated pace. By a quick march the army could not have advanced two miles before day-break; so that the Duke of Cumberland would have had sufficient time to put his army in fighting order before an attack could have been made. These were sufficient reasons of themselves for abandoning the enterprise, but when it is considered that the army had been greatly dimin-

ished during the march, and that scarcely one-half of the men that were drawn up the day before on Drummosie moor remained, the propriety of a retreat becomes undoubted.⁹

Lord George Murray,—who had never contemplated any thing but a surprise, and whose calculation of reaching Nairn by two o'clock in the morning would have been realised had the whole line marched with the same celerity as the first four or five regiments,—would have been perfectly justified in the unexpected situation in which he was placed, in at once ordering a retreat;¹ but desirous of ascertaining

⁹ Home, Appendix, No. 42. *True Account*, &c. p. 11.

¹ In the letter which Lord George, under the signature of De Valgnie, addressed to his friend Hamilton of Bangour, dated from Emerick, 5th August, 1749, he thus justifies himself for having ordered a retreat without the prince's orders:—"They say, why return from Kilraek without the Prince's positive orders? he was general, and without his immediate orders no person should have taken so much upon him. My answer to this is, (waiving what Mr. O'Sullivan said from the Prince,*) that all the officers were unanimous;—that as it could not be done by surprise, and before day-break, as had been proposed and undertaken with no other view, it was impossible to have success; for it was never imagined by any one that it was to be attempted but by a surprise. Whatever may be the rules in a regular army, (and it is not to be supposed I was ignorant of them,) our practice had all along been, at critical junctures, that the commanding officers did every thing to their knowledge for the best. At Gladsnuir (the plan of which attack I had formed,) I was the last that passed the defile of the first line, and the first that attacked; and gained in going on a good part of the ground we had left betwixt us and the main ditch, by the front having, on account of the darkness, marched a little too far. When I came up with the enemy's cannon, I did not stay to take them, but went on against both foot and dragoons, being very quickly followed by our right. I received no orders (nor did I wait for any, otherwise the opportunity would have been lost,) from the time I passed the defile till the battle was over. At Clifton, where I expected to have been supported by all our army, John Roy Stuart brought me orders from the Prince to retreat, for he had ordered the march for Carlisle, which was begun. The officers who were with me agreed in my opinion, that to retreat when the enemy were within less than musket-shot would be very dangerous, and we would probably be destroyed before we came up with the rest of our army. We had nothing for it but a brisk attack; and therefore, after receiving the enemy's fire, we went sword in hand and dislodged them; after which we made our retreat in good order. I own I disobeyed orders; but what I did was the only safe and honourable measure I could take, and it succeeded. At the battle of Falkirk I never received an order or message from his Royal Highness after I passed the water at Dunipace till the battle was over. I could say much more on

* "Mr. O'Sullivan said, (he had just come up to the front,) he had just then come from the Prince, who was very desirous the attack should be made; but as Lord George Murray led the van, and could judge of the time, he left it to him whether to do it or not."—*Particular Account*, p. 12.

the sentiments of the officers about him, he requested them to state their views of the course they thought it most advisable to adopt. There were several gentlemen present, who, having joined the Athole brigade as volunteers, had marched all night in the front: and as the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummoud, and the other officers, seemed at a loss what to resolve upon, Lord George Murray requested the volunteers to give their free opinion, as they were all equally interested in the consequences. Without hesitation all these gentlemen, eager to come to an engagement, were for marching, but most of the officers, particularly Lochiel and his brother, Dr. Cameron, were of a different opinion, in which they were backed by Lord George Murray, who observed that if they could have made the attack within the time prescribed they would certainly have succeeded, especially if they could have surprised the enemy; but to attack in daylight an army that was nearly double their number, and which would be prepared to receive them, would be considered an act of madness.²

Among the volunteers the most conspicuous was Mr. Hepburn of Keith. While arguing for an attack with Lord George Murray, the beating of a drum was heard in the Duke of Cumberland's camp. "Don't you hear," said Lord George; "the enemy are alarmed; we can't surprise them." "I never expected," said Hepburn, "to find the red coats asleep; but they will be drunk after solemnising the Duke of Cumberland's birth-day. It is much better to march on and attack them than to retreat, for they will most certainly follow, and oblige us to fight when we shall be in a much worse condition to fight them than we are now." While this altercation was going on, Mr. John Hay, then acting as interim-secretary to the prince instead of Secretary Murray, who was unwell, came up and informed Lord George that the line had joined. Gathering from the conversation he overheard that a retreat was

this subject; all I shall now add is, that at the time we returned from Kilravock there was no officer of any distinction with the prince, (except Sir Thomas Sheridan be reckoned one,) they being all in the van. Brigadier Stapleton was indeed in the rear, but he knew nothing of the ground there, and his people were only to have been a corps de reserve, and not in the attack."

² *Particular Account, &c.* p. 12.

resolved upon, he began to argue against it, but being unsuccessful he immediately rode back to Charles, who was in the rear of the first column, and told him that unless he came to the front and ordered Lord George to go on nothing would be done. Charles, who was on horseback, rode forward immediately towards the front, to ascertain the cause of the halt, and on his way met the van in full retreat. He was no doubt surprised at this step, and in a temporary fit of irritation, is said to have remarked that Lord George Murray had betrayed him;³ but Lord George immediately convinced him "of the unavoidable necessity of retreating."⁴

The army marched back in two columns, by a different but more direct route than that by which it had advanced. In returning they had a view of the fires in the Duke of Cumberland's camp. The greater part of the army arrived at Culloden, whither it had been agreed upon to proceed, about five o'clock in the morning, and the remainder did not remain long behind. The quick return of the army suggests an idea that had it marched in double columns towards Nairn by the shortest route, it might have reached its destination at least an hour sooner than the time contemplated by Lord George Murray, but there was great danger, that, by adopting such a course, the Duke of Cumberland would have obtained notice of the advance of the Highlanders.

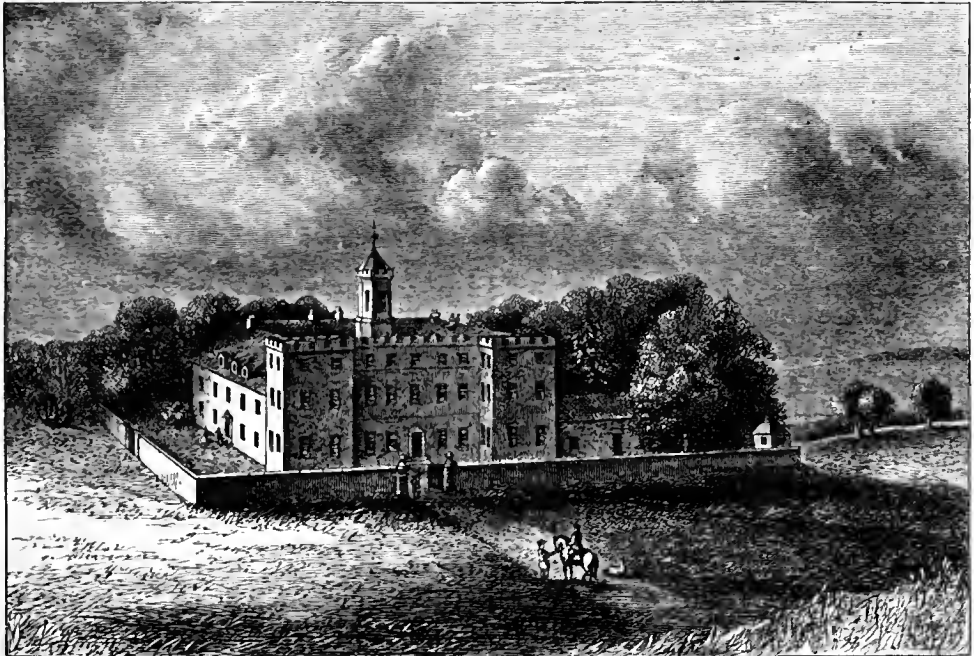
³ Mr. John Hay's account of the Retreat, No. 43 of Appendix to Home's *Rebellion*. This statement has been hitherto supposed to rest upon the single authority of Hay; and Mr. Home has been blamed for making it, as it was not confirmed by others. The same statement, however, is also made by Mr. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, a much more respectable authority than Hay. Mr. Home had the Kirkconnel MS. in his possession when writing his history, but seldom refers to it. Mr. Maxwell's words are: "The prince was incensed beyond expression at a retreat, begun in direct contradiction to his inclination and express orders. In the first moments he was convinced he was betrayed, and expressed himself to that purpose. He was confirmed in this opinion by those who never missed an opportunity of loading Lord George Murray, but when he knew that this step had been taken in concert with Lochiel and others, whom he had never distrusted, he did not know what to think or what to do; thus perplexed he arrived with the army at Culloden." See also narrative by the Rev. George Innes in *Jacobite Memoirs*, who says, (p. 289,) that some persons positively said, that when the prince met the Duke of Perth's regiment returning, he cried out, "I am betrayed; what need I give orders, when my orders are disobeyed."

⁴ Answer by the Prince to Mr. Home's query, Home's *Rebellion*, No. 44 of the Appendix.

On arriving at Culloden, the prince gave orders to bring provisions to the field; but the calls of hunger could not brook delay, and many of the common men as well as officers slipped off to Inverness and the neighbourhood in quest of refreshment. Others, from absolute exhaustion, lay down on the ground, and sought a momentary respite in the arms of sleep. Charles himself, with his principal officers, went to Culloden house, where, sullen, dejected, and silent, they for a time stared at one another

with amazement, instead of deliberating upon the course they ought to pursue at this critical juncture. A search was made for food, but with the exception of a little bread and a small quantity of whisky, which was procured for the prince with great difficulty, no refreshment of any kind could be obtained.⁵

After a short repose the men were aroused from their slumbers by their officers, who informed them that the Duke of Cumberland's army was approaching. There were others



Old Culloden House. From Original Sketch in possession of Duncan Forbes, Esq., of Culloden.

whom hunger had kept awake, and who having seized and killed some cattle and sheep which they found at Culloden, were preparing a repast, but few of them had time to make any thing ready before the alarm was given.⁶ The intelligence of Cumberland's advance was first brought to Culloden house about eight o'clock by one Cameron, a lieutenant in Lochiel's regiment, who, having fallen asleep at the place where the halt was made, had been left behind. As Fitz-James's horse and others had gone to Inverness to refresh, and as those who remained

were, from the hard duty they had performed for several days and nights, unfit for patrolling, Charles had no means of ascertaining whether the troops that were approaching were merely an advanced party, or the whole of the English army. That nothing might be left to conjecture at such an important crisis, some officers were instantly despatched to Inverness, to bring back the men whom hunger had driven thither, and the Highlanders at Culloden were got ready as quickly as possible, and marched through the parks of Culloden in battalions, as they happened to be lying, to Drummoissie moor, on a part of which, about half a mile to the west of the place where they had been

⁵ *Kirkcounel MS. Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 519. *Particular Account*, p. 14.

⁶ *Kirkcounel MS.*

drawn up the day before, the army halted. Lord George Murray now renewed his proposal to pass the water of Nairn, and take up a position on the ground which had been surveyed the previous morning, as being much better fitted for Highlanders than the level on which they stood. An additional reason for passing the Nairn was, that Macpherson of Cluny, who was expected every moment with his clan, was to come on the south side. Charles, however, again rejected this judicious advice, for the reasons he had formerly given.⁷ By retiring beyond Inverness, or among the fastnesses to the south of the water of Nairn, an action might have been easily avoided for several days; and, as the projected night attack had miscarried, it would certainly have been a wise course to have shunned an engagement till the men had recovered their strength and spirits; but Charles, over-sanguine in all his calculations, and swayed by his creatures and sycophants, was deaf to the suggestions of wisdom. It seems strange that a retreat to Inverness was not proposed. By retiring into the town, and occupying the grounds in the neighbourhood, a delay of twenty-four hours might have been obtained, as it is not likely that the Duke of Cumberland would have attempted to force the town, or a strong camp, the same day he marched from Nairn. By postponing the engagement till next day, a very different result might have happened, as the Highlanders, who were in a starving condition, would have had time to procure provisions and recruit from their fatigue; and numbers, who were not able to come up in time to Culloden, would have rejoined the ranks at Inverness.

The Duke of Cumberland had been informed of the night march towards Nairn by some Highland spies whom he had in his pay, and who had mixed with the insurgents as they marched; but the spies were ignorant of the intended surprise, which was kept a profound secret from the Highland army. Judging from the intelligence brought by the last person that arrived in his camp, that the Highlanders were coming directly in his front, the duke considered himself free from surprise, as the Argyleshire men lay on the plain to the west

of his camp, while a party of dragoons patrolled all night between Nairn and the sea. He therefore ordered his men to take some rest, but to keep their arms in readiness. He appears not to have anticipated an attack during the night, but to have imagined that Charles merely meant to take ground during the night, and to attack him early next morning. In expectation of a battle, the duke had formed his army by break of day, and, having ascertained that the Highland army had retreated, he began his march towards Inverness about five o'clock.⁸ The English army had, as anticipated, celebrated the birth-day of their commander; but although they were amply supplied with bread, cheese, and brandy, at the duke's expense, the men had not exceeded the bounds of moderation.⁹

Before commencing the march, written instructions, which had been communicated to the commanders of the different regiments, were read at the head of every company in the line. These instructions were, that if the persons to whom the charge of the train or baggage horses was entrusted should abscond or leave them, they should be punished with immediate death; and that if any officer or soldier misconducted himself during the engagement, he should be sentenced. The infantry marched in three parallel divisions or columns, of five regiments each, headed by General Huske on the left, Lord Sempill on the right, and General Mordaunt in the centre. The artillery and baggage followed the first column on the right, and the dragoons and horse, led by Generals Hawley and Bland, were on the left, forming a fourth column. Forty of Kingston's horse and Argyleshire men formed the van.¹

The charge of forming the Highland army in line of battle on this important occasion was intrusted to O'Sullivan, who acted in the double capacity of adjutant and quarter-master general. This officer, in the opinion of Lord George Murray, a high authority certainly, was exceedingly unfit for such a task, and committed gross blunders on every occasion of

⁸ Home, p. 226.

⁹ Boyse, p. 155.

¹ Boyse, p. 156. English official account of the battle.

⁷ *Particular Account*, p. 14.

moment. In the present instance, he did not even visit the ground where the army was to be drawn up, and he committed a "fatal error" by omitting to throw down some park walls upon the left of the English army, which were afterwards taken possession of by the Duke of Cumberland, it being found afterwards impossible to break the English lines, from the destructive flank-fire which was opened from these walls upon the right of the Highland army, as it advanced to the attack.² While the Duke of Cumberland was forming his line of battle, Lord George Murray was very desirous to advance and throw down these walls; but as such a movement would have broken the line, the officers about him considered that the attempt would be dangerous, and he therefore did not make it.³

The Highland army was drawn up in three lines. The first, or front line, consisted of the Athole brigade, which had the right, the Camerons, Stewarts of Appin, Frasers, Macintoshes, MacLachlans, Macleans, John Roy Stewart's regiment, and Farquharsons, united into one regiment; the Macleods, Chisholms, Macdonalds of Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry. The three Macdonald regiments formed the left. Lord George Murray commanded on the right, Lord John Drummond in the centre, and the Duke of Perth on the left, of the first line. There had been, a day or two before, a violent contention among the chiefs about precedency of rank. The Macdonalds claimed the right as their due, in support of which claim they stated, that as a reward for the fidelity of Angus Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, in protecting Robert the Bruce for upwards of nine months in his dominions, that prince, at the battle of Bannockburn, conferred the post of honour, the right, upon the Macdonalds,—that this post had ever since been enjoyed by them, unless when yielded from courtesy upon particular occasions, as was done to the chief of the Macleans at the battle of Harlaw.⁴ Lord George Murray, however, maintained that, under the Marquis of Montrose, the right had

been assigned to the Athole men, and he insisted that that post should be now conferred upon them, in the contest with the Duke of Cumberland's army. In this unseasonable demand, Lord George is said to have been supported by Lochiel and his friends. Charles refused to decide a question with the merits of which he was imperfectly acquainted; but, as it was necessary to adjust the difference immediately, he prevailed upon the commanders of the Macdonald regiments to waive their pretensions in the present instance. The Macdonalds in general were far from being satisfied with the complaisance of their commanders, and, as they had occupied the post of honour at Gladsmuir and Falkirk, they considered their deprivation of it on the present occasion as ominous.⁵ The Duke of Perth, while he stood at the head of the Glengarry regiment, hearing the murmurs of the Macdonalds, said, that if they behaved with their usual valour they would make a right of the left, and that he would change his name to Macdonald; but these proud clansmen lent a deaf ear to him.

The second line of the Highland army consisted of the Gordons under Lord Lewis Gordon, formed in column on the right, the French Royal Scots, the Irish piquets or brigade, Lord Kilmarnock's foot guards,⁶ Lord John Drummond's regiment, and Glenbucket's regiment in column on the left, flanked on the right by Fitz-James's dragoons, and Lord Elcho's horse-guards, and on the left by the Perth squadron, under Lords Strathallan and Pitsligo, and the prince's body-guards under Lord Balmerino. General Stapleton had the command of this line. The third line, or reserve, consisted of the Duke of Perth's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments, under the last-mentioned nobleman. The prince himself, surrounded by a troop of Fitz-James's horse, took his station on a very small eminence behind the centre of the first line, from which he had a complete view of the whole field of battle. The extremities of the front line and the centre were each protected by four pieces of cannon.

² See a curious and interesting letter in the *Stuart Papers*, from Lord George Murray to the prince, written from Ruthven the day after the battle.

³ *Particular Account*, p. 15.

⁴ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 510.

⁵ *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 510.—*Kirkcounsell MS.*

⁶ These guards were originally a body of cavalry, called the horse-grenadiers, but they were dismounted, and their horses were given to the men of Fitz-James's regiment, who had landed in Scotland without horses.

The English army continued steadily to advance in the order already described, and, after a march of eight miles, formed in order of battle, in consequence of the advanced guard reporting that they perceived the Highland army at some distance making a motion towards them on the left. Finding, however, that the Highlanders were still at a considerable distance, and that the whole body did not move forward, the Duke of Cumberland resumed his march as before, and continued to advance till within a mile of the position occupied by the Highland army, when he ordered a halt, and, after reconnoitring the position of the Highlanders, again formed his army for battle in three lines, and in the following order.

The first line consisted of six regiments, viz. the Royals, (the 1st,) Cholmondeley's, (the 34th,) Price's, (the 14th,) the Scots Fusileers, (the 21st,) Monro's, (the 37th,) and Barrel's, (the 4th). The Earl of Albemarle had the command of this line. In the intermediate spaces between each of these regiments were placed two pieces of cannon, making ten in all. The second line consisted of five regiments, viz. those of Pulteney, (the 13th,) Bligh, (the 20th,) Sempil, (the 25th,) Ligonier, (the 48th,) and Wolfe's, (the 8th,) and was under the command of General Huske. Three pieces of cannon were placed between the exterior regiments of this line and those next them. The third line or *corps de reserve*, under Brigadier Mordaunt, consisted of four regiments, viz. Bataillon's, (the 62d,) Howard's, (the 3d,) Fleming's, (the 36th,) and Blakeney's, (the 27th,) flanked by Kingston's dragoons, (the 3d). The order in which the regiments of the different lines are enumerated, is that in which they stood from right to left. The flanks of the front line were protected on the left by Kerr's dragoons, (the 11th,) consisting of three squadrons, commanded by Lord Ancrum, and on the right by Cobham's dragoons, (the 10th,) consisting also of three squadrons, under General Bland, with the additional security of a morass, extending towards the sea; but thinking himself quite safe on the right, the duke afterwards ordered these last to the left, to aid in an intended attack upon the right flank of the Highlanders. The Argyre men, with the exception of 140,

who were upon the left of the reserve, were left in charge of the baggage.

The dispositions of both armies are considered to have been well arranged; but both were better calculated for defence than for attack. The arrangement of the English army is generally considered to have been superior to that of the Highlanders; as, from the regiments in the second and third lines being placed directly behind the vacant spaces between the regiments in the lines respectively before them, the Duke of Cumberland, in the event of one regiment in the front line being broken, could immediately bring up two to supply its place. But this opinion is questionable, as the Highlanders had a column on the flanks of the second line, which might have been used either for extension or echelon movement towards any point to the centre, to support either the first or second line.

In the dispositions described, and about the distance of a mile from each other, did the two armies stand for some time gazing at one another, each expecting that the other would advance and give battle. Whatever may have been the feelings of Prince Charles on this occasion, those of the Duke of Cumberland appear to have been far from enviable. The thoughts of Preston and Falkirk could not fail to excite in him the most direful apprehensions for the result of a combat affecting the very existence of his father's crown; and that he placed but a doubtful reliance upon his troops, is evident from a speech which he now made to his army. He said that they were about to fight in defence of their king, their religion, their liberties, and property, and that if they only stood firm he had no doubt he would lead them on to certain victory; but as he would much rather, he said, be at the head of one thousand brave and resolute men than of ten thousand if mixed with cowards, if there were any amongst them, who, through timidity, were diffident of their courage, or others, who, from conscience or inclination, felt a repugnance to perform their duty, he requested them to retire immediately, and he promised them his free pardon for doing so, as by remaining they might dispirit or disorder the other troops, and bring dishonour and disgrace on the army under his command.

As the Highlanders remained in their position, the Duke of Cumberland again put his army in marching order, and, after it had advanced, with fixed bayonets, within half a mile of the front line of the Highlanders, it again formed as before. In this last movement the English army had to pass a piece of hollow ground, which was so soft and swampy that the horses which drew the cannon sank; and some of the soldiers, after slinging their firelocks and unyoking the horses, had to drag the cannon across the bog. As by this last movement the army advanced beyond the morass which protected the right flank, the duke immediately ordered up Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a small squadron of Cobham's dragoons, which had been patrolling, to cover it; and to extend his line and prevent his being outflanked on the right, he also at same time ordered up Pulteney's regiment (the 13th), from the second line to the right of the royals; and Flenning's (the 36th), Howard's (the 3d), and Batterau's (the 62d), to the right of Bligh's (the 20th), in the second line, leaving Blakeney's (the 27th) as a reserve.

As will be seen on reference to the plan given herewith, the field of the battle is now intersected by a district road, which branches off from the main road to Perth, about two and a half miles from Inverness, and leads to Kilravock and Cawdor, on the river Nairn. A heap of stones near the roadside (intended as a monumental cairn) and a series of trenches on the southern side of the road, and a few smaller ones on the north side, slightly raised above the surface, and still distinguishable by their green turf amid the surrounding heather, mark the spot where the dead lie buried, and indicate where the left wing of the royal army met the charge of the Highland right.

The great object of the duke, before recommencing his march, had been to prepare his men for a firm reception of the Highland charge. He knew that on this all depended, and that the two previous disasters had been caused by the men not being rightly disciplined to receive the novel mode of attack. Some writers on military tactics had proposed alterations on the complex infantry movements of the day, for the purpose of evading the Highlanders' targets. The soldiers of the royal army had been in-

structed, instead of each confining himself to his immediate opponent, to thrust with his bayonet at the adversary of his right-hand man. The weapon, instead of being caught on the target, with which the Highlanders protected themselves, and which they wore on the left arm (holding at the same time a dirk in the left hand), would be directed against the right side of the enemy, which was necessarily uncovered in using the claymore.

It is doubtful to what extent this manœuvre affected the fortunes of the day, as it is very questionable whether men in a death struggle would show sufficient presence of mind and mutual confidence to intrust each his own safety to the fidelity and promptness of his left-hand neighbour. It has, besides, been remarked, that the whole theory rested on the assumption that the two armies would be pitted man to man, whereas it is certain the Highlanders must have attacked in more extended order, as swordsmen need more space than musketeers. A more practical instruction issued to the troops was to reserve their fire until the enemy were close upon them. As in those days of flint-locks there could be no reloading within the time usually occupied by a charge, and as the weapons could not be relied on for accuracy at any great distance, it was of the utmost importance that as few shots should be thrown away as possible. Every effort was also made to increase the confidence of the English soldiers in their own weapons and mode of fighting, as by telling them that the front-rank men of the prince's army alone were Highlanders, the rest being "Lowlanders and arrant scum."

During an interval of about half an hour which elapsed before the action commenced, some manœuvring took place in attempts by both armies to outflank one another. While these manœuvres were making, a heavy shower of sleet came on, which, though discouraging to the duke's army, from the recollection of the untoward occurrence at Falkirk, was not considered very dangerous, as they had now the wind on their backs. To encourage his men, the Duke of Cumberland rode along the lines addressing himself hurriedly to every regiment as he passed. He exhorted his men to rely chiefly upon their bayonets, and to allow the Highlanders to mingle with them that they

might make them "know the men they had to deal with." After the changes mentioned had been executed, his royal highness took his station behind the royals, between the first and second line, and almost in front of the left of Howard's regiment, waiting for the expected attack. Meanwhile, a singular occurrence took place, characteristic of the self-devotion which the Highlanders were ready on all occasions to manifest towards the prince and his cause. Conceiving that by assassinating the Duke of Cumberland he would confer an essential service on the prince, a Highlander resolved, at the certain sacrifice of his own life, to make the attempt. With this intention, he entered the English lines as a deserter, and being granted quarter, was allowed to go through the ranks. He wandered about with apparent indifference, eyeing the different officers as he passed along, and it was not long till an opportunity occurred, as he conceived, for executing his fell purpose. The duke having ordered Lord Bury, one of his aides-de-camp, to reconnoitre, his lordship crossed the path of the Highlander, who, mistaking him, from his dress, for the duke, (the regimentals of both being similar,) instantly seized a musket which lay on the ground, and discharged it at his lordship. He missed his aim, and a soldier, who was standing by, immediately shot him dead upon the spot.⁸

In expectation of a battle the previous day, Charles had animated his troops by an appeal to their feelings, and on the present occasion he rode from rank to rank encouraging his men, and exhorting them to act as they had done at Prestonpans and at Falkirk.

The advance of Lord Bury, who went forward within a hundred yards of the insurgents to reconnoitre, appears to have been considered by the Highlanders as the proper occasion for beginning the battle. Taking off their bonnets, the Highlanders set up a loud shout, which being answered by the royal troops with a huzza, the Highlanders about one o'clock commenced a cannonade on the right, which was followed by the cannon on the left; but the fire from the latter, owing to the want of cannoniers, was after the first round discontinued. The first volley from the right seemed to create

some confusion on the left of the royal army, but so badly were the cannon served and pointed, that though the cannonade was continued upwards of half an hour, only one man in Bligh's regiment, who had a leg carried off by a cannon-ball, received any injury. After the Highlanders had continued firing for a short time, Colonel Belford, who directed the cannon of the duke's army, opened a fire from the cannon in the front line, which was at first chiefly aimed at the horse, probably either because they, from their conspicuous situation, were a better mark than the infantry, or because it was supposed that Charles was among them. Such was the accuracy of the aim taken by the royal artillery, that several balls entered the ground among the horses' legs, and bespattered the prince with the mud which they raised; and one of them struck the horse on which he rode two inches above the knee. The animal became so unmanageable, that Charles was obliged to change him for another.⁹ One of his servants, who stood behind with a led horse in his hand, was killed on the spot. Observing that the wall on the right flank of the Highland army prevented him from attacking it on that point, the duke ordered Colonel Belford to continue the cannonade, with the view of provoking the Highlanders and inducing them to advance to the attack. These, on the other hand, endeavoured to draw the royal army forward by sending down several parties by way of defiance. Some of these approached three several times within a hundred yards of the right of the royal army, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords; but with the exception of the small squadron of horse on the right, which advanced a little, the line remained immoveable.

Meanwhile, Lord George Murray, observing that a squadron of the English dragoons and a party of foot, consisting of two companies of the Argyleshiremen, and one of Lord Loudon's Highlanders, had detached themselves from the left of the royal army, and were marching down towards the river Nairn, and conceiving that it was their intention to flank the Highlanders, or to come upon their rear when engaged in front, he directed Gordon of Avoch to advance

⁸ Boyse, p. 159.

⁹ Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides*, p. 223.

with his battalion, and prevent the foot from entering the inclosure; but before this battalion could reach them, they broke into the inclosure, and throwing down part of the east wall, and afterwards a piece of the west wall in the rear of the second line, made a free passage for the dragoons, who formed in the rear of the prince's army. Upon this, Lord George ordered the guards and Fitz-James's horse to form opposite to the dragoons to keep them in check. Each party stood upon the opposite sides of a ravine, the ascent to which was so steep, that neither could venture across in presence of the other with safety. The foot remained within the inclosure, and Avochy's battalion was ordered to watch their motions.¹ This movement took place about the time the Highlanders were moving forward to the attack.²

It was now high time for the Highlanders to come to a close engagement. Lord George had sent Colonel Kerr to the prince, to know if he should begin the attack; the prince ordered him to do so,³ but his lordship, for some reason or other, delayed advancing. It is probable he expected that the duke would come forward, and that by remaining where he was, and retaining the wall and a small farm house on his right, he would not run the risk of being flanked. Perhaps he waited for the advance of the left wing, which, being not so far forward as the right, was directed to begin the attack, and orders had been sent to the Duke of Perth to that effect; but the left remained motionless. Anxious for the attack, Charles sent an order by an aid-de-camp to Lord George Murray to advance, but his lordship

¹ *Kirkconnel MS.*

² Mr. Home says that about a hundred men were stationed in the inclosure, who were put to the sword by the dragoons when they entered; but he is certainly mistaken. Mr. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, from whom Mr. Home took his description of the battle, does not mention such an occurrence. In the memoir by a Highland officer, (Colonel Ker,) printed among the *Lockhart Papers*, it is stated, (p. 520,) that to guard against any attempts that might be made to break down the walls of the inclosure, there were two battalions placed facing outward, covering the right of the two lines, to observe the motions of the English; and that "when the attack began, the Campbells threw down a great part of the wall of the inclosure for the dragoons on the duke's left, to pass to the rear of the prince's army, which they did without receiving one shot from the two battalions that were placed to observe their motions."—P. 521.

³ *Lockhart Papers* vol. ii. p. 521.

never received it, as the bearer was killed by a cannon-ball while on his way to the right. He sent a message about the same time to Lochiel, desiring him to urge upon Lord George the necessity of an immediate attack.

Galled beyond endurance by the fire of the English, which carried destruction among the clans, the Highlanders became quite clamorous, and called aloud to be led forward without further delay. Unable any longer to restrain their impatience, Lord George had just resolved upon an immediate advance, but before he had time to issue the order along the line, the Mackintoshes, with a heroism worthy of that brave clan, rushed forward enveloped in the smoke of the enemy's cannon. The fire of the centre field-pieces, and a discharge of musketry from the Scotch Fusileers, forced them to incline a little to the right; but all the regiments to their right, led on by Lord George Murray in person, and the united regiment of the Maclauchlans and Macleans on their left, coming down close after them, the whole moved forward together at a pretty quick pace. When within pistol-shot of the English line, they received a murderous fire, not only in front from some field-pieces, which for the first time were now loaded with grape-shot, but in flank from a side battery supported by the Campbells, and Lord Loudon's Highlanders. Whole ranks were literally swept away by the terrible fire of the English. Yet, notwithstanding the dreadful carnage in their ranks, the Highlanders continued to advance, and, after giving their fire close to the English line, which, from the density of the smoke, was scarcely perceptible even within pistol-shot, the right wing, consisting of the Athole Highlanders and the Camerons, rushed in sword in hand, and broke through Barrel's and Mouroe's regiments, which stood on the left of the first line. These regiments bravely defended themselves with their spontoons and bayonets; but such was the impetuosity of the onset, that they would have been entirely cut to pieces had they not been immediately supported by two regiments from the second line, on the approach of which they retired behind the regiments on their right, after sustaining a loss in killed and wounded of upwards of 200 men. After breaking through these two regiments, the Highland-

ers, passing by the two field-pieces which had annoyed them in front, hurried forward to attack the left of the second line. They were met by a tremendous fire of grape-shot from the three field-pieces on the left of the second line, and by a discharge of musketry from Bligh's and Sempill's regiments, which carried havoc through their ranks, and made them at first recoil; but, maddened by despair, and utterly regardless of their lives, they rushed upon an enemy whom they felt but could not see, amid the cloud of smoke in which the assailants were buried. The same kind of charge was made by the Stewarts of Appin, the Frasers, Mackintoshes, and the other centre regiments, upon the regiments in their front, driving them back upon the second line, which they also attempted to break; but finding themselves unable, they gave up the contest, not, however, until numbers had been cut down at the mouths of the cannon. While advancing towards the second line, Lord George Murray, in attempting to dismount from his horse, which had become unmanageable, was thrown; but, recovering himself, he ran to the rear and brought up two or three regiments from the second line to support the first; but, although they gave their fire, nothing could be done,—all was lost. Unable to break the second line, and being greatly cut up by the fire of Wolfe's regiment, and by Cobham's and Kerr's dragoons, who had formed *en potence* on their right flank, the right wing also gave up the contest, and turning about, cut their way back, sword in hand, through those who had advanced and formed on the ground they had passed over in charging to their front.

In consequence of the unwillingness of the left to advance first as directed, Lord George Murray had sent the order to attack from right to left; but, hurried by the impetuosity of the Mackintoshes, the right and centre did not wait till the order, which required some minutes in the delivery, had been communicated along the line. Thus the right and centre had the start considerably, and quickening their pace as they went along, had closed with the front line of the English army before the left had got half way over the ground that separated the two armies. The difference between the right and centre and the left was rendered

still more considerable from the circumstance, as noted by an eye-witness,⁴ that the two armies were not exactly parallel to one another, the right of the prince's army being nearer the duke's army than the left. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the prince than this isolated attack, as it was only by a general shock of the whole of the English line that he had any chance of a victory.

The clan regiments on the left of the line, apprehensive that they would be flanked by Pulteney's regiment and the horse which had been brought up from the corps de reserve, did not advance sword in hand. After receiving the fire of the regiments opposite to them, they answered it by a general discharge, and drew their swords for the attack; but observing that the right and centre had given way, they turned their backs and fled without striking a blow. Stung to the quick by the misconduct of the Macdonalds, the brave Keppoch, seeing himself abandoned by his clan, advanced with his drawn sword in one hand and his pistol in the other; but he had not proceeded far, when he was brought down to the ground by a musket-shot. He was followed by Donald Roy Macdonald, formerly a lieutenant in his own regiment, and now a captain in Clanranald's, who, on Keppoch's falling, entreated him not to throw away his life, assuring him that his wound was not mortal, and that he might easily join his regiment in the retreat; but Keppoch refused to listen to the solicitations of his clansman, and, after recommending him to take care of himself, the wounded chief received another shot, and fell to rise no more.⁵

Fortunately for the Highlanders, the English army did not follow up the advantages it had gained by an immediate pursuit. Kingston's horse at first followed the Macdonalds, some of whom were almost surrounded by them, but the horse were kept in check by the French piquets, who brought them off. The dragoons on the left of the English line were

⁴ Maxwell of Kirkconnel.

⁵ In retiring from the field, Captain Roy Macdonald received a musket bullet, which passed in at the sole of the left foot and came out at the buckle. With difficulty he reached Bun Chraobg, two miles beyond Inverness, where he procured a horse and set off for the Isle of Skye, but his foot had swelled so much that he could not put it in the stirrup. — *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 425.

in like manner kept at bay by Ogilvy's regiment, which faced about upon them several times. After these ineffectual attempts, the English cavalry on the right and left met in the centre, and the front line having dressed its ranks, orders were issued for the whole to advance in pursuit of the Highlanders.

Charles, who, from the small eminence on which he stood, had observed with the deepest concern the defeat and flight of the clan regiments, was about proceeding forward to rally them, contrary to the earnest entreaties of Sir Thomas Sheridan and others, who assured him that he would not succeed. All their expostulations would, it is said, have been in vain, had not General O'Sullivan laid hold of the bridle of Charles's horse, and led him off the field. It was, indeed, full time to retire, as the whole army was now in full retreat, and was followed by the whole of Cumberland's forces. To protect the prince and secure his retreat, most of his horse assembled about his person; but there was little danger, as the victors advanced very leisurely, and confined themselves to cutting down some defenceless stragglers who fell in their way. After leaving the field, Charles put himself at the head of the right wing, which retired in such order that the cavalry sent to pursue could make no impression upon it.

At a short distance from the field of battle, Charles separated his army into two parts. One of these divisions, consisting, with the exception of the Frasers, of the whole of the Highlanders and the low country regiments, crossed the water of Nairn, and proceeded towards Badenoch; and the other, comprising the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the French piquets, took the road to Inverness. The first division passed within pistol-shot of the body of English cavalry, which, before the action, had formed in the rear of the Highland army, without the least interruption. An English officer, who had the temerity to advance a few paces to seize a Highlander, was instantly cut down by him and killed on the spot. The Highlander, instead of running away, deliberately stooped down, and pulling out a watch from the pocket of his victim, rejoined his companions.⁶ From

the plainness of the ground over which it had to pass, the smaller body of the prince's army was less fortunate, as it suffered considerably from the attacks of the duke's light horse before it reached Inverness. Numerous small parties, which had detached themselves from the main body, fell under the sabres of the cavalry; and many of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, who, from motives of curiosity, had come out to witness the battle, were slaughtered without mercy by the ferocious soldiery, who, from the similarity of their dress, were perhaps unable to discriminate them from Charles's troops. This indiscriminate massacre continued all the way from the field of battle to a place called Mill-burn, within a mile of Inverness. Not content with the profusion of bloodshed in the heat of action and during the pursuit, the infuriated soldiery, provoked by their disgraces at Preston and Falkirk, traversed the field of battle, and massacred in cold blood the miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring. Even some officers, whose station in society, apart altogether from the feelings of humanity, to which they were utter strangers, should have made them superior to this vulgar triumph of base and illiberal minds, joined in the work of assassination. To extenuate the atrocities committed in the battle, and the subsequent slaughters, a forged regimental order, bearing to be signed by Lord George Murray, by which the Highlanders were enjoined to refuse quarters to the royal troops, was afterwards published, it is said, under the auspices of the Duke of Cumberland; but the deception was easily seen through. As no such order was alluded to in the official accounts of the battle, and as, at the interview which took place between the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, on the morning of their execution, both these noblemen stated their entire ignorance of it, no doubt whatever can exist of the forgery. The conduct of Charles and his followers, who never indulged in any triumph over their vanquished foes, but always treated them with humanity and kindness, high as it is, stands still higher when contrasted with that of the royal troops and their commander.⁷

⁶ Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 196.

⁷ One of the duke's sycophants says, that after the

From the characteristic bravery of the Highlanders, and their contempt of death, it is not improbable that some of those who perished, as well on the field after the battle as in the flight, did not yield their lives without a desperate struggle; but history has preserved one case of individual prowess in the person of Golice Macbane, which deserves to be recorded in every history relating to the Highlanders. This man, who is represented to have been of the gigantic stature of six feet four inches and a quarter, was beset by a party of dragoons. When assailed, he placed his back against a wall, and though covered with wounds, he defended himself with his target and claymore against the onset of the dragoons, who crowded upon him. Some officers, who observed the unequal conflict, were so struck with the desperate bravery of Macbane, that they gave orders to save him; but the dragoons, exasperated by his resistance, and the dreadful havoc he had made among their companions, thirteen of whom lay dead at his feet, would not desist till they had succeeded in cutting him down.⁸

According to the official accounts published by the government, the royal army had only 50 men killed, and 259 wounded, including 18 officers, of whom 4 were killed. Lord Robert Kerr, second son of the Marquis of Lothian, and a captain of grenadiers in Barrel's regiment, was the only person of distinction killed; he fell covered with wounds, at the head of his company, when the Highlanders attacked Barrel's regiment. The loss on the side of the Highlanders was never ascertained with any degree of precision. The number of the slain is stated, in some publications of the period, to have amounted to upwards of 2,000 men, but these accounts are exaggerated. The loss could not, however, be much short of 1,200

fatigue of the battle was over, his royal highness retired to a place near the field to refresh himself; and that, after sitting a short time, he rose and took "a serious walk to view the multitudes that lay dead on the ground. He was followed by some of his attendants, who observed him in deep meditation. He laid his hand upon his breast, and with his eyes lifted up to heaven, was heard to say, *Lord, what am I! that I should be spared!* when so many brave men lie dead upon the spot!—an expression of such deep humility towards God, and compassion towards his fellow creatures, as is truly worthy a Christian hero!!!"—*Marchant*, p. 396.

⁸ Cromek's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, p. 200.—Henderson's *History*, p. 60.

men. The Athole brigade alone lost more than the half of its officers and men, and some of the centre battalions came off with scarcely a third of their men.⁹ The Mackintoshes, who were the first to attack, suffered most. With the exception of three only, all the officers of this brave regiment, including Maegillivray of Drumnaglass, its colonel, the lieutenant-colonel, and major, were killed in the attack. All the other centre regiments also lost several officers. Maclauchlan, colonel of the united regiment of Maclauchlan and Maclean, was killed by a cannon ball in the beginning of the action, and Maclean of Drimmin, who, as lieutenant-colonel, succeeded to the command, met a similar fate from a random shot. He had three sons in the regiment, one of whom fell in the attack, and, when leading off the shattered remains of his forces, he missed the other two, and, in returning to look after them, received the fatal bullet. Charles Fraser, younger of Inverallachie, the lieutenant-colonel of the Fraser regiment, and who, in the absence of the Master of Lovat, commanded it on this occasion, was also killed. When riding over the field after the battle, the Duke of Cumberland observed this brave youth lying wounded. Raising himself upon his elbow, he looked at the duke, who, offended at him, thus addressed one of his officers: "Wolfe, shoot me that Highland scoundrel who thus dares to look on us with so insolent a stare." Wolfe, horrified at the inhuman order, replied that his commission was at his royal highness's disposal, but that he would never consent to become an executioner. Other officers refusing to commit this act of butchery, a private soldier, at the command of the duke, shot the hapless youth before his eyes.¹ The Appin regiment had 17 officers and gentlemen slain, and 10 wounded; and the Athole brigade, which lost fully half its men, had 19 officers killed, and 4 wounded. The fate of the heroic Keppoch has been already mentioned. Among the wounded, the principal was Lochiel, who was shot in both ankles with some grape-shot, at the head of his regiment, after discharging his pistol, and while in the act of drawing his sword. On falling,

⁹ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 124.

¹ Chambers's *Rebellion*, and authorities referred to there.

his two brothers, between whom he was advancing, raised him up, and carried him off the field in their arms. To add to his misfortunes, Charles also lost a considerable number of gentlemen, his most devoted adherents, who had charged on foot in the first rank.

Lord Strathallan was the only person of distinction that fell among the low country regiments. Lord Kilmarnock and Sir John Wedderburn were taken prisoners. The former, in the confusion of the battle, mistook, amidst the smoke, a party of English dragoons for Fitz-James's horse, and was taken. Having lost his hat, he was led bare-headed to the front line of the English infantry. His son, Lord Boyd, who held a commission in the English army, unable to restrain his feelings, left the ranks, and, going up to his unfortunate parent, took off his own hat, placed it on his father's head, and returned to his place without uttering a word.

At other times, and under different circumstances, a battle like that of Culloden would have been regarded as an ordinary occurrence, of which, when all matters were duly considered, the victors could have little to boast. The Highland army did not exceed 5,000 fighting men; and when it is considered that the men had been two days without sleep, were exhausted by the march of the preceding night, and had scarcely tasted food for forty-eight hours, the wonder is that they fought so well as they did, against an army almost double in point of numbers, and which laboured under none of the disadvantages to which, in a more especial manner, the overthrow of the Highlanders is to be ascribed.² Nevertheless, as the spirits of the great majority of the nation had been sunk to the lowest state of despondency by the reverses of the royal arms at Preston and Falkirk, this unlooked-for event

² The ground was totally unsuited to Highland tactics. "It is impossible to look on this waste, with the few green patches still marking the graves where the slain were covered up in heaps, without a feeling of compassion for the helplessness of a Highland army in such a place. It is a wide flat muir, with scarcely a curve, where the mountaineers had nothing to aid their peculiar warfare, in high or rugged ground. A better field for steady disciplined troops could not exist. They could see everywhere around, and it was impossible either to surprise them, or subject them, as at Killiecrankie or Falkirk, to a rush from the higher ground."—Burton after Revolution, vol. ii. p. 518.

was hailed as one of the greatest military achievements of ancient or modern times; and the Duke of Cumberland, who had, in consequence, an addition of £25,000 per annum made to his income by parliament, was regarded as the greatest hero of ancient or modern times. In its consequences, as entirely and for ever destructive of the claims of the unfortunate house of Stuart, the battle was perhaps one of the most important ever fought. Though vanquished, the Highlanders retired from the field with honour, and free from that foul reproach which has fixed an indelible stain upon the memories of the victors.

After the carnage of the day had ceased, the brutal soldiery, who, from the fiendish delight which they took in sprinkling one another with the blood of the slain, "looked," as stated by one of themselves, "like so many butchers rather than an army of Christian soldiers,"³ dined upon the field of battle. After his men had finished their repast, the Duke of Cumberland marched forward to take possession of Inverness, and on his way received a letter, which had been addressed to General Bland, signed by six of the French officers in the insurgent army, offering in behalf of themselves and their men to surrender unconditionally to his royal highness. As he was about to enter the town he was met by a drummer, who brought him a message from General Stapleton, offering to surrender and asking quarter. On receiving this communication, the duke ordered Sir Joseph Yorke, one of his officers, to alight from his horse, who with his pencil wrote a note to General Stapleton, assuring him of fair quarter and honourable treatment. The town was then taken possession of by Captain Campbell, of Sempill's regiment, with his company of grenadiers.

After securing his prisoners in the town, the Duke of Cumberland released the soldiers who had been confined in the church of Inverness by the insurgents, and who, if the government accounts be correct, had suffered great hardships. They had indeed, about a week before the battle of Culloden, been almost stripped of their clothes by an officer of the Highland army, to clothe a new corps he had raised; but

³ *Scots Mag.* vol. viii. p. 192.

a complaint having been brought to Lord George Murray on the subject, he obtained an order from the prince, in consequence of which the clothes were restored.⁴ The duke on the present occasion presented each of these men with a guinea, and gave orders that they should be taken care of.

Besides the military prisoners, several gentlemen supposed to be disaffected to the government were apprehended by the duke's orders, shut up with the common prisoners, and were for some time denied the use of bedding. Nor did the softer sex, whose Jacobite predilections had pointed them out as objects of displeasure, escape his resentment. Several ladies, among whom were Ladies Ogilvy, Kinloch, and Gordon, were seized and kept in durance in the common guard, and were limited along with the other prisoners to the miserable pittance of half-a-pound of meal per day, with scarcely as much water as was necessary to prepare it for use. As the wounded prisoners were utterly neglected, many who would have recovered, if properly treated, died of their wounds; and so much were the rites of Christian sepulture disregarded by the royal officers, that the bodies of these unfortunate victims were carried naked through the streets by beggars, who were employed to inter them in the church-yard.⁵

Knowing that there were several deserters from the royal army among the insurgents, the duke ordered a strict inspection to be made of the prisoners in order to find them out. No less than thirty-six were recognised, and being brought to a summary trial, were convicted, and suffered the death of traitors. Among these was one Dunbar, who had been a sergeant in Sowle's regiment. He had taken a suit of laced clothes from Major Loekhart at the battle of Falkirk, which being found in his possession, he was dressed in them, and hanged, and his body exposed for forty-eight hours on the gibbet.⁶ A young gentleman of the name of Forbes, a relative of Lord Forbes, is also said to have perished on this occasion. He had served as a cadet in an English regiment, but, being from principle attached to the Jacobite interest, had joined the standard of the prince.

⁴ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 129.

⁵ *Idem*, p. 236.

⁶ Boyse, p. 164.

An incident occurred after the execution of this unfortunate gentleman, which assumed an alarming appearance, and might have led to serious consequences had the war been continued. Before Forbes was cut down from the gibbet, an English officer, with a morbidness of feeling which seems to have seized the officers as well as the common soldiers of the army, plunged his sword into the body of Forbes, exclaiming, at the same time, that "all his countrymen were traitors and rebels like himself." This exclamation being heard by a Scottish officer who was standing hard by, the offended Scotchman immediately drew his sword, and demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to his country. The Englishman instantly accepted the challenge, and in a short time the combat became general among the officers who happened to be on the spot. The soldiers, seeing their officers engaged, beat to arms of their own accord, and drew up along the streets, the Scotch on one side and the English on the other, and commenced a warm combat with fixed bayonets. Information of this affray having been brought to the Duke of Cumberland, he hastened to the scene of action, and by his persuasions put an end to the combat. He found the Scotch greatly excited by the affront offered them; but he soothed their wounded feelings by complimenting them for their fidelity, their courage, and exemplary conduct.⁷

Notwithstanding the massacres which were committed immediately after the battle, a considerable number of wounded Highlanders still survived, some of whom had taken refuge in a few cottages adjoining the field of battle, while others lay scattered among the neighbouring inclosures. Many of these men might have recovered if ordinary attention had been paid to them; but the stern duke, considering that those who had risen in rebellion against his father were not entitled to the rights of humanity, entirely neglected them.⁸ But, barbarous as such conduct was, it was only the

⁷ *Johnston's Memoirs*, p. 203.

⁸ "It is not necessary to believe all the Jacobite stories tending to show a wanton and fiendish indulgence, by the duke and his most distinguished followers, in cruelty and any kind of bloody work for its own sake; nor to admit that he ridiculed President Forbes as the old woman who spoke about humanity

prelude to enormities of a still more revolting description. At first the victors conceived that they had completed the work of death by killing all the wounded they could discover; but when they were informed that some still survived, they resolved to despatch them. A Mr. Hossack, who had filled the situation of provost of Inverness, and who had, under the direction of President Forbes, performed important services to the government, having gone to pay his respects to the Duke of Cumberland, found Generals Hawley and Huske deliberating on this inhuman design. Observing them intent upon their object, and actually proceeding to make out orders for killing the wounded Highlanders, he ventured to remonstrate against such a barbarous step. "As his majesty's troops have been happily successful against the rebels, I hope (observed Hossack) your excellencies will be so good as to mingle mercy with judgment." Hawley, in a rage, cried out, "D—n the puppy! does he pretend to dictate here? Carry him away!" Another officer ordered Hossack to be kicked out, and the order was obeyed with such instantaneous precision, that the ex-provost found himself at the bottom of two flights of steps almost in a twinkling.⁹

In terms of the cruel instructions alluded to, a party was despatched from Inverness the day after the battle to put to death all the wounded they might find in the inclosure adjoining the field of Culloden. These orders were fulfilled with a punctuality and deliberation that is sickening to read of. Instead of

and the laws. What he did was, we may be assured from his character, not done in a spirit of wantonness, but after a sense of duty. But that duty led him to severity. He was a soldier according to the German notions of a soldier, and a rebel province was a community to be subjected to martial law. Many of the insurgents, attempting to escape or hide themselves when detected by well-known peculiarities, were put to death by the soldiery, who, even when they made a mistake and slew the wrong man, could not easily be punished. The duke, brought up in the German military school, seems to have been unable to distinguish between a rebellion suppressed in constitutional Britain, where all men are supposed to be innocent but those proved to be guilty,—and a revolted German province, where every accorded grace to the unfortunate people proceeds from the will of the conqueror. Thus there was a propensity to subject all the northern districts to something too closely resembling military law or license."¹⁰—Burton's *Scotland after Revolution*, v. ii. pp. 522, 523.

⁹ Letter from a gentleman in London to his friend in Bath. Bath, 1751, reprinted in *Jacobite Memoirs*.

despatching their unfortunate victims on the spot where they found them, the soldiers dragged them from the places where they lay weltering in their gore, and, having ranged them on some spots of rising ground, poured in volleys of musketry upon them. Next day parties were sent to search all the houses in the neighbourhood of the field of battle, with instructions to carry all the wounded Highlanders they could find thither and despatch them. Many were in consequence murdered; and the young laird of Macloed was heard frankly to declare, that on this occasion he himself saw seventy-two persons killed in cold blood. The feelings of humanity were not, however, altogether obliterated in the hearts of some of the officers, who spared a few of the wounded. In one instance the almost incredible cruelty of the soldiery was strikingly exemplified. At a short distance from the field of battle there stood a small hut, used for sheltering sheep and goats in cold and stormy weather, into which some of the wounded had crawled. On discovering them the soldiers immediately secured the door, to prevent egress, and thereupon set fire to the hut in several places, and all the persons within, to the number of between thirty and forty, perished in the flames.¹

Another instance of fiendish cruelty occurred the same day. Almost immediately after the battle, nineteen wounded officers of the Highland army, unable to follow their retiring companions, secreted themselves in a small plantation near Culloden house, whence they were afterwards carried to the court-yard of that mansion, where they remained two days in great torture weltering in their blood, and without the least medical aid or attention but such as they received from the president's steward, who, at the hazard of his own life, alleviated the sufferings of his unhappy countrymen by several acts of kindness. These wretched sufferers were now tied with ropes by the brutal soldiery, thrown into carts, and carried out to a park wall at a short distance from Culloden house. Being dragged out of the carts, they were ranged in order along the wall, and were told by the officer in command of the party to prepare for death. Such of

¹ Idem.

them as retained the use of their limbs fell down upon their knees in prayer; but they had little time allowed them to invoke mercy, for in a minute the soldiers received orders to fire, and, being posted at the distance of only two or three yards from the prisoners, the unfortunate gentlemen were almost all instantly shot dead. That the butchery might be complete, the soldiers were ordered to club their muskets and dash out the brains of such of their miserable victims as exhibited any symptoms of life, an order which, horrible to tell, was actually fulfilled. A gentleman named John Fraser, who had been an officer in the Master of Lovat's regiment, alone survived. He had received a ball, and being observed to be still in life, was struck on the face by a soldier with the butt end of his musket. Though one of his cheek bones and the upper part of his nose were broken, and one of his eyes dashed out by the blow, he still lived, and the party, thinking they had killed him, left him for dead. He would probably have expired on the spot, had not the attention of Lord Boyd, son of the Earl of Kilmarnock, when riding past, been fortunately attracted by the number of dead bodies he observed lying together. Espying, at a little distance from the heap, a body in motion, his lordship went up, and having ascertained from the mouth of the sufferer who he was, he ordered his servant to carry Mr. Fraser to a cottage, near at hand, which he named, where he lay concealed for three months. He lived several years afterwards, but was a cripple during life.²

By the capture of Inverness, a considerable quantity of ordnance and military stores fell into the hands of the royal army. Including those taken on the field of battle, there were 30 pieces of cannon, 2,320 firelocks, 190 broadswords, a large quantity of musket cartridges, 1,019 cannon balls, a quantity of musket shot, 37 barrels of gunpowder, and 22 ammunition carts, besides tents, cantines, pistols, saddles, &c. To encourage the soldiers to collect the arms which the Highlanders had left on the field, they were allowed half-a-crown for every musket, and a shilling for every broadsword which they brought into the camp at Inver-

ness. For every stand of colours the sum of sixteen guineas was allowed, and no less than fourteen of these were captured or picked up upon the field, all of which were burnt on the 4th of June at the market cross of Edinburgh, by the hands of the common hangman, after being carried in mock procession from the castle by a party of chimney-sweepers.

Two days after the battle the Earl of Cromarty, his son, Lord Macleod, several officers, and 153 private men, were landed at Inverness from the Hound sloop of war, which had conveyed them from Sutherland, where they had been taken prisoners by a party of Lord Sutherland's people on the preceding day, viz., the 15th of April, under the following circumstances. Having received instructions to rejoin the main body of the Highland army at Inverness, the earl was about proceeding to fulfil them, when a plan was formed by the Mackays and the Earl of Sutherland's people to cut him off. Uniting their forces, consisting of three independent companies, near Golspie, they resolved to attack the Earl of Cromarty, early in the morning of the 15th of April, in flank and in rear. In pursuance of this resolution, Captain Macallister, who commanded the Earl of Sutherland's militia, marched with his company towards the water of Golspie, and having in his march received intelligence that Cromarty's regiment had marched towards the ferry, but that the earl himself with the greater part of his officers was at Dunrobin castle, he sent Ensign John Mackay, with a party of 26 men, to intercept him. The earl left the castle with 14 officers on horseback, and a small party of well-armed foot, to join his men, and would have fallen into an ambuscade which Ensign Mackay had laid for him, had not some of the Mackays begun to fire too soon. Lord Cromarty immediately retraced his steps and took refuge in the castle, from the top of the tower of which he displayed a white flag and rang a bell, as a signal that he was attacked. The earl's men began immediately to march back to his relief, upon which Mackay and his party retired to the adjacent high grounds. Meanwhile, the two independent companies, which were to attack Cromarty's men in flank, arrived at the hill of Culmaly, to the north west of Golspie, and observing the insurgents

² Letter from a gentleman in London, &c.

returning from the ferry, and drawing up in order of battle on a rising ground about a mile west from Golspie, they concealed themselves on the top of the hill: Captains Gray and Sutherland, the commanders of the two companies, then descended the hill to reconnoitre. They computed Cromarty's force to be between 400 and 500 men; and, having resolved to attack them, they returned to their men and gave orders to that effect. To deceive the insurgents as to the extent of their numbers, they marched down the hill in open column, keeping a distance of about twenty paces between each rank; and so well did this *ruse* succeed, that the insurgents, struck with a panic, fled towards the ferry, and were pursued by the two companies, who, attacking them in flank, killed a considerable number, and took 178 prisoners. The two companies thereupon marched to Dunrobin castle, which they invested. The earl held out the castle till the evening, when, despairing of relief, he requested the commanders of the companies to hold a conference with him in the castle on the subject of a surrender. While engaged in conversation, Ensign Mackay, who had entered the castle along with the two captains, went down stairs, and having informed the earl's men below that he had surrendered, induced them to deliver up their arms. Having secured their arms, he took the keys from the porter, and, opening the gates, admitted his party. He then went up stairs with them, and, entering the dining-room, seized the earl, Lord Macleod, and the whole officers.³

Whilst the Duke of Cumberland was deliberating upon the course he should adopt for finally suppressing the rebellion, his unfortunate kinsman, disheartened by his recent disaster, was entirely occupied with thoughts of his own personal safety. After leaving the field, Charles, escorted by a large body of horse, crossed the river Nairn at the ford of Falie, about four miles from the field of battle. Having halted a short time on the south side of the Nairn, during which he held a consultation with his friends, Charles dismissed the horse and most of his attendants, with instructions to assemble at Ruthven in Badenoch,

where they were directed to wait for further orders. Taking along with him Sir Thomas Sheridan, O'Sullivan, Captain O'Neil, John Hay, and a few other persons, Charles set out for Gortuleg, the residence of Lord Lovat's steward, where he arrived about sunset. There, for the first and only time, the prince met Lord Lovat, who, on learning the cause of the Prince's unexpected visit, became, it is said, almost frantic, and, anticipating the fate which awaited him, called out to those around him to chop off his head. In a little time the aged chief regained his self-possession, and entered into conversation with Charles and his followers in relation to their future prospects. As it was not considered safe to pass the night so near the royal troops, Charles and his party, after partaking of some supper, left Gortuleg about ten o'clock for Invergarry, the seat of Macdonell of Glengarry. Before leaving Gortuleg, the prince took the precaution to change his dress.

The prince and his party arrived at the mansion of Invergarry about four o'clock in the morning, where Charles began to experience a foretaste of the hardships he was destined to endure. This ancient castle, ever since its first erection, had never been in such a cheerless condition as that in which Charles now found it. Unprovided with furniture or provisions, and inhabited by a solitary domestic, it seemed to warn the unfortunate fugitives that they were unwelcome within its walls, and that they must speedily look out for a more hospitable place of retreat. Overcome by fatigue, the whole party lay down upon the floor, in their clothes, and fell asleep. After reposing several hours, they rose, but had nothing to eat till Edward Burke, servant to Alexander Macleod, one of the party, observing a net in the water of Garry, pulled it out and caught two salmon, on which they dined.

With the exception of O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and Edward Burke, who, from his knowledge of the country, was selected as the prince's guide, all the party took leave of Charles at Invergarry. Before leaving the castle, Charles, in order the more effectually to disguise himself, put on Burke's coat; and at three o'clock in the afternoon, he set out for Loch Arkaig in Loehaber, accompanied by his three atten-

³ *Life of George, Earl of Cromarty*: London, 1746. Boyses, p. 155.

dants, and took up his quarters for the night in the house of Donald Cameron of Glenpean. Charles slept the following night, that of Friday the 18th, at Mewboll, where he and his small party were well entertained. From Mewboll they set out next morning for Glenboisdale. At Loch Morar they waited several hours for a boat to carry them across; but, not finding one, they were obliged, from the road being impracticable for horses, to abandon them and to walk on foot to Glenboisdale, which they reached on Sun-

considerate rashness he had provoked, Charles showed that he was not possessed of that magnanimity which many of his followers ascribed to him. Notwithstanding their recent reverse, there existed no unwillingness on the part of the brave men who had risked their all for him to continue the war. They might not have, it is true, succeeded in vindicating the claim of an ungrateful prince in the field; but, under his leadership, they might have made a gallant stand, and forced the government to grant them

favourable terms. In extenuation of the prince's conduct, on the present occasion, it is but fair to add, that he was under the influence of a set of contemptible advisers, who prejudiced him against his best friends, and instilled into his mind a conviction that he had been betrayed at Culloden. How far the conduct of Lord George Murray, after that event, may have determined Charles to take the course he did, cannot now be ascertained; but if Charles, in the midst of his perplexity immediately after the battle, hesitated as to the course he should pursue, his reception of the following document, under the hand of Lord George Murray, was certainly not calculated to induce him to continue the contest.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.

“As no person in these kingdoms ventured more frankly in the cause than myself, and as I had more at stake than almost all the others put together, so, to be sure, I cannot but be



Lord George Murray.—From the original painting, by permission of His Grace the Duke of Athole.

day the 20th, after great fatigue, having crossed two lofty ranges of mountains in their route.

Presuming that Charles still meant to make a stand, Lord George Murray and the other chiefs who remained with the army retired to Ruthven, where, including Cluny's men whom they met on their retreat, they assembled a force of between 2,000 and 3,000 men. From the want of provisions it was impossible to keep such a body together for any length of time; and a message from Charles, two or three days after the battle, desiring them to disperse, hastened an event which seemed to be inevitable. In thus resigning the contest which by his in-

very deeply affected with our late loss and presentsituation; but I declare, that were your royal highness's person in safety, the loss of the cause, and the misfortunate and unhappy situation of my countrymen, is the only thing that grieves me, for I thank God I have resolution to bear my own family's ruin without a grudge. Sir, you will, I hope, upon this occasion, pardon me, if I mention a few truths, which all the gentlemen of our army seem convinced of.

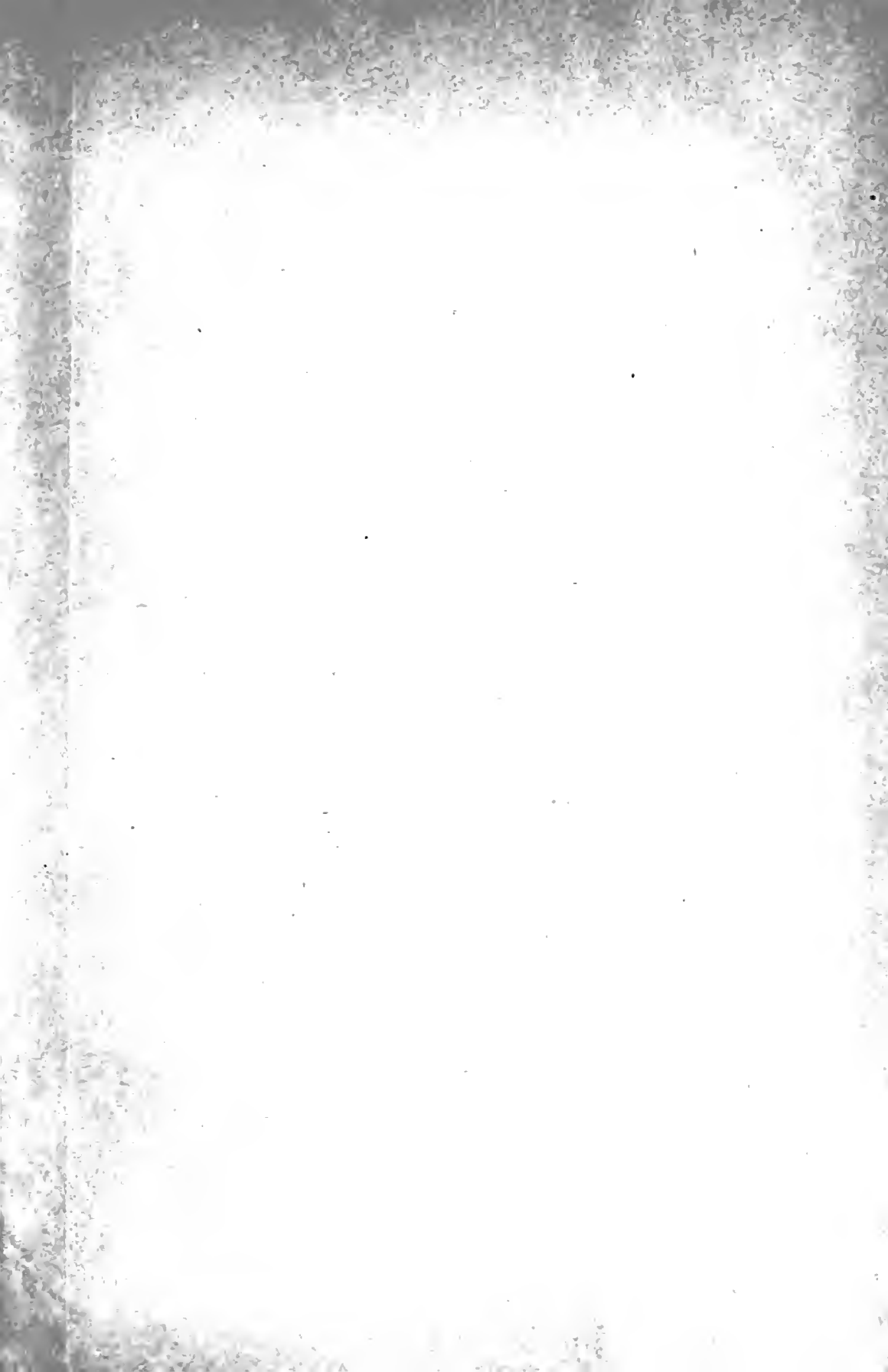
“It was highly wrong to have set up the royal standard without having positive assurances from his Most Christian Majesty, that he would assist you with all his force; and as











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