IT might well have been expected, after the foundations of the throne had been so shaken by the storm in 1715, that the Government would have looked earnestly into the causes which rendered the Highland clans so dangerous to the public tranquillity, and that some measures would have been taken for preventing their ready valour being abused into the means of ruining both themselves and others. Accordingly, the English Ministers lost no time in resorting to the more forcible

and obvious means of military subjugation, which necessarily are, and must be, the most immediate remedy in such a case, though far from being the most effectual in the long run. The law for disarming the Highlanders, although in many cases evaded, had yet been so generally enforced as to occasion general complaints of robbery by bands of armed men, which the country had no means of resisting. Those complaints were not without foundation; but they were greatly exaggerated by Simon Fraser, now called Lord Lovat, and others, who were desirous to obtain arms for their vassals, that they might serve purposes of their own.

Accordingly, in 1724 a warrant, under the sign manual, was granted to Field-marshal Wade, an officer of skill and experience, with instructions narrowly to inspect and report upon the state of the Highlands; the best measures for enforcing the laws and protecting the defenceless; the modes of communication which might be opened through the country; and whatever other remedies might conduce to the quiet of a district so long distracted.
In 1725, a new sign manual was issued to the same officer for the same purpose. In consequence of the Marshal's report, various important measures were taken. The clan of the MacKenzies had for years refused to account for the rents on Seaforth's forfeited estate to the collector nominated by Government, and had paid them to a factor appointed amongst themselves, who conveyed them openly to the exiled Earl. This state of things was now stopped, and the clan compelled to submit and give up their arms the Government liberally granting them an indulgence and remission for such arrears as they had transmitted to Seaforth in their obstinate fidelity to him. Other clans submitted, and made at least an ostensible surrender of their arms, although many of the most serviceable were retained by the clans which were hostile to Government. An armed vessel was stationed on Lochness, to command the shores of that extensive lake. Barracks were rebuilt; in some places, founded anew in others, and filled with regular soldiers.

Another measure of very dubious utility, which had been resorted to by King William and disused by George I., was now again had recourse to. This was the establishment of independent companies to secure the peace of the Highlands, and suppress the gang of thieves who carried on so bold a trade of depredation. These companies, consisting of Highlanders, dressed and armed in their own peculiar manner, were placed under the command of men well affected to Government, or supposed to be so, and having a great interest in the
Highlands. It was truly said, that such a militia, knowing the language and manners of the country, could do more than ten times the number of regular troops to put a stop to robbery. But, on the other hand, it had been found by experience, that the privates in such corps often, from clanship or other motives, connived at the thefts, or compounded for them with the delinquents. Their officers were accused of imposing upon Government by false musters; and above all, the doubtful faith even of those chiefs who made the strongest show of affection to Government, rendered the reestablishment of Black soldiers, as they were called, to distinguish them from the regular troops, who wore the red national uniform, a measure of precarious policy. It was resorted to, however, and six companies were raised on this principle.

Marshal Wade had also the power of receiving submission and granting protections to outlaws or others exposed to punishment for the late rebellion, and received many of them into the King's peace accordingly. He granted, besides, licenses to drovers, foresters, dealer? in cattle, and others engaged in such traffic, empowering them to carry arms for the defence of their persons and property. In all his proceedings towards the Highlanders, there may be distinguished a general air of humanity and good sense, which rendered him a popular character even while engaged in executing orders which they looked upon with the utmost degree of jealousy and suspicion.
The Jacobite partisans, in the mean while, partly by letters from, abroad, partly by agents of ability who traversed the country on purpose, did all in their power to thwart and interrupt the measures which were taken to reduce the Highlands to a state of peaceful cultivation. The act for disarming the body of the people they represented in the most odious colours, though, indeed, it is hardly possible to aggravate the feelings of shame and dishonour in which a free people must always induce at being deprived of the means of self-defence.

And the practical doctrine was not new to them, that if the parties concerned could evade this attempt to deprive them of their natural right and lawful property, either by an elusory surrender, or by such professions as might induce the Government to leave them in possession of their weapons, whether under license, or as members of the independent companies, it would be no dishonour in oppressed men meeting force by craft, and eluding the unjust and unreasonable demands which they wanted means openly to resist. Much of the quiet obtained by Marshal Wade's measures was apparent only; and while he boasts that the Highlanders, instead of going armed with guns, swords, dirks, and pistols, now travelled to churches, markets, and fairs with only a staff in- their hands, the veteran General was ignorant how many thousand weapons, landed from the Spanish frigates in 1719, or otherwise introduced into the country, lay in caverns and other places of concealment, ready for use when occasion should offer.
But the gigantic part of Marshal Wade's task, and that which he executed with the most complete success, was the establishment of military roads through the rugged and desolate regions of the north, ensuring the free passage of regular troops in a country, of which it might have been said, while in its natural state, that every mountain was a natural fortress, every valley a defensible pass. The roads, as they were termed, through the Highlands, had been hitherto mere tracks, made by the feet of men and the cattle which they drove before them, interrupted by rocks, morasses, torrents, and all the features of an inaccessible country, where a stranger even unopposed, might have despaired of making his solitary way, but where the passage of a regular body of troops, with cavalry, artillery, and baggage, was altogether impossible. These rugged paths, by the labours of the soldiers employed under Field-marshal Wade, were, by an extraordinary exertion of skill and labour, converted into excellent roads of great breadth and sound formation, which have ever since his time afforded a free and open communication through all parts of the Scottish Highlands.

Two of these highways enter among the hills from the low country, the one at Crieff, twenty miles north of Stirling, the other at Dunkeld, fifteen miles north or Perth. Penetrating around the mountains from different quarters, these two branches unite at Dalnacardoch. From thence a single line leads to Dalwhinny, where it again divides into two. One road runs north-west through Garviemore, and over the tremendous
pass of Corryarrack, to a new fort raised by Marshal [TG74-8]

Wade, called Fort Augustus. The second line
extends from Dalnacardoch north to the barracks
of Ruthven, in Lochaber, and thence to Inverness.
From that town it proceeds almost due westward
across the island, connecting Fort Augustus above-
mentioned, with Inverness, and so proceeding to
Fort William, in Lochaber, traversing the country
inhabited by the Camerons, the MacDonalds of
Glengarry, and other clans judged to be the worst
affected to the reigning family.

It is not to be supposed that the Highlanders of
that period saw with indifference the defensive
character of their country destroyed, and the dusky
wildernesses, which had defied the approach of the
Romans, rendered accessible in almost every direction
to the regular troops of the Government. We
can suppose that it affected them as the dismantling
of some impregnable citadel might do the
inhabitants of the country which it protected, and
that the pang which they experienced at seeing
their glens exposed to a hostile, or at least a stranger
force, was similar to that which they felt at the
resignation of the weapons of their fathers. But
those feelings and circumstances have passed away,
and the Highland military roads will continue
an inestimable advantage to the countries which
they traverse, although no longer requiring them
to check apprehended insurrection, and will long
exhibit a public monument of skill and patience,
not unworthy of the ancient Romans. Upon the
Roman principle, also, the regular soldiers were
Employed in this laborious work, and reconciled to(74-8)
the task by some trifling addition of pay; an
experiment which succeeded so well as to excite some
surprise that public works have not been more
frequently executed by similar means.

Other measures of the most laudable character
were resorted to by the Government and their
friends, for the improvement of the Highlands; bat
as they were of a description not qualified to
produce ameliorating, effects, save after a length of
time, they were but carelessly urged. They related
to the education of this wild population, and the
care necessary to train the rising generation in
moral and religious principles; but the Act of
Parliament framed for this end proved in a great measure
ineffectual. Those exertions, which ought to
have been national, were in some degree supplied
by the Society for the Propagation of Christian
Knowledge in the Highlands and Isles, who, by
founding chapels and schools in different places,
did more for enlightening the people of that country,
than had been achieved by any prince who had yet
reigned in or over Scotland.

While Marshal Wade was employed in pacifying
the Highlands, and rendering them accessible
to military forces, a subject of discontent broke out
in the Lowlands which threatened serious
consequences. The Government had now become
serious to make the income of Scotland a source of
revenue to the general exchequer, as hitherto it
had been found scarcely adequate to maintain the
public institution of the kingdom, and to pay and
support the troops which it was necessary to quarter
there for the general tranquillity. Now a surplus of revenue was desirable, and the Jacobites invidiously reported that the immediate object was chiefly to find funds in Scotland for defraying an expense of about ten guineas weekly, allowed to every North British Member of Parliament, for supporting the charge of his residence in London. This expense had been hitherto imposed on the general revenue, but now, said the Jacobites, the Scottish Members were made aware by Sir Robert Walpole, that they were to find, or acquiesce in, some mode of making up this sum out of the Scottish revenue; or, according to a significant phrase, that they must in future lay their account with tying up their stockings with their own garters.

With this view of rendering the Scottish revenue more efficient, it was resolved to impose a tax of sixpence per barrel on all ale brewed in Scotland. Upon the appearance of a desperate resistance to this proposal, the tax was lowered to three pence per barrel, or one half of what was originally proposed. In this modified proposal the Scottish members acquiesced. Yet it did not become more popular in Scotland; for it went to enhance the rate of a commodity in daily request, and excited by the inflammatory language of those whose interest it was to incense the populace, the principal towns in Scotland prepared to resist the imposition at all hazards.

Glasgow, so eminent for its loyalty in 1715, was
now at the head of this opposition; and on the 23d June [1725], when the duty was to be laid on, the general voice of the people of that city declared that they would not submit to its payment, and piles of stones were raised against the doors of the breweries and malt-houses, with a warning to all excise officers to keep their distance. On the appearance of these alarming symptoms, two companies of foot, under Captain Bushell, were marched from Edinburgh to Glasgow to prevent further disturbances. When the soldiers arrived, they found that the mob had taken possession of the guardhouse, and refused them admittance. The provost of the city, a timid or treacherous man, prevailed on Captain Bushell to send his men into their quarters, without occupying the guardhouse, or any other place proper to serve for an alarm-post or rendezvous. Presently after the rabble, becoming more and more violent directed their fury against Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, member for the city, and the set of boroughs in which it is included. His mansion, then the most elegant in Glasgow, was totally destroyed; and the mob, breaking into Ills cellars, found fresh incitement to their fury in the liquors there contained. All this was done without opposition, although Captain Bushell offered the assistance of his soldiers to keep the peace.

Next day the provost ventured to break open the guardroom door, and the soldiers were directed to repair thither. One or two rioters were also apprehended. Upon these symptoms of reviving authority, an alarm was beat by the mob, who
assembled in a more numerous and formidable body than ever, and, surrounding Bushell's two companies, loaded them with abuse, maltreated them with stones, and compelled them at last to fire, when nine men were killed and many wounded. The rioters, undismayed, rung the alarm bell, broke into the town magazine of arms, seized all the muskets they could find, and continued the attack on the soldiers. Captain Bushell, by the command, and at the entreaty of the provost, now commenced a retreat to Dunbarton castle, insulted and pursued by the mob a third part of the way.

In the natural resentment excited by this formidable insurrection, the Lord Advocate for the time (the celebrated Duncan Forbes) advanced to Glasgow at the head of a considerable army of horse, foot, and artillery. Marry threats were thrown out against the rioters, and the magistrates were severely censured for a gross breach of duty.

But the cool sagacity of the Lord Advocate anticipated the difficulty which, in the inflamed state of the public mind, he was likely to experience in procuring a verdict against such offenders as he might bring to trial. So that the affair passed away with less noise than might have been expected, it having been ascertained that the riot had no political tendency; and though inflamed by the lending Jacobites, was begun and carried on by the people of Glasgow, solely on the principle of a resolution to drink their two-penny ale untaxed. The metropolis of Scotland took this excise tax more coolly than the inhabitants of Glasgow, for
though greatly averse to the exaction, they only opposed it by a sort of vis inertiae, the principal brewers threatening to resign their trade, and, if the impost was continued, to brew no more ale for the supply of the public. The Lords of the Court of Session declared by an Act of Sederunt, that the brewers had no right to withdraw themselves from their occupation; and when the brewers, in reply, attempted, to show that they could not be legally compelled to follow their trade, after it had been rendered a losing one, the Court appointed their petition to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, assuring them they would be allowed no alternative between the exercise of their trade or imprisonment. Finally, four of the recusants were, actually thrown into jail, which greatly shook the firmness of these refractory fermentators, and at length reflecting that the ultimate loss must fall not on them, but on the public, they returned to the ordinary exercise of their trade, and quietly paid the duties imposed on their liquor.

The Union having now begun in some degree to produce beneficial effects, the Jacobite party were gradually losing much of the influence over the public mind which had arisen out of the general prejudices against that measure, and the natural disgust at the manner in which it was carried on and concluded. Accordingly, the next narrative of a historical character which occurs as proper to tell you, is unmingled with politics of Whig and Tory, and must be simply regarded as a strong and powerful display of the cool, stern, and resolved manner in which the Scottish, even of the lower
classes, can concert and execute a vindictive purpose.

The coast of Fife, full of little boroughs and petty seaports, was, of course, much frequented by smugglers, men constantly engaged in disputes with the excise officers, which were sometimes attended with violence. Wilson and Robertson, two persons of inferior rank, but rather distinguished in the contraband trade, had sustained great loss by a seizure of smuggled goods. The step from illicit trading to positive robbery is not along one. The two men robbed the collector, to indemnify themselves from the effects of the seizure. They were tried before the Court of Justiciary, and condemned to death.

While the two criminals were lying under sentence in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, two horse-stealers, named Ratcliffe and Stewart, were confined in the room immediately above where they lay. These, having obtained spring-saws and other instruments, cut through the thick iron bar that secured a window on the inside, and afterwards the cross-gratings on the out, and having opened a communication with their unfortunate companions by boring a large hole in the floor of their apartment, about two o'clock in the morning hauled them up. One party sung psalms, to drown the noise, while the others were sawing. One of the horse-stealers was let down in safety, and the others might have escaped but for the obstinacy of Wilson. This man, of a bulky person, insisted on making the next essay of the breach which had
been accomplished, and having stuck fast between the bars, was unable either to get through or to return back. Discovery was the consequence, and precautions were taken against any repetition of such attempts to escape. Wilson reflected bitterly on himself for not having permitted his comrade to make the first trial, to whom, as being light and slender, the bars would have been no obstacle. He resolved, with a spirit worthy of a better man, to atone to his companion, at all risks, for the injury he had done him.

At this time it was the custom in Edinburgh for criminals under sentence of death to be carried, under a suitable guard, to hear divine service, on the Sabbath before execution, in a church adjacent to the prison. Wilson and Robertson were brought thither accordingly, under the custody of four soldiers of the city-guard. Wilson, who was a very strong man, suddenly seized a soldier with each hand, and calling to his comrade to fly for his life, detained a third by grappling his collar with his teeth. Robertson shook himself clear of the fourth, and making his escape over the pews of the church, was no more heard of in Edinburgh. The common people, to whose comprehension the original crime for which the men were condemned had nothing very abhorrent in it, were struck with the generosity and self-devotion that this last action evinced, and took such an interest in Wilson's fate, that it was generally rumoured there would be an attempt to rescue him at the place of execution. To prevent, as was their duty, any riotous plan of this kind, the magistrates
ordered a party of the guard of the city, a sort of Marechausse or gensdarmes, armed and trained as soldiers, to protect the execution.

The captain of the party was the celebrated John Porteous, whose name will long be remembered in Scotland. This man, whose father was a burgess and citizen of Edinburgh, had himself been bred in the regular army, circumstances which recommended him to the magistrates, when in the year 1715 they were desirous to give their civic guard something of a more effective military character. As an active police officer Porteous was necessarily often in collision with the rabble of the city, and being strict, and even severe in the manner in which he repressed and chastised petty riots and delinquencies, he was, as is usual with persons of his calling, extremely unpopular and odious to the rabble. They also accused him of abusing the authority reposed in him, to protect the extravagancies of the rich and powerful, while he was inexorable in punching the license of the poor.

Porteous had besides a good deal of the pride of his profession, and seems to have been determined to show that the corps he commanded was adequate, without assistance, to dispel any commotion in the city of Edinburgh. For this reason, he considered it rather as an affront that the magistrates, on occasion of Wilson's execution, had ordered Moyle's regiment to be drawn up in the suburbs to enforce order, should the city-guard be unable to maintain it. It is probable from what followed, that the men commanded by Porteous shared their leader's jealousy of the regular troops, and his dislike to
(74-18)The populace, with whom in the execution of their
duty, they were often engaged in hostilities.1

The execution of Wilson on the 14th of April,
1736, took place in the usual manner, without any
actual or menaced interruption. The criminal,
according to his sentence, was hanged to the death,
and it was not till the corpse was cut down that
the mob, according to their common practice, began
to insult and abuse the executioner, pelting him
with stones, many of which were also thrown at the
soldiers. At former executions it had been the
custom for the city-guard to endure such insults
with laudable patience, but on this occasion they
were in such a state of irritation, that they forgot
their usual moderation, and repaid the pelting of the
mob by pouring amongst them a fire of musketry,
killing and wounding many persons. In their
retreat also to the guard-house, as the rabble pressed
on them with furious execrations, some soldiers in

the rear of the march again faced round and renewed
the fire. In consequence of this unauthorized
and unnecessary violence, and to satisfy the
community of Edinburgh for the blood which had been
rashly shed, the Magistrates were inclined to have
taken Porteous to trial under the Lord Provost's
authority as High Sheriff within the city. Being
advised, however, by the lawyers whom they consulted,
that such proceeding would be subject to
challenge, Porteous was brought to trial for murder
before the High Court of Justiciary. He denied
that he ever gave command to fire, and it was proved
that the fusee which he himself carried had never been discharged. On the other hand, in the perplexed and contradictory evidence which was obtained, where so many persons witnessed the same events from different positions, and perhaps with different feelings, there were witnesses who said that they saw Porteous take a musket from one of his men, and fire it directly at the crowd. A jury of incensed citizens took the worst view of the case, and found the prisoner guilty of murder. At this King George II. Was on the continent, and the regency was chiefly in the hands of Queen Caroline, a woman of very considerable talent, and naturally disposed to be tenacious of the crown's rights. It appeared to her Majesty, and her advisers that though the action of Porteous and his soldiers was certainly rash and unwarranted, yet that, considering the purpose by which it was dictated, it must fall considerably short of the guilt of murder. Captain Porteous, in the discharge of a duty imposed on him by legal authority, had unquestionably been assaulted without provocation on his part, and had therefore a right to defend himself; and if there were excess in the means he had recourse to, yet a line of conduct originating in self-defence cannot be extended into murder, though it might amount to homicide. Moved by these considerations, the Regency granted a reprieve of Porteous's sentence, preliminary to his obtaining a pardon, which might perhaps have been clogged with some conditions.

When the news of the reprieve readied Edinburgh, they were received with gloomy and
general indignation. The lives which had been taken in the affray were not those of persons of the meanest rank, for the soldiers, of whom many, with natural humanity, desired to fire over the heads of the rioters, had, by so doing, occasioned additional misfortune, several of the balls taking effect in windows which were crowded with spectators, and killing some persons of good condition. A great number, therefore, of all ranks, were desirous that Porteous should atone with his own life for the blood which had been so rashly spilt by those under his command. A general feeling seemed to arise, unfavourable to the unhappy criminal, and public threats were cast out, though the precise source could not be traced, that the reprieve itself should not save Porteous from the vengeance of the citizens of Edinburgh.

The 7th day of September, the day previous to that appointed for his execution, had now arrived, and Porteous, confident of his speedy deliverance from jail, had given an entertainment to a party of friends, whom he feasted within the tolbooth, when the festivity was strangely interrupted. Edinburgh was then surrounded by a wall on the east and south sides; on the west it was defended by the castle, on the north by a lake called the North loch. The gates were regularly closed in the evening, and guarded. It was about the hour of shutting the ports, as they were called when a disorderly assemblage began to take place in the suburb called Portsburgh, a quarter which has been always the residence of labourers and persons generally of inferior rank. The rabble continued to gather to a head, and, to augment their numbers, beat a drum
(74-22)which they had taken from the man who exercised
(74-22)the function of drummer to the suburb. Finding
(74-22)themselves strong enough to commence their
(74-22)purposes, they seized on the West-port, nailed and
(74-22)barricaded it. Then going along the Cowgate and
(74-22)gaining the High Street by the numerous lanes
(74-22)which run between these two principal streets of
(74-22)the Old Town, they secured the Cowgate Port
(74-22)and that of the Netherbow, and thus, except on the
(74-22)side of the castle, entirely separated the city from
(74-22)such military forces as were quartered in the
(74-22)suburbs. The next object of the mob was to attack
(74-22)the city-guard, a few of whom were upon duty as
(74-22)usual. These the rioters stripped of their arms,
(74-22)and dismissed from their rendezvous, but without
(74-22)otherwise maltreating them, though the agents of
(74-22)the injury of which they complained. The various
(74-22)halberds, Lochaber axes, muskets, and other
(74-22)weapons, which they found in the guard-house, served
(74-22)to arm the rioters, a large body of whom now bent
(74-22)their way to the door of the jail, while another
(74-22)body, with considerable regularity, drew up across
(74-22)the front of the Luckenbooths. The magistrates,
(74-22)with such force as they could collect, made an
(74-22)effort to disperse the multitude. They were
(74-22)strenuously repulsed, but with no more violence than
(74-22)was necessary to show that, while the populace

[TG74-23]
(74-23)were firm in their purpose, they meant to accomplish
(74-23)it with as little injury as possible to any one,
(74-23)excepting their destined victim. There might
(74-23)have been some interruption of their undertaking,
(74-23)had the soldiers of Moyle's regiment made their
way into the town from the Canongate, where they were quartered, or had the garrison descended from the Castle. But neither Colonel Moyle nor the governor of the Castle chose to interfere on their own responsibility, and no one dared to carry a written warrant to them on the part of the magistrates.

In the mean time the multitude demanded that Porteous should be delivered up to them; and as they were refused admittance to the jail, they prepared to burst open the doors. The outer gate, as was necessary to serve the purpose, was of such uncommon strength as to resist the united efforts of the rioters, though they employed sledgehammers and iron crows to force it open. Fire was at length called for, and a large bonfire, maintained with tar-barrels and such ready combustibles, soon burnt a hole in the door, through which the jailor flung the keys. This gave the rioters free entrance. Without troubling themselves about the fate of the other criminals, who naturally took the opportunity of escaping, the rioters or their leaders went in search of Porteous. They found him concealed in the chimney of his apartment, which he was prevented from ascending by a grating that ran across the vent, as is usual in such edifices. The rioters dragged their victim out of his concealment, and commanded him to prepare to undergo the death he had deserved; nor did they pay the least attention either to his prayers for mercy, or to the offers by which he endeavoured to purchase his life. Yet, amid all their obduracy of vengeance there was little tumult, and no more violence than
was inseparable from the action which they meditated. Porteous was permitted to intrust what money or papers he had with him to a friend, for the behoof of his family. One of the rioters, a grave and respectable-looking man, undertook, in the capacity of a clergyman, to give him ghostly consolation suited to his circumstances, as one who had not many minutes to live. He was conducted from the Tolbooth to the Grassmarket, which, both as being the usual place of execution and the scene where their victim had fired, or caused his soldiers to fire, on the citizens, was selected as the place of punishment. They marched in a sort of procession, guarded by a band of the rioters, miscellaneously armed with muskets, battle-axes, &c., which

[TG74-25]
were taken from the guard-house, while others carried links or flambeaux. Porteous was in the midst of them, and as he refused to walk, he was carried by two of the rioters on what is in Scotland called the King's cushion, by which two persons alternately grasping each other's wrists, form a kind of seat on the backs of their hands, upon which a third may be placed. They were so cool as to halt when one of the slippers dropped from his foot, till it was picked up and replaced.

The citizens of the better class looked from their windows on this extraordinary scene, but terrified beyond the power of interference, if they had possessed the will. In descending the West Bow, which leads to the place of execution, the rioters, or conspirators—a term, perhaps, more suited to men of their character—provided themselves with a coil of ropes, by breaking into the booth of a
dealer in such articles, and left at the same time a guinea to pay for it; a precaution which would hardly have occurred to men of the lowest class, of which in external appearance the mob seemed to consist. A cry was next raised fur the gallows, in order that Porteous might die according to all the ceremony of the law. But as this instrument of punishment was kept in a distant part of the town, so that time must be lost in procuring it, they

proceeded to hang the unfortunate man over ii dyer's pole, as near to the place of execution as possible. The poor man's efforts to save himself only added to his tortures; for as he tried to keep hold of the beam to which Ire was suspended, they struck his hands with guns and Lochaber axes, to make him quit his hold, so that he suffered more than usual in the struggle which dismissed him from life.

When Porteous was dead the rioters dispersed, withdrawing without noise or disturbance all the outposts which they had occupied for preventing interruption, and leaving the city so quiet, that had it not been for the relics of the fire which had been applied to the jail-door; the arms which lay scattered in disorder on the street, as the rioters had flung them down; and the dead body of Porteous, which remained suspended in the place where he died; there was no visible symptom of so violent an explosion of popular fury having taken place.

The Government, highly offended at such a daring contempt of authority, imposed on the Crown counsel the task of prosecuting the discovery of the rioters with the utmost care. The report of Mr
Charles Erskine, then solicitor-general, is now before me, and bears witness to his exertions in tracing the reports, which were numerous, in assigning to various persons particular shares in this nocturnal outrage. All of them, however, when examined, proved totally groundless, and it was evident that they had been either wilful falsehoods, sent abroad to deceive and mislead the investigators, or at least idle and unauthenticated rumours which arise out of such commotions, like bubbles on broken and distracted waters. A reward of two hundred pounds was offered by Government, for the discovery of any person concerned in the riot, but without success.

Only a single person was proved to have been present at the mob, and the circumstances in which he stood placed him out of the reach of punishment. He was footman to a lady of rank, and a creature of weak intellects. Being sent into Edinburgh on a message by his mistress, he had drunk so much liquor as to deprive him of all capacity whatever, and in this state mixed with the mob, some of whom put a halberd in his hand. But the witnesses who proved this apparent accession to the mob, proved also that the accused could not stand without the support of the rioters, and was totally incapable of knowing for what purpose they were assembled, and consequently of approving of or aiding their guilt. He was acquitted accordingly, to the still further dissatisfaction of the Ministry, and of Queen Caroline, who considered the commotion, and the impunity with which it was followed, as an insult to her personal authority.
A bill was prepared and brought into Parliament for the punishment of the city of Edinburgh, in a very vindictive spirit, proposing to abolish the city charter, demolish the city walls, take away the town-guard, and declare the provost incapable of holding any office of public trust. A long investigation took place on the occasion, in which many persons were examined at the bar of the House of Lords, without throwing the least light on the subject of the Porteous Mob, or the character of the persons by whom it was conducted. The penal conclusions of the bill were strenuously combated by the Duke of Argyle, Duncan Forbes, and others, who represented the injustice of punishing with dishonour the capital of Scotland for the insolence of a lawless mob, which, taking advantage of a moment of security, had committed a great breach of the peace, attended with a cruel murder. As men's minds cooled, the obnoxious clauses were dropped out of the bill, and at length its penal consequences were restricted to a fine of L.2000 sterling on the city, to be paid for the use of Captain Porteous's widow. This person, having received other favours from the town, accepted of L.1500 in full of the fine; and so ended the affair, so far as the city of Edinburgh was concerned.

But, as if some fatality had attended the subject, a clause was thrown in, compelling the ministers of the Scottish church to read a proclamation from the pulpit, once every month during the space of a whole year, calling on the congregation to do all in
their power for discovering; and bringing to justice
the murderers of Captain Porteous, or any of them,
and noticing the reward which Government had
promised to such as should bring the malefactors
to conviction. Many of the Scottish clergy
resented this imposition, as indecorously rendering
the pulpit a vehicle for a hue and cry, and still
more as an attempt, on the part of the state, to
interfere with the spiritual authorities of the kirk,
which amounted, in their opinion, to an Erastian
heresy. Neither was it held to be matter of
indifference, that in reading the proclamation of the
Legislature, the, clergymen were compelled to
describe the bishops as the "Lords Spiritual in
Parliament assembled;" an epithet seemingly
acknowledging the legality and the rank of an
order disavowed by all true Calvinists. The dispute
was the more violent, as it was immediately subsequent
to a schism in the church, on the fruitful
subject of patronage, which had divided from the

communion of the Established Church of Scotland
that large class of dissenters, generally called
Seceders. Much ill blood was excited, and great
dissensions took place betwixt those clergymen
who did, and those who did not, read the proclamation.
This controversy, like others, had its hour,
during which little else was spoken of, until in due
time the subject was worn threadbare and forgotten.

The origin of the Porteous Mob continued long
to exercise the curiosity of those by whom the
event was remembered, and from the extraordinary
mixture of prudence and audacity with which the
purpose of the multitude had been conceived and
executed, as well as the impenetrable secrecy with
which the enterprise was carried through, the public
were much inclined to suspect that there had been
among its actors men of rank and character, far
superior to that belonging to the multitude who were
the ostensible agents. Broken and imperfect stories
were told of men in the disguise of women and of
common artisans, whose manner betrayed a sex and
manners different from what their garb announced.
Others laughed at these as unauthorized exaggerations,
and contended that no class were so likely to
frame or execute the plan for the murder of the
police officer, as the populace to whom his official
proceedings had rendered him obnoxious, and that

the secrecy so wonderfully preserved on the occasion
arose out of the constancy and fidelity which
the Scottish people observe towards each other
when engaged in a common cause. Nothing is, or
probably ever will be, known with certainty on the
subject; but it is understood, that several young
men left Scotland in apprehension of the strict
scrutiny which was made into that night's proceedings;
and in your grandfather's younger days, the
voice of fame pointed out individuals, who, long
absent from that country, had returned from the
East and West Indies in improved circumstances,
as persons who had fled abroad on account of the
Porteous Mob. One story of the origin of the
conspiracy was stated to me with so much authority,
and seemed in itself so simple and satisfactory
that although the degree of proof, upon investigation,
fell far short of what was necessary as full
evidence, I cannot help considering it as the most
probable account of the mysterious affair. A man,
who lung bore an excellent character, and tilled a
place of some trust as forester and carpenter to a
gentleman of fortune in Fife, was affirmed to have
made a confession on Ins death-bed, that he had been
not only one of the actors in the hanging of Porteous,
but one of the secret few by whom the deed
was schemed and set on foot. Twelve persons of
the village of Path-head-so this man's narrative
was said to proceed-resolved that Porteous should
die, to atone for the life of Wilson, with whom
many of them had been connected by the ties of
friendship and joint adventure in illicit trade, and

for the death of those shot at the execution. This
vengeful band crossed the Forth by different
ferries, and met together at a solitary place near the
city, where they distributed the party which were
to act in the business which they had in hand; and
giving a beginning to the enterprise, soon saw it
undertaken by the populace of the city, whose minds
were precisely in that state of irritability which
disposed them to follow the example of a few desperate
men. According to this account, most of the
original devisers of the scheme fled to foreign parts,
the surprise of the usual authorities having
occasioned some days to pass over ere the investigations
of the affair were commenced. On making
enquiry of the surviving family of this old man,
they were found disposed to treat the rumoured
confession as a fiction, and to allege that although
he was of an age which seemed to support the
story, and had gone abroad shortly after the
Porteous Mob, yet he had never acknowledged any
accession to it, but on the contrary, maintained his
innocence when taxed, as he sometimes was, with
having a concern in the affair. The report, however, though probably untrue in many of its circumstances, yet seems to give a very probable account of the origin of the riot in the vindictive purpose of a few resolute men, whose example was quickly followed by the multitude, already in a state of mind to catch fire from the slightest spark.

This extraordinary and mysterious outrage seems to be the only circumstance which can be interesting to you, as exclusively belonging to the history of Scotland, betwixt the years immediately succeeding the civil war of 1715, and those preceding the last explosion of Jacobitism in that country, in 1745-6.

AFTER the temporary subjection of the Highlands in 1720, and the years immediately succeeding, had been in appearance completed, by the establishment of garrisons, the formation of military roads, and the general submission of the Highland clans who were most opposed to Government, Scotland enjoyed a certain degree of internal repose, if not of prosperity. To estimate the nature of this calm, we must look at the state of the country, in two points of view, as it concerned the Highlands and the Lowlands.

In the Lowlands a superior degree of improvement began to take place, by the general influence of civilisation, rather than by the effect of any specific legislative enactment. The ancient laws, which
vested the administration of justice in the aristocracy. (75-35)continued to be a cause of poverty amongst the (75-35)tenantry of the country. Every gentleman of (75-35)considerable estate possessed the power of a baron, or (75-35)lord of regality, and by means of a deputy, who (75-35)was usually his factor or land-steward, exercised (75-35)the power of dispensing justice, both civil and (75-35)criminal, to those in his neighbourhood. In the most (75-35)ordinary class of lawsuits one party was thus (75-35)constituted the judge in his own cause; for in all cases (75-35)betwixt landlord and tenant, the questions were (75-35)decided in the court of the baron, where the landlord, (75-35)by means of an obsequious deputy, in fact (75-35)possessed the judicial power. The nature of the (75-35)engagements between the proprietor and the (75-35)cultivator of the ground, rendered the situation of the (75-35)latter one of great hardship. The tenants usually (75-35)held their farms from year to year and from the (75-35)general poverty of the country, could pay but little (75-35)rent in money. The landlords, who were usually (75-35)struggling to educate their children, and set them (75-35)out in the world, were also necessitous, and (75-35)pursued indirect expedients for subjecting1 the tenants (75-35)in services of a nature winch had a marked (75-35)connexion with the old slavish feudal tenures. Thus (75-35)the tenant was bound to grind his meal at the (75-35)baron's mill, and to pay certain heavy duties for the (75-35)operation, though he could have had it ground more conveniently and cheaply elsewhere. In some (75-36)instances he was also obliged to frequent the brewery (75-36)of his landlord. In almost every case, he was (75-36)compelled to discharge certain services, of driving coals. (75-36)casting peats,1 or similar domestic labour, for the (75-36)proprietor. In this manner the tenant was often
(75-36) called upon to perform the field work of the Laird
(75-36) when that of his own farm was in arrear, and
(75-36) deprived of that freedom of employing his powers of
(75-36) labour to the best possible account, which is the
(75-36) very soul of agriculture.

(75-36) Nevertheless, though the Scottish lairds had the
(75-36) means of oppression in their hands, a judicious
(75-36) perception of their own interest prevented many, and
(75-36) doubtless a sense of justice warned others, from
(75-36) abusing those rights to the injury of their people.
(75-36) The custom, too, of giving farms in lease to younger
(75-36) sons or other near relatives, tended to maintain the
(75-36) farmers above the rank of mere peasantry, into
(75-36) which they must have otherwise sunk; and as the
(75-36) Scottish landholders of those days lived economically,
(75-36) and upon terms of kindness with their tenants,
(75-36) there were fewer instances of oppression or ill usage
(75-36) than might have been expected from a system which
(75-36) was radically bad, and which, if the proprietors had
(75-36) been more rapacious, and the estates committed to
(75-36) the management of a mere factor or middle-man,
(75-36) who was to make the most of them, must have led
(75-36) to a degree of distress which never appears to have
(75-36) taken place in Scotland. Both parties were in

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(75-37) general poor, but they united their efforts to bear their
(75-37) indigence with patience.

(75-37) The younger sons of gentlemen usually went
(75-37) abroad in some line of life in which they might
(75-37) speedily obtain wealth, or at least the means of
(75-37) subsistence. The colonies afforded opportunities of
(75-37) advancement to many; others sought fortune in
(75-37) England, where the calmer and more provident
character of the nation, joined with the ready
assistance which each Scotsman who attained
prosperity extended to those who were struggling for it.
very often led to success. The elder sons of the
Scottish landholders were generally, like those of
France, devoted to the law or to the sword, so that
in one way or other they might add some means of
increase to the family estates. Commerce was
advancing by gradual steps. The colonial trade had
opened slow but increasing sources of exertion to
Glasgow, which is so conveniently situated for the
trade with North America, of which that enterprising
town early acquired a respectable portion.

The Church of Scotland still afforded a respectable
asylum for such as were disposed to turn their
thoughts towards it. It could, indeed, in no shape
afford wealth, but it gave sufficiency for the
moderate wants of a useful clergyman, and a degree
of influence over the minds of men, which, to a
generous spirit, is more valuable than opulence.
The respectability of the situation, and its importance
in society, reconciled the clergyman to its
poverty, an evil little felt, where few could be
termed rich.

Learning was not so accurately cultivated as in
the sister country. But although it was rare to
find a Scottish gentleman, even when a divine or
lawyer, thoroughly grounded in classical lore, it
was still more uncommon to find men in the higher
ranks who did not possess a general tincture of
letters, or, thanks to their system of parochial
education, individuals even in the lowest classes, without
the knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic.
A certain degree of pedantry, indeed, was considered as a characteristic of the nation, and the limited scholarship which it argued, proved eminently useful to Scotchmen, who, going abroad, or to England, which they considered as a foreign country, mixed in the struggle for success with the advantage of superior information over those of the same class elsewhere. Thomson, Mallet, and others engaged in the pursuits of literature, were content to receive their reward from the sister country; and if we except the Poems of Allan Ramsay, praised by his countrymen, but neither relished nor understood by South Britons, the Scots made little figure in composition, compared to the period of Gawin Douglas and Dunbar. Upon the whole, the situation of Scotland during the early part of the eighteenth century, was like that of a newly transplanted forest-tree, strong enough to maintain itself in its new situation, but too much influenced by the recent violence of the change of position, to develope with freedom its principles of growth or increase.

The principal cause which rendered Scotland stationary in its advance, towards improvement, was the malevolent influence of political party. No efforts seem to have been made to heal the rankling wounds which the civil war of 1715 had left behind it. The party in favour failed not, as is always the case, to represent those who were excluded from it as the moat dangerous enemies of the king on the throne, and the constitution by which he reigned; and those who were branded as Jacobites were confirmed in their opinions, by
finding themselves shut out from all prospect of countenance and official employment. Almost all beneficial situations were barred against those who were suspected of harbouring such sentiments, by the necessity imposed on them, not only of taking oaths to the established government, but also such as expressly denounced and condemned the political opinions of those who differed from it. Men of high spirit and honourable feelings were averse to take, oaths by which they were required openly to stigmatize and disown the opinions of their fathers and nearest relatives, although perhaps they themselves saw the fallacy of the proscribed tenets, and were disposed tacitly to abandon them. Those of the higher class, once falling under suspicion, were thus excluded from the bar and the army, which we have said were the professions embraced by the elder sons of gentlemen. The necessary consequence was, that the sons of Jacobite families went into foreign service and drew closer those connexions with the exiled family, which they might have otherwise been induced to drop, and

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became confirmed in their party opinions, even from the measures employed to suppress them. In the rank immediately lower, many young men of decent families were induced to renounce the privileges of their birth, and undertake mechanical employments, in which their conduct could not be obstructed by the imposition of the obnoxious oaths.

It was fortunate for the peace of the kingdom, that, though many of the landed gentry were still much imbued with the principles of Jacobitism, they did not retain the influence which so long
rendered them the active disturbers of the Government; for, although the feudal rights still subsisted in form, it was now a more difficult matter for a great lord to draw into the field the vassals who held of him by military tenure. The various confiscations which had taken place operated as serious warnings to such great families as those of Gordon, Athole, Seaforth, or others, how they rashly hoisted the standard of rebellion, while the provisions of the Clan Act and other statutes, enabled the vassal so summoned to dispense with attendance upon it, without hazarding, as in former times, the forfeiture of his fief. Nor was the influence of the gentry and landed proprietors over the farmers and cultivators of the soil less diminished than that of the great nobles. When the proprietors, as was now generally the case throughout the Lowlands, became determined to get the highest rent they could obtain for their land, the farmer did not feel his situation either so easy or so secure, that he should, in addition, be called on to follow his landlord to battle. It must also be remembered, that though many gentlemen, on the north of the Tay especially, were of the Episcopal persuasion, which was almost synonymous with being Jacobites, a great proportion of the lower classes were Presbyterian in their form of worship, and Whigs in political principle, and every way adverse to the counter-revolution which it was the object of their landlords to establish. In the south and west, the influence of the established religion was general amongst both gentry and peasantry.
The fierce feelings occasioned throughout Scotland generally, by the recollections of the Union, had died away with the generation which experienced them, and the benefits of the treaty began to be visibly, though slowly, influential on their descendants. The Lowlands, therefore, being by far the wealthiest and most important part of Scotland, were much disposed to peace, the rather that those who might have taken some interest in creating fresh disturbances, had their power of doing so greatly diminished.

It is also to be considered, that the Lowlanders of this later period were generally deprived of arms, and unaccustomed to use them. The Act of Security, in the beginning of the 18th century, had been made the excuse for introducing quantities of arms into Scotland, and disciplining the population to the use of them; but the consequences of this general arming and training act had long ceased to operate, and, excepting the militia, which were officered; and received a sort of discipline, the use of arms was totally neglected in the Lowlands of Scotland.

The Highlands were in a very different state, and from the tenacity with which the inhabitants retained the dress, language, manners, and customs of their fathers, more nearly resembled their predecessors of centuries long since past, than any other nation in Europe. It is true, they were no longer the ignorant and irreclaimable barbarians, in which light they were to be regarded so late perhaps as the sixteenth century. Civilisation had
approached their mountains. Their mariners were influenced by the presence of armed strangers, whose fortresses were a check to the fire of their restless courage. They were obliged to yield subjection to the law, and, in appearance at least, to pay respect to those by whom it was administered. But the patriarchal system still continued, with all the good and bad which attached to its influence. The chief was still the leader in war, the judge and protector in peace. The whole income of the tribe, consisting of numerous but petty articles of rude produce, was paid into the purse of the chief, and served to support the rude hospitality of his household, which was extended to the poorest of the clan. It was still the object of each leader, by all possible means, to augment the number capable of bearing, arms; and, of course, they did not hesitate to harbour on their estates an excess of population, idle, haughty, and warlike, whose only labour was battle and the chase, and whose only law was the command of their chieftain.

It is true, that, in the eighteenth century, we no longer hear of the chiefs taking arms in their own behalf, or fighting pitched battles with each other, nor did they, as formerly, put themselves at the head of the parties which ravaged the estates of rival clans or the Lowlands. The creaghs or inroads took place in a less open and avowed manner than formerly, and were interrupted frequently both by the regular soldiers from the garrisons, and by the soldiers of the independent companies, called the Black Watch. Still, however, it was well understood that on the estates, or countries, as they are called, of the great chiefs, there was suffered to
exist, under some bond of understood but unavowed conditions of allegiance on the one side, and protection on the other, amongst pathless woods and gloomy valleys, gangs of banditti ready to execute the will of the chief by whom they were sheltered, and upon a hint darkly given and easily caught up, willingly disposed to avenge his real, or supposed [TG75-44]

wrongs. Thus the celebrated Rob Roy, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, was able, though an outlawed and desperate man, to maintain himself against every effort of the Montrose family, by the connivance which he received from that of Argyle, who allowed him, as the phrase then went, "wood and water," that is to say, the protection of their lakes and forests.

This primitive state of things must, in the gradual course of events, have suffered great innovations. The young Highlanders of fortune received their education in English or Lowland schools, and, gradually adopting the ideas of those with whom they were brought up, must have learned to value themselves less on their solitary and patriarchal power, than on the articles of personal expenditure and display which gave distinction to those around them. This new passion would have been found in time inconsistent with the performance of the duties which the tribe expected and exacted from their chief, and the bonds which connected them, though so singularly intimate, must have in time given way. The Reverend Peter Rae, historian of the Rebellion in 1715, states that, even in his own time, causes of the nature we have hinted at were beginning to operate, and that some chiefs,
with the spaghlin or assumption of consequence not

uncommon to the Celtic race, had addicted themselves to expenses and luxuries to which their incomes were not equal and which began already to undermine their patriarchal power and authority over their clans.

But the operation of such causes, naturally slow, was rendered almost imperceptible, if not altogether neutralized, by the strong and counteracting stimulus afforded by the feelings of jacobitism common to the western chiefs. These persons and their relations had many of them been educated or served as soldiers abroad, and were in close intercourse with the exiled family, who omitted no means by which they could ensure the attachment of men so able to serve them. The communication of the Stewart family with the Highlands was constant and unceasing, and was, no doubt, most effectual in maintaining the patriarchal system in its integrity. Each chief looked upon himself as destined to be raised to greatness by the share he might be able to take in the eventful and impending struggle which was one day to restore the House of Stewart to the throne, and that share must be greater or less according to the number of men at whose head he might take the field. This prospect, which to

their sanguine, eyes appeared a near one, was a motive which influenced the lives, and regulated the conduct, of the Highland chiefs, and which had its natural effect in directing their emulous attention to cement the bonds of clanship, that might otherwise
have been gradually relaxed.

But though almost all the chiefs were endeavoring to preserve their people in a state to take the field, and to assist the cause of the heir of the Stewart family when the moment of enterprise should arrive, yet the individual character of each modified the manner in which he endeavoured to provide for this common object; and I cannot propose to you a stronger contrast than the manner in which the patriarchal power was exercised by Donald Cameron of Lochiel, and the notorious Fraser of Lovat.

The former was one of the most honourable and well-intentioned persons in whom the patriarchal power was ever lodged. He was grandson of that Sir Evan Dhu, or Black Sir Evan, who made so great a figure in Cromwell's time, and of whom I have already told you many stories in a former volume of this little work. Far from encouraging the rapine which had, been, for a long time objected to the men of Lochaber, he made the most anxious exertions to put a stop to it by severe punishment; and while he protected his own people and his allies, would not permit them to inflict any injury upon others. He encouraged among them such kinds of industry as they could be made to apply themselves to; and in general united the high spirit of a Highland chief: with the sense and intelligence of a well-educated English gentleman of fortune. Although possessed of an estate, of which the income hardly amounted to seven hundred a-year, this celebrated chief brought...
fourteen hundred men into the Rebellion, and he
was honourably distinguished by his endeavours on
all occasions to mitigate the severities of war,

A different picture must be presented of Lord
Lovat, whose irregular ambition induced him to
play the Highland chief to the very utmost, while
he cared for nothing save the means of applying
the power implied in the character to the advancement
of his own interest. His hospitality was
exuberant, yet was regulated by means which
soured much of a paltry economy. His table was
filled with Frasers, all of whom he called his
cousins, but took care that the fare with which they
were regaled was adapted, not to the supposed
equality, but to the actual importance of his guests.
Thus the claret diet not pass below a particular
mark on the table; those who sat beneath that
limit had some cheaper liquor, which had also its
bounds of circulation; and the clansmen at the
extremity of the board were served with single ale.
Still it was drunk at the table of their chief, and
that made amends for all. Lovat had a Lowland
estate, where he fleeced his tenants without mercy,
for the sake of maintaining his Highland military,
retainers. He was a master of the Highland
character, and knew how to avail himself of its
peculiarities. He knew every one whom it was convenient
for him to caress; had been acquainted with
his father; remembered the feats of his ancestors,
and was profuse in his complimentary expressions,
of praise and fondness. If a man of substance
offended Lovat, or, which was the same thing, if he possessed a troublesome claim against him, and was determined to enforce it, one would have thought that all the plagues of Egypt had been denounced against the obnoxious individual. His house was burnt, his flocks driven off, his cattle houghed; and if the perpetrators of such outrages were secured, the jail of Inverness was never strong enough to detain them till punishment. They always broke prison. With persons of low rank, less ceremony was used; and it was not uncommon for witnesses to appear against them for some imaginary crime, for which Lord Lovat's victims suffered the punishment of transportation.

We cannot wonder that a man of Lovat's disposition should also play the domestic tyrant; but it would be difficult to conceive the excess to which he carried enormities in this character. After his return to Scotland in 1715, he was twice married; first, in 1717, to a daughter of the Laird of Grant, by whom he had two sons and two daughters; his second, or rather his third wife, was a Campbell, a relation of the Argyle family. It is supposed he married her with a view to secure the friendship of that great family. Finding himself disappointed in this expectation, he vented his resentment on the poor lady, whom he shut up in a turret of his castle, neither affording her food, clothes, or other necessaries, in a manner suitable to her education, nor permitting her to go abroad, or to receive any friend within doors. Dark rumours went forth of the treatment of the wife of this daring chief, who had thus vanished from society. She had a friend,
whose fearless interest in her fate induced her to

surmount all sense of personal danger, and to visit Castle Downie with the purpose of ascertaining the situation of Lady Lovat. She contrived to announce her arrival so unexpectedly, as to leave Lovat no apology by which he could escape her intrusive visit. He took his resolution, went to the prison-chamber of his unfortunate wife, and announced to her the arrival of her friend. "As it is my pleasure, madam," he said, "that you receive your visitor in the character of a contented and affectionate wife, you will please to dress yourself" (laying proper apparel before her), "and come down with the easy and free air of the mistress of the mansion, happy in her husband's affection and unlimited trust. It will become you to beware how you give the least hint of any discord between you and me; for secret eyes will be upon you, and you know what reason you have to dread disobeying my commands." In this manner the poor lady met her friend, with her tongue padlocked concerning all that she would willingly have disclosed, Lovat contriving all the while to maintain so constant a watch on his wife and her visitor, that they could not obtain the least opportunity of speaking apart. The visitor, however, in the very silence and constraint of her friend, had seen enough to satisfy her that all was not well; and when she left Castle Downie, became importunate with Lady Lovat's family to be active in her behalf. She in consequence obtained a separation from her cruel husband, whom she long survived.

Such acts of tyranny were the dismal fruits of
the patriarchal power, when lodged in the hands of a man of fraud and violence. But Lovat's conduct was so exaggerated, as inclines us to believe there must have been a certain mixture of deranged intellect with his wickedness; a compound perfectly reconcilable to the profound craft which displayed itself in other points of his character. I must not forget to notice that Lord Lovat, having obtained the command of one of the Highland independent companies, in consequence of his services in the year 1715 took advantage of the opportunity it gave him to make all the men of his clan familiar with the use of arms; for though he could not legally have more than a certain number of men under arms at once, yet nothing was more easy than to exchange the individuals from time to time, till the whole younger Frasers had passed a few months at least in the corps. He became incautious, however, and appeared too publicly in some suspicious purchases of arms and ammunition from abroad. Government became alarmed about his intentions and withdrew his commission in the Black Watch. This happened in 1737, and it was, as we shall hereafter see, the indignation arising from being deprived of this independent company, that finally determined him on rushing into the rebellion.

Few of the Highland chiefs could claim the spotless character due to Lochiel, and none, so far as is known to us, descended to such nefarious practices as Lovat. The conduct of most of them
hovered between the wild and lawless expedients of their predecessors in power, and the new ideas of honour and respect to the rights of others which recent times had introduced; and they did good or committed evil as opportunity and temptation were presented to them. In general a spirit of honour and generosity was found to unite easily and gracefully with their patriarchal pretensions; and those who had to deal with them gained more by an appeal to their feelings than by arguments addressed to their understandings.

Having thus taken a view of the situation of Scotland both in the Highlands and Lowlands, we must next take some notice of the political condition of the two contending families, by whom the crown of Great Britain was at the time disputed.

George, the first of his family who had ascended the British throne, had transmitted the important acquisition to his son, George II. Both sovereigns were men of honour, courage, and good sense; but, being born and educated foreigners, they were strangers to the peculiar character, no less than to the very complicated form of government, of the country over which they were called by Providence to reign. They were successively under the necessity of placing the administration in the hands of a man of distinguished talent, the celebrated Sir Robert Walpole. Unfortunately, this great statesman was a man of a coarse mind, who altogether disbelieving in the very existence of patriotism, held the opinion that every man had his price, and might be bought if his services were worth the value at
which he rated them. His creed was as unfavourable to the probity of public men, as that of a leader who should disbelieve in the existence of military honour would be degrading to the character of a soldier. The venality of Sir Robert Walpole's administration became a shame and reproach to the British nation, which was also burdened with the means of supplying the wages of the national corruption.

The kings also, George I. and II., under whom Sir Robert Walpole conducted public affairs, were themselves unpopular from a very natural reason. They loved with fond partiality their paternal dominions of Hanover, and the manners and customs of the country in which they had been born and bred. Their intimacy and confidence were chiefly imparted to those of their own nation; and so far, though the preference might be disagreeable to their British subjects, the error flowed from a laudable motive. But both the royal father and son suffered themselves to be hurried farther than this. Regard for their German territories was the principle which regulated their political movements, and both alliances and hostilities were engaged in for interests and disputes which were of a nature exclusively German, and with which the British nation had nothing to do. Out of this undue partiality for their native dominions arose a great clamour against the two first kings of the House of Guelph, that, called to the government of so fair and ample a kingdom as Britain, they neglected or sacrificed its interests for those of the petty and subaltern concerns of their electorate of Hanover.
Besides other causes of unpopularity, the length of Sir Robert Walpole's administration was alone sufficient to render it odious to a people so fickle as the English, who soon become weary of one class of measures, and still sooner of the administration of any one minister. For these various reasons, the government of Sir Robert Walpole, especially towards its close, was highly unpopular in England, and the Opposition attacked it with a degree of fury which made those who watched the strife from a distance imagine, that language so outrageous was that of men in the act of revolt. The foreign nations, whose ideas of our constitution were as imperfect formerly as they are at this moment, listened like men who hear what they conceive to be the bursting of a steam-engine, when the noise only announces the action of the safety-valves.

While the family of Hanover maintained an uneasy seat on an unpopular throne, the fortunes of the House of Stewart seemed much on the decline. Obliged to leave France, Spain, and Avignon, and not permitted to settle in Germany, the Chevalier de St George was obliged, shortly after his Scottish enterprise of 1715, to retire to Italy, where the sufferings of his father for the Roman Catholic religion gave him the fairest right to expect hospitality. He was then in the thirtieth year of his age, the last male of his unfortunate family, when, by the advice of his counsellors, he fixed his choice of a wife on the Princess Clementina Sobieski, daughter to Prince James Sobieski of Poland,
and grand-daughter to that King John Sobieski who defeated the Turks before Vienna. This young lady was accounted one of the greatest fortunes in Europe. The dazzling pretension to the British crown set forth by the negotiator of the

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marriage on the part of James, propitiated the parents of the princess, and it was agreed that she should be conducted privately to Bologna, with a view to her union with the Chevalier de St George. Some extra preparation on the part of the princess and her mother, in the way of dress and equipage, brought the intrigue to the knowledge of the British court, who exerted all their influence with that of Austria for the interruption of the match. The Emperor, obliged to keep measures with Britain on account of his pretensions to Sicily, which were supported by the English fleet, arrested the bride as she passed through Innsbruck, in the Tyrol, and detained her, along with her mother, prisoners in a cloister of that town. The Emperor also deprived Prince James Sobieski the lady's father, of his government of Augsburg, and caused him to be imprisoned.

A bold attempt for the release of the princess was contrived and executed by Charles Wogan, who had been one of the prisoners at Preston, and was a devoted partisan of the cause in which he had nearly lost his life. He obtained a passport from the Austrian ambassador, in the name of Count Cernes and family, stated to be returning From Loretto to the Low Countries. A Major Misset and his wife, personated the supposed count and countess; Wogan was to pass for the brother...
of the count; the Princess Clementina, when she should be liberated, was to represent the count's sister, which character was in the mean time enacted by a small girl, a domestic of Mrs Misset. They represented to the wench that she was only to remain one or two days in confinement, in the room of a lady whom Captain Toole, one of the party, was to carry off, and whose escape it might be necessary to conceal for some time. Captain Toole, with two other steady partisans, attended on the party of the supposed Count Cernes, in the dress and character of domestics.

They arrived at Innsbruck on the evening of the 27th of April, 1719, and took a lodging near the convent. It appears that a trusty domestic of the princess had secured permission of the porter to bring a female with him into the cloister, and conduct her out at whatever hour he pleased. This was a great step in favour of their success, as it permitted the agents of the Chevalier de St George to introduce the young female, and to carry out Clementina Sobieski in her stead. But while they were in consultation upon the means of executing their plan, Jenny, the servant girl, heard them name the word princess, and afraid of being involved in a matter where persons of such rank were concerned, declared she would have nothing more to do with the plot. Many fair words, a few pieces of gold, and the promise of a fine suit of damask belonging to her mistress, overcame her scruples; and taking advantage of a storm of snow and hail Jenny was safely introduced into the cloister and the princess, changing clothes with her, came out at the hour by
which the stranger was to return. Through bad roads and worse weather they pushed on till they quitted the Austrian territories, and entered those of Venice. On the 2d of May, after a journey of great fatigue and some danger, they arrived at Bologna, where the princess thought it unnecessary to remain longer incognita.

In the mean time, while his destined bride made her escape from the Tyrol, the Chevalier had been suddenly called on to undertake a private expedition to Spain. The lady was espoused in his absence by a trusty adherent, who had the Chevalier's proxy to that effect, and the bridegroom's visit to Spain having terminated in nothing satisfactory, he soon after returned to complete the marriage.

The Jacobites drew many happy omens from the success with which the romantic union of the Chevalier de St. George was achieved, although after all, it may be doubted whether the Austrian Emperor, though obliged in appearance to comply with the remonstrances of the British Court, was either seriously anxious to prevent the Princess's escape, or extremely desirous that she should be retaken.

By this union the Chevalier de St George transmitted his hereditary claims, and with them his evil luck, to two sons. The first, Charles Edward, born the 31st of December, 1720, was remarkable for the figure he made during the civil war of 1745-6; the second, Henry Benedict, born the 6th of March, 1725, for being the last male heir, in the direct line, of the unfortunate House of Stewart. He bore the
title of Duke of York, and entering the Church of Rome, was promoted to the rank of Cardinal.

The various schemes and projects which were agitated, one after another, in the councils of the

Chevalier de St George, and which for a time served successively to nourish and keep afloat the hopes of his partisans in England and Scotland, were so numerous, so indifferently concocted, and so ineffectual in their consequences, that, to borrow an expression from the poet, the voyage of his life might be said to be spent in shallows.1

With whatever Court Britain happened to have a quarrel, thither came the unfortunate heir of the House of Stewart, to show his miseries and to boast his pretensions. But though treated with decency, and sometimes fed with hopes which proved altogether fallacious, the Chevalier found his eloquence too feeble to persuade any Government to embarrass themselves by making common cause with him after the miscarriage of the Spanish invasion of 1719, which only gave rise to the petty skirmish of Glenshiel. In the intervals of these ineffectual negotiations, the Chevalier's domestic establishment was divided by petty intrigues among his advisers, in which his wife occasionally took such keen interest, as to proclaim, in a public and scandalous degree, their domestic disunion. From all these circumstances, from his advance in years, and the disappointments which he brooded over, the warmest adherents of the House of Stewart

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ceased to expect any thing from the personal exertions of him whom they called their King, and reposed the hopes of their party in the spirit and talents of his eldest son, Charles Edward; whose external appearance, and personal accomplishments seemed at first sight to justify his high pretensions, and to fit him well for the leader of any bold and gallant enterprise by which they might be enforced.

In attempting to describe to you this remarkable young man, I am desirous of qualifying the exaggerated praise heaped upon him by his enthusiastic adherents and no less so to avoid repeating the disparaging language of public and political opponents, and of discontented and disobliged followers, who have written father under the influence of their resentments than in defence of truth.

Prince Charles Edward styling himself Prince of Wales, was a youth of tall stature and fair complexion. His features were of a noble and elevated cast but tinged with an expression of melancholy. His manners were courteous, his temper apparently good, his courage of a nature fit for the most desperate undertakings, his strength of constitution admirable, and his knowledge of manly exercises and accomplishments perfect. These were all qualities highly in favour of one who prepared to act the restorer of an ancient dynasty. On the other hand, his education had been strangely neglected in certain points of the last consequence to his success. Instead of being made acquainted with the rights and constitution of the English nation by
those who superintended his education, they had taken care to train him up exclusively in those absurd, perverse, exaggerated and antiquated doctrines of divine hereditary right, and passive obedience, out of which had arisen the errors and misfortunes of the reign of his ancestor, James the Second of England. He had been also strictly brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, which had proved so fatal to his grandfather; and thus he was presented to the British nation without any alteration or modification of those false tenets in church and state so obnoxious to those whom he called his subjects, and which had cost his ancestor a throne. It was a natural consequence of the high ideas of regal prerogative in which he was trained, though it might also be in some respects owing to a temper naturally haughty and cold, that the young Prince was apt to consider the most important services rendered him, and the greatest dangers encountered in his cause, as sufficiently to reward the actors by the internal consciousness of having discharged their duties as loyal subjects, nor did he regard them as obligations laying him under a debt which required acknowledgment or recompense. This degree of indifference to the lives or safety of his followers (the effect of a very bad education) led to an indulgence in rash and sanguine hopes, which could only be indulged at an extravagant risk to all concerned. It was the duty of every subject to sacrifice every thing for his Prince, and if this duty was discharged, what results could be imagined too difficult for their efforts? Such were the principles instilled into the mind of the descendant of the ill-starred House of Stewart.
It is easy to be imagined, that these latter attributes were carefully veiled over in the accounts of the character of the young Chevalier, as spread abroad by his adherents within Scotland and England; and that he was held up to hope and admiration, as a shoot of the stem of Robert Bruce, and as one who, by every perfection of mind and body, was ordained to play anew the part of that great restorer of the Scottish monarchy.

The state of the Jacobite party, both in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, has been already noticed. In England it was far inferior to its strength in 1715; the fatal affair of Preston was remembered with dread. But many great families attached to the High Church principles continued to look with a longing eye towards him whom they regarded as the heir of the crown, by indefeasible right; and some, at considerable risk to their persons and estates, maintained an intercourse with the agents of the old Chevalier de St George, who thus received intelligence of their hopes and plans. The principal of these were the Wynnes of Wynnstay, in Wales, with the great family of Windham. Other houses, either Catholics or High Churchmen; in the west, were united in the same interest. A great part of the Church of England clergy retained their ancient prejudices; and the Universities, Oxford in particular, still boasted a powerful party, at the head of which was Dr William King, Principal of St Mary's Hall, who entered into the same sentiments.
Such being the state of affairs when war was declared betwixt Britain and Spain, in 1740, seven daring Scottish Jacobites signed an association, engaging themselves to risk their lives and fortunes for the restoration of the Stewart family, provided that France would send a considerable body of troops to their assistance. The titular Duke of Perth, the Earl of Traquair, Lochiel, and Lovat, were of the number who signed this association.

The agent employed to advocate the cause of the Jacobites at Paris, was Drummond, alias MacGregor, of Bohaldie, with whom was joined a person whom they called Lord Semple; these agents were supposed to have ready access to the French ministers. Bohaldie was closely related to several chieftains of the Scottish clans, and in particular to Cameron of Lochiel, on whose judgment and prudence the others were in a great degree disposed to rely. But after a protracted negotiation, nothing could be resolved upon with any certainty; for the French ministers, on the one hand, were afraid that the Jacobites in their political zeal might dupe both themselves and France, by inducing them to hazard the forces of the latter kingdom upon a distant and dangerous expedition; while, on the other hand, the Jacobites, who were to risk their all in the enterprise, were alike apprehensive that France, if she could by their means excite a civil war in England, and oblige its Government to recall her troops from Germany, would not, after that point was gained, greatly concern herself about their success or failure.
At length, however, when France beheld the interest which Britain began to take in the German war, assisting the Empress Queen both with troops and money, her Administration seems suddenly to have taken into serious consideration the proposed descent upon Scotland. With a view to the arrangement of an enterprise, Cardinal de Tencin, who had succeeded Cardinal Fleury in the administration of France, invited Charles Edward, the eldest son of the old Chevalier de St George, to repair from Italy to Paris. The young prince, on receiving a message so flattering to his hopes, left Rome as if on a hunting expedition; but instantly took the road to Genoa, and, embarking on board a small vessel, ran through the English fleet at great risk of being captured, and arriving safe at Antilles, proceeded to Paris. He there took part in counsels of a nature highly dangerous to Great Britain. It had been settled by the French Court that a French army of fifteen thousand men should be landed in England under the celebrated Field-marshal Saxe, who was to act under the commission of the Chevalier de St George as commander-in-chief. Having intimated this determination to the Earl-marischal and Lord Elcho, eldest son of the Earl of Wemyss, who were then in the French capital, Charles left Paris to superintend the destined embarkation, and took up his residence at Gravelines, in the beginning of February, 1744. Here he resided in the most strict privacy, under the name of the Chevalier Douglas. Bohaldie waited upon him as his secretary. The French fleet was got in readiness, and the
troops designed for the invasion embarked; but the alertness of the British navy disconcerted this as it had done former expeditions. The French army no sooner appeared off Torbay, than they were confronted by a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line, under Admiral Sir John- Norris. The elements also took part in the strife, and, as usually happened on former occasions, decided against the House of Stewart. A heavy, tempest arose, obliging both the English and French to scud before the wind. The latter fleet were dispersed and suffered Damage. The plan of invasion was once more given up, and the French troops were withdrawn from the coast.

It is in vain to enquire upon what principles the French Ministry preferred this attempt upon England, at great expense, and with a large army, to an invasion of Scotland, where they were sure to be joined by a large body of Jacobites, and where one-third part of the troops would have made a serious, perhaps a fatal impression. History is full of attempts to assist malecontents in an enemy's country, which have miscarried from being ill-concerted in point of place or time. That the present did not arise out of any very accurate combinations is certain, for so little had the French Ministers thought on the means of propitiating the English Jacobites, that they did not at first design that the Duke of Ormond should embark with the expedition, though the most popular of the Chevalier's adherents in South Britain. The Duke was at length hastily summoned from Avignon to join the armament when it was on the eve of sailing, but
receiving information while he was on the road
that the design was given up, he returned to his
residence. It is probable that the French were
determined to make England the object of attack,
merely because they could more easily either reinforce
or bring off their expedition, than if it was sent
against Scotland.

Lord Marischal had repaired to the Prince at
Gravelines, but was not much consulted on the
objects of the expedition. When he asked concerning
the embarkation for Scotland, he was informed

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that it would take place after that to England was
despached. But after the miscarriage of the
enterprise, and disembarkation of the troops, Charles
Edward invited the Earl to visit him at Gravelines,
when he seriously proposed to hire a boat, and go
with him to Scotland, where, he said, he was sure
he had many friends who would join him. This
idea, from which he was diverted with difficulty,
seems to have been the slight sketch which was
afterwards the ground-work of the rash expedition
of 1745-6. In the end of summer Prince Charles
left Gravelines and went to Paris, where he resided
for the winter, little noticed by French families of
fashion, but much resorted to by the Irish and Scots
who were in that capital.

In the month of August, 1744, John Murray of
Broughton, who had been for three or four years
an agent of the old Chevalier, and much trusted by
him and his adherents, returned to Paris from Scotland,
carrying with him the joint opinion of the
Jacobites in that country upon the subject of an
invasion. Mr Murray was a gentleman of honourable birth and competent fortune, being the son of Sir David Murray, by his second wife, a daughter of Sir John Scott of Ancrum. His early travels to Rome gave him an opportunity of offering his services to the old Chevalier, and he had ever since retained his confidence. The opinion which he now delivered to Charles, as the united sentiments of his friends in Scotland, was, that if he could persuade the French Government to allow him six thousand auxiliary troops, ten thousand stand of arms, and thirty thousand louis-d'or, he might assuredly reckon on the support of all his Scottish friends. But Murray had been charged at the same time to say, that if the Prince could not obtain succours to the amount specified, they could do nothing in his behalf. The answer which the Prince returned by Murray to his Scottish adherents was, that he was weary and disgusted with waiting upon the timid, uncertain, and faithless politics of the Court of France; and that, whether with or without their assistance or concurrence, he was determined to appear in Scotland in person, and try his fortune. Mr Murray has left a positive declaration, that he endeavoured as much as possible to divert the Prince from an attempt, which rather announced desperation than courage; but as there were other reasons for imputing blame to the agent, many of those who suffered by the expedition represent him as having secretly encouraged the Prince in his romantic undertaking, instead of dissuading him from so rash a course. Whether encouraged by Murray, or otherwise, Charles Edward continued fixed in his determination to try
what effect could be produced by his arrival in
Scotland, with such slender supplies of money and
arms as his private fortune might afford.

With a view to this experiment, the Prince sent
Murray back to Scotland, with commissions to
those whom he regarded as the most faithful
friends of his family, given in his own name, as
Prince of Wales and Regent for James VIII.,
for which last title he possessed an ample warrant

from his father. The arrival of these documents
in Scotland excited the utmost surprise and anxiety;
and at a full meeting of the principal Jacobites held
at Edinburgh, it was agreed to despatch Mr Murray
to the Highlands, to meet, if possible, the young
Adventurer on his first coming upon the coast, and
communicating their general disapprobation of an
ttempt so desperate, to entreat him to reserve
himself and the Scottish friends of his family for
some period in which fortune might better favour
their exertions. The titular Duke of Perth alone
dissented from the opinion of the meeting, and
declared, in a spirit of high-strained loyalty, that he
would join the Prince if he arrived without a single
man. The others were unanimous in a different
judgment, and Murray, empowered by them,
remained on the watch on the Highland coast during
the whole month of June, when, the Chevalier not
appearing, he returned to his own seat in the south
of Scotland, supposing naturally that the young
man had renounced an attempt which had in it so
much of the headlong rashness of youth, and which
he might be fairly believed to have laid aside on
mature consideration.
But the Chevalier had resolved on his expedition. He was distrustful of the motives, doubtful of the real purposes of France, and was determined to try his fate upon his own resources, however inadequate to the purpose he meant to effect. It is said that Cardinal Tencin was the only member of the French Government to whom his resolution was made known, to which the minister yielded his acquiescence rather than his countenance; and at length, as England and France were now engaged in open war, he generously consented that Charles should pursue his desperate enterprise upon his own risk and his own means, without farther assistance than a very indirect degree of encouragement from France. The fatal defeat at Fontenoy happened about the same period, and as the British forces in Flanders were much weakened, the Adventurer was encouraged to hope that no troops could be spared from thence to oppose his enterprise.

In consequence of the understanding betwixt diaries and Tencin, a man-of-war of sixty guns, named the Elizabeth, was placed at the disposal of the adventurous Prince, to which diaries Edward added a frigate or sloop of war, called the Doutelle, which had been fitted out by two merchants of Dunkirk, named Rutledge and Walsh, to cruize against the British trade. In this latter vessel he embarked, with a very few attendants, and with the whole or greater part of the money and arms which he had provided.
The expedition was detained by contrary winds till the 8th of July, when the vessels set sail upon this romantic adventure. But the chances of the sea seem to have been invariably unpropitious to the line of Stewart. The next day after they left port, the Lion, an English ship of war, fell in with them, and engaged the Elizabeth. The battle was desperately maintained on both sides, and the vessels separated after much mutual injury. The Elizabeth, in particular, lost her first and second captains, and was compelled to bear away for Brest to refit.

The Doutelle, on board of which was Charles Edward and his suite, had kept at a distance during the action, and seeing its termination, stood away for the north-west of Scotland, so as to reach the Hebrides. Avoiding another large vessel, understood to have been an English man-of-war, which they met in their course, the sloop that carried the young Prince and his fortunes at length moored near the island of South Uist, one of the isles belonging to MacDonald of Clanranald and his kinsfolk. Clanranald was himself on the mainland; but his uncle, MacDonald of Boisdale, by whose superior talents and sagacity the young Chief was much guided, was at that time on South Uist, where his own property lay. On being summoned by the Prince, he came on board the Doutelle.

Charles Edward immediately proposed to Boisdale to take arms, and to engage his powerful neighbours, Sir Alexander MacDonald, and the Chief of the MacLeods, in his cause. These two
chiefs could each bring to the field from 1200 to 1500 men. Boisdale replied, with a bluntness to which the Adventurer had not been accustomed, that the enterprise was rash to the verge of insanity;

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that he could assure him that Sir Alexander MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod were positively determined not to join him unless on his bringing the forces stipulated by the unanimous determination of the friends of his family; and that, by his advice, his nephew Clanranald would also adopt the resolution of remaining quiet. The young Chevalier argued the point for some time, still steering towards the mainland; until, finding Boisdale inexorable, he at length dismissed him, and suffered him to take his boat and return to South Uist. It is said, that this interview with Boisdale had such an influence on the mind of Charles, that he called a council of the principal followers who accompanied him in the Doutelle, when all voices, save one, were unanimous for returning, and Charles himself seemed for a moment disposed to relinquish the expedition. Sir Thomas Sheridan alone, an Irish gentleman, who had been his tutor, was inclined to prosecute the adventure farther, and encouraged his pupil to stand his ground, and consult some more of his Scottish partisans before renouncing a plan, on which he had ventured so far, that to relinquish it without farther trial would be an act of cowardice, implying a renunciation of the birth-right he came to seek. His opinion determined his pupil, who was on all occasions much guided by it, to make another appeal to the spirit of the Highland leaders.
Advancing still towards the mainland, Charles with his sloop of war entered the bay of Lochnannagh, between Moidart and Arisaig, and sent a messenger ashore to apprise Clanranald of his arrival. That chieftain immediately came on board, with his relation, MacDonald of Kinloch-Moidart, and one or two others. Charles applied to them the same arguments which he had in vain exhausted upon Boisdale, their relation, and received the same reply, that an attempt at the present time, and with such slender means, could end in nothing but ruin. A young Highlander, a brother of Kinloch-Moidart, began now to understand before whom he stood, and, grasping his sword, showed visible signs of impatience at the reluctance manifested by his chief and his brother to join their Prince. Charles marked his agitation, and availed himself of it.

He turned suddenly towards the young Highlander, and said, "You at least will not forsake me?"

"I will follow you to death," said Ranald, "were there no other to draw a sword in your cause."

The Chief, and relative of the warm-hearted young man, caught his enthusiasm, and declared, that since the Prince was determined, they would no longer dispute his pleasure. He landed accordingly, and was conducted to the house of Borodale, as a temporary place of residence. Seven persons came ashore as his suite. These were the
Marquis of Tullibardine, outlawed for his share in the insurrection of 1715, elder brother of James, the actual Duke of Athole; Sir Thomas Sheridan, the Prince's tutor; Sir John MacDonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Francis Strictland, an English gentleman; Kelly, who had been implicated in what was called the Bishop of Rochester's Plot; Aeneas MacDonald, a banker in Paris, a brother of Kinloch-Moidart; and Buchanan, who had been intrusted with the service of summoning the Chevalier from Rome to Paris. One of his attendants, or who immediately afterwards joined him, has been since made generally known by the military renown of his son, Marshal MacDonald, distinguished by his integrity, courage, and capacity, during so many arduous scenes of the great revolutionary war.

This memorable landing in Moidart took place on the 25th July, 1745. The place where Charles was lodged was remarkably well situated for concealment, and for communication with friendly clans, both in the islands and on the mainland, without whose countenance and concurrence it was impossible that his enterprise could succeed.

Cameron of Lochiel had an early summons from the Prince, and waited on him as soon as he received it. He came fully convinced of the utter madness of the undertaking, and determined, as he thought, to counsel the Adventurer to return to France, and wait a more favourable opportunity.
"If such is your purpose, Donald," said Cameron of Fassiefern to his brother of Lochiel, "write to the Prince your opinion; but do not trust yourself within the fascination of his presence. I know you better than you know yourself, and you will be unable to refuse compliance."

Fassiefern prophesied truly. While the Prince confined himself to argument, Lochiel remained firm, and answered all his reasoning. At length Charles, finding it impossible to subdue the chief's judgment, made a powerful appeal to Ills feelings.

"I have come hither," he said, "with my mind unalterably made up, to reclaim my rights or to perish. Be the issue what will, I am determined to display my standard, and take the field with such as may join it. Lochiel, whom my father esteemed the best friend of our family, may remain at home, and learn his Prince's fate from the newspapers."

"Not so," replied the chief, much affected, "if you are resolved on this rash undertaking, I will go with you, and so shall every one over whom I have influence."

Thus was Lochiel's sagacity overpowered by his sense of what he esteemed honour and loyalty, which induced him to front the prospect of ruin with a disinterested devotion, not unworthy the best days of chivalry. His decision was the signal for the commencement of the Rebellion; for it was generally understood at the time, that there was not a chief
in the Highlands who would have risen, if Lochiel had maintained his pacific purpose.

He had no sooner embraced the Chevalier's proposal, than messengers were despatched in every direction to summon such clans as were judged friendly, announcing that the royal standard was to be erected at Glenfinnan on the 19th of August, and requiring them to attend on it with their followers in arms.

Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and MacLeod of MacLeod, were, as is already mentioned, men of the greatest note in the Hebrides, and their joint forces were computed at more than three thousand men. They had declared themselves friendly to the Prince's cause, and Clanranald was despatched to them to hasten their junction. The envoy found them both at Sir Alexander MacDonald's, and said all he could to decide them to raise their following; but that chieftain alleged that he had never come under any explicit engagement to join Charles, nor could he be persuaded to do so in such a desperate undertaking. MacLeod's engagements are said to have been more peremptory; but he appears to have been as reluctant as Sir Alexander MacDonald to comply with Charles Edward's summons, alleging that his agreement depended on the Prince bringing certain auxiliaries and supplies, which were not forthcoming.

He, moreover, pleaded to Clanranald, that a number of his men resided in the distant islands, as an additional excuse for not joining the standard immediately. Clanranald's mission was therefore
unsuccessful, and the defection of these two powerful chiefs was indifferently supplied by the zeal displayed by others of less power.

Charles, however, displayed great skill in managing the tempers, and gaining the affections, of such Highlanders as were introduced to him during his abode at Borodale. The memoirs of an officer, named MacDonald, engaged in his army, give so interesting an account of his person and behaviour, that I shall throw it to the end of this chapter in the form of a note. The Prince's Lowland friends were also acquainted with his arrival, and prepared for his designs.

Government was, at the same time, rendered vigilant, by the visible stir which seemed to take place among the Jacobites, and proceeded to the arrest of suspicious persons. Among these, one of the principal was the titular Duke of Perth, upon whose ancestor the Court of St Germain's had conferred that rank. He was son of Lord John Drummond, who flourished in the 1715, and grandson of the unfortunate Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor to James VII. before the Revolution. The present descendant of that honourable house was a man respected for his high rank, popular manners, dauntless bravery, and sweetness of disposition, but not possessed of any extraordinary degree of talent. This nobleman was residing at Castle-Drummond, when Captain Campbell of Inveraw, who commanded an independent Highland company lying at Muthil, in the neighbourhood, received orders to lay him under arrest. Campbell, by the mediation
of a friend, procured himself an invitation to dine at Drummond-castle, and caused his men to approach the place as near as they could without causing suspicion. When dinner was over, and the ladies had retired, Inveraw put the arrest into execution, and told the Duke he was his prisoner, stating", at the same time, his orders in apology. The Duke seemed to treat the thing with indifference, and said, since it was so there was no help for it. But, in leaving the apartment, he made the captain pass before him as if by a natural motion of politeness, and turning short on his heel, instead of following him, left the room, and by a private door fled from the house into the wood. There was an instant pursuit, and the Duke would probably have been retaken, had he not found a pony, and leapt upon its back, with only a halter on its head, and without a saddle. By the advantage thus afforded him, he was enabled to escape to the neighbouring Highlands, where he lay safe from pursuit, and soon after obtained knowledge of the young Chevalier's having landed, and made preparation to join him.

John Murray of Broughton, in the mean while, had discharged the perilous task of having the manifestoes printed, which were to be dispersed when the invasion should become public, as well as that of warning several persons who had agreed to give supplies of money and arms. He now left his house, where he had lived for the last three weeks in constant danger, and fear of arrest, and set out to join the Prince. His active genius
meditated some other exploits. By the assistance of a Jacobite friend, of a fearless and enterprising disposition, he laid a scheme for surprising the Duke of Argyle (brother and successor to the famous Duke John), and making him prisoner at his own castle of Inverary. Another project was to cause Government to receive information, which, though false in the main, was yet coloured with so many circumstances of truth as to make it seem plausible, and which came to them through a channel which they did not mistrust. The reports thus conveyed to them bore, that the Jacobite chiefs were to hold a great consultation in the wilds of Rannoch, and that Murray had left his house in the south to be present at the meeting. It was proposed to those managing on the part of Government to seize the opportunity of despatching parties from Fort William and Fort Augustus to secure the conspirators at their rendezvous. The object of the scheme was, that the Highlanders might have an opportunity of surprising the forts, when the garrison should be diminished by the proposed detachments. Mr Murray having thus planned two exploits, which, had they succeeded, must have been most advantageous to the Prince's cause, proceeded to join Charles Edward, whom he found at the house of MacDonald of Kinloch-Moidart, who had advanced to that place from Borodale. Many Highland gentlemen had joined him, and his enterprise seemed to be generally favoured by the chiefs on the mainland. Clanranald had also joined with three hundred and upwards of his clan. Regular guards were mounted on the person of the Prince; his arms and treasure were
disembarked from the Doutelle, and distributed amongst those who seemed most able to serve him.
Yet he remained straitened for want of provisions, which might have disconcerted his expedition, had not the Doutelle fallen in with and captured two vessels laden with oatmeal, a supply which enabled him to keep his followers together, and to look with confidence to the moment which had been fixed for displaying his standard.

Mr Murray, to whose management so much of the private politics of Prince Charles had been confided, was recognised as his Secretary of State, and trusted with all the internal management of the momentous undertaking.

IN the mean while, and even before the day appointed by Charles Edward for erecting his standard, the civil war commenced. This was not by the capture of the Duke of Argyle, or the projected attack upon the forts, neither of which took place. But the hostile movements of the Highlanders had not escaped the attention of the governor of Fort Augustus, who, apprehensive for the safety of Fort William, which lay nearest to the disaffected clans, sent a detachment of two companies under Captain John Scott, afterwards General Scott. He marched early in the morning of the 16th of August, with the purpose of reaching Fort-William before nightfall. His march ran along the military road which passes by the side of the chain of lakes now connected by the Caledonian Canal. Captain Scott and his detachment had
passed the lakes, and were within eight miles of Fort-William, when they approached a pass called High Bridge, where the river Spean is crossed by a steep and narrow bridge, surrounded by rocks and woods. Here he was alarmed by the sound of a bagpipe, and the appearance of Highlanders in arms. This was a party of men belonging to MacDonald of Keppoch, and commanded by his kinsman, MacDonald of Tiendreich. They did not amount to more than twelve or fifteen men, but showing themselves in different points, it was impossible for Captain Scott to ascertain their number. He detached a steady sergeant in advance, accompanied by a private soldier, to learn the meaning of this opposition; but they were instantly made prisoners by the mountaineers.

Scott, who was a man of unquestionable courage, was desirous of pursuing his route and fighting his way. But his officers were of a different opinion, considering that they were to storm a strong pass in the face of an enemy of unknown strength, and the privates, who were newly raised men, showed symptoms of fear. In this predicament Captain Scott was induced to attempt a retreat by the same road along which he had advanced. But the firing had alarmed the country; and the

Highlanders assembling with characteristic promptitude, their numbers increased at every moment. Their activity enabled them to line the mountains, rocks, and thickets overhanging the road, and by which it was commanded, and the regulars were overwhelmed with a destructive fire, to which they could only make a random return upon an invisible
enemy. Meanwhile the hills, the rocks, and dingles, resounded with the irregular firing, the fierce shrieks of the Highlanders, and the yellings of the pibroch. The soldiers continued to retreat, or rather to run, till about five or six miles eastward from High Bridge, when Keppoch came up with about twenty more men, hastily assembled since the skirmish began. Others, the followers of Glengarry, had also joined, making the number about fifty. The Highlanders pressed their advantage, and showed themselves more boldly in front, flank, and rear, while the ammunition of the soldiers was exhausted without having even wounded one of their assailants. They were now closely surrounded, or supposed themselves to be so; their spirits were entirely sunk, and on Keppoch coming in front, and summoning them to surrender, on pain of being cut to pieces, they immediately laid down their arms. Captain Scott was wounded, as were five or six of his men. About the same number were slain. This disaster, which seems to have arisen from the commanding officer's neglecting to keep an advanced guard, gave great spirits to the Highlanders, and placed in a flattering light their peculiar excellence as light troops. The prisoners were treated with humanity, and carried to Lochiel's house of Auchnacarrie, where the wounded were carefully attended to. As the governor of Fort-Augustus would not permit a surgeon from that garrison to attend Captain Scott, Lochiel, with his wonted generosity, sent him on parole to the Fort, that he might have medical assistance.

The war being thus openly commenced, Charles
moved from the House of Glenaladale, which had been his last residence, to be present at the raising of his standard at the place of rendezvous in Glenfinnan. He arrived early on the 19th of August in the savage and sequestered vale, attended only by a company or two of the MacDonalds, whose chief, Clanranald, was absent, raising his men in every quarter where he had influence. Two hours elapsed, and the mountain ridges still looked as lonely as ever, while Charles waited as one uncertain of his fate, until at length Lochiel and the Camerons appeared. This body amounted to seven or eight hundred. They advanced in two lines, having betwixt them the two companies who had been taken on the 16th, disarmed and marching as prisoners. Keppoch arrived shortly afterwards with three hundred men, and some chieftains of less importance brought in each a few followers.

The standard was then unfurled; it was displayed by the Marquis of Tullibardin, exiled, as we have already said, on account of his accession to the rebellion in 1715, and now returned to Scotland with Charles in the Doutelle. He was supported by a man on each side as he performed the ceremony. The manifesto of the old Chevalier, and the commission of regency granted to his son Charles Edward, were then read, and the Adventurer made a short speech, asserting his title to the throne, and alleging that he came for the happiness of his people, and had chosen this part of the kingdom for the commencement of his enterprise, because he knew he should find a population of brave gentlemen, zealous as their noble predecessors for their own honour and the rights...
of their sovereign, and as willing to live and die
with him, as he was willing at their head to shed
the last drop of his blood.

A leader of the clan of MacLeod appeared at
this rendezvous, and renounced on the occasion his
dependence upon his chief, whom indeed he did
not acknowledge as such, and promised to join
with his own following. Lochiel and some others
of the chiefs present took this opportunity of
writing to MacLeod and Sir Alexander MacDonald,
to engage them to join, as the writers alleged their
honour obliged them. This letter gave great
offence to both the chiefs, and to Sir Alexander
in particular, who alleged the insinuation it
contained as a reason for the part he afterwards took
in this affair.

Tidings were soon heard that the Government
troops were in motion to put down the
insurrection.

The Prince had resolved to avoid the great
mistake of Mar in the year 1715, and to avail himself
to the uttermost of the fierce and ardent activity
of the troops whom he commanded, and it was with
pleasure that he heard of the enemy's approach.
He remained for a few days at Auchnacarrie, the
house of Lochiel, and finding the unwillingness
which the Highlanders evinced to carry baggage,
the impossibility of finding horses, and the execrable
character of the roads, he left a quantity of

swivel-guns and pioneer's tools behind, as tending
only to encumber his march. In the mean time, he was joined by the following clans: - MacDonald of Glencoe brought with him 150 men; the Stuarts of Appin, under Ardshiel, amounting to 250; Keppoch brought 300 MacDonalds; Glengarry, the younger, joined the army, as it marched eastward with about 300-making a total of nearly 2000 men.

There was an association drawn up and signed at Auchnacarrie, by the chiefs who had taken the field, in which the subscribers bound themselves never to abandon the Prince while he remained in the realm, or to lay down their arms, or make peace with Government, without his express consent.

While the insurrection was thus gathering strength and consistency, the heads of the official bodies at Edinburgh became apprised of its existence, which, however rash on the part of the Adventurer, was yet very hazardous to the state, on account of the particular time when it broke out. George II. was absent in Hanover, and the Government was in the hands of a Council of Regency, called Lords Justices, whose councils seemed neither to have evinced sagacity nor vigour.

Early in summer, they had received intelligence that the young Chevalier had a design to sail from Nantes with a single vessel; and, latterly, they had heard a rumour that he had actually landed in the Highlands. This intelligence was sent by the Marquis of Tweeddale to the commander-in-chief; to Lord Milton, a Scottish judge, who was much
consulted in state affairs; to the Lord Advocate, the
President of the Court of Session, and the Lord
Justice Clerk. These principal officers or advisers
of Government formed a sort of council for the
direction of state affairs.

The report of Charles's landing at length reached
Edinburgh with such marks of authenticity, as no
longer to admit of doubt. The alarm was very
considerable, for the regular forces of Britain were
chiefly engaged on the continent. There were not
in all Scotland quite three thousand troops, exclusive
of garrisons. Of three battalions and a half of
infantry, only one battalion was an old corps; the

rest were newly raised. Two regiments of
dragoons, Hamilton's and Gardiner's, were the youngest
in the service. There were independent companies
levied for the purpose of completing the
regiments which were in Flanders: and there were
several companies of a Highland regiment, which
Lord Loudon commanded, but who, being
Highlanders, were not to be much trusted in the present
quarrel. Out of this small force, two of the newly
raised companies had been made prisoners at High
Bridge. Yet, reduced as his strength was, Sir
John Cope, the commander-in-chief, deemed it
equal to the occasion, and resolved to set out
northward at the head of such troops as he could most
hastily assemble, to seek out the Adventurer, give
him battle, and put an end to the rebellion. The
Lords Justices approved of this as a soldierlike
resolution, and gave orders to the general to proceed
to put his plan in execution.
Sir John took the field accordingly on the 19th
of August, and marched to Stirling, where he left
the two regiments of dragoons, as they could have
been of little use in the hills, and it would have
been difficult to obtain forage for them. His
infantry consisted of between fourteen and fifteen
hundred men; and, together with a train of artillery
and a superfluity of baggage, he had with him
a thousand stand of spare muskets, to arm such
loyal clans as he expected to join him. None such
appearing, he sent back 700 of the firelocks from
Crieff to Stirling. His march was directed upon
Fort Augustus, from which, as a central point, he
designed to operate against the insurgents, where-
ever he might find them. As this route was the
same with that by which the Highland army were
drawing towards the Lowlands, Sir John Cope had
no sooner arrived at Dalnacardoch, than he learned,
from undoubted intelligence, that the Highlanders
were advancing, with the purpose of meeting and
fighting him at the pass of Corryarrack. How
this intelligence affected the motions of the
English general I will presently tell you, but must, in
the first place, return to the operations of the young
Chevalier and his insurrectionary army.

Amongst other persons of consequence with
whom the Prince had held correspondence since
his landing, was the celebrated Lord Lovat, who,
highly discontented with Government for depriving
him of his independent company, had long
professed his resolution to return to his original
allegiance to the Stewart dynasty, and was one of
those seven men of consequence who subscribed the
invitation to the Chevalier in the year 1740. As no one, however, suspected Lovat of attachment either to King or political party farther than his own interest was concerned, and as the Chevalier had come without the troops, money, and arms, which had been stipulated in that offer of service, there was great reason to suspect that the old wily chief might turn against the Adventurer, and refuse him his support. It chanced, however, that Lovat had attached considerable importance to the idea of becoming Duke of Fraser, and Lord Lieutenant of Inverness-shire; and the desire of obtaining these objects, though but of ideal value, induced him, notwithstanding his natural selfish sagacity, to endeavour to secure them, at the same moment while he was meditating how to escape from fulfilling the promises of which these titular honours and offices were to be the guerdon.

While the Chevalier lay at Invergarry, Fraser of Gortuleg, an especial confidant of Lovat, waited upon the Prince in the capacity of his chief's envoy, and made an humble request for the patent of the dukedom and the lieutenancy, which King James VIII. had promised to him. At the same time, the emissary brought a specious, but evasive protestation of Lovat's respect for the Stewart family, and his deep regret that his age and infirmities, with other obstacles, would not permit him instantly to get his clan to take up arms.

Such a message was easily seen to evince a desire to seize the bait, without, if possible, swallowing the hook it covered. But Lovat was a man
of great importance at the time. Besides his own clan, which he retained in high military order, he had also great influence over the Laird of Cluny, his son-in-law, and chief of the MacPhersons, over the MacIntoshes, the Farquharsons, and other clans residing in the neighbourhood of Inverness, who were likely to follow his example in rising or remaining quiet. Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and the Laird of MacLeod, were also much in the habit of taking his advice, and following his example. He was not, therefore, to be disobliged; and as the original patents, subscribed by James

himself, had been left behind with the heavy baggage, the Chevalier caused new deeds of the same tenor to be written out, and delivered to Gortuleg for Lovat's satisfaction.

The crafty old man, by the same messenger, made another request, which had a relish of blood in it. I have told you that Lovat's most intimate friend had been Duncan Forbes, now Lord President of the Court of Session, to whose assistance he owed his establishment in the country and estate of his ancestors, in the year 1715. They had continued since that period on the most intimate terms, Lord Lovat applying, according to his nature, every expression of devotion and flattery which could serve to secure the President's good opinion. As Duncan Forbes, however, was a man of perfect knowledge of the world, he speedily traced Lovat's growing dislike to the established government; and being, by his office, as well as his disposition, a decided friend to the ruling dynasty, he easily fathomed Lovat's designs, and laboured to render
them abortive. Their correspondence, though still full of profession and adulation on Lovat's side, assumed a tone of mutual suspicion and alarm, which made the latter to grow weary of the President's active, vigilant, and frequent remonstrances. Gortuleg, therefore, stated Lovat's extreme sense of the power which the President had to hurt the cause of the Stewart family, and demanded a warrant from the Prince, authorizing him to secure his friend, the President, dead or alive. The Prince declined granting it in the terms required, but

signed a warrant for seizing the President's person, and detaining him in close custody. With these documents Fraser of Gortuleg returned to his wily and double-dealing old master.

In the mean time, Lovat's conduct exhibited strange marks of indecision. He became apprised by the Lord President, that Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod had declined to join the Chevalier, a resolution, indeed, to which the prudential advice of Forbes had strongly contributed, and he expressed his own determination to adhere to the established government.

While these intrigues were in progress, the Chevalier obtained accurate accounts of Sir John Cope's movements, from deserters who frequently left Lord Loudon's companies, which consisted chiefly of Highlanders, these men having a strong temptation to join the ranks of the Chevalier, in whose service their relations and chief were engaged.
The Prince was so much animated at the prospect of battle, that he summoned together his clans, now augmented by the Grants of Glenmorriston, in number one hundred men - burned and destroyed all that could impede his march, and sacrificed his own baggage, that the men might not complain of hardship. By a forced march he assembled his adherents at Invergarry, where he gave them some hours’ repose, in order that they might be the better fitted for the fatigues of the impending battle.

On the morning of the 26th August, the Chevalier marched to Aberchallader, within three miles of Fort Augustus, and rested for the evening. On the dawning of the next morning, he resumed his march, to dispute with Sir John Cope, whom all reports announced to be advancing, the passage of the rugged pass of Corryarrack. This mountain is ascended by a part of Marshal Wade's military road, which attains the summit by a long succession of zig-zags, or traverses, gaining slowly and gradually on the steep and rugged elevation on the south side, by which General Cope was supposed to be advancing. The succession of so many steep and oblique windings on the side of the hill, the other parts of which are in the highest degree impracticable, bears the appropriate name of the Devil's Staircase. The side of the mountain, save where intersected by this uncouth line of approach, is almost inaccessible, and the traverses are themselves intersected by deep mountain ravines and torrents, crossed by bridges which might
be in a very short time broken down, and, being flanked with rocks and thickets, afford innumerable points of safe ambush to sharpshooters or enfilading parties. The Chevalier hastened to ascend the northern side, and possess himself of the top of the hill, which has all the effect of a natural fortress, every traverse serving for a trench. He displayed exulting hope and spirits, and while putting on a new pair of Highland brogues, said with high glee, "Before I throw these off, I shall fight with General Cope." He expected to meet the English general about one o'clock.

MacDonald of Lochgarry, with the Secretary Murray, were ordered to ascend the hill on the north side, and reconnoitre the position of the supposed enemy. But to their astonishment, when they reached the summit, instead of seeing the precipitous path filled with the numerous files of Cope's army in the act of ascent, they looked on silence and solitude. Not a man appeared on the numerous windings of the road, until at length they observed some people in the Highland garb, whom they at first took for Lord Loudon's Highlanders, who, as familiar with the roads and the country, it was natural to think might form the advanced guard of the English army. On a nearer approach, these men were discovered to be deserters from Cope's army, who brought the intelligence that that general had entirely altered his line of march, and, avoiding the expected contest, was in full march to Inverness.

The truth proved to be, that General Cope, when he approached within a day's march of the Chevalier
and his little army, saw objections to his plan of seeking out the Adventurer and fighting him, which had not occurred to him while there was a greater distance between them. It could have required no great powers of anticipation to suppose, that the Highlanders would rally round their Prince in considerable numbers, impressed by the romantic character of his expedition; or to conjecture that, in so very rugged a country, an irregular army would take post in a defile. But General Cope had not imagined such a rapid assembling of

the mountaineers as had taken place, or a pass so formidable as the Devil's Staircase, on Corryarrack. This unlucky general, whose name became a sort of laughing-stock in Scotland, was not by any means a poltroon, as has been supposed; but he was one of those second-rate men, who are afraid of responsibility, and form their plan of a campaign more with reference to the vindication of their own character, than the success of their enterprise. He laid his embarrassments before a council of war, the usual refuge of generals who find themselves unable to decide, of their own judgment, upon arduous points of difficulty. He had received exact information concerning the numbers and disposition of the enemy from Captain Sweetenham, an English officer, who was taken prisoner by the insurgents, while on his route to take the command of three companies lying at Fort William, and, having been present at the setting up of the standard, described the general huzzas and clouds of bonnets which were flung up on the occasion. The prisoner had been treated with much courtesy, and dismissed to carry the report that the rebels
intended to give General Cope battle. Sir John
Cope laid the intelligence before the council. He
stated the unexpected numbers of the Highland
insurgents, the strength of their position, the

disappointment which he had met with in not being
joined, as he expected, by any of the well-affected
inhabitants of the country, and he asked the advice
of his officers.

It was now too late to enquire, whether the
march into the Highlands was at all a prudent
measure, unless the English general had possessed
such a predominant force, as to be certain of crushing
the rebellion at once; or whether the forming
a camp at Stirling, and preventing the Chevalier
from crossing the Forth, while, at the same time,
troops were sent by sea to raise the northern clans
who were friendly to Government, in the rear of
the Adventurer's little army, might not have been
a preferable scheme. The time for option was
ended. General Cope had proposed, and the
Government had sanctioned, the advance into the
north, and the plan had been acted upon. Still it
does not appear to have been necessary that Cope
should have relinquished his purpose so meanly as
was implied in the march, or rather flight, to
Inverness, which so much dispirited his troops, and
gave such enthusiastic courage to the insurgents.
Indeed, no general in his senses would have
attacked the defile of Corryarrack; but had Cope
chosen to have encamped on the plain, about two
miles to the south of Dalwhinnie, he could not
have been forced to fight but on his own terms,
with the full advantage of his artillery and his
superior discipline, and Charles must have either
given battle at a disadvantage, or suffered
extremely by the want of money and provisions. Sir

John, in the mean time, might have drawn his
supplies from Athole, and would have overawed that
highly disaffected district, the inhabitants of which,
relieved from his presence by his march to Inverness,
immediately joined the rebels. The superiority
of the Highland army in numbers was but
 trifling, and such as the discipline of regular troops
had always been esteemed sufficient to compensate,
although there is reason to think that it was greatly
exaggerated to the English general. None of this
reasoning seemed to influence the council of war;
they gave it as their opinion that the troops should
be drawn off to Inverness, instead of making a
stand, or retiring to Stirling, although the option
involved the certain risk of exposing the Low
country to the insurgents.

Sir John Cope, having his motions thus sanctioned
by the opinion of the council of war,
advanced for a mile or two, on the morning of the
27th of August, in his original direction, till he
reached the point where the road to Inverness
leaves that which leads to Fort-Augustus, when
the march was suddenly altered, and the route to
Inverness adopted.

The exultation which filled the Highlanders on
learning Cope's retreat was of a most exuberant
description; but it was mingled with disappointment,
like that of hunters whose prey has escaped
them. There was an unanimous call to follow the
retreating general with all despatch, and compel
him to fight. Cope had, indeed, some hours the
start; but, in a council of chiefs, it was proposed

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to march five hundred picked men across the
country, to throw themselves by rapid marches
between Inverness and the English general's
forces, and detain the regulars until the rest of the
army came up in their rear. The advantages to
be gained by an unopposed march into the
Lowlands were, however, superior to what could be
obtained by the pursuit, or even the defeat of Sir John
Cope, and the latter plan was given up accordingly.

An attempt was made, on the part of the
Highlanders, to surprise or burn the barracks of Ruthven;
but they were bravely defended by the little
garrison, and the attempt proved unsuccessful.
They therefore directed their march southward
upon Garviemore.

In the mean time, the intrigues of Lord Lovat
continued to agitate the north, while the Lord
President Forbes endeavoured, by soliciting
Government for arms, by distributing commissions
for independent companies, of which twenty were
intrusted to his disposal, and by supplying money
from his private purse, to animate the clans who
remained attached to Government, and to confirm
those which were doubtful.

The old chief of the clan Fraser, apparently
seconding all his measures, was, in fact, counteracting
them as far as he could, and endeavouring,
if not to turn the scale in favour of the young
Adventurer, at least to preserve the parties in such a state of equality, that he himself might have a chance of determining the balance, when he could see on which side there was most to be gained.

He feared, however, the shrewd sense, steady loyalty, and upright character of the President, and regarded him with a singular mixture of internal fear and hatred, and external affected respect and observance. A jesuitical letter to Lochiel, in which Lovat alleges his fear of the President, whom he states to be playing at cat and mouse with him, is, perhaps, the most extraordinary picture of this extraordinary person's mind that can be exhibited.

The line of conduct to be adopted by MacPherson of Cluny, whose numerous and hardy clan is situated chiefly in the district of Badenoch, was at this time a matter of great importance. This chief was a man of a bold and intrepid disposition, who had shown more respect for the laws of property, and more attention to prevent depredations, than any other chief in the Highlands, Lochiel perhaps excepted. He entered into extensive contracts with the Duke of Gordon, and many of the principal proprietors in countries exposed to the Highland caterans, agreeing for a moderate sum of yearly black-mail, to secure them against theft. This species of engagement was often undertaken by persons like Rob Roy, who prosecuted the trade of a freebooter, and was in the habit of stealing at least as many cattle as he was the means of recovering. But Cluny MacPherson pursued the plain and honourable system expressed in the letter of
his contract, and by actually securing and bringing
to justice the malefactors who committed the
depredations, he broke up the greater part of the
numerous gangs of robbers in the shires of Inverness
and Aberdeen. So much was this the case,
that when a clergymen began a sermon on the
heinous nature of the crime of theft, an old
Highlander of the audience replied, that he might
forbear treating of the subject, since Cluny, with
his broadsword, had done more to check it than all
the ministers in the Highlands could do by their
sermons.

This gentleman had been named captain of an
independent company, and therefore remained, in
appearance, a friend of Government; but, in fact,
he only watched an opportunity to return to the
allegiance of James VIII., whom he accounted his
lawful sovereign. In compliance with his father-
-in-law Lovat's mysterious politics. Cluny waited on
Sir John Cope on the 27th of August, and received
that general's orders to embody his clan. But on
the next morning the chief of the MacPhersons
was made prisoner in his own house, and carried
off to the rebel camp. Whether he was entertained
there as a captive, or as a secret friend, we have
not now the means of knowing. He was conveyed
along with the Highland army to Perth, seemingly
by constraint.

On 28th August, the Prince bivouacked at
Dalwhinnie, himself and his principal officers lying on
the moor, with no other shelter than their plaids.
On the 29th he reached Dalnacardoch, being thus
enabled by the retreat of the English army to possess

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himself of the passes of the mountains between Badenoch and Athole, and to descend upon the latter country. On the 30th, Charles arrived at Blair in Athole, a castle belonging to the Duke of Athole, whose family, with his Grace's elder brother, Lord Tullibardine, and his uncle, Lord Nairne, were well disposed to the cause of the Prince, though his grace, who enjoyed the title, was favourable to Government. The families and clans of Stewarts of Athole, Robertsons, and others of less importance, were all inclined to support the insurgents, having never forgotten the fame which their ancestors had obtained in a like cause during the wars of Montrose. The name and authority of the Marquis of Tullibardine was well calculated to call these ready warriors to arms. He was, as we have said, the elder brother of the Duke who enjoyed the title, and had been forfeited for his share in the rebellion of 1715—-a merit in the eyes of most of the vassals of his family.

The Prince remained two days at Blair, where he was joined by Viscount Strathallan and his son; by Mr Oliphant of Gask and his son; and the Honourable Mr Murray, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, John Roy Stewart, a most excellent partisan officer, also joined the Prince (to whom he had devoted his service) at this place. He arrived from the continent, and brought several letters with him from persons of distinction abroad. They contained fair and flourishing promises of good wishes and services to be rendered, none of which civilities ever ripened into effectual assistance.
On the 3d of September, in the evening, the Highland army reached Perth, where it was joined by two persons of first-rate consequence; namely, the Duke of Perth, with two hundred men, whom he had collected while in hiding, in consequence of the warrant which was out for the purpose of arresting him, and the celebrated Lord George Murray, fifth brother of the Marquis of Tullibardine, already mentioned. Both these noblemen were created lieutenant-generals in the Prince's service.

It was at this time, and upon this occasion, that a sort of jealousy took place between these two great men, which had a sinister effect upon the future affairs of Charles Edward.

"We have already given the character of the Duke of Perth, as he was called, a gentleman in the highest degree courtly, pleasing, and amiable, particularly calculated to be agreeable to a person educated abroad, like the Prince, and not likely to run the risk of displeasing him by rough admonition and blunt contradiction. All his habits and opinions had been formed in France, where he had spent the first twenty years of his life. He even spoke English with some marks of a foreigner, which he concealed under the use of the broad Scottish dialect. He was a man of the most undoubted courage, but had no peculiar military talent.

Lord George Murray was a man of original and powerful character. He had been engaged with
his brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, in the affair of 1715, was also present at the battle of Glenshiel, in 1719, and had served for some time in the Sardinian army, then no bad school of war. He had at a later period been reconciled to the reigning family, by the interest of his brother, the actual Duke of Athole. It is said, he had even solicited a commission in the English army. It was, however, refused; and in 1745 he re-assumed his original sentiments, and joined Prince Charles Edward. Lord George Murray was in many respects an important acquisition. He was tall, hardy, and robust; and had that intuitive acquaintance with the art of war, which no course of tactics can teach. Being little instructed by early military education, he was unfettered by its formal rules; and perhaps in leading an army of Highlanders, themselves undisciplined, except from a sort of tact which seemed natural to them, he knew far better how to employ and trust their native energies than a tactician accustomed to regular troops would have ventured to attempt. He was, moreover, undauntedly brave, and in the habit of fighting sword-in-hand in the front of the battle; he slept little, meditated much, and was the only person in the Highland army who seemed to study the movements of the campaign. The chiefs only led their men to the attack in the field, and the French and Irish officers had been so indifferently selected, that their military knowledge did not exceed the skill necessary to relieve a guard; and only one or two had served in a rank above that of captain. Over such men Lord George Murray had great superiority. He had, however, his failings, and they were chiefly those of temper.
and manners. He was proud of his superior talents, impatient of contradiction, and haughty and blunt in expressing his opinions.

It happened also not unfrequently, that the Prince himself and his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, both extremely ignorant of the British constitution and habits of thinking, suffered sentiments of arbitrary power to escape them, as impolitic as they were ungracious. In checking and repelling such opinions, Lord George Murray did a most valuable service to his master; but the manner in which he performed a task necessarily unpleasing was often rude and assuming, and with the best intentions lie gave offence, which was not the less sensibly felt by the Prince, that his situation obliged him to suppress all outward indication of his displeasure.

From this peculiarity of Lord George Murray's temper, there was early formed in the Prince's council a party who set up the Duke of Perth in opposition to him; although the gentle, honourable, and candid temper of the Duke mitigated the animosity of the internal faction. John Murray, the secretary, who having been the early agent of Prince Charles's party, possessed a great share of his master's confidence, was supposed to have been chiefly desirous of setting the claims of the Duke of Perth in opposition to those of Lord George Murray, as he considered the former a person over whom his own ambitious and active disposition might preserve an influence, which he could not hope to gain over the haughty and confident temper of the latter nobleman. Mr Murray is supposed
chiefly to have insisted upon Lord George's having taken the oaths to Government, and having been willing to serve the House of Hanover. By these insinuations he impressed on the Prince a shade of suspicion towards the general, who was the most capable of directing the movements of his army, which was never entirely eradicated from his mind, even while he most felt the value of Lord George Murray's services. Charles's high idea of the devotion due to his rights by his subjects, rendered him jealous of the fidelity of a follower, who had not at all times been a pure royalist, or who had shown any inclination, however transitory, to make his own peace by a compromise with the reigning family. The disunion arising from these intrigues had an existence even at Perth, in the very commencement of their enterprise, and continued till the very end of the affair to vex and perplex the councils of the insurgents.

On his arrival at Perth also, the Chevalier first found the want of money, which has been well called the sinews of war. When he entered that town, he showed one of his followers that his purse contained only a single guinea of the four hundred pounds which he had brought with him in the Doutelle. But Dundee, Montrose, and all the Lowland towns north of the Tay, as far as Inverness, were now at his command. He proceeded to levy the cess and public revenue in name of his father; and as such of his adherents, who were too old or timid to join the standard, sent in contributions of money according to their ability, his military chest was by these resources tolerably supplied. Parties were sent for this purpose to Dundee, Aberbrothwick,
Montrose, and other towns. They proclaimed King James VIII., but committed little violence except opening the prisons; and it is remarkable, that even in my own time, a chieftain of high rank had to pay a large sum of money on account of his ancestors having set at liberty a prisoner who was detained for a considerable amount of debt.

It was no less necessary to brigade the men assembled under this adventurous standard. This was, however, easily done, for the Highlanders were familiar with a species of manoeuvring exactly suited to their own irregular tactics. They marched in a column of three abreast, and could wheel up with prompt regularity, in order to form the line, or rather succession of clan columns, in which it was their fashion to charge. They were accustomed also to carry their arms with habitual ease, and handle them with ready promptitude; to fire with a precise aim, and to charge with vigour, trusting to their national weapons, the broadsword and target, with which the first rank of every clan, being generally gentlemen, was completely armed. They were, therefore, as well prepared for the day of battle as could be expected from them; and as there was no time to instruct them in more refined manoeuvres, Lord George Murray judiciously recommended to the Prince to trust to those which seemed naturally their own. Some modelling and discipline was, however, resorted to, so far as the short interval would permit.

The time which Charles Edward could allot to
supply his finances, arrange the campaign, and discipline his army, was only from the 4th to the 11th of September; for he had already adopted the daring resolution to give éclat to his arms, by taking possession of the Scottish capital, and was eager to advance upon it ere Sir John Cope could with his forces return from the north for its defence.

Edinburgh had long been a peaceful capital; little accustomed to the din of arms, and considerably divided by factions, as was the case of other towns in Scotland. The rumours from the Highlands had sounded like distant thunder during a serene day, for no one seemed disposed to give credit to the danger as seriously approaching. The unexpected intelligence, that General Cope had marched to Inverness, and left the metropolis in a great measure to its own resources, excited a very different and more deep sensation, which actuated the inhabitants variously, according to their political sentiments. The Jacobites, who were in considerable numbers, hid their swelling hopes under the cover of ridicule and irony, with which they laboured to interrupt every plan which was adopted for the defence of the town. The truth was, that in a military point of view there was no town, not absolutely defenceless, which was worse protected than Edinburgh. The spacious squares and streets of the New Town had then, and for a long time after, no existence, the city being strictly limited to its original boundaries, established as early as the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It
had defences, but they were of a singularly antique and insufficient character. A high and solid wall enclosed the city from the West Port to the Potterrow Port. It was embattled, but the parapet was too narrow for mounting cannon, and, except upon one or two points, the wall neither exhibited redoubt, turret, or re-entering angle, from which the curtain or defensive line might be flanked or defended. It was merely an ordinary park-wall of uncommon height and strength, of which you may satisfy yourself by looking at such of its ruins as still remain. The wall ran eastward to what is called the South Back of the Canongate, and then, turning northward, ascended the ridge on which the town is built, forming the one side of a suburb called Saint Mary's Wynd, where it was covered by houses built upon it from time to time, besides being within a few feet of the other side of the wynd, which is narrow, and immediately in its front. In this imperfect state the defence reached the Netherbow Port, which divided the city from the Canongate. From this point the wall ran down Leith Wynd, and terminated at the hospital called Paul's Work, connecting itself on that point with the North, or Nor' Loch, so called because it was on the northern side of the city, and its sole defence on that quarter.

The nature of the defensive protections must, from this sketch, be judged extremely imperfect; and the quality of the troops by which resistance must have been made good, if it should be seriously thought upon, was scarce better suited to the task. The town's people, indeed, such as were able to
hear arms, were embodied under the name of Trained Bands, and had firelocks belonging to them, which were kept in the town's magazines. They amounted nominally to sixteen companies, of various strength, running between eighty and a hundred men each. This would have been a formidable force, had their discipline and good-will corresponded to their numbers. But, for many years, the officers of the Trained Bands had practised no other martial discipline, than was implied in a particular mode of flourishing their wine-glasses on festive occasions; and it was well understood that, if these militia were called on, a number of them were likely enough to declare for Prince Charles, and a much larger proportion would be unwilling to put their persons and property in danger, for either the one or the other side of the cause.

The only part of the civic defenders of Edinburgh who could at all be trusted, was the small body of foot called the City-guard, whom we have already seen make some figure in the affair of Porteous. The two regiments of dragoons, which General Cope had left behind him for the protection of the Lowlands, were the only regular troops.

Yet, though thus poorly provided for defence, there was a natural reluctance on the part of the citizens of Edinburgh, who were in general friendly to Government, to yield up their ancient metropolis to a few hundred wild insurgents from the Highlands, without even an effort at defence. So early as the 27th of August, when it was known in the capital that the regular troops had marched...
to Inverness, and that the Highlanders were directing their march on the Lowlands, a meeting of

the friends of Government was held, at which it was resolved that the city should be put in a state of defence, its fortifications repaired or improved, as well as time would permit, and a regiment of a thousand men raised by general subscription among the inhabitants. This spirit of resistance was considerably increased by the arrival of Captain Rogers, aid-de-camp to General Cope, who came from Inverness by sea, with directions that a number of transports, lying then at Leith, should be despatched, without loss of time for Aberdeen. He announced that General Cope was to march his troops from Inverness to Aberdeen, and embark them at the latter seaport, by the means which he was now providing for that purpose. The General, he stated, would with his army thus return to Lothian by sea, in time, as he hoped, for the safety of the city.

These tidings highly excited the zeal of those who had thus voted for defending the capital. As the regiment which had been voted could not be levied without the express warrant of Government, several citizens, to the number of an hundred, petitioned to be permitted to enrol themselves as volunteers for the defence of the city. Their numbers soon increased. At length, on the 11th September, six companies were appointed, and officers named to them. In the mean time, fortifications were added to the walls, under the scientific direction
of the celebrated M'Laurin, professor of mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. The volunteers were taught with all possible speed the most necessary parts of military discipline; cannon were also mounted on the walls, chiefly obtained from the shipping at Leith. The whole city rung with the din of preparation; and much seemed to depend on the event of a struggle for time. The party which was uppermost for the moment, expressed their eager wishes and hopes for General Cope's arrival from Aberdeen; while those who hoped soon to change positions with them, whispered to each other in secret their hopes that the English general would he anticipated by the arrival of the Highland army.

In the mean time, Charles Edward, having stopped at Perth only long enough to collect some money, refresh and regulate his army, and receive a few supplies of men, proceeded on his venturous march on the 11th September. His manifestoes, in his father's name and his own, had already announced his purpose of remedying all the grievances of which the nation could complain. Among these the dissolution of the Union was proposed as a principal object of reformation. It certainly continued to be felt as a grievance by many of the country gentlemen in Scotland, whose importance it had greatly diminished; but the commercial part of the nation had begun to be sensible of its advantages, and were not greatly captivated by the proposed dissolution of the national treaty, which had so much enlarged their sources of foreign traffic. Another proclamation was issued, in answer to one
which had set the price of L.30,000 upon the Adventurer's head. He should reply to this, he said, by a similar announcement, but in confidence that no adherent of his would ever think of doing anything to merit such a reward. Accordingly, he published a reward for the Elector of Hanover's person. Charles's original idea was to limit the sum offered to L.30, but it was ultimately extended to the same amount which had been placed upon his own.

On the evening of the 11th, the Chevalier reached Dunblane with the vanguard of his army, or rather detachments of the best men of every clan. It was found very difficult to remove the others from the good quarters and provisions of Perth, which were superior to what they had to expect on a march. The fords of Frew, situated on the Forth about eight miles above Stirling, which the Earl of Mar, with a much more numerous army, of Highlander's, had in vain attempted to cross, formed no obstacle to the advance of their present more adventurous leader. 1 The great drought, which prevailed that year, and which in Scotland is generally most severe towards the end of autumn, made it easy to cross the river. Gardiner's regiment of dragoons, which had been left at Stirling, offered no opposition to the enemy, but retreated to Linlithgow, to interpose betwixt the Highlanders and Edinburgh, a retrograde movement, which had a visible effect on the spirits of the soldiers.
In the mean time, the confusion in the capital was greatly increased by the near approach of the insurgent army. The volunteers had at no time amounted to more than about four hundred men, a small proportion of the population of the city, sufficiently indicating that the far greater majority of the inhabitants were lukewarm, and probably a great many positively disaffected to the cause of Government. Of those also who had taken arms, many had done so merely to show a zeal for the cause, which they never expected would be brought to a serious test; others had wives and families, houses and occupations, which they were, when it came to the push, loath to put in hazard for any political consideration. The citizens also entertained a high idea of the desperate courage of the Highlanders, and a dreadful presentiment of the outrages which a people so wild were likely to commit, if they should succeed, which appeared likely, in forcing their way into the town. Still, however, there were many young students, and others at that period of life when honour is more esteemed than life, who were willing, and even eager, to prosecute their intentions of resistance and defence.

The corps of volunteers, being summoned together, were informed that Gardiner's dragoons, having continued to retreat before the enemy, were now at Corstorphine, a village within three miles of the city; and that the van of the rebels had reached Kirkliston, a little town about seven or eight miles farther to the west. In these critical circumstances, General Guest, lieutenant-governor of the castle of Edinburgh, submitted to the corps of volunteers, that instead of waiting to be attacked
within a town, which their numbers were inadequate
to defend, they should second an offensive
movement which he designed to make in front of
the city, in order to protect it, by an instant battle.
For this purpose he proposed that the second regiment
of dragoons, called Hamilton's, should march
from Leith, where they were encamped, and form
a junction with Gardiner's at Corstorphine; and
that they should be supported by the volunteer
corps of four hundred men. The Provost, having

agreed to this proposal, offered, after some hesitation,
that ninety of the City-guard, whom he reckoned
the best troops at his disposal, should march
out with the armed citizens. Mr Drummond, an
active officer of the volunteers, and who displayed
more than usual zeal, harangued the armed
association. The most spirited shouted with sincere
applause, and by far the greater part followed their
example. Out of the whole volunteers, about
two hundred and fifty were understood to pledge
themselves to the execution of the proposed movement
in advance of the city. The sound of the
fire-bell was appointed as the signal for the volunteers
to muster in the Lawnmarket. In the mean
time, orders were sent to Hamilton's dragoons to
march through the city on their way to Corstorphine.
The parade and display of these disciplined
troops would, it was thought, add spirit to the
raw soldiers.

The following day was Sunday, the 15th of
September. The fire-bell, an ominous and ill-chosen
signal, tolled for assembling the volunteers, and so
 alarming a sound, during the time of divine service,
dispersed those assembled for worship, and brought out a large crowd of the inhabitants to the street. The dragoon regiment appeared, equipped for battle. They huzza'd and clashed their swords at sight of the volunteers, their companions in peril, of which neither party were destined that day to see much. But other sounds expelled these warlike greetings from the ears of the civic soldiers. The relatives of the volunteers crowded around them, weeping, protesting, and conjuring them not to expose lives so invaluable to their families to the broadswords of the savage Highlanders. There is nothing of which men, in general, are more easily persuaded, than of the extreme value of their own lives; nor are they apt to estimate them more lightly, when they see they are highly prized by others. A sudden change of opinion took place among the body. In some companies, the men said that their officers would not lead them on; in others, the officers said that the privates would not follow them. An attempt to march the corps towards the West Port, which was their destined route for the field of battle, failed. The regiment moved, indeed, but the files grew gradually thinner and thinner as they marched down the Bow and through the Grassmarket, and not above forty-five reached the West Port. A hundred more were collected with some difficulty, but it seems to have been under a tacit condition, that the march to Corstorphine should be abandoned; fur out of the city not one of them issued. The volunteers were led back to their alarm post, and dismissed for the
(77-126)evening, when a few of the most zealous left the
town, the defence of which began no longer to be
expected, and sought other fields in which to exercise
their valour.

(77-126)In the mean time, their less warlike comrades
were doomed to hear of the near approach of the
Highland clans. On the morning of Monday, a
person named Alves, who pretended to have
approached the rebel army by accident, but who was,
perhaps, in reality, a favourer of their cause,
brought word that he had seen the Duke of Perth,
to whom he was personally known, and had
received a message to the citizens of Edinburgh,
informing them, that if they opened their gates,
the town should be favourably treated, but if they
attempted resistance, they might lay their account

[TG77-127]
with military execution; " and he concluded," said
Alves, " by addressing a young man by the title
of Royal Highness, and desiring to know if such
was not his pleasure." This message, which was
publicly delivered, struck additional terror into the
inhabitants, who petitioned the Provost to call a
general meeting of the citizens, the only purpose
of which must have increased the confusion in their
councils. Provost Stewart refused to convoke such
a meeting. The town was still covered by two
regiments of dragoons. Colonel Gardiner, celebrated
for his private worth, his bravery, and his
devotional character, was now in command of
Hamilton's regiment, as well as his own, when he
was suddenly superseded by General Fowkes, who
had been sent from London by sea, and arrived on
the night of the 15th of September.
Early the next morning, the new general drew up the dragoons near the north end of the Colt Bridge, which crosses the Water of Leith, about two miles from Corstorphine, from which last village the Highlanders were now advancing. On their van coming in sight of the regulars, a few of the mounted gentlemen who had joined the insurgents were despatched to reconnoitre. As this party rode up, and fired their pistols at the dragoons, after the usual manner of skirmishers, a humiliating spectacle ensued. The soldiers, without returning a shot, fell into such disorder, that their officers were compelled to move them from the ground, with the purpose of restoring their ranks. But no sooner did the two regiments find themselves in retreat, than it became impossible to halt or form them. Their panic increased their speed from a trot to a gallop, and the farther they got even from the very appearance of danger, the more excessive seemed to be their terror. Galloping in the greatest confusion round the base of the Castle, by what were called the Lang Dykes, they pursued their disorderly course along the fields where the New Town is now built, in full view of the city and its inhabitants, whose fears were reasonably enough raised to extremity, at seeing the shameful flight of the regular soldiers, whose business it was to fight-a poor example to those who were only to take up the deadly trade as amateurs. Even at Leith, to which, as they had last encamped there, they returned by a kind of instinct, those recreant horsemen could only be halted for a few minutes. Ere their minds had recovered from
their perturbation, some one raised a cry that the
Highlanders were at hand; and the retreat was
renewed. They halted a second time near Prestonpans,
but, receiving a third alarm from one of their
own men falling into a waste coal-pit, the race was
again resumed in the darkness of the night, and
the dragoons only stopped at Dunbar, North
Berwick, and other towns on the coast; none of them,
at the same time, able to render a reason why they
fled, or to tell by whom they were pursued.

In Edinburgh the citizens were driven to a kind
of desperation of terror. Crowds gathered on the
streets and surrounded the Provost, entreating him
to give up all thoughts of defending the town,
which would have been indeed an impossibility
after the scandalous retreat of the dragoons. Whatever
the Provost might think of the condition of
the city, he maintained a good countenance; and
convoking a meeting of the magistracy, sent for the
Justice-Clerk, the Lord Advocate, and Solicitor-
General, to come and partake their councils. But
these functionaries had wisely left the city when
the danger of its falling into the hands of the
rebels became so very imminent. In the mean time,
other citizens, uninvited, intruded themselves into
the place where the council was held, which speedily
assumed the appearance of a disorderly crowd,
most part of whom were clamorous for surrender.
Many of the loudest were Jacobites, who took
that mode of serving the Prince's cause.

While the council was in this state of confusion,
a letter, subscribed Charles Stewart, P. R., was
handed into the meeting, but the Provost would not permit it to be read, which gave rise to a furious debate. The volunteers, in the mean time, were drawn up on the street, amid the same clamour and consternation which filled the council. They received no orders from the Provost, nor from any one else. At this juncture, a man, who was never since discovered, mounted on a grey horse, rode along the front of their line, calling out, from the great augmentation of the general alarm, that the Highlanders were just at hand, and were sixteen thousand strong! The unlucky volunteers, disheartened, and in a great measure deserted, resolved at length to disembody themselves, and to return their arms to the King's magazine in the Castle. The muskets were received there accordingly, and the volunteers might be considered as disbanded as well as disarmed. If some wept at parting with their arms, we believe the greater part were glad to be fairly rid of the encumbrance.

In the interim the letter with the alarming signature was at length read in the council, and was found to contain a summons to surrender the city, under a promise of safety to the immunities of the corporation, and the property of individuals. The conclusion declared, that the Prince would not be responsible for the consequences if he were reduced to enter the city by force, and that such of the inhabitants as he found in arms against him must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war.

The perusal of this letter increased the cry against resistance, which, indeed, the flight of the
dragoons, and dispersion of the volunteers, rendered altogether impossible, the armed force being reduced to the City-guard, and a few recruits of the newly-raised Edinburgh regiment. It was at length agreed on, by general consent, to send a deputation of the council to wait on the young Prince at Gray's Mill, within two miles of the city; they were instructed to require a suspension of hostilities until they should have time to deliberate on the letter which had been forwarded to them.

The deputation had not long set forth on its destination, when one of those turns of fortune which so unexpectedly threaten to derange the most profound calculations of human prudence, induced many of the citizens to wish that the step of communicating with the rebels had been delayed. Intelligence arrived, acquainting the magistrates and council, that Sir John Cope's army had arrived in the transports from Aberdeen, and that the fleet was seen off Dunbar, where the General intended to land his troops, and move instantly to the relief of Edinburgh. A messenger was sent to recall the deputation, but he proved unable to overtake them. General Guest was resorted to with various proposals. He was asked to recall the dragoons; but replied, he considered it better for the service that they should join General Cope. The more zealous citizens then requested a new issue of arms to the volunteers; but General Guest seems to have been unwilling to place them again in irresolute hands; he said the magistrates might arm those whom they could trust from the city's magazine. Still, as it appeared that a day's time...
gained might save the city, there were proposals to resume the purpose of defence, at least for the time which Cope's march from Dunbar was likely to occupy. It was therefore proposed to beat to arms, ring the fire-bell, and reassemble the volunteers, schemes which were abandoned as soon as moved, for it was remembered that the deputation of the magistrates and counsellors were in the power of the Highlandmen, who, on the sound of an alarm in the town, were likely enough to hang them without ceremony.

About ten o'clock at night the deputation returned, with an answer to the same purpose with the previous summons, demanding, at the same time, a positive reply before two in the morning. The deliberations of the magistrates were farther embroiled by this peremptory demand of instant surrender, which made them aware that the insurgents were as sensible as they could be of the value of hours and minutes in a discussion so critical. They could think of nothing better than to send out a second deputation to Gray's Mill, with instructions to entreat for farther time. It is important to state, that this party went to the Highland headquarters in a hackney-coach. The Prince refused to see them, and dismissed them without an answer.

In the mean time, the Chevalier and his counsellors agitated several plans for carrying the city by a sudden surprise. There was more than one point which gave facilities for such a coup-de-main.
A house belonging to a gentleman of the name of Nicolson stood on the outside of the town-wall, only a few feet distant from it, and very near the Potterrow Port. It was proposed to take possession of this house, and, after clearing the wall by a fire of musketry from the upper windows, either to attempt an escalade, or to run a mine under the fortification. At the same time, the position of the hospital called Paul's Work was favourably situated to cover an attack on the main sluice of the North Loch. The College Church gave ready means of gaining the hospital; and an alarm on the northern termination of the wall would have afforded a point of diversion, while the main attack might be made by means of the row of houses in St Mary's Wynd, composing the western side of that lane, and actually built upon, and forming part of the wall, which in that place was merely a range of buildings. Such were the points of assault which might be stormed simultaneously, and with the greater prospect of success, that their defenders were deficient both in numbers and courage.

With these and similar views, the Chevalier ordered Lochiel to get his men under arms, so as to be ready, if the magistrates did not surrender at the appointed hour of two in the morning, to make an attack on either of the points we have mentioned, or take any other opportunity that might occur of entering the city; Mr Murray of Broughton, who was familiar with all the localities of Edinburgh, acting as a guide to the Camerons. The party amounted to about nine hundred men.
marching, and they were enjoined to rigid abstinence from spirituous liquors. At the same time, each man was promised a reward of two shilling's, if the enterprise was successful. Colonel O'Sullivan was with the party as quarter-master. The detachment marched round by Merchiston and Hope's Park, without being observed from the Castle, though they could hear the watches call the rounds within that fortress. Approaching the Netherbow Port, Lochiel and Murray reconnoitred the city-wall more closely, and found it planted with cannon, but without sentinels. They could, therefore, have forced an entrance by any of the houses in St Mary's Wynd; but having strict orders to observe the utmost caution, Lochiel hesitated to resort to actual violence till they should have final commands to do so. In the mean time, Lochiel sent forward one of his people, disguised in a riding coat and hunting cap, with orders to request admission by the Netherbow Port. This man was to personate the servant of an English officer of dragoons, and in that character to call for admittance. An advanced guard of twenty Camerons were ordered to place themselves on each side of the gate; a support of sixty men were stationed in deep silence in St Mary's Wynd; and the rest of the detachment remained at some distance, near the foot of the lane. It was Lochiel's purpose that the gate, if opened, should have been instantly secured by the forlorn-hope of his party. The watch, however (for there were sentinels at the gate, though none on the city-wall), refused to open the gate, threatened to fire on the man who desired admittance, and thus compelled him to withdraw.
It was now proposed by Murray, that as the morning was beginning to break, the detachment should retire to the craggy ground called Saint Leonard's hill, where they would be secure from the cannon of the Castle, and there await for further orders. Just when the detachment was about to retreat, an accident happened which gratified them with an unexpected opportunity of entrance.

I have told you of a second deputation sent out by the magistrates, to entreat from the Chevalier additional time to deliberate upon his summons, which he refused to grant, declining even to see the messengers. These deputies returned into the city long after midnight, in the hackney-coach which had carried them to the rebel camp. They entered at the West Port, and left the coach after they had ascended the Bow and reached the High Street. The hackney-coachman, who had his own residence and his stables in the Canongate, was desirous to return to that suburb through the Netherbow Port, which then closed the head of the Canongate. The man was known to the waiters, or porters, as having been that night engaged in the service of the magistrates, and, as a matter of course, they opened the gate to let him go home. The leaves of the gate had no sooner unfolded themselves, than the Camerons rushed in, and secured and disarmed the few watchmen. With the same ease they seized on the city guard-house, disarming such soldiers as they found there.

Colonel O'Sullivan despatched parties to the
other military posts and gates about the city, two
of which were occupied with the same ease, and
without a drop of blood being spilt. The Camerons,
in the dawn of morning', were marched up
to the Cross, when the Castle, now alarmed with
the news of what had happened, fired a shot or two
expressive of defiance. These warlike sounds
waked such of the citizens of Edinburgh as the
tumult of the Highlanders' entrance had not yet
roused, and many with deep anxiety, and others
with internal exultation, found that the capital was
in the hands of the insurgents.

Much noisy wonder was expressed at the tame
surrender of the metropolis of Scotland to the
rebels; and, as if it had been necessary to find a scapegoat
to bear the disgrace and blame of the transaction,
a great proportion of both was imputed to the
Lord Provost Stewart, who, after a long and severe
imprisonment, was brought to trial for high treason,
and although he was honourably acquitted, his
name was often afterwards mentioned in a manner
as if his judicial acquittal had not been sanctioned
by the public voice. There is no room to enquire
of what cast were Provost Stewards general politics,
or how far, even from the mere circumstance
of namesake, he was to be accounted a Jacobite.
Neither is the chief magistrate of a corporation to
be condemned to death as a traitor, because he does
not possess those attributes of heroism, by means
of which some gifted individuals have raised means
defence when hope seemed altogether lost, and,
by their own energies and example, have saved
communities and states, which were, in the estimation
of all others, doomed to despair. The question is, whether Provost Stewart, as an upright and honourable man, sought the best advice in an exigency so singular, and exerted himself assiduously to carry it into execution when received? The flight of the dragoons, the disbanding of the volunteers, the discontinuance of the defence, received no encouragement from him; even the opening a communication with the enemy was none of his fault, since lie was one of the last who either despaired of preserving the city, or used discouraging language to the citizens. But he could not inspire panic-struck soldiers with courage, or selfish burghers with patriotic devotion, and, like a man who fights with a broken weapon, was unequal to maintain the cause which to all appearance he seems to have been sincere in defending.

The Highlanders, amid circumstances so new and stimulating to them as attended the capture of Edinburgh, behaved themselves with the utmost order and propriety. The inhabitants, desirous to conciliate their new masters, brought them provisions, and even whisky; but having been enjoined by Lochiel not to taste the latter spirits, they unanimously rejected a temptation which besets them strongly. They remained where they were posted, in the Parliament-Square, from five in the morning till eleven in the forenoon, without a man leaving his post, though in a city taken, it may be said, by storm, and surrounded with an hundred objects to excite their curiosity, or awaken their cupidity.

They were then quartered in the Outer Parliament-
About noon on this important day (the 17th of September), diaries Edward prepared to take possession of the palace and capital of his ancestors.

It was at that time, when, winding his march round by the village of Duddingston, to avoid the fire of the Castle, he halted in the hollow between Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags. As Charles approached the palace by the eastern access, called the Duke's Walk, he called for his horse, as if to show himself to the populace, who assembled in great numbers, and with loud acclamations. The young Adventurer had begun his march on foot, but the immense crowd with which he was surrounded, many of whom pressed to touch his clothes, or kiss his hand, almost threw him down. He again mounted his charger as he approached the palace, having on his right the Duke of Perth, on his left Lord Elcho, the eldest son of the Earl of Wemyss, who had joined him a few days before, and followed by a concourse of chiefs and gentlemen. The personal appearance of the Chevalier was as prepossessing, as the daring character and romantic circumstances of his enterprise were calculated to excite the imagination. His noble mien, graceful manners, and ready courtesy, seemed to mark him no unworthy competitor for a crown. His dress was national. A short tartan coat, a blue bonnet with a white rose, and the order and emblem of the thistle, seemed all chosen to identify himself with the ancient nation he summoned to arms; and, upon the whole, so far as
acclamations and signs of joy could express it, he was so favourably received, that none of his followers doubted that he might levy a thousand men in the streets of Edinburgh, in half an hour, if he could but find arms to equip them.

But they who were able to look beyond the mere show and clamour, discerned symptoms of inward weakness in the means by which the Chevalier was to execute his weighty undertaking. The duinthewassels, or gentlemen of the clans, were, indeed, martially attired in the full Highland dress, with the various arms which appertain to that garb, which, in full equipment, comprehends a firelock, a broadsword, dirk and target, a pair of pistols, and a short knife, used occasionally as a poniard. But such complete appointments fell to the lot of but few of the followers of the Prince. Most were glad to be satisfied with a single weapon, a sword, dirk, or pistol. Nay, in spite of all evasions of the Disarming Act, it had been so far effectual, that several Highlanders were only armed with scythe blades, set straight on the handle, and some with only clubs or cudgels. As arms were scarce among the Highlanders, so the scanty and ill-clothed appearance of the poorer amongst them gave them an appearance at once terrible and wretched. Indeed many were of the opinion of an old friend of your Grandfather's, who, as he looked on a set of haggard and fierce-looking men, some wanting coats, some lacking hose and shoes, some having their hair tied back with a leathern strap, without bonnet or covering of any kind, could not help observing, that they were a proper
set of ragamuffins with which to propose to overturn
an established government. On the whole, they wanted that regularity and uniformity of
appearance, which, in our eye, distinguishes regular soldiers from banditti; and their variety of weapons,
fierceness of aspect, and sinewy limbs, combined with a martial look and air proper to a people
whose occupation was arms, gave them a peculiarly wild and barbarous appearance.

The Prince had been joined by many persons of consequence since he reached Lothian. Lord
Elcho has already been mentioned. He was a man of high spirit and sound sense, but no Jacobite in
the bigoted sense of the word; that is, no devoted slave to the doctrines of hereditary right or passive
obedience. He brought with him five hundred pounds on the part of his father. Lord Wemyss,
who was too old to take the field in person. This was an acceptable gift in the state of the Prince's finances. Sir Robert Threipland had also joined him as he approached Edinburgh; and by the private information which he brought from his friends in that city, had determined him to persevere in the attack which proved so successful.

The Earl of Kelly, Lord Balmerino, Lockhart, the younger of Carnwath, Graham, younger of Airth, Rollo, younger of Powburn, Hamilton of Bangour, a poet of considerable merit, Sir David Murray, and other gentlemen of distinction, had also joined the standard.

Amongst these, James Hepburn of Keith, son
of that Robert Hepburn, respecting whose family a remarkable anecdote is mentioned at page 289 of the preceding volume, and whose escape from Newgate is narrated at page 387 of the same volume, distinguished himself by the manner in which he devoted himself to the cause of Charles Edward. As the Prince entered the door of the palace of Holyrood, this gentleman stepped from the crowd, bent his knee before him in testimony of homage, and, rising up, drew his sword, and, walking before him, marshalled him the way into the palace of his ancestors. Hepburn bore the highest character as the model of a true Scottish gentleman. He, like Lord Elcho, disclaimed the slavish principles of the violent Jacobites, but, conceiving his country wronged, and the gentry of Scotland degraded by the Union, he, in this romantic manner, dedicated his sword to the service of the Prince who offered to restore him to his rights. Mr John Home, whose heart sympathised with acts of generous devotion, from whatever source they flowed, feelingly observes, that "the best Whigs regretted that this accomplished gentleman—the model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour—should sacrifice himself to a visionary idea of the independence of Scotland." I am enabled to add, that, after having impaired his fortune, and endangered his life repeatedly, in this ill-fated cause, Mr Hepburn became convinced that, in the words of Scripture, he had laboured a vain thing. He repeatedly said in his family circle, that, had he known, as the after progress of the expedition showed him, that a very great majority of the nation were satisfied with the existing Government, he would never have drawn
sword against his fellow-subjects, or aided to raise

a civil war, merely to replace the Stewart dynasty.

THE possession of Edinburgh threw a gleam of splendour upon Charles Edward's fortunes, but can scarcely be said to have produced very important consequences.

King James VIII. was proclaimed at the Cross. At this ceremony the heralds and pursuivants were obliged to assist in their official dresses, and the magistrates in their robes. A great multitude attended on this occasion, and made the city ring with their acclamations. The gunners of the castle were disposed to give a different turn to this mirth, by throwing a bomb, so calculated as to alight near the Cross, and interrupt the ceremonial. Fortunately this act of violence, which might have endangered the lives of many of King George's good subjects, whom mere curiosity had drawn to the spot, was prohibited by General Guest.

At night there was a splendid ball at Holyrood, where might be seen a great display both of rank and beauty, the relatives of the gentlemen who were in arms. But it was a remarkable and ominous circumstance, that of the common people, who by thousands crowded round the Prince's person when he went abroad, pressing to kiss his hands and touch his clothes, with every display of affection,
scarcely one could be induced to enlist in his service. The reflection, that a battle must take place betwixt Prince Charles and General Cope in the course of a very few days, was to the populace of a large city, a sufficient check upon their party zeal.

One of the most solid advantages which the Prince obtained by his possession of the city, besides the encouragement which his adherents received from such a signal proof of success, was the acquisition of about a thousand muskets, in indifferent condition, being the arms of the Trained Bands, which were lodged in the city magazine. These served to arm many of his followers, but still some remained unprovided with weapons. Charles also laid upon the city a military requisition for a thousand tents, two thousand targets, six thousand pairs of shoes, and six thousand canteens. The magistrates had no alternative but to acquiesce, and employ workmen to get ready the articles demanded.

Upon the 18th of September, the day after the occupation of Edinburgh, Lord Nairne came up from the north, and joined the Highland camp with a thousand men, consisting of Highlanders from Athole, together with the chief of MacLauchlan and his followers. The Prince visited his camp, and passed in review, at the same time with the rest of his forces, these new associates of his enterprise.

While these things were passing in Edinburgh,
General Cope landed his troops at Dunbar, anxious to repair the false step which he had committed in leaving the Lowlands open to the young Adventurer, and desirous to rescue the capital of Scotland, since he had not been able to protect it. He began the disembarkation of his troops on the 17th, but it was not completed till the next day. The two regiments of cavalry, which had made such extraordinary speed to join him, were also united to his army, though their nerves had not yet recovered the rapid and disorderly retreat from Colt-Bridge to East Lothian. The number of infantry was about 2000, that of the two regiments of dragoons about 600; Sir John Cope was also joined by volunteers, among whom the Earl of Home was the most conspicuous, making his army up to near 3000 men in all. They had six pieces of artillery, but, what seems strange, no gunners or artillery-men to work them. In other respects they formed a small, but very well-appointed force, and made an impressive appearance in a country so long disused to war, as had been the case with Scotland. At the head of this respectable body of men Sir John departed from Dunbar, and marched as far as Haddington, or its vicinity, on his proposed advance on Edinburgh. 

In the mean time, Charles Edward had taken a resolution corresponding with the character of his enterprise. It was that of moving eastward, to meet Sir John Cope upon his route, and give him battle. All his counsellors agreed in this courageous sentiment. The Prince then asked the Chiefs, what was to be expected from their
followers. They answered by the mouth of Keppoch, who had served in the French army, that the gentlemen of every clan would lead the attack with determined gallantry, in which case, there was no doubt that the clansmen, who were much attached to their chiefs and superiors, would follow them with fidelity and courage. The Prince declared he would himself lead the van, and set them an example bow to conquer or die. The Chiefs unanimously remonstrated against his exposing a life on which the whole success of the expedition must depend, and declared, that if he persisted in that resolution, they would break up the army and return home. There can be little doubt that Charles was sincere in his resolution, and no doubt at all that he was very wise in withdrawing from it on the remonstrance of his faithful followers.

Orders were given to prepare next morning for the evacuation of Edinburgh, in order that the whole Highland army might be collected for the battle, which was expected to ensue. For this purpose, the troops employed in mounting the several guards of the city, in number 1000 men, were withdrawn to the camp at Duddingston. It might have been expected, that a sally from the Castle would have taken place in consequence of their retreat, if not for any ulterior purpose, at least to seize on the different articles which had been got ready at the requisition of the Prince, and put a stop to their completion. The presence of mind of a common Highlander prevented this. The man being intoxicated when his countrymen were withdrawn, found himself, when he recovered his senses, the
only one of his party left in the town. Being a ready-witted fellow, to those who enquired of him, why he had lingered behind his countrymen, he answered, "That he was neither alone, nor alarmed for his safety; five hundred Highlanders," he said, "had been left in cellars and secret places about town, for the purpose of cutting off any detachment that might sally from the Castle." These false tidings being transmitted to General Guest, were for the time received as genuine; nor was there time to discover the deceit, before the victory of Preston enabled Charles Edward to return in triumph to the capital. The man's presence of mind secured also his own safety.

The men had lain on their arms the night of the 19th, their Chiefs and the Chevalier occupying such houses as were in the neighbourhood. On the morning of the 20th, they were all on the march, in high spirits, determined for action, and eager to meet the enemy. They formed in one narrow column, keeping the high ground from Duddingston towards Musselburgh, where they crossed the Esk by the old bridge, and then advanced to the eminence of which Carberry hill is the termination to the south-west, near which, about Musselburgh or Inveresk, they expected to meet the enemy. On putting himself at the head of his army, the Prince drew his sword, and said to his followers, "Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard," which was answered by shouts of acclamation. Their movements were the simplest imaginable. On their march they formed a column of three men in front. When about to halt, each individual
faced to the right or left as directed, and the column became a line of three men deep, which, by filing off from either flank, might again become a

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column at the word of command. Their handful of cavalry, scarcely amounting to fifty men, were occupied on the march in reconnoitring. They obtained a tolerably accurate account of the strength of Cope's army, excepting as to the number of his guns, which one report augmented to twenty field-pieces, and none rated under twelve, though, as I have already said, there were only six in all.

When the Highlanders had advanced as far as Falside hill, near Carberry, their scouts brought in notice that they had seen parties of dragoons about Tranent, and it was reported that Sir John Cope was in that quarter with his whole army. The Chevalier's army, which had hitherto marched in one column, now divided into two, being their intended line of battle, and keeping towards the right, so as to preserve the upper ground, which was a great point in Highland tactics, marched onward with steadiness and celerity.

When they arrived where the hill immediately above Tranent slopes suddenly down upon a large cultivated plain, then in stubble, the harvest having been unusually early, the Highlanders beheld the enemy near the western extremity of this plain, with their front towards the ridge of high ground which they themselves occupied.

It appears that Sir John Cope had directed his march under the idea, that because a road, passing
from Seaton house to Preston, was the usual highway from Haddington, therefore the Highlanders would make use of that, and no other, for their advance. He either did not know, or forgot, that an irregular army of mountaineers, unencumbered with baggage and inured to marching, would not hesitate to prefer the rougher and less level road, if it possessed any advantages.

Two mounted volunteers, Francis Garden, afterwards Lord Gardenstone, and a Mr Cunninghame, had been detached by the English general to collect intelligence; but unhappily, as they halted to refresh themselves beyond Musselburgh, they fell into the hands of John Roy Stewart, a more skilful partisan than themselves, by whom they were made prisoners, and led captive to the Chevalier's headquarters. Sir John Cope, deprived of the information he expected from his scouts, seems to have continued to expect the approach of the rebels from the west, until he suddenly saw them appear from the southward, on the ridge of the acclivity upon his left. He immediately changed his front, and drew up his troops with military precision in order of battle. His foot were placed in the centre, with a regiment of dragoons and three pieces of artillery upon each flank. The wall of Colonel Gardiner's park (for his mansion was in the vicinity of the plain which was destined to prove fatal to him), as well as that of Mr Erskine of Grange, covered the right flank of the regulars; Cope's baggage was stationed at Cockenzie, on the
rear of his left, and a small reserve was stationed in front of the village of Prestonpans, which lay on the rear of the General’s right.

In front of both armies, and separating the higher ground on which the Highland army was drawn up from the firm and level plain on which the regulars were posted, lay a piece of steep and swampy ground, intersected with ditches and enclosures, and traversed near the bottom by a thick strong hedge running along a broad wet ditch, and covering the front of the royal army. It was the object of the Chevalier to indulge the impatience of his troops, by pressing forward to instant battle. For this purpose he employed an officer of experience, Mr Ker of Graden, who, mounted on a grey pony, coolly reconnoitred the seemingly impracticable ground which divided the armies, crossed it in several directions, deliberately alighted, pulled down gaps in one or two walls of dry stone, and led his horse over them, many balls being fired at him while performing this duty. This intrepid gentleman returned to the Chevalier, to inform him that the morass could not be passed so as to attack the front of General Cope’s army, without sustaining a heavy and destructive fire of some continuance. A waggon-way for the conveyance of coal worked in the vicinity of Tranent, for the use of the salt-works at Cockenzie, did indeed cross the morass, but it would have been ruinous to have engaged troops in such a narrow road, which was exposed to be swept in every direction both by artillery and musketry.
The position of General Cope might therefore be considered as unassailable; and that general, with a moderation which marked Ills mediocrity of talent, was happy in having found, as he thought, safety, when he ought to have looked for victory.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gardiner, and other officers, pressed on the commander the necessity of a bolder line of tactics. They were of opinion that the regular soldiers should be led against the rebels while the former showed spirit for the encounter, and that remaining merely on the defensive was likely to sink the courage of the troops, as delay gave the infantry time to recollect that they had avoided an encounter with these Highlanders at Corryarrack, and the cavalry leisure to remember their recent and ignominious flight from the vicinity of Edinburgh, before this new description of enemy. The lieutenant-colonel pressed his advice with earnestness, dropped some expressions of the result, which was to be apprehended, and, finding his suggestions rejected, made the preparations of a good and brave man for doing his duty, and, if necessary, for dying in the discharge of it.

Some movements now took place. The regular troops huzza'd, to show their willingness to come to action; the Highlanders replied in their manner, by wild shouts. A party of Highlanders were stationed in Tranent churchyard, as an advantageous post; but Sir John Cope, advancing two light field pieces, made that position too hot for them. Still the insurgents continued anxiously bent on battle, and expressed the most earnest
desire to attack the enemy, who, they supposed, intended to escape from them, as at Corryarrack. They offered to make the attack through the morass, without regard to the difficulties of the ground, and to carry fascines with them, for the purpose of rendering the ditch passable. They were exhorted to patience by their Chiefs; and, to allay their fears of the escape of the enemy, the Chevalier detached Lord Nairne with five hundred men to the westward, that he might be in a situation to intercept Sir John Cope, in case he should attempt to move off towards Edinburgh without fighting.

Satisfied with this precaution, the Highlanders lay down to rest in a field of pease, which was made up in ricks upon the ground. The minds of the Chiefs were still occupied with the means of discovering a path by which they might get clear of the morass, gain the open and firm ground, and rush down on Cope and his army, whom they regarded as their assured prey, if they could but meet them in a fair field.

There was in the Chevalier's army a gentleman named Anderson, of Whitburgh, in East Lothian, to whom the ground in the vicinity was perfectly known, and who betought him of a path leading from the height on which their army lay, sweeping through the morass, and round the left wing of General Cope's army, as it was now disposed, and which might, conduct them to the level and extensive flat, since called the field of battle. Mr Anderson communicated this important fact to Mr Hepburn of Keith. By Mr Hepburn he was conducted
to Lord George Murray; who, highly pleased with the intelligence, introduced him to Prince Charles Edward.

The candidate for a diadem was lying with a bunch of pease-straw beneath his head, and was awakened with news which assured him of battle, and promised him victory. He received the tidings with much cheerfulness, and immediately, for the night was well spent, prepared to put the scheme into execution.

An aide-de-camp was instantly despatched to recall Lord Nairne from his demonstration to the westward, and cause him with his detachment to rejoin the army as speedily as possible. In the mean time, the whole of the Highland army got under arms, and moved forward with incredible silence and celerity, by the path proposed. A point of precedence was now to be settled, characteristic of the Highlanders. The tribe of MacDonalds, though divided into various families, and serving under various chiefs, still reckoned on their common descent from the great Lords of the Isles, in virtue of which, they claimed, as the post of honour, the right of the whole Highland army in the day of action. This was disputed by some of the other clans, and it was agreed they should cast lots about this point of precedence. Fortune gave it to the Camerons and Stewarts, which was murmured at by the numerous Clan-Colla, the generic name for the MacDonalds. The sagacity of Lochiel induced the other chiefs to resign for the day a point on which they were likely to be tenacious. The
precedence was yielded to the MacDonalds accordingly, and the first line of the Highlanders moved off their ground by the left flank, in order that the favoured tribe might take the post of honour. They marched, as usual, in two columns of three men in front. The first of these was led by young Clanranald with about sixty men, under the guidance of Anderson of Whitburgh. The first line consisted of the following clan regiments: Clanranald, 250 strong; Glengarry, 350; Keppoch and Glencoe, 450; Perth, with some MacGregors, 200; Appin, 250; and Lochiel, 500. The second line consisted of three regiments, - Lord George Murray's Athole men, 350; Lord Nairne's regiment, 350; and Menzies of Shian's, 300. Lord Strathallan, with his handful of cavalry, was appointed to keep the height above the morass, that they might do what their numbers permitted to improve the victory, in case it should be gained. This troop consisted of about thirty-six horsemen. From these details, it appears that the Highland army was about 3000 in number, being very nearly the same with Sir John Cope's.

Anderson guided the first line. He found the pathway silent and deserted; it winded to the north-east, down a sort of hollow, which at length brought them to the eastern extremity of the plain, at the west end of which the regular army was stationed, with its left flank to the assailants. No guns had been placed to enfilade this important pass, though there was a deserted embrasure which showed that the measure had been in contemplation; neither was there a sentinel or patrol to
observe the motions of the Highlanders in that direction.
On reaching the firm ground, the column advanced due northward across the plain, in order
to take ground for wheeling up and forming line of battle. The Prince marched at the head of the second column, and close in the rear of the first. The morass was now rendered difficult by the passage of so many men. Some of the Highlanders sunk knee-deep, and the Prince himself stumbled, and fell upon one knee. The morning was now dawning, but a thick frosty mist still hid the motions of the Highlanders. The sound of their march could, however, no longer be concealed, and an alarm-gun was fired as a signal for Cope's army to get under arms.

Aware that the Highlanders had completely turned his left flank, and were now advancing from the eastward along a level and open plain, without interruption of any kind, Sir John Cope hastened to dispose his troops to receive them. Though probably somewhat surprised, the English general altered the disposition which he had made along the morass, and formed anew, having the walls of Preston-park, and that of Bankton, the seat of Colonel Gardiner, close in the rear of his army; his left flank extended towards the sea, his right rested upon the morass which had lately been in his front.

His order of battle was now extended from north to south, having the east in front. In other respects the disposition was the same as already mentioned, his infantry forming his centre, and on each wing
a regiment of horse. By some crowding in of the piquets, room enough was not left for Gardiner's corps to make a full front upon the right wing, so that one squadron was drawn up in the rear of the other. The artillery was also placed before this regiment, a disposition which the colonel is said to have remonstrated against, having too much reason to doubt the steadiness of the horses, as well as of the men who composed the corps. There was no attention paid to his remonstrances, nor was there time to change the disposition.

The Highlanders had no sooner advanced so far to the northward as to extricate the rear of the column from the passage across the morass, and place the whole on open ground, than they wheeled to the left, and formed a line of three men deep. This thin long line they quickly broke up into a number of small masses or phalanxes, each according to their peculiar tactics containing an individual clan, which disposed themselves for battle in the manner following. The best-born men of the tribe, who were also the best armed, and had almost all targets, threw themselves in front of the regiment. The followers closed on the rear, and forced the front forward by their weight. After a brief prayer, which was never omitted, the bonnets were pulled over the brows, the pipers blew the signal, and the line of clans rushed forward, each forming a separate wedge.

These preparations were made with such despatch on both wings, that the respective aides-de-camp of the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray
met in the centre, each bringing news that his
general was ready to charge. The whole front line
accordingly moved forward, and, as they did so,
the sun broke out, and the mist rose from the ground
like the curtain of a theatre. It showed to the
Highlanders the line of regular troops drawn up
in glittering array like a complete hedge of steel,
and at the same time displayed to Cope's soldiers
the furious torrent, which, subdivided into such a
number of columns, or rather small masses, advanced
with a cry which gradually swelled into a hideous
yell, and became intermingled with an irregular
but well-directed fire, the mountaineers presenting
their pieces as they ran, dropping them
when discharged, and rushing on to close conflict
sword in hand. The events of the preceding night
had created among the regulars an apprehension
of their opponents, not usual to English soldiers.
General Cope's tactics displayed a fear of the enemy
rather than a desire to engage him: and now
this dreaded foe, having selected his own point of
advantage, was coming down on them in all his
terrors, with a mode of attack unusually furious,
and unknown to modern war

There was but an instant to think of these things,
for this was almost the moment of battle. But
such thoughts were of a nature which produce their
effect in an instant, and they added to the ferocity
of the Highlanders, while they struck dismay into
their opponents. The old seamen and gunners,
who had been employed to serve the artillery on
the right wing, showed the first symptoms of panic,
and fled from the guns they had undertaken to
work, carrying with them the priming flasks. Colonel Whitefoord, who had joined Cope's army as a volunteer, fired five of the guns on the advancing Highlanders, and, keeping his ground while all fled around him, was with difficulty saved from the fury of the Camerons and Stewarts, who, running straight on the muzzles of the cannon, actually stormed the battery. The regiment of dragoons being drawn up, as has been said, in two lines, the foremost squadron, under Lieutenant-colonel Whitney, having received orders to advance, were, like the gunners, seized with a panic, dispersed under the fire of the Highlanders, and went off without even an attempt to charge, riding down the artillery guard in their flight. The rearmost squadron, commanded by Gardiner, might, if steady, have yet altered the fate of the day, by charging the Highlanders when disordered with attacking the guns. Gardiner, accordingly, commanded them to advance and charge, encouraging them by his voice and example to rush upon the confused masses before them. But those to whom he spoke were themselves disordered at the rapid advance of the enemy, and disturbed by the waving of plaid is, the brandishing and gleaming of broadswords and battle-axes, the rattle of the dropping fire, and the ferocious cry of the combatants. They made a feint to advance, in obedience to the word of command, but almost instantly halted, when first the rear-rank went off by four or five files at a time, and then the front dispersed in like manner; none maintaining their ground, except about a score of determined men, who were resolved to stand or fall with their commander.
On Cope's left, the cause of King George was not more prosperous. Hamilton's dragoons receiving a heavy rolling fire from the MacDonalds as they advanced, broke up in the same manner, and almost at the same moment, with Gardiner's, and scattering in every direction, left the field of blood galloping some from the enemy, some, in the recklessness of their terror, past the enemy, and some almost through them. The dispersion was complete, and the disorder irretrievable. They fled west, east, and south, and it was only the broad sea which prevented them from flying to the north also, and making every point of the compass witness to their rout.

Mean time, the infantry, though both their flanks were uncovered by the flight of the dragoons, received the centre of the Highland line, with a steady and regular fire, which cost the insurgents several men, among others, James MacGregor, a son of the famous Rob Roy, fell, having received five wounds, two of them from balls that pierced through his body. He commanded a company of the Duke of Perth's regiment, armed chiefly with the straightened scythes already mentioned, a weapon not unlike the old English bill. He was so little daunted by his wounds, as to raise himself on his elbow, calling to his men to advance bravely, and swearing he would see if any should misbehave.

In fact, the first line of the Highlanders were not an instant checked by the fire of the musketry; for, charging with all the energy of victory, they
(78-164) parried the bayonets of the soldiers with their targets, and the deep clumps, or masses, into which the clans were formed, penetrated and broke, in several points, the extended and thin lines of the regulars. At the same moment, Lochiel attacking the infantry on the left, and Clanranald on the right flank, both exposed by the flight of the dragoons, they were unavoidably and irretrievably routed. It was now perceived that Sir John Cope had committed an important error in drawing up his forces in front of a high park-wall, which barred their escape from their light-heeled enemies. Fortunately there had been breaches made in the wall, which permitted some few soldiers to escape; but most of them had the melancholy choice of death or submission. A few fought, and fell bravely. Colonel Gardiner was in the act of encouraging a small platoon of infantry, which continued firing, when he was cut down by a Highlander, with one of those scythes which have been repeatedly mentioned. The greater part of the foot soldiers then laid down their arms, after a few minutes' resistance. The second line, led by Prince Charles himself, had, during the whole action, kept so near the first, that to most of Sir John Cope's army they appeared but as one body; and as this unfortunate Prince's courage has been impeached, it is necessary to say, that he was only fifty paces behind the vanguard in the very commencement of the battle, -- which was, in fact, a departure from his implicit paction with the Chiefs, that he should not put his person in imminent danger.
Had there been any possibility of rallying the fugitives, the day might have been in some degree avenged, if not retrieved, for the first line of the Highlanders dispersed themselves almost wholly, in quest of spoil and prisoners. They were merciful to the vanquished after the first fury of the onset, but gave no quarter to the dragoon horses, which they considered as taught to bear a personal share in the battle.

The second line were with difficulty restrained from disbanding in like manner, until a report was spread that the dragoons had rallied, and were returning to the field. Lochiel caused the pipes to play, which recalled many of his men. But the dragoons looked near them no more. It is true, that Sir John Cope himself, the Earl of Home, General Whitney, and other officers, had, with pistols at the men's heads, turned a number of the fugitives off the high-road to Edinburgh, into a field close to Preston on the west, where they endeavoured to form a squadron. But the sound of a pistol-shot, which was discharged by accident, renewed their panic, the main body followed Sir John Cope in his retreat, while a few stragglers went off at full gallop towards Edinburgh, entered by the Watergate, and rode up the High Street in the most disorderly manner.

An old friend, whom I have already quoted, gave me a picturesque account of the flight of such fugitives as took this direction, which he had himself witnessed. Although the city was evacuated
by the Highlanders, an old Jacobite of distinction was, nevertheless, left there with the title of Governor. This dignitary was quietly seated in a well-known tavern (afterwards Walker's, in Writers' Court), when a tremendous clatter on the street announced the arrival of the dragoons,

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or a part of them, in this disorderly condition. The stout old commander presented himself before them, with a pistol in his hand, and summoned them to surrender to his Royal Highness's mercy. The dragoons, seeing but one or two men, received the proposal with a volley of curses and pistol-balls, and having compelled the Jacobite commandant to retreat within the Thermopylae of Writers' Court, they continued their race up to the Castlehill, thinking that fortress the most secure place of refuge. Old General Preston, who had now thrown himself into the Castle, of which he was governor, and superseded General Guest in his office, had no idea of admitting these recreant cavaliers into a fortress which was probably on the eve of a siege. He therefore sent them word to begone from the Castle-hill, or he would open his guns on them, as cowards, who had deserted their officers and colours. Alarmed at this new danger, the runaways retreated, and scrambling down the steep declivity called the Castle-Wynd, rode out at the West-Port, and continued their flight to Stirling and the west country.

The greater part of the dragoons were collected by Sir John Cope, with the assistance of the Earls of Home and Loudon, and conducted in a very disreputable condition by Lauder to Coldstream,
and from thence to Berwick. At the latter place, Lord Mark Ker, of the family of Lothian, a house which has long had hereditary fame for wit as well as courage, received the unfortunate General with the well-known sarcasm, "That he believed he was the first general in Europe who had brought the first tidings of his own defeat."

But the presence of the general in person on the field, since there was not even the semblance of an army, could not have remedied the disaster. There was never a victory more complete. Of the infantry, two thousand five hundred men, or thereabout, scarce two hundred escaped; the rest were either slain or made prisoners. It has been generally computed that the slain amounted to four hundred, for the Highlanders gave little quarter in the first moments of excitation, though those did not last long. Five officers were killed, and eighty made prisoners. The number of prisoners amounted to upwards of two thousand. Many of them exhibited a frightful spectacle, being hideously cut with the broadsword. The field-artillery, with colours, standards, and other trophies, remained in the hands of the victors. The military-chest of the army was placed during the action in the house of Cockenzie, the baggage in a large field adjoining, originally in the rear of Cope's line of battle, but at the moment of action, upon the left. It was guarded by a few Highlanders of the regiment which the Earl of Loudon was raising for Government, and which was much reduced by desertion,
many of the privates joining their clans so soon as the Rebellion broke out. The baggage-guard surrendered themselves prisoners on seeing the event of the battle, and the baggage and military-chest, with L.2500 in specie, became the booty of the conquerors. The Highlanders looked with surprise and amazement upon the luxuries of a civilized army. They could not understand the use of chocolate; and watches, wigs, and other ordinary appurtenances of the toilette, were equally the subject of wonder and curiosity.

On the part of the victors, the battle, though brief, had not been bloodless. Four officers, and thirty privates of their army, were killed; six officers and seventy men wounded.

Such were the results of the celebrated battle of Preston, or, as some have it, of Prestonpans, in which the pride of military discipline received an indelible disgrace at the hands of a wild militia. Sir John Cope, whom it would be easy to vindicate so far as personal courage goes, was nevertheless overwhelmed with a ridicule due to poltroonery, as well as to want of conduct: and was doomed to remain, "Sacred to ridicule his whole life long, And the sad burden of a merry song."

Among the numerous metrical effusions abounding in sly humour and sarcasm which the events of 1715 and 1745 called forth, there is perhaps not one that continues to this day so
(78-172)universally "familiar in our mouths as household words," over the
(78-172)whole length and breadth of Scotland, as is the song set to the
(78-172)burden of "Hey, Johnnie Cope, are you waking yet." The
(78-172)following ballad of "The Battle of Prestonpans" has preserved also
(78-172)for its author a memorial of his name outlasting the period of his
(78-172)own day and generation. It was composed by an East Lothian
(78-172)farmer named Skirving, father of the late eccentric Mr Skirving,
(78-172)the celebrated painter. There is in it a considerable spice of
(78-172)malevolence, and its author had, it was alleged, a disposition to
(78-172)lampoon his neighbours.]

(78-172)" The Chevalier being void of fear,
(78-172)Did march up Birsle Brae, man,
(78-172)And through Tranent, ere he did stent,
(78-172)As fast as he could gae, man;
(78-172)While General Cope did taunt and mock,
(78-172)Wi mony a loud huzza, man,
(78-172)But ere next mom proclaim'd the cock,
(78-172)We heard anither craw, man.

(78-172)" The brave Lochiel, as I heard tell,
(78-172)Led Camerons on in clouds, man;
(78-172)The morning fair, and clear the air,
(78-172)They loos'd with devilish thuds, man.

[TG78-173]
(78-173)Down guns they threw, and swords they drew,
(78-173)And soon did chase them aff, man;
(78-173)On Seaton's crafts they buff'd their chafts,
(78-173)And gart them rin like daft, man.

(78-173)" The bluff dragoons swore blood and oons!
(78-173)They'd make the rebels run, man;
(78-173)And yet they flee when them they see,
(78-173)And winna fire a gun, man.
(78-173)They turn'd their back. the foot they brake,
Such terror seized them a', man;
Some wet their cheeks, some ------
And some for fear did fa', man,

"The volunteers prick'd up their ears,
And vow gin they were crouse, man;
But when the bairns sawt turn to earns't,
They were na worth a louse, man.
Maist feck gade hame, O fie for shame!
They'd better staid awa', man,
Than wi' cockade to make parade,
And do nae gude at a', man.

" Monteith the great, when ----
Unwares did ding him owre, man;
Yet wadna stand to bear a hand,
But aff fu' fast did scour, man,
O'er Soutra hill, ere he stood still,
Before he tasted meat, man.
Troth, he may brag of his swift nag,
That bore him aff sae fleet, man.

" And Simpson, keen to clear the een
Of rebels far in wrang, man,

Did never strive wi' pistol's five,
But gallop'd wi' the thrang, man;
He turn'd his back, and in a crack
Was cleanly out o' sight, man.
And thought it best, it was nae jest,
Wi' Highlanders to fight, man.

" Mangst a' the gang, nane bade the bang
But twa, and ane was ta'en, man;
For Campbell rade, but Myrie staid,
And sair he paid the kane, man;
Four skelps he got, was waur than shot,
Frae the sharp-edged claymore, man;
Frae many a spout came running out
His reeking bet red gore man.

" But Gard'ner brave did still behave
Like to a hero bright, man;
His courage true, like him were few
That still despised flight, man.
For king and laws, and country's cause,
In honor’s bed he lay, man,
His life, but not his courage, fled,
While he had breath to draw, man.

" And Major Bowie, that worthy soul,
Was brought down to the ground, man,
His horse being shot, it was his lot,
For to get mony a wound, man.
Lieutenant Smith, of Irish birth,
Frae whom he call'd for aid, man,
But full of dread, lap o'er his head,
And wadna be gainsaid, man.

" He made sic haste, sae spurr'd his beast,
'Twas little there he saw, man;

To Berwick rade, and falsely said,
The Scots were rebels, a', man.
But let that end, for weel 'tis kend
His use and wont's to lie, man.
The Teague is naught; he never fought
When he had room to flee. man.'

" And Cadell, drest, amang the rest.
(78-175)With gun and gude claymore, man.
(78-175)On gelding grey he rade that day"
(78-175)With pistols set before, man.
(78-175)The cause was guid, he'd spend his blood
(78-175)Before that he would yield, man;
(78-175)But the night before he left the core,
(78-175)And never fac'd the field, man.

(78-175)" But gallant Roger, like a soger (soldier),
(78-175)Stood and bravely fought, man;
(78-175)I'm wae to tell, at last he fell,
(78-175)And mae down wi' him brought, man.
(78-175)At point of death, wi' his last breath,
(78-175)Some standing round in ring, man,
(78-175)On's back lying flat, he wav'd his hat,
(78-175)And cried ' God save the King,' man.

[TG78-176]
(78-176)"Some Highland rogues, like hungry dogs,
(78-176)Neglecting to pursue, man,
(78-176)About they fac'd, and, in great haste,
(78-176)Upon the booty flew, man.
(78-176)And they, as gain for all their pain,
(78-176)Are deck'd wi' spoils o' war, man;
(78-176)Fu' bauld can tell how her nain sell
(78-176)Was ne'er sae praw pefore, man.

(78-176)"At the thorn-tree, which you may see
(78-176)Bewest the meadow mill, man,
(78-176)There mony slain lay on the plain,
(78-176)The clans pursuing still, man;
(78-176)Sic unco hacks, and deadly whacks,
(78-176)I never saw the like, man;
(78-176)Lost hands and heads cost them their deads,
(78-176)That fell ne'er Preston dyke, man.
That afternoon, when a' was done,
I gaed to see the fray, man;
But had I wist what after past,
I'd better staid away, man;
On Seton sands, wi' numble hands,
They pick'd my pockets bare, man,
But I wish ne'er do dree sic fear,
For a' the sum and mair, man."

THE night after the battle of Preston, the
Chevalier slept at Pinkie House, near Musselburgh;
the next morning he returned to Duddingston, and
entering the capital, was received with the
acclamations of the populace,2 and all the honours which

He prohibited all rejoicings for the victory,
assigning for his reason the loss which had been
sustained by Ills father's misguided subjects. The
clergy of Edinburgh were, by another edict,
exhorted to resume the exercise of their religious
functions, and assured of the Prince's protection.
This venerable body sent a deputation to know
whether they would be permitted, in the course of
divine service, to offer up their prayers for King
George. It was answered, on the part of the
Chevalier, that to grant the request would be in so far
to give the lie to those family pretensions for the
assertion of which he was in arms; but that,
notwithstanding, he would give them his royal
assurance that they should not be called to account for
any imprudent language which they might use in
the pulpit. The ministers of Edinburgh seem to
have doubted the guarantee, as none of them
resumed his charge excepting the Rev. Mr MacVicar,
minister of the West Church, who regularly
officiated there, under the protection of the

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guns of the Castle. A number of the Highland
officers, as well as the citizens, attended on Mr
MacVicar's ministry, in the course of which he not
only prayed for King George, but stoutly asserted
his right to the throne. This was represented to
Charles Edward by some of his followers, as a
piece of unjustifiable insolence, deserving of punishment;
but the Prince wisely replied, that the man
was an honest fool, and that he would not have him
disturbed. I do not know if it was out of gratitude
for this immunity, but Mr MacVicar, on the
following Sunday, added to his prayers in behalf of
King George, a petition in favour of the Chevalier,
which was worded thus:-" As to this young
person who has come among us seeking an earthly
crown, do THOU, in thy merciful favour, give him a
heavenly one."

A good deal of inconvenience had arisen in
consequence of the banking companies having retreated
into the castle, carrying with them the specie which
supplied the currency of the country. A third
proclamation was issued, inviting these establishments
to return to the town, and resume the ordinary
course of their business; but, like the clergy, the
bankers refused to listen to the invitation. They,
as well as the clergy, did not probably place much
confidence in the security offered.
It is now time to take a more general view of the effects which the battle of Preston, or of Gladsmuir, as the Jacobites preferred calling it, had produced upon the affairs of the young Adventurer.

Until that engagement, the Chevalier could not be said to possess a spot of Scotland, save the ground which was occupied by his Highland army. The victory had reversed this; and there was no place within the ancient kingdom of his ancestors, except the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and the four small garrisons on the Highland chain, which dared disavow his authority and abide by the consequences. It was therefore a question of high Import to decide in what manner this splendid advantage could be best improved. It was the opinion of many at the time, and has been repeated since, and was, it is said, originally the predominant sentiment of Charles Edward himself, that the blow at Preston should be followed up as speedily as possible by an irruption into England. This, it was said, would rouse the spirits of the English Jacobites, surprise the Government while in a state of doubt and want of preparation, and, in short, give the readiest prospect of completing a counter revolution. On consideration, however, the Prince, from reasons of the most cogent nature, was compelled to renounce an enterprise, which was, perhaps, not un congressial to his daring temper. He could not but be sensible that his army, after the battle, was reduced nearly one half, by the number of Highlanders who, according to their uniform
custom, returned home to deposit with their families the booty which they had taken in the field. This was not all: he was as yet deprived of the assistance of Lovat, MacLeod, and Sir Alexander MacDonald, upon whom he had rested as main supports of his enterprise. These three chiefs might have augmented his forces to six or seven thousand men, with which strength he might have approached the English Borders, not without hopes of striking an important blow. But, besides the relics of Sir John Cope's dragoons, several British regiments, recalled from Flanders, had already reached England; and six thousand Dutch troops had, as in the insurrection in 1715, been supplied by the States of Holland, as an auxiliary contingent which they were bound to send over to England in case of invasion. These regiments, indeed, were chiefly Swiss and German troops in Dutch pay, who had been made prisoners by the French and enjoyed their liberty under parole that they should not bear arms against his Most Christian Majesty or his allies. There was, therefore, some doubt whether they could regularly have taken a part in the British civil war. It was understood that the French Government had made a remonstrance against their being employed, founded on the terms of the capitulation. But the laws of war, as well as others, have their points of casuistry; and since the troops were sent to Britain, it can be little doubted that, being there, it must have been with the resolution of fighting, although at a later period, when the Chevalier actually had in his camp a French force, they were withdrawn from the conflict.
It must be also remembered that, in advancing into England, the Chevalier, without being certain or any friends in the South, must have abandoned all chance of supplies from France, which he could only hope to receive in small quantities, by means of Montrose, Dundee, and other ports on the northeastern coast; while at the same time, he must have withdrawn from a junction with all the recruits whom he expected from the Highlands, and from the great clans, which he still hoped might join him.

To conclude, the British and Dutch forces were drawing to a head at Newcastle, under Field-Marshal Wade, to a number already superior to that of the Highland army.

Having such a force in front, the advance of the Chevalier into England with 1800 or 2000 men, would have been an act of positive insanity. There remained only another course-that the Chevalier should endeavour to augment his army by every means in his power, and prepare himself for the prosecution of his adventure before he went farther.

With this purpose, the public money was levied in every direction, and parties were despatched as far as Glasgow, which city was subjected to payment of L.5000 sterling. The utmost exertion was made to collect the arms which had been taken from the vanquished in the field of battle; and various gifts were received into the Prince's exchequer from individuals, who, too old or too timid
to join him, took this mode of showing the interest which they felt in his cause.

The news of the victory, in the mean time, animated the Jacobites in every quarter of the kingdom, and decided many who had hitherto stood neutral. Officers were appointed to beat up for volunteers, and did so with success; many Lowland gentlemen joined the ranks of the rebels; General Gordon of Glenbucket brought down 400 men from the upper part of Aberdeenshire; Lord Ogilvie led a body of 600 from Strathmore and the Mearns; Lord Pitsligo, a nobleman of the most irreproachable character, and already in an advanced stage of life, took the field at the head of a squadron of north-country gentlemen, amounting to 120 in number; Lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the Duke, undertook to levy considerable forces in his own country, though his brother, disgusted perhaps with the recollection of 1715, declined to join the Chevalier's standard. The new forces were organized in all possible haste. Two troops of cavalry were formed as guards, one of which was placed under the command of Lord Elcho; the other, first destined to the son of Lord Kenmure, who declined to join, was finally conferred on the unfortunate Lord Balmerino. A troop of horse-grenadiers was placed under the command of the equally unfortunate Earl of Kilmarnock. This nobleman, if his early education is considered, could scarcely have been expected to have enrolled himself as an adherent of the cause which cost him so dear. In the 1715,
being then only twelve years old, he appeared in arms with his father in behalf of the Government, at the head of 1000 men, whom the influence of the family had raised in Ayrshire. He had also enjoyed a pension from George II.'s Government.

But his wife, Lady Ann Livingston, daughter of James Earl of Linlithgow and Callander, was a zealous Jacobite, and it is supposed, converted her husband to that unhappy faith. Lord Kilmarnock was also in embarrassed circumstances, and his ambition was awakened by the gleam of success which shone on the Prince's standard at Preston, and which induced him to take the step which cost him his life. Mr Murray, the secretary, desirous of a military as well as a civil command, made some progress in levying a regiment of hussars, designed for the light-cavalry duties, which were commanded under him by an Irish officer in the French service, named Lieutenant-Colonel Bagot.

While recruits of considerable rank were thus joining the standard, the camp at Duddington assumed a more regular and military appearance—the Highlanders being, with some difficulty, prevailed upon to occupy the tents which had fallen into their possession at Preston, declaring, however, that they did so only out of respect to the Prince's orders, as these hardy people preferred the open air, even in the end of a Scottish autumn. The tents were very indifferently pitched, and only half inhabited; so that the appearance of the camp was extremely irregular.

It may be here noticed, that the behaviour of
the Highlanders was upon the whole exemplary. Some robberies were indeed committed in the vicinity of Edinburgh, by persons in Highland dresses, and wearing white cockades, but they were considered as having been perpetrated by ordinary thieves, who had used the Prince's uniform as a disguise. On some occasions the Highlanders forgot themselves, and presented their pieces at the citizens to extort money; but the moderation of the demand bore a strange disproportion to the menacing manner in which it was enforced. It was generally limited to a penny, a circumstance strongly expressive of the simplicity of this singular people.

The Court at Holyrood was in those halcyon days of Jacobitism so much frequented by persons of distinction, that it might almost have been supposed the restoration had already taken place. The fair sex, in particular, were dazzled with the gallant undertaking of a young and handsome Prince so unexpectedly successful, and the young men, of course, if in the least biased in favour of the politics of the softer sex, found it difficult to differ from their opinions. In the eyes of the public, the young Chevalier, whether from policy or a natural good disposition, showed no sentiments but such as were honourable and generous; and many anecdotes were circulated tending to exalt his character in the general opinion. It was said, for example, as Charles rode through the field of battle at Preston, that an officer describing the bodies with which it was
covered as being those of his enemies, he replied, that he only beheld with regret the corpses of his father's misguided subjects. It was more certain, that when the Chevalier proposed to the Court of London to settle a cartel for prisoners, and when that proposal was refused, he was strongly advised to consider those English captives who were in his hands as hostages for the lives of such of his own party as might become prisoners to the enemy. But Charles Edward uniformly rejected this proposal, declaring that it was beneath him as a prince to make threats which he did not intend to execute, and that he would never, on any account, or under any provocation, take away the lives of unoffending men in cold blood, after having spared them in the heat of action.

Another opportunity occurred in which Charles had the means of exhibiting the same tone of generosity after his return from Preston. He had established a blockade around the Castle of Edinburgh; this could, in fact, do little more than occasion inconvenience to the garrison, by depriving them of fresh provisions, for of salted stores they had an abundant supply; there was no great prospect, therefore, of reducing so strong a place by the effects of famine, nor did the Governor take much notice of a proclamation forbidding any one to carry provisions to the Castle under pain of death. A few shots fired on the Highland guards were the only acknowledgment of the insult; but after this had lasted a few days, General Preston, the Governor of the fortress, sent a message to the Lord Provost and magistrates, declaring, that un-
less the communication with the city was opened,
he would cannonade the town, and lay it in ashes.
When this threat was communicated to the Chevalier,
to whom the affrighted citizens naturally
carried their appeal, he observed, that nothing
could be more unjust than to make the city
responsible for the actions of an armed force which
was not under their control; that he might, by a
parity of reasoning, be summoned to evacuate the
capital, or yield up any other advantage, by the
same threat of destroying the city; and that there
fore he would not permit his feelings, on the present
occasion, to interrupt the plain course which his
interest recommended. But to intimidate General
Preston, the Chevalier caused him to be informed,
that if he fired on the city of Edinburgh, he would,
in retaliation, cause the General's house at Valley-
field in Fife, to be burnt to the ground. The stout
veteran received the threat with scorn, declaring
that if Valleyfield were injured, the English
vessels of war in the Frith should in revenge receive
instructions to burn down Wemyss castle, which
is built on a rock overhanging the sea. This castle
was the property of the Earl of Wemyss, whose
eldest son, Lord Elcho, was in the Prince's camp.
Fortunately this exasperating species of warfare
was practised on neither side. General Preston,

in pity to the entreaty of the inhabitants, consented
to suspend the cannonade until he should receive
orders from St James's.

Some misapprehension, however, having taken
place about the terms of this kind of armistice,
General Preston, according to his threat, opened
a fire upon the city. The confusion was great; the garrison made a sally to dislodge the rebels from some posts near the Castle; the streets were swept with cartridge-shot, and several of the inhabitants, as well as Highlanders, were slain. It is said that the Governor engaged in this sort of warfare, in order to induce the rebel army to remain before the fortress; and that he caused letters to fall into the hands of their council, expressing fears of a scarcity of provisions, so as to determine them to adopt the course of continuing the blockade. Charles, however, feeling, or affecting to feel, much interest for the distress of the inhabitants, gave orders to open the communication with the Castle, and the cannonade in consequence ceased.

All this conduct on the part of the Adventurer was so far politic, as well as generous. But there were at the bottom of this apparent lenity and liberality private feuds, which rendered the Chevalier's opinions and doctrines less acceptable to some of those who immediately approached his person, than to the adherents who only beheld events at a distance. For this purpose I will transcribe the manner in which his councils were conducted, as it is given by Lord Elcho.

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The Prince formed a council which met regularly every morning in his drawingroom. The gentlemen whom he called to it were the Duke of Perth, Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord George Murray, Lord Elcho, Lord Ogilvie, Lord Pitsligo, Lord Nairne, Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, Glencoe, Lochgarry, Ardshiel, Sir Thomas Sheridan,
Colonel O'Sullivan, Glenbucket, and Secretary Murray. The Prince, in this council, used always first to declare what he himself was for, and then he asked every body's opinion in their turn. There was one-third of the council whose principles were, that kings and princes can never either act or think wrong; so, in consequence, they always confirmed whatever the Prince said. The other two-thirds, who thought that kings and princes thought sometimes like other men, and were not altogether infallible, and that this Prince was no more so than others, and therefore, begged leave to differ from him when they could give sufficient reasons for their difference of opinion. This very often was no hard matter to do, for as the Prince and his old governor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, were altogether ignorant of the ways and customs of Great Britain, and both much for the doctrine of absolute monarchy, they would very often, had they not been prevented, have fallen into blunders which might have hurt the cause. The Prince could not bear to hear any body differ in sentiment from him, and took a dislike to every body that did; for he had a notion of commanding this army as any general does a body of mercenaries, and so let them know only what he pleased, and expected them to obey without enquiring further about the matter. This might have done better had his favourites been people of the country; but as they were Irish, and had nothing to risk, the people of fashion that had their all at stake, and consequently ought to be supposed prepared to give the best advice of which they were capable, thought they had a title to know and be consulted in what was for the good of the cause in
which they had so much concern; and if it had not been for their insisting strongly upon it, the Prince, when he found that his sentiments were not always approved of, would have abolished this council long ere he did.

"There was a very good paper sent one day by a gentleman in Edinburgh, to be perused by this council. The Prince, when he heard it read, said, that it was below his dignity to enter into such a reasoning with subjects, and ordered the paper to be laid aside. The paper afterwards was printed, under the title of The Prince's Declaration to the People of England, and is esteemed the best manifesto published in those times, for those that were printed at Rome and Paris were reckoned not well calculated for the present age.

"The Prince created a committee for providing the army with forage. It was composed of Lord Elcho, President; Graham of Duntoon, whom they called Lord Dundee; Sir William Gordon of Park, Hunter of Burnside, Haldane of Lanark, and his son; Mr Smith, and Mr Hamilton. They issued out orders in the Prince's name to all the gentlemen's houses who had employments under the Government, to send in certain quantities of hay, straw, and corn, upon such a day, under the penalty of military execution if not complied with, but their orders were very punctually obeyed.

"There were courts-martial sat every day for the discipline of the army, and some delinquents were punished with death."
Charles Edward, while he exercised at Holyrood, the dignified hospitality of a Prince, and gave entertainments to his most distinguished followers, and balls and concerts to the ladies of the party, of whom the Duchess of Perth and Lady Ogilvy formed conspicuous persons, omitted not the attention that might become a prudent general. He visited the camp almost every day, exercised and reviewed his troops frequently, and often slept in the camp without throwing off his clothes.

While the internal management of the Princess affairs, civil and military, was thus regulated, no time was lost in applying to every quarter from which the insurgents might expect assistance. Immediately after the battle of Preston, the Prince had despatched a confidential agent to France; the person intrusted with this mission was Mr Kelly, already mentioned as an accomplice in the Bishop of Rochester's plot. He had instructions to magnify the victory as much as possible in the eyes of the French King and Ministry, and to represent how fair the Prince's enterprise bade for success, if it should now receive the effective support of his Most Christian Majesty. This mission was not entirely useless, though it may be doubted whether the French Ministers considered the opportunity as being so favourable as was represented. Vessels were despatched from time to time with money and supplies, although only in small quantities. One of these vessels arrived at Montrose with £5000 in money, and two thousand five hundred stand of arms. There came over in this vessel,
Monsieur de Boyer, called Marquis D'Eguilles, son of a president of the Parliament of Aix, with one or two officers connected with those already engaged in the undertaking.

The Prince received the Marquis D'Eguilles with much studied ceremony, affecting to regard him as the accredited agent of the King his master. The Chevalier also gave out, that the Marquis had brought him letters from the King of France, in which he promised his assistance, and asserted more specifically, that his brother, Henry Benedict, calling himself the Duke of York, was to be despatched to Britain immediately, at the head of a French army. This news raised the spirits of the insurgents to a very high pitch; for an attempt at invasion was so obviously the policy of the French court at this period, that nobody had the least difficulty in believing it.

Three more ships arrived from France at Montrose and Stonehaven. A train of six brass four-pounders, and in each vessel two thousand five hundred stand of arms, and L.1000 in money, were received on this occasion. Some Irish officers also came by these vessels. To intercept such communications, Rear-Admiral Byng entered the frith of Forth with four or five ships of war, which obliged the cavalry of the insurgents to scour the coast by nightly patrols.

Neither was the Prince remiss in endeavouring to extend the insurrection in Scotland. We have mentioned already that MacPherson of Cluny had
been taken prisoner in his house by the Prince's soldiers, and carried to Perth as a captive. While in that city he had been released, upon coming under the same engagement as the clans already in arms. On returning, therefore, to his house in Badenoch, he had called his men together, and led three hundred MacPhersons to join the Chevalier's standard at Edinburgh.

But though Cluny, the son-in-law of Lovat, had thus chosen his part, the crafty old chief himself continued to hesitate, and to retain the mask of pretended loyalty to George the Second. Charles Edward corresponded with him, both by means of his secretary Hugh Fraser, and by that of MacDonald of Barrisdale, a partisan, who affected in a peculiar manner the ancient Highland character, and was, therefore, supposed to be acceptable to Lord Lovat. Through the medium of these agents, Charles stimulated the chiefs ambition by every object which he could suggest; and while he pretended to receive as current coin, the apologies which the old man made for delaying his declaration, he eagerly urged him to redeem the time which had been lost, by instantly raising his clan.

Lovat still hesitated. President Forbes possessed over him that species of ascendency which men of decided and honest principles usually have over such as are crafty and unconscientious. Lovat was driven, therefore, upon a course of doubtful politics, by which he endeavoured to give the Chevalier such underhand assistance as he could manage, without, as he hoped, incurring the guilt of rebellion.
Whilst, therefore, he made to the President empty protestations of zeal and loyalty to the Government, he maintained a private correspondence, expressing equally inefficient devotion to the Prince; and without joining either party, endeavoured to keep fair terms with both, till he should make himself of such importance as to cast the balance between them by his own force.

The vacillation and duplicity of Lord Lovat was the more unhappy for the cause which he finally adopted, because his example lost all the weight which a decisive resolution would have given it in the eyes of those who looked upon him as a model of cautious wisdom. It is generally allowed in the Highlands, that had Lovat taken arms in the beginning of the affair, the two great chiefs, Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and MacLeod of MacLeod, would certainly have done the same.

The power of these three chiefs would have nearly doubled the numbers which the Chevalier collected from other quarters; nor would it be too much to assert, that with so great a force, the Chevalier might have ventured upon an instant march to England after the battle of Preston, and made a fair experiment of what impression he could have effected in that country, while the full freshness of victory shone upon his arms. But Lovat had proposed to himself to exercise the influence which he possessed over these island chiefs in a very different manner. He had formed a plan of uniting their men from the island of Skye and elsewhere, with the MacPhersons, under the command of Cluny; the MacIntoshes, the Farquharsons, and
other branches of the Clan Chattan, over whom he possessed considerable influence; with these he proposed to form a northern army at the pass of Corryarrack, which would, as he calculated, probably have amounted to five or six thousand men, and might, at his own option, have been employed in a decided manner, either for the purpose of effecting a restoration of the Stewarts, or for that of putting down the unnatural rebellion against King George, as might happen eventually best to suit the interests of Simon, Lord Lovat.

This plan was too obviously selfish to succeed. The two chiefs of MacLeod and MacDonald of Sleat became aware of Lovat's desire to profit by their feudal power and following, and thought it as reasonable to secure to themselves the price of their own services. The ambiguous conduct and delays of Lord Lovat inclined the two chiefs to listen to the more sincere and profitable counsel of Lord President Forbes, who exhorted them by all means to keep their dependents from joining in the rebellion; and, finally, persuaded them to raise their vassals in behalf of the reigning sovereign.

The President was furnished with means of conviction more powerful than mere words. Government having, as already noticed, placed a hundred commissions of companies at the disposal of this active and intelligent judge, he was enabled still farther to improve his influence among the Highlanders, by distributing them among such clans as were disposed to take arms in behalf of the Government. Both Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod
were prevailed upon to accept some of these commissions; and when Alexander MacLeod of Muiravonside, a sincere adherent of the Chevalier, went to Skye for the purpose of inducing them to join the Prince, he found that they had committed themselves to the opposite party, in a degree far more active than the political principles which they had hitherto professed gave the slightest reason to expect. The other chiefs among whom commissions were distributed, were the Lord Seaforth, the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Reay, Sir Robert Monro of Foulis, the Master of Ross, and the Laird of Grant. The companies which were raised under these commissions, were ordered to assemble at Inverness, and thus a northern army of loyalists was on foot about the end of October, in the rear of the rebels, while the increasing forces under Marshal Wade threatened to prevent the possibility of any attempt upon England.

The defection of Mac Donald and MacLeod rendered altogether abortive Lovat's plan of a northern army of Highlanders assembling at Corryarrack, and it might have been expected that he would have been now forced openly to adopt either one side or the other. But, ingenious in over-reaching himself, the wily old man imagined he had invented a scheme by which he could render Charles Edward such assistance as would greatly forward his enterprise, while, at the same time, he might himself avoid all personal responsibility.

This plan, which he finally adopted, was, that his eldest son, the Master of Lovat, should join the
Adventurer with seven or eight hundred of his best-armed and most warlike followers, and take upon himself the whole guilt of the rebellion; while he, the father, should remain at home, affecting a neutrality between the contending parties, and avoiding all visible accession to the insurrection. Even when he adopted the unnatural scheme of saving himself from personal danger, by making

a cat's-paw of his eldest son, the old Lord interposed so many doubts and delays, that the Master of Lovat, who was a noble and gallant gentleman, shed tears of rage and indignation at the train of dark and treacherous intrigue in which he was involved, and flung into the fire the white cockade which his father had commanded him to assume, yet refused for a time to let him display in the field.

When Lovat finally took the resolution of despatching his son, with the best part of his clan, to the assistance of Charles Edward, a resolution which was not adopted without much hesitation and many misgivings, he feigned, with characteristic finesse, an apology for his march. It was pretended that some of the rebel clans had driven a great prey of cattle from the country of Lovat, and that the Master was obliged to march with his clan for the purpose of recovering them. It was even averred, that, advancing too near the insurgent army, the Frasers were obliged to join them by actual compulsion.

It is singular to remark how the craft of Lovat
disappointed his own expectations. He had doubtless desired to give real assistance to the insurrection, for he could hardly suppose that his neighbour, the Lord President, was imposed on by his pretext of neutrality; and lie must have feared being called to a severe account, if tranquillity was restored under the old government. And yet, notwithstanding the interest he took in Charles's success, he delayed his son's junction with the rebel forces so late, as to deprive that Prince of the assistance of the Frasers in his march into England, which was begun before the Master of Lovat commenced his journey southward. This delay induced the young nobleman to halt at Perth, where he united his corps with other reinforcements designed for the Prince's army Thus, the indirect policy of Lord Lovat, while it led him to contribute aid to Charles's cause, in such a manner as to ruin himself with Government, induced him, at the same time, to delay and postpone his assistance, until the period was past when it might have been essentially useful.

The Chevalier was aware of the difficulties of his situation, and, not inclining to remain at Edinburgh, like Mar at Perth, while they thickened around him, was disposed to supply by activity his want of numerical force. Having, therefore, received all such supplies as he seemed likely to bring together, he informed his council abruptly, that he designed to march for Newcastle, and give battle to Marshal Wade, who, he was convinced, would
fly before him. This proposal seems to have been exclusively the suggestion of the sanguine temper which originally dictated his enterprise. His father's courtiers, who endeavoured to outvie each other in professing doctrines of unlimited obedience, had impressed the young man with an early belief that his father's cause, as that of an injured and banished monarch, was that of Heaven itself, and that Heaven would not fail to befriend him, if he boldly asserted those rights with which Providence had invested him. He believed the opinions of his English subjects to be the same in which he himself had been brought up. The manner in which the populace of Edinburgh had received him, and the unexpected and decisive victory at Preston, both confirmed him in his sanguine confidence of success; and he was strongly persuaded, that even the paid soldiers of the English would hesitate to lift their weapons against their rightful Prince.

These sentiments, though they might well suit a Prince born and educated like Charles Edward, were too vague and visionary to gain the approbation of his council.

To his proposal of marching into England, it was replied, that the Scottish army which he now commanded, consisting only, after every augmentation, of upwards of 5500 men, was far beneath the number necessary to compel the English to accept him as their sovereign; that, therefore, it would be time enough for him to march into that country when he should be invited by his friends there, either to join them, or to favour their rising.
in arms. 2dly, It was urged, that, as Marshal Wade had assembled most of the troops in England, or lately arrived from Flanders, at Newcastle, with a view to a march into Scotland, it would be better to let him advance, than to go forward to meet him, because, in the former case, he must of necessity leave England undefended, and exposed to any insurrection of the Jacobites, or to the landing of the French armament, which the Marquis D'Eguilles and the Prince himself seemed daily to expect.

The council also observed, that it was the Prince's interest, as it was understood to be the King of France's advice and opinion, to postpone a decisive action as long as possible, because, in case of his sustaining a defeat, the French ministers would send no troops to support him, and the loss would be irretrievable; whereas the longer the insurgents remained unbroken and in force, the greater would be the interest and encouragement which their allies would have in affording them effectual assistance. To these, arguments the Prince only replied, by again asserting, that he was confident the French auxiliary force would be landed by, the time, he could cross the Border; and that he possessed a strong party in London and elsewhere, who would receive him as the people of Edinburgh had done. To which the members of his council could only answer, that

they hoped it might prove so. They then dispersed for the night.

The next morning the debate was renewed, and
the Prince again proposed to march into England, and fight Marshal Wade. As he found the council in no more complacent humour than they had been the day before, he was induced for the time to be silent upon the main proposition in debate, and limit his proposal to a march to the Borders, in order that the troops might be kept in activity, and make some progress in learning their duty. This was agreed to, and orders were given out that the army should be ready to rendezvous at Dalkeith, and to march forward at the word of command.

On the evening of that same day, the Chevalier, for the third time, laid before his officers, then assembled in his own apartment, the proposal for a march upon Newcastle. To the objections which had been formerly offered, he replied, by saying, in a positive manner, "I see, gentlemen, you are determined to stay in Scotland and defend your country; but I am not less resolved to try my fate in England, though I should go alone."

It being at length clear that the Prince's determination was taken, and that they could not separate themselves from his project without endangering his person, and ruining the expedition irretrievably, Lord George Murray and the other counsellors thought of obtaining some middle conclusion betwixt their own plan of remaining in Scotland, and that of the Prince for marching directly to fight Marshal Wade. Lord George Murray, therefore, proposed, that since the army must needs enter England, it should be on the
western frontier; they would thus avoid a hasty collision with the English army, which it was their obvious interest to defer, and would, at the same time, afford the English an opportunity to rise, or the French to land their troops, if either were disposed to act upon it. If, on the contrary, Marshal Wade should march across the country towards Carlisle, in order to give them battle, he would be compelled to do so at the expense of a fatiguing march over a mountainous country, while the Highlanders would fight to advantage among hills not dissimilar to their own. This plan of the western march was not instantly adopted, but the Chevalier at length came into it, rather than abandon his favourite scheme of moving southward.

On the 31st of October, 1745, Charles Edward marched out of Edinburgh at the head of his guards, and of Lord Pitsligo's horse; they rendezvoused at Dalkeith, where they were joined by other corps of their army from the camp at Duddingston, and different quarters. Here the Adventurer's army was separated into two divisions. One of these consisted of the Athole Brigade, Perth's, Ogilvie's, Roy Stewart's, and Glenbucket's of foot regiments; Kilmarnock's and the hussars, of horse; with all the baggage and the artillery. This division was commanded by the Duke of Perth, and took the western road towards Carlisle. At Ecclesfechan they were compelled, by the badness of the roads, to leave a part of their baggage, which, after they had marched on,
was taken possession of by the people of Dumfries.

The other column of the Highland army consisted chiefly of the three MacDonald regiments, Glengarry's, Clanranald's, and Keppoch's, with Elcho and Pitsligo's horse; this division was commanded by the Prince in person. On the 5th of November, after halting two days at Kelso, they marched to Jedburgh, thus taking a turn towards the west. Their original demonstration to the eastward, was designed to alarm Marshal Wade, and to prevent his taking any measures for moving towards Carlisle, their real object of attack. On Monday the 8th, the Prince, marching by Hawick and Hagiehaugh, took post at the village of Brampton, in England, with the purpose of facing Wade, should he attempt to advance from Newcastle in the direction of Carlisle.

In the mean time, the column under the Duke of Perth, consisting chiefly of Lowland regiments, horse, and artillery, advanced more to the westward, and reached Carlisle. This town had long been the principal garrison of England upon the western frontier, and many a Scottish army had, in former days, besieged it in vain. The walls by which it was surrounded were of the period of Henry VIII., improved by additional defences in the time of Queen Elizabeth. The castle, situated upon an abrupt and steep eminence, and surrounded by deep ditches on the only accessible point, was very ancient, but strong from its situation and the thickness of its walls. Upon the whole, although
Carlisle was in no respect qualified to stand a regular siege, yet it might have defied the efforts of an enemy who possessed no cannon of larger calibre than four-pounders.

It was a considerable discouragement to the Highland leaders, that their men had deserted in great numbers. The march into England was by no means popular among the common soldiers, who attached to the movement some superstitious ideas of misfortune, which must necessarily attend their crossing the Border. When the army of the Prince marched off from Dalkeith, it was upwards of 5500 strong, and they were computed to have lost by desertion at least 1000 men before the one column arrived at Brampton, and the other in the vicinity of Carlisle.

The town of Carlisle showed a spirit of defence. The mayor, whose name was Pattison, was at the trouble to issue a proclamation to inform the citizens, that he was not Paterson, a Scottishman, but Pattison, a true-born native of England, determined to hold out the town to the last. The commandant of the castle, whose name was Durand and who had lately been sent down to that important situation, was equally vehement in his protestations of defence.

The Duke of Perth, who commanded the right column of the Prince's army, thought it necessary, notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, to attempt the reduction of this important place. He opened, therefore, a trench on the east side of the
town, and in two days afterwards began to construct a battery. On seeing these operations, the town of Carlisle, and its valiant Mayor, desired to capitulate. The Duke of Perth refused to accept of their submission, unless the castle surrendered, but allowed them a reasonable time for determination. The consequence was, that both town and citadel surrendered, on condition that the privileges of the community should be respected, and that the garrison, being chiefly militia, should be allowed to retire from the town, after delivering up their arms and horses, and engaging not to serve against the Chevalier for the space of twelve months. This capitulation was signed by the Duke of Perth and Colonel Durand, whose defence must have been but a sorry one, since during the short siege them was only one man killed and another wounded in the besieging army.

On the 17th of November, the Prince himself made a triumphal entry into Carlisle. The inhabitants, who entertained no affection for his cause, received him coldly; yet they could not help expressing a sense of the gentleness with which they had been treated by the Duke of Perth, whose conduct towards them had been generous and liberal. Their expressions of gratitude, and those of favour which the Prince thought himself obliged to bestow upon the Duke, were productive of great injury to the cause, by fostering the jealousy which subsisted between Lord George Murray and his Grace. We have already noticed that
this discord had its origin as early as the time when
the Duke and Lord George first joined the Prince
at Perth, and that the Secretary Murray had sought
to gratify his own ambition by encouraging the
pretensions of the Duke of Perth (whom he found
an easy practicable person, very willing to adopt
his suggestions), in preference to those of Lord
George Murray, who, though an officer of much
higher military talents, was haughty, blunt, and not
unwilling to combat the opinions of the Prince
himself, far more those of his favourite secretary.

There being thus a sort of jealousy betwixt these
eminent persons, Lord George considered the
preference given to the Duke of Perth, to command
the proceedings of the siege of Carlisle, as an
encroachment upon his own pretensions; he regarded
also, or seemed to regard, the Duke's religion,
being a Catholic, as a disqualification to his holding
such an ostensible character in the expedition.
Under the influence of these feelings, he wrote a
letter to the Prince, during the time of the siege,
in which he observed he was sorry to see that he
did not possess his Royal Highnesses confidence,
and that although a Lieutenant-General, others

[were employed in preference to him; for these
reasons, he perceived he was likely to be of more
service as a volunteer than as a general officer; so
that he begged his Royal Highness's acceptance of
the resignation of his commission in the latter
capacity. The Chevalier intimated to him,
accordingly, that his resignation was accepted.

But, however acceptable the preference given to
the Duke of Perth over Lord George Murray
might be to Secretary Murray, and to the immediate personal favourites of the Prince, the Duke's principles and tenets being more acceptable to them than those of an uncompromising soldier of high rank, there was a general feeling of anxiety and apprehension spread through the bulk of the army, who had a much higher opinion of the military capacity of Lord George than of that of the Duke, though partial to the extreme good-nature, personal valour, and gentlemanlike conduct of the latter. The principal persons, therefore, in the army, chiefs, commanders of corps, and men who held similar situations of importance, united in a petition, which was delivered to the Prince at Carlisle, praying that he would be pleased to discharge all Roman Catholics from his councils. This request was grounded upon an allegation which had appeared in the newspapers, stating that the Prince was altogether guided by the advice of Roman Catholics, and comparing Sir Thomas Sheridan to his grandfather, James the Second's father-confessor, the Jesuit Petre. In allusion to the surrender of Carlisle, the petition expressed an

affected alarm upon the subject of Papists assuming the discussion and decision of articles of capitulation, in which the Church of England was intimately concerned. To mark the application of the whole, the Prince was entreated to request Lord George Murray might resume his command. To this last article of the petition the Prince returned a favourable answer; to the rest he waved making any reply. Thus, the intrigue was for a period put a stop to, which, joined to his own rough
and uncourtly style of remonstrance, had nearly deprived the insurgents of the invaluable services of Lord George Murray, who was undoubtedly the most able officer of their party.

The Prince might not have found it easy to extricate himself from this difficulty, had the Duke of Perth remained tenacious of the advantage which he had gained. He could not, indeed, be supposed to admit the principle of a petition, which was founded on the idea that the religion which he professed was a bar to his holding high rank in the Prince's service, and accordingly repelled with spirit the objections to his precedence on this ground. But when it was pointed out to him that Charles could not at that moment adhere to his resolution in his favour, without losing, to the great disadvantage of his affairs, the benefit of Lord George Murray's services, he at once professed his willingness to serve in any capacity, and submit to any thing, by which the interest of Charles and the expedition might be most readily promoted.

While the Prince lay at Carlisle, he received intelligence, which showed that his successes in Scotland had been but momentary, and of a kind which had not made any serious impression upon the minds of the people. The populace of the towns of Perth and Dundee had already intimated their dislike of the Stewart cause, and their adherence to the House of Hanover. Upon the birth-day of King George, the populace in both places assembled to celebrate the festival with the customary demonstrations of joy, notwithstanding their
Jacobite commandants, and the new magistracy, which had been nominated in both towns by the prevailing party. At Perth, the mob had cooped up Mr Oliphant of Gask, with his friends, in the council-house, and shots and blows had been exchanged betwixt the parties. At Dundee, Fotheringham, the Jacobite governor, had been driven from the town, and although both he and Gask had been able to reassert their authority on the succeeding day, yet the temporary success of the citizens of both places, showed that the popular opinion was not on the side of Prince Charles.

A more marked expression of public feeling was now exhibited in the metropolis. The force which had restrained the general sentiment in Edinburgh was removed by the march of the Highland army towards England. The troops from the castle had resumed possession of the deserted city. The Lord Justice Clerk, the Lords of Session, the Sheriffs of the three counties of Lothian, with many other Whig gentlemen who had left the town on the approach of the rebels, had re-entered Edinburgh in a kind of solemn procession, and had given orders to prosecute the levy of 1000 men, formerly voted to Government. General Handyside also had marched into the capital on the 14th of November, with Price's and Ligonier's regiments, which had come from Newcastle; also the two regiments of dragoons, who had behaved so indifferent at Preston. The towns of Glasgow, Stirling, Paisley, and Dumfries, were also embodying their militia; and Colonel John Campbell, then heir of the Argyle family, had arrived at Inverary
and was raising the feudal interest of that powerful house, as well as the militia of the county of Argyle.

All these were symptoms that showed the frail tenure of the Chevalier's influence in Scotland, and that it was not, in the Lowlands at least likely to survive long the absence of the Highland army.

Neither were the Highlands in a safe situation, so far as the Prince's interest was concerned. Lord Loudon was at Inverness, with the MacLeods and MacDonalds of Skye, and overawed the Jacobites north of Inverness, as well as those of Nairn and Moray. It is true, Lord Lewis Gordon, who commanded in Banff and Aberdeenshire, had raised three battalions for the Prince, commanded by Moir of Stonywood, Gordon of Abachie, and Farquharson of Monaltry. The rest of Charles's reinforcements lay at Perth; they consisted of the Frasers, as already mentioned, MacGillivray of Drumraglas, who commanded the MacIntoshes; the Farquharsons, the Earl of Cromarty, the

Master of Lovat, with several detachments of MacDonalds of various tribes, and one hundred and fifty of the Stewarts of Appin. A large body of MacGregors lay at Doune, under the command of MacGregor of Glengyle, and kept the country in great awe. All these troops made a considerable force; those at Perth, in particular, together with Glengyle's people, amounted to between three and four thousand men, as good as any the Prince had in his army, and Colonel MacLauchlan was despatched to order them immediately to march and
In those circumstances, several of the Prince's followers were much surprised, when, in a council at Carlisle, the sanguine young Adventurer proposed that they should, without delay, pursue their march to London, as if the kingdom of England had been wholly defenceless. It was objected, that the Scottish gentlemen had consented to the invasion of England, in the hope of being joined by the English friends of the Prince, or in expectation of a descent from France; without one or other of these events, they had never, it was stated, undertaken to effect the restoration of the Stewart family. To this the Prince answered, that he was confident in expecting the junction of a strong party in Lancashire, if the Scots would consent to march forward. D'Eguilles vehemently affirmed his immediate expectation of a French landing; and Mr Murray, who was treasurer as well as secretary, assured them that it was impossible to stay longer at Carlisle for want of money. All these were urgent reasons for marching southward.

Whether the Prince had any stronger reasons than he avowed for believing in the actual probability of a Jacobite rising which he averred, will probably never be exactly known. It is certain that many families of distinction were understood to be engaged to join the Prince in 1740, provided he appeared at the head of a French force, and with a certain quantity of money and arms; but
the same difficulties occurred in England, which he had encountered on his first landing in Scotland. The persons who had come under an agreement to join, under certain conditions, in a perilous enterprise, considered themselves as under no obligation to do so, when these conditions were not complied with. It is probable, nevertheless, that many of those zealous and fanatical partisans, which belong to every undertaking of the kind, and are usually as desperate in their plans as in their fortunes, might, since his entering England, have opened a communication with the Prince, and excited his own sanguine temper by their representations. But, at the same time, it is pretty clear that the Prince had no information of such credit as to be laid before his council; at least, if it were so, it was never seen by them; nor were there any indications of a formed plan of insurrection in his favour, although there seemed a strong disposition on the part of the gentry in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Wales, to embrace his interest. As for Lord George Murray, and the counsellors who differed in opinion from Charles, they assented to the advance into England, merely lest it might be said that, by their restiveness, the Prince had lost the chance of forming an union with his English friends, or profiting by a descent from France.

The army was now reduced to about 4400 men, out of which a garrison of two or three hundred were to be left in Carlisle; with the remainder it was now resolved to march to London by the Lancashire road, although, including the militia
and newly-raised regiments, there were upwards of 6000 men under arms upon the side of the Government, who lay directly in their road. It would, therefore, seem, that the better course would have been to have waited at Carlisle until the reinforcements arrived from Perth; but this proposal was made and overruled. On the 21st of November, the Prince marched from Carlisle, and arrived that night at Penrith, Lord George Murray commanding the army as general under him. He halted a day at Penrith, with the purpose of fighting Fieldmarshal Wade, who had made a demonstration towards Hexham, to raise the siege of Carlisle; but who had marched back, on account, as was alleged, of a heavy snow-storm. Wade was now an old man, and his military movements partook of the slowness and irresolution of advanced age. The Prince, neglecting the old Marshal, pushed southward, resumed his adventurous march, and advanced through Lancaster to Preston, where the whole army arrived on the 26th. They marched in two divisions, of which the first, commanded by Lord George Murray, comprehended what were called the Lowland regiments, that is to say, the whole army except the clans; although the greater part so called Lowland, were Highlanders by language, and all of them by dress, the Highland garb being the uniform of all the infantry of the Jacobite army. The Prince himself, at the head of the clans properly so called, each of which formed a regiment, led the way on foot, with his target on his shoulder, sharing the fatigues of his hardy followers. The little army was compel-
led, for convenience of quarters, to move, as we have said, in two divisions, which generally kept half a day's march separate from each other.

These adventurous movements, from the very audacity of their character,—for who could have supposed them to be hazarded on vague expectations?—struck a terror into the English nation, at which those who witnessed and shared it were afterwards surprised and ashamed. It was concluded that an enterprise so desperate would not have been undertaken without some private assurances of internal assistance, and every one expected some dreadful and widely-spread conspiracy to explode. In the mean time, the people remained wonderfully passive. "London," says a contemporary, writing on the spur of the moment, "lies open as a prize to the first comers, whether Scotch or Dutch;" and a letter from the poet Gray to Horace Walpole, paints an indifference yet more ominous to the public cause than the general panic: "The common people in town at least know how to be afraid; but we are such uncommon people here" (at Cambridge) "as to have no more sense of danger than if the battle had been fought where and when the battle of Cannae was. I heard three sensible, middle-aged men, when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, and actually were at Derby, talking of hiring a chaise to go to Caxton (a place in the high-road) to see the Pretender and Highlanders as they passed." A further evidence of the feelings under which the public laboured during this crisis, is to be found in a letter from the
well-known Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord President. If I had not," says the writer, "lived long enough in England to know the natural bravery of the people, particularly of the better sort, I should, from their behaviour of late, have had a very false opinion of them; for the least scrap of good news exalts them most absurdly, and the smallest reverse of fortune depresses them meanly."

In fact, the alarm was not groundless; not that the number of the Chevalier's individual followers ought to have been an object of serious, at least of permanent alarm, to so great a kingdom; but because, in many counties, a great proportion of the landed interest were Jacobitically disposed, although, with the prudence which distinguished the opposite party in 1688, they declined joining the invaders, until it should appear whether they could maintain their ground without them.

In the mean time, the unfortunate Prince marched on in full confidence in his stars, his fortunes, and his strength, like a daring gambler, encouraged by a run of luck which was hitherto extraordinary; but his English friends remained as much palsied as his enemies, nor did anything appear to announce that general declaration in his favour which he had asserted with so much confidence.

On arriving at Preston, in Lancashire, Lord George Murray had to combat the superstition of the soldiers whom he commanded. The defeat of the Duke of Hamilton in the great Civil War,
with the subsequent misfortune of Brigadier Macintosh in 1715, had given rise to a belief, that Preston was to a Scottish army the fatal point, beyond which they were not to pass. To counteract this superstition, Lord George led a part of his troops across the Ribble-bridge, a mile beyond Preston, at which town the Chevalier arrived in the evening. The spell which arrested the progress of the Scottish troops was thus supposed to be broken, and their road to London was considered as laid open.

The people of Preston received Charles Edward with several cheers, which were the first he had heard since entering England; but on officers being appointed to beat up for recruits, no one would enlist. When this was stated to the Prince, he continued, in reply, to assure his followers with unabated confidence, that he would be joined by all his English friends when they advanced as far as Manchester; and Monsieur D'Eguilles, with similar confidence, offered to lay considerable wagers, that the French either had already landed, or would land within a week. Thus, the murmurers were once more reduced to silence.

Daring this long and fatiguing march, Charles, as we have already said, shared with alacrity the fatigues of his soldiers. He usually wore a Highland dress, and marched on foot at the head of one
of the columns, insisting that the infirm and aged Lord Pitsligo should occupy his carriage. He never took dinner, but, making a hearty meal at supper, threw himself upon his bed about eleven o'clock, without undressing, and rose by four the next morning, and, as he had a very strong constitution, supported this severe labour day after day.

In all the towns where the Highland army passed, they levied the public revenue with great accuracy; and where any subscriptions had been levied in behalf of Government, as was the case in most considerable places, they exacted an equivalent sum from each subscriber.

On the march between Preston and Wigan, the road was thronged with people anxious to see the army pass by, who expressed their good wishes for the Prince's success; but when arms were offered to them, and they were invited to enrol themselves in his service, they unanimously declined, saying in excuse, they did not understand fighting. On the 29th, when the Prince arrived at Manchester, there was a still stronger appearance of favour to his cause; bonfires, acclamations, the display of white cockades, solemnized his arrival, and a considerable number of persons came to kiss his hand, and to offer their services. About two hundred men of the populace were here enlisted, and being embodied with the few who had before joined his standard, composed what was termed the Manchester regiment. The officers were in general respectable men, enthusiasts in the Jacobite cause; and Mr Townley, a gentleman of good family, and

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considerable literary accomplishments, was named colonel of the regiment. But the common soldiers were the very lowest of the populace. All this success was of a character very inferior to that which the Prince had promised, and which his followers expected; yet it was welcome, and was regarded as the commencement of a rising in their favour, so that even Lord George Murray, when consulted by a friend, whether they should not now renounce an expedition which promised so ill, gave it as his opinion, that, before doing so, they should advance as far as Derby, undertaking that, if they were not joined by the English Jacobites in considerable numbers at that place, he would then propose a retreat.

The Highland army advanced accordingly to Derby; But in their road through Macclesfield, Leek, Congleton, and other places, were received with signs of greater aversion to their cause than they had yet experienced, so that all hopes founded on the encouragement they had received from the junction of the Manchester Regiment, were quite obscured and forgotten.

They now also began to receive notice of the enemy. Colonel Ker of Gradon nearly surprised a party of English dragoons, and made prisoner one Weir, a principal spy, of the Duke of Cumberland, whom the Highland officers were desirous of sending to instant execution. Lord George Murray saved him from the gallows, and thus obtained, some valuable information concerning the numbers
and position of the enemy. Accuracy in these particulars was of the last consequence, for having arrived at Derby, Charles might be said to be at the very crisis of his fate. He was within 127 miles of London, and, at the same time, less than a day's march of an army of 10,000 and upwards, which had been originally assembled under General Ligonier,

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and was now commanded by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, who had his headquarters at Litchfield, somewhat farther from the metropolis than those of Charles Edward. On the other hand, another English army, equal in numbers to their own, was moving up along the west side of Yorkshire, being about this time near Ferrybridge, two or three marches in the rear of the Scottish invaders, who were thus in danger of being placed between two fires.

Besides these two armies, George the Second was himself preparing to take the field at the head of his own Guards. For this purpose they were marched out of London, and encamped upon Finchley Common. Several regiments who had served abroad were destined to compose this third army, and form the defence of the capital, should its services be required.2

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The Prince showed no abatement of the high confidence which he had hitherto entertained of success. It seems to have been his idea to push forward at the head of his active troops, and,
eluding the Duke of Cumberland (which, from their mutual position with respect to London, he would not have found difficult, being the nearest to the capital by nearly a day's march), to press forward upon the metropolis, and dispute the pretensions of the reigning monarch beneath its very walls.

He continued to entertain the belief that George the Second was a detested usurper, in whose favour no one would willingly draw his sword; that the people of England, as was their duty, still nourished that allegiance for the race of their native princes, which they were bound to hold sacred; and that, if he did but persevere in his daring attempt, Heaven itself would fight in his cause. His discourse, therefore, when at table, at Derby, was entirely about the manner in which he should enter London, whether on foot or horseback, or whether in Lowland or Highland garb; without hinting at the possibility of his having to retreat without making the final experiment on the faith and fortitude of the English. He remained at Derby for nearly two days to refresh his forces.

On the morning of the 5th of December, Lord George Murray, with all the commanders of battalions and squadrons, waited on the Prince, and informed him, that it was the opinion of all present, that the Scots had now done every thing that could be expected of them. They had marched into the heart of England, through the counties represented as most favourable to the cause, and had not been joined, except by a very insignificant number. They had been assured also of a descent
from France, to act in conjunction with them; but of this there had not been the slightest appearance; nevertheless, Lord George stated, that if the Prince could produce a letter from any English person of distinction, containing an invitation to the Scottish army either to march to London or elsewhere, they were ready to obey. If, however, no one was disposed to intermeddle with their affairs, he stated they must be under the necessity of caring for themselves, in which point of view their situation must be considered as critical. The army of the Duke of Cumberland, ten thousand strong, lay within a day's march in front, or nearly so; that of Marshal Wade was only two or three marches in their rear. Supposing that, nevertheless, they could give both armies the slip, a battle under the walls of London with George the Second's army was inevitable. He urged, that with whomsoever they fought, they could not reckon even upon victory without such a loss as would make it impossible to gather in the fruits which ought to follow; and that four or five thousand men were an army inadequate even to taking possession of the city of London, although undefended by regular troops, unless the populace were strongly in his favour, of which good disposition some friend would certainly have informed them, if any such had existed.

Lord George Murray, to these causes for retreat added a plan for a Scottish campaign, which he thought might be prosecuted to advantage. In retreating to that country the Prince had the
advantage of retiring upon his reinforcements, which included the body of Highlanders lying at Perth, as well as a detachment of French troops which had been landed at Montrose under Lord John Drummond. He, therefore, requested, in the name of the persons present, that they should go back and join their friends in Scotland, and live or die with them.

After Lord George had spoken, many of the council expressed similar opinions. The Duke of Perth and Sir John Gordon only proposed penetrating into Wales, to give the people there an opportunity to join. To this was opposed the necessity of fighting with the Duke of Cumberland, with unequal numbers, and perhaps with Marshal Wade also, who was likely to strain every nerve to come up in their rear.

Charles Edward heard these arguments with the utmost impatience, expressed his determination to advance to London, having gained a day's march on the Duke of Cumberland, and plainly, stigmatized as traitors all who should adhere to any other resolution. He broke up the council, and used much argument with the members in private to alter their way of thinking. The Irish officers alone seemed convinced by his reasoning, for they were little accustomed to dispute his opinions; and besides, if made prisoners, they could only be subjected to a few months' imprisonment as most of them had regular commissions in the French service. But at length the Chevalier, knowing that
little weight would be given to their sanction, and finding that his own absolute commands were in danger of being disobeyed, was compelled to submit to the advice, or remonstrance, of the Scottish leaders.

On the 5th, therefore, in the evening, the council of war was again convoked, and the Chevalier told them, with sullen resignation, that he consented to return to Scotland, but at the same time informed them, that in future he should call no more councils, since he was accountable to nobody for his actions excepting to Heaven and to his Father, and would, therefore, no longer either ask or accept their advice.

Thus terminated the celebrated march to Derby, and with it every chance, however remote, of the Chevalier's success in his romantic expedition. Whether he ought ever to have entered England, at least without collecting all the forces which he could command, is a very disputable point; but it was clear, that whatever influence he might for a time possess, arose from the boldness of his advance. The charm, however, was broken the moment he showed, by a movement in retreat, that he had undertaken an enterprise too difficult for him to achieve.

UPON the 6th of December, the Highland army began its retreat northward. As they marched in the grey of the morning, the men did not at first
perceive in what direction they were moving; but so soon as the daylight gave them the means of perceiving that they were in retreat, an expression of deep regret and lamentation was heard among the ranks; with such confidence had these brave men looked forward to a successful issue, even in the precarious situation in which they were placed.

It was also observed, that from the time the retreat commenced, the Highlanders became more reckless in their conduct. They had behaved with exemplary discipline while there remained any possibility of conciliating the inhabitants. The English might then stare with wonder on men speaking an unknown language, wearing a wild and unwonted dress, and bearing much of the external appearance of barbarians, but their behaviour was that of an orderly and civilized people. Now, when irritated by disappointment, they did not scruple to commit plunder in the towns and villages through which they passed; and several acts of violence induced the country people not only to fear them as outlandish strangers, but to hate them as robbers.

In the advance, they showed the sentiments of brave men, come, in their opinion, to liberate their fellow-citizens; in the retreat, they were as caterans returning from a creagh. They evinced no ferocity, however, and their rapine was combined with singular simplicity. Iron being a scarce commodity in their own country, some of them were observed, as they left Derby, to load themselves with bars of it, which they proposed to carry down.
(80-233)to Scotland with them!

(80-233)The behaviour of the Prince also tended to
dishearten the soldiers. He seemed to conduct
himself on the retreat as if he were no longer
commander of the army. Instead of taking the
vanguard on foot, at the head of his people, with his
target at his back, as had been his custom during
the advance, he now lingered behind his men, so as
to retard them, and then rode forward and regained
his place in the column; he showed, in short,
obvious marks of being dejected and out of
humour.

(80-233)The few English insurgents by whom the Prince
had been joined, were divided in opinion whether
they should follow this retrograde movement,
which coincided so ill with their more sanguine
hopes, or remain behind, and desert the cause.
(80-233)Morgan, one of these English volunteers, came up
to Vaughan, a gentleman of the same country, and
observed, in a tone of surprise, that the army were
going to Scotland; " Be it so," answered Vaughan,
" I am determined to go with them wherever their
course lies."-Morgan replied, with an oath, it was
better to be hanged in England than starved in
Scotland. He had the misfortune to be hanged
accordingly, while Vaughan escaped, and died an
officer in the Spanish service.

(80-233)The people of the country, who had shown them
little good-will upon their advance, appeared more
actively malevolent when they beheld the Scots in
retreat, and in the act or pillaging the places they
passed through. At a village near Stockport, the inhabitants fired upon the patrols of the Highlanders, who, in retaliation, set fire to the place.

Most of the country-people were in arms, and all stragglers were killed or made prisoners. The sick men also, of the Jacobite army, who were necessarily left behind the march, were killed or treated with violence. On the 9th of December the army approached Manchester; but in that city, which had lately appeared so friendly, they now encountered opposition. A violent mob was in possession of the town, and opposed the quartermasters of the Chevalier's army. Two battalions and two squadrons were detached to support the quartermasters, by whom the mob was dispersed. L.2500 was demanded from the town, in consequence of this riot. On leaving the place, the mob even pursued, and fired upon the rear of the Chevalier's army, although they uniformly retreated so soon as the rear-guard faced about. The temper of the people, however, served to show how little reliance could at any time have been placed upon their attachment.

The Duke of Cumberland, who, as I already said, was lying at Litchfield, while Prince Charles was at Derby, did not learn for two days that the Highlanders had left Derby for Ashburn on the 6th; and did not commence any pursuit until the 8th, when the Duke marched northward with all his cavalry, and a number of infantry mounted upon horses furnished by the neighbouring gentry.

The troops advanced with the utmost spirit. The retreat of the Scottish army, whose advance had
been regarded with a vague apprehension of terror, was naturally considered as an avowal of their inability to execute their purpose; and it was concluded by the regular soldiery, that they were pressing upon the flight of a disappointed and disheartened body of adventurers, who had failed in an attempt to execute a desperate object. The English troops also felt in spirits, as being under the command of a Prince of the blood, of undoubted experience and courage, who had arrived in Britain in time to assert the cause of his father, and to fix upon his head the crown which had been so boldly struck at. They anticipated little opposition from an enemy in full retreat, and whom, it might be supposed, a brisk attack would throw into utter disorder; their cavalry, therefore, pressed forward, in spirits, and by forced marches.

On their part, the Highlanders retreated with speed, regularity, and unabated courage. Lord George Murray, to vindicate the sincerity of his attachment to the cause he had embraced, undertook the charge of the rear-guard, the post of danger and of honour. This frequently detained him a considerable time beyond the march of the main body, more especially for the purpose of bringing up the baggage and artillery of the army, which, from the bad weather and bad state of the roads, was perpetually breaking down, and detained the rear-guard considerably.

Towards the evening of the 17th of December, the Prince, with the main body of his army, had entered the town of Penrith, in the county of
Cumberland. Lord George Murray had, in the mean while, been delayed so much by those various accidents, that he was forced to pass the night six miles in the rear, at the town of Shap. The Glengarry regiment of Highlanders were at that time in charge of the rear-guard; and at Shap, Lord George found Colonel Roy Stewart, with another small regiment of 200 men. In the mean time, the Chevalier had determined to halt at Penrith until he was joined by his rear-guard.

Next day, being the 18th of December, Lord George Murray marched with both the corps which we have mentioned. The march began, as usual, before daybreak; but when it became broad daylight, he discovered the village of Clifton, which is within three or four miles south of Penrith, and the heights beyond it, crowned with several parties of cavalry, drawn up betwixt him and the village, The Highlanders, you must be reminded, had, in former times, an aversion to encounter the Lowland horse; but since their success at Preston, they had learned to despise the troops of whom they formerly stood in awe. They had been instructed, chiefly by the standing orders of Lord George Murray, that if they encountered the cavalry manfully, striking with their swords at the heads and limbs of the horses, they might be sure to throw them into disorder. The MacDonalds, therefore, of Glengarry, on receiving the word of command to attack those horsemen who appeared disposed to interrupt their passage, stript off their plaids without hesitation, and rushed upon them with sword in hand. The cavalry in question were not
regulars, but volunteers of the country, who had assembled themselves for the purpose of harassing the rear of the Highland army, and giving time for the Duke of Cumberland, who was in full pursuit, to advance and overtake them. On the fierce attack of Glengarry's men they immediately galloped off, but not before several prisoners were made; among the rest a footman of the Duke of Cumberland, who told his captors that his Royal Highness was coining up in their rear with 4000 horse.

Lord George Murray despatched this Information to the Chevalier at Penrith, requesting some support, which he limited to 1000 men. Colonel Roy Stewart, who was charged with the message, returned with orders that the rear-guard should retreat upon Penrith. At the same time, MacPherson of Cluny, with his clan, was sent back as far as Cliftonbridge, with the Appin regiment, under command of Stewart of Ardshiel. With the assistance of these reinforcements, Lord George Murray was still far inferior in number to the enemy, yet he determined to make good his retreat.

The Duke of Cumberland's whole cavalry was now drawn up in the rear of the Highland army, upon the open moor of Clifton; beyond the moor, the rear-guard of the Highlanders must necessarily pursue their retreat through large plantations of fir-trees, part of Lord Lonsdale's enclosures. Lord George Murray foresaw an attack in this critical posture, and prepared to meet and repel it. He
drew up the Glengarry regiment upon the highroad, within the fields, placed the Appin Stewarts in the enclosures on their left, and again the MacPherson regiment to the left of them. On the right he stationed Roy Stewart's men, covered by a wall.

The night was dark, with occasional glimpses of the moon. The English advanced about 1000 dismounted dragoons, with the intention of attacking the Highlanders on the flank, while the Duke of Cumberland and the rest of his cavalry kept their station on the moor, with the purpose of operating in the rear of their opponents. Lord George Murray perceived, by a glimpse of moonshine, this large body of men coming from the moor, and advancing towards the Clifton enclosures.

The MacPherson and Stewart regiments, which were under Lord George's immediate command, were stationed behind a hedge; but Lord George, observing a second hedge in front, protected by a

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depth ditch, ordered his men to advance and gain possession of it. It was already lined on the opposite side by the enemy, who, as was then the custom of dragoons, acted as infantry when occasion required. Lord George asked Cluny his opinion of what was to be done: "I will attack the enemy sword in hand," replied the undaunted chief, "provided you order me." As they advanced, the MacPhersons, who were nearest to the hedge of which they wished to take possession, received a fire from the soldiers who had lined it on the opposite side. Cluny, surprised at receiving a discharge of musketry, when he conceived he
was marching against a body of horse, exclaimed, "What the devil is this!" Lord George Murray replied, "There is no time to be lost—we must instantly charge!" and at the same time drawing his broadsword, exclaimed, "Claymore!" which was the word for attacking sword in hand. The MacPhersons rushed on, headed by their chief, with uncontrollable fury; they gave their fire, and then burst, sword in hand, through the hedge, and attacked the dragoons by whom it was lined. Lord George himself headed the assault, and in dashing through the hedge lost his bonnet and wig (the last of which was then universally worn), and fought bare-headed, the foremost in the skirmish. Colonel Honeywood, who commanded the dragoons, was left severely wounded on the spot, and his sword, of considerable value, fell into the hands of the chief of the MacPhersons. The dragoons on the right were compelled, with considerable loss, to retreat to their party on the moor. At the same moment, or nearly so, another body of dismounted dragoons pressed forward upon the high-road, and were repulsed by the Glengarry regiment, and that of John Roy Stewart. The Highlanders were with difficulty recalled from the pursuit, exclaiming, that it was a shame to see so many of the king's enemies standing fast upon the moor without attacking them. A very few of the MacPhersons, not exceeding twelve, who ventured too far, were either killed or taken. But the loss of the English was much more considerable, nor did they feel disposed to renew the attack upon the rear of the Highlanders. Lord George Murray sent a second message to the Prince, to propose that he
should detach a reinforcement from the main body, with which he offered to engage and defeat the cavalry opposed to him. The Prince, doubtful of the event, or jealous of his general, declined to comply with this request.

On receiving this answer, Lord George Murray retreated to Penrith, and united the rear-guard with the main body; and it seems that the Duke of Cumberland became satisfied that a good deal of risk might be incurred by a precipitate attack on the Highland army, since he did not again repeat the experiment. The next day, Charles [TG80-241]

retreated to Carlisle, and arrived there with his army on the morning of the 19th of December.

It was thought desirable that the Highland garrison in that town should be reinforced, but it was not easy to find forces willing to be left behind in a place almost certain to be sacrificed. The men of the Manchester regiment, who were disheartened at the prospect of a retreat into Scotland, were pitched upon for this duty, together with a number of French and Irish. The last had little to fear, being generally engaged in the French service, and the English were probably of the mind of Captain Morgan, that hanging in England was preferable to starving in Scotland.

The skirmish at Clifton seems to have abated the speed of the English pursuers, who no longer attempted to annoy the retreat of their active enemy. The Scottish army left Carlisle upon the 20th of December, and effected their retreat into Scotland.
by crossing the Esk at Langtoun; the river
was swollen, but the men, wading in arm in arm,
supported each other against the force of the current,
and got safely through, though with some
difficulty. It is said that the Chevalier showed
both dexterity and humanity on this occasion. He
was crossing on horseback, beneath the place where

some of his men were fording the river, one or two
of whom drifted from the hold of their companions,
and were carried down the stream in great danger
of perishing. As one of them passed, the Chevalier
caught him by the hair, called out in Gaelic,
" Cohear, cohear! " that is, " Help, help! "
supported the man till he was taken safely from the
water, and thus gave himself an additional claim
to the attachment of his followers.

The Highland army, marching in two divisions,
arrived at Annan and Ecclefechan on the same day,
and pursued their road through the west of
Scotland.

While the Scottish rebels were advancing, the
utmost alarm prevailed in London; there was a
sharp run upon the Bank, which threatened the
stability of that national establishment; the offers
of support from public bodies showed the urgency
of the crisis; the theatres, for example, proposed
to raise armed corps of real not personated soldiers.
There was the more alarm indicated in all this,
because the Highlanders, who had not been at first
sufficiently respected as soldiers, had acquired by
their late actions credit for valour of a most
romantic cast. There was something also in the
audacity of the attempt, which inclined men to
give Charles credit for secret resources, until his
retreat showed that he was possessed of none except
a firm belief in the justice of his own cause.
and a confidence that it was universally regarded
in the same light by the English nation. The apathy
of the English had dissipated this vision, few
or none, excepting Catholics, and a handful of

Jacobites of Manchester, having shown themselves
disposed to acknowledge his cause. The retreat,
therefore, from Derby was considered throughout
England as the close of the rebellion; as a physician
regards a distemper to be nearly overcome,
when he can drive it from the stomach and nobler
parts into the extremities of the body.

THE state of Scotland had materially changed
during the absence of the Prince and his army
upon the expedition to Derby; and the nation was
now in the situation of one, who, having received
a stunning blow, recovers at last from his stupor,
and aims, though feebly and with uncertainty, at
retaliating the injury which he has sustained.

Inverness was in the hands of Lord Loudon,
commanding an army composed of the MacLeods,
MacDonalds of Skye, and other northern clans,
who, to the number of two thousand men, had
associated against the insurgents. The Earl of
Loudon even felt himself strong enough to lay
hands on Lord Lovat in his own castle, named
Castle Downie, and brought him to Inverness,
where he detained him in a sort of honourable

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captivity. Fraser of Gortuleg, one of his clansmen,
relieved Lovat by a stratagem. The old chief,
having made his escape, lurked in the Highlands,
keeping up his correspondence with Charles Ed-
ward. The house of Gortuleg was Lovat's chief
residence. Matters in the North were, therefore,
unfavourable to the Chevalier's cause.

The capital of Scotland was again in possession
of the constituted authorities, garrisoned by a part
of Marshal Wade's army which had been sent
down for the purpose, and preparing to redeem,
by a more obstinate resistance to the Highlanders
upon their return from England, the honour which
they might be supposed to have lost by their
surrender in the September preceding.

This spirit of resistance had reached the Western
Border, where reports were generally disseminated
that the Chevalier and his forces had been defeated
in England, and were now flying across the Border
in such extreme confusion, that the militia and
volunteers of the country would have little trouble
in totally destroying them. For this purpose,
many of the peasants of Dumfriesshire had assumed
arms, but- they showed little inclination to use

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them, when they saw the Chevalier's army return
in complete order, and unbroken in strength or
spirit.
The Highland army, after crossing the river Esk, was divided into three bodies. The first, consisting of the clans, moved with the Chevalier to Annan. Lord George Murray was ordered to Ecclefechan with the Athole brigade and Lowland regiments. Lord Elcho, with the cavalry, received orders to go to Dumfries, and to disarm and punish that refractory town. The Prince himself shortly followed with the infantry, which he commanded in person.

Dumfries's ancient contumacy to the Jacobite cause had been manifested, not only by their conduct in the year 1715, but by a recent attack upon the Chevalier's baggage, as he marched into England in the November preceding. The horse marched thither accordingly, with purposes of vengeance, and were speedily followed by the Prince's own division. He laid a fine of L.2000 upon the town, and demanded, for the use of the army, 1000 pairs of shoes. Some of the money required was instantly paid down, and for the rest hostages were granted. No violence was committed on the town or inhabitants, for the Highlanders, though they threatened hard, did not, in fact, commit any violence or pillage.

The magistrates and community of Glasgow were yet more guilty in the eyes of the Prince than those of the smaller town of Dumfries. That city had raised a body of 600 men, called the Glasgow regiment, many of them serving without pay, under the command of the Earls of Home and Glencairn. This corps had been sent to Stirling
to assist General Blakeny, the governor of the castle,
to defend the passes of the Forth. From Stirling,

the Glasgow regiment fell back with the other
troops which had assembled there, and took post at
Edinburgh. This was with a view to the defence
of the capital, since the Highlanders, having bent
their march to the westward, were likely to pay
Edinburgh the next visit.

While the citizens of the capital were suffering
from the apprehension of the neighbourhood of the
rebels, those of Glasgow were paying the actual
penalty attached to their presence. Clothing for
the troops, and stores, were demanded from the
town to the extent of more than L.10, 000 sterling,
which they were compelled to pay, under the threat
of military execution.

At Glasgow, the Prince learned, for the first
time with some accuracy, the extent of the interest
which France had taken in his cause, and the
supplies of every kind which she had sent to him;
supplies which, in amount, remind us of those
administered to a man perishing of famine, by a
comrade, who dropt into his mouth, from time to
time, a small shell-fish, affording nutriment enough
to keep the sufferer from dying, but not sufficient
to restore him to the power of active exertion.

The principal part of these succours came under
Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of

Perth, and a general officer in the army of France.
They consisted of his own regiment in the French service, called the Royal Scots; the picquets of six Irish regiments; and Fitz-James's light horse. Of the latter, not more than two squadrons appear to have mustered. He also brought some money and military stores. Lord John Drummond had been intrusted with letters from France, giving an account how matters had been conducted there, and what was designed for the assistance of the Chevalier. Charles's brother, the titular Duke of York, had arrived at Paris in August, 1745, and, on the news of the battle of Preston, there had originated a sincere desire on the part of the French to assist the attempt of the House of Stewart effectually.

The original plan was, to put the Irish regiments in the French service under the command of the said Duke of York, and place them on board of fishing-boats, which should instantly transport them to England. This scheme was laid aside, and a much greater expedition projected, under the command of the Duke of Richelieu, which it was designed should amount to 9000 foot, and 1350 horse. The troops were assembled for this purpose at Dunkirk, Boulogne, and Calais, and a number of small vessels were collected for the embarkation. The French, however, were so dilatory in their preparations, that the design took air, and the English Government, to whom the expedition, had it sailed during the time of Charles's irruption into the West frontier, must have been highly dangerous, instantly ordered Admiral Vernon, with a strong fleet, into the Channel, and assembled
an army on the coast of Kent and Essex.

Upon this, the French abandoned the expedition, the danger of which was greatly diminished by the retreat of the Highlanders from Derby.

The Prince did not, for a long time, either hear or believe that this scheme, of a descent in favour of his family, was ultimately abandoned; and his confidence that the French continued to persevere in it, led him into more than one serious mistake. It was now agitated among the Prince and his adherents, in which way his small body of forces could be best employed. Some were of opinion, that they ought to direct their march upon the capital of Scotland. It is true, that part of the troops which had constituted Wade's army at Newcastle were now preparing to defend Edinburgh, and that the rest of those forces were advancing thither under the command of General Hawley. It was nevertheless alleged, that the Highlanders might, in this severe season, distress the English troops considerably, by preventing them from dividing in their winter march in quest of quarters, and by obliging them to keep the field in a body, and undergo hardships which would be destructive to them, though little heeded by the hardy mountaineers. But although this scheme promised considerable advantages, Charles preferred another, which engaged him in the siege of Stirling castle, although his best troops were very unequal to that species of service. The Prince was, no doubt, the rather inclined to this scheme, that Lord John Drummond had brought both battering guns and engineers from France; and, thus supplied, he probably imagined
that his success in sieges would be equally distinguished with that which he had attained by open war.

Before leaving the west country, the Highlanders burnt and plundered the village of Lesmahago, and particularly the clergyman's house, on account of the inhabitants having, under that reverend person's direction, attacked and made prisoner MacDonald of Kinloch-Moidart, who was traversing the country unattended, having been sent by the Prince on a mission to the Western Isles.

On the 3d of January, Prince Charles Edward evacuated Glasgow, and fixed his headquarters on the following day at the house of Bannockburn, while his troops occupied St Ninian's, and other villages in the neighbourhood of Stirling. The town was summoned, and not being effectually fortified, was surrendered by the magistrates, although there were about six hundred militia within it.

Some of these left the place, and others retired to the castle, where there lay a good garrison under General Blakney, a brave and steady officer. Having summoned this fortress, and received a resolute refusal to surrender, the Chevalier resolved to open trenches without delay; and having brought him to this resolution, we will resume the narrative of what had happened in the north of Scotland, and also in England, that you may understand what new actors had now come upon this eventful stage.

The arrival of Lord John Drummond at Montrose, already noticed, with his French forces, gave
additional courage to Lord Lewis Gordon, who was levying men and money in Aberdeenshire in behalf of Prince Charles. He was brother of the Duke of Gordon, a brave and active young man, but had in the beginning seemed uncertain which side to take in the civil turmoil. At first he is said to have offered his service to Sir John Cope on his way northward. But Lord Lewis received little encouragement; and affronted, it was supposed, with the neglect shown him by the commander-in-chief, he finally embraced the cause of the Chevalier, and acted for him in Aberdeenshire, where his family interest, and the Jacobite propensity of the country gentlemen, gave him much influence. Thus strengthened, Lord Lewis was now joined by one part of Lord John Drummond's auxiliaries, while the rest were sent to Perth to unite with Lord Strathallan, who, as we have seen, commanded in that city a considerable Highland reinforcement, destined to follow their countrymen into England had the Prince's command been obeyed.

Lord Loudon, who, on the part of the Government, commanded at Inverness, was desirous to put a stop to the progress of Lord Lewis Gordon. For this purpose he despatched MacLeod, with 450 of his own men, and 200 Monros, and other volunteers, commanded by Monro of Culcairn. With these he advanced as far as Inverury, about ten miles from Aberdeen, to dispute with the Jacobite leader the command of the north or Scotland.

On receiving intelligence of their approach, Lord Lewis Gordon got 750 under arms, chiefly Lowland men of Aberdeen shire, under Moir of Stonywood,
and Farquharson of Monaltry, with a proportion of the Royal Scots regiment, and hastened against the enemy. MacLeod was nearly surprised, having sent many of his men to billet at a distance from the little town of Inverury. He had, however, time to get those who remained with him under arms, and to take possession of the most defensible parts of the town, when Lord Lewis Gordon marched in at the other end of the place, and a sharp action of musketry commenced. It was remarkable on this occasion, that the Islesmen, who appeared on the part of Government, were all Highlanders, in their proper garb and that the greater part of those who fought for the Stewarts wore the Lowland dress, being the reverse of what was usually the case in the civil war. Lord Lewis Gordon, however, made his attack with much spirit -- the firing continued severe on both sides -- at length the Aberdeenshire men made a show of rushing to close combat, and the MacLeods gave way, and retreated or fled. As the battle was fought at night, the pursuit did not continue far, or cost much bloodshed. The MacLeods fled as far as Forres, having lost about forty of their men.

It was generally believed of that martial clan, that they would have behaved with more steadiness if they had been fighting on the other side. Lord Lewis Gordon after this success, which he obtained on the 23d of December, marched his men to join the general rendezvous of Charles Edward's reinforcements, which was held at Perth.

There were thus assembled at Perth, the Frasers,
the MacKenzies, the MacIntoshes, and the Farquharsons, all which clans had joined the cause since the Prince left Edinburgh; there were also the various forces raised by Lord Lewis Gordon, together with the regiments of Royal Scots and French picquets, which had come over with Lord John Drummond: their number, taken altogether, might amount to 4000 men and upwards—of whom more than one-half were as good Highlanders as any in the Prince's service. These reinforcements had, you may remember, received an order from Prince Charles, by the hand of Colonel MacLachlan, to follow the army up to England. The Highlanders lying at Perth were unanimously disposed to follow their Prince and countrymen, and to share their fate. Lord Strathallan, on the other hand, supported by the Lowland and French officers, demurred to obeysing this order. The parties were considerably irritated against each other on this occasion, and the dispute was not ended until the return of the Prince from England, when an order was transmitted from Dumfries, summoning the body of men in Perth to join the Prince at Stirling.

By this junction, the adventurer's force was augmented to about 9000 men, being the largest number which he ever united under his command. With this, as we have already said" Charles formed the siege of the castle of Stirling. He opened trenches before the fortress on the 10th of January, 1746, but was soon interrupted in his operations by the approach of a formidable enemy.
We must now turn our eyes to a different quarter, and remark what measures the English Government were taking for putting an end to the present disturbances.

The Duke of Cumberland, whom we left after the skirmish at Clifton, did not renew his attempt upon the rear of the Highland army. But they had no sooner crossed the Esk than he formed the investment of Carlisle, in which the Highlanders had left a garrison of about 300 men. They refused to surrender to the Duke's summons, conceiving, probably, which seems to have been the idea of Charles himself, that the Duke of Cumberland had no battering cannon at his command; there were such, however, at Whitehaven, and he sent to obtain the use of them. They were placed on two batteries, the one commanding the English and the other the Scottish, or North gate. The governor of the place, upon a breach being made, although not yet practicable, sent out a white flag, demanding what terms would be allowed to the garrison. They were informed, in reply, that if they surrendered at discretion, they should not be put to the sword. These were the only conditions of the surrender, the garrison being understood to be reserved for the king's pleasure. Colonel Townley, the commander of the Manchester Regiment, was here made prisoner, with about twenty of his officers, and one Mr Cappoch, a clergyman, who was designed by the Prince to be Bishop of Carlisle. Governor Hamilton, with about 100 Scottish men, also surrendered, as did Geohagan and other Irish officers in the French service. The
melancholy fate of the gentlemen included in this surrender might have been so easily foreseen, that the Chevalier was severely censured for leaving so many faithful adherents in a situation which necessarily exposed them to fall into the power of the government which they had offended in his behalf. The defence of the measure is, that, conceiving he might be presently recalled to England to aid a descent of the French, he deemed it essential to hold Carlisle as a gate into that country. But to this it may be replied, that, by blowing up the fortifications of Carlisle, and dismantling the Castle, he might have kept that entrance at all times open without leaving a garrison in so precarious a situation.

On December the 31st, the Duke of Cumberland entered Carlisle on horseback, and presently after received the congratulations of deputies, not only from every place in the neighbourhood, but from Edinburgh itself, to congratulate him upon the advantages which he had obtained over the rebels.

In the mean time, the Duke's pursuit of the Highlanders in person was interrupted by despatches which called him to London, to be ready to take the command against the projected invasion from France. The greater part of the infantry, which had been lately under his command, when his headquarters were at Litchfield, was now marched to the coasts of Kent and Sussex, being the readiest force at hand in case the descent should actually take place. It was at the same time, however,
resolved, that such part of the Duke's army (being chiefly cavalry) as had followed him to the neighbourhood of Carlisle, should continue their march northward, and unite themselves with the troops which had long lain at Newcastle under the command of Field-marshal Wade. This aged officer had not been alert in his movements during the winter campaign, particularly in his march for the relief of Carlisle, and was therefore removed from his command.

General Henry Hawley was in the mean time named by the Duke of Cumberland to the command of the forces destined to follow the Highland army. Hawley was an officer of military experience, but dreaded and disliked by the soldiers, as a man of a severe and even savage disposition; and, although personally brave, yet of a temper more fitted to obey than to command. This general had been a lieutenant in Evans's dragoons at the battle of Sheriffmuir, and as he fought in the right wing of the Duke of Argyle's army, he had seen the success of the cavalry when engaged with Highlanders. This experience had given him a poor opinion of the latter force, and he had frequently been heard to impute the miscarriage of General Cope to that officer's cowardice and want of conduct, and to affirm that a very different result might be expected from an encounter betwixt Highlanders and dragoons, when the last were properly led on to action.

With these feelings of confidence in himself, and with that experience of the Highland mode of
fighting which his campaign in 1715 was supposed
to have given him, General Hawley marched into Scotland at the head of a force which, when joined by the troops already at Edinburgh, amounted to 8000 men, two-thirds of whom were veterans. The rest consisted of upwards of a thousand Argyleshire men, commanded by Colonel Campbell (afterwards Duke of Argyle), and of the Glasgow regiment, to the amount of 600 men. There also joined, from Yorkshire, a body of volunteer light horse, called the Yorkshire Hunters, who were in arms for the House of Hanover and the established government.

Hawley, on arriving in Edinburgh, gave a specimen of his disposition, by directing gibbets to be erected, as an indication of the fate of the rebels who should fall into his hands; a preparation designed to strike terror, but which rather inspired aversion and hatred. The time was speedily approaching when such vaunts were to be made good by action. General Hawley, at the head of such a gallant force as he now commanded, conceived himself fully able to march towards Stirling, and attack the rebels, who were engaged in the siege of the castle. Having, accordingly, directed his forces to move in two divisions, the first marched from Edinburgh on the 13th of January, under the orders of General Huske, Hawley's second in command. This gentleman was of sounder judgment and better temper than his superior officer; he had formerly been quartered in Scotland, and was well known and esteemed by many of the inhabitants.
The Highland army, lying before Stirling, were regularly apprised of the movements of the enemy. Upon the 13th of January, Lord George Murray, who lay at Falkirk, obtained intelligence that the people of the neighbouring town of Linlithgow had received orders from Edinburgh to prepare provisions and forage for a body of troops who were instantly to advance in that direction. Lord George, made aware of Hawley's intention, resolved to move with a sufficient force and disappoint these measures, by destroying or carrying off the provisions which should be collected in obedience to the requisition.

The Jacobite general marched to Linlithgow, accordingly, with the three MacDonald regiments, those of Appin and of Cluny, and the horse, commanded by Elcho and Pitsligo. Parties of the cavalry were despatched to patrol on the road to Edinburgh for intelligence. About noon, the patrolling party sent back information that they perceived a small body of dragoons, being the advance of General Huske's division, which, as I have stated, marched from Edinburgh that morning. Lord George sent orders to the patrol to drive the dragoons who had shown themselves back upon the main body, if they had one, and not to retire until they saw themselves in danger of being overpowered. In the mean time, he drew up the infantry in line of battle in front of the town of Linlithgow. Lord Elcho, according to his orders, drove back the advanced party of horse upon a detachment of sixty dragoons, and then forced the whole to retire upon a village in which there were masses both of
horse and foot. Having thus reconnoitred close
up to the main body of the enemy, Lord Elcho sent
to acquaint Lord George Murray what force he had
in his front, so far as he could discern, and received
orders to retreat, leaving a small corps of observation.
It was not Lord George's purpose to engage
an enemy whose strength, obviously considerable,
was unknown to him; he therefore determined to
remain in Linlithgow until the enemy arrived very
near the town, and then to make his retreat in
good order. This object he accomplished accordingly;
and, on his repassing the bridge, there was
so little distance betwixt the advanced guard of
general Huske's division and the rear-guard of
Lord George Murray's, that abusive language was
exchanged between them, though without any actual
violence. Lord George continued his retreat
to Falkirk, where he halted for that night. On
the next day, he again retreated to the villages in
the vicinity of Bannockburn, where he learned that
general Huske, with half the Government army,
had arrived at Falkirk, and that general Hawley
had also arrived there on the 16th, with the second
division; that besides his regular troops, he was
joined by 1000 Highlanders, followers of the Argyle
family, and that they seemed determined upon
battle.

Upon the 15th and 16th of January, the Chevalier,
leaving 1000 or 1200 men under Gordon of
Glenbucket, to protect the trenches and continue
the blockade of Stirling castle, drew up his men in
a plain about a mile to the east of Bannockburn,
expecting an attack. His horse reconnoitred close
to the enemy's camp, but saw no appearance of
advance. On the 17th, the same manoeuvre was
repeated, the Highland army being drawn up on the
same open ground near Bannockburn, while that
of the Government remained in Falkirk, totally
inactive.

The cause of this inactivity is stated to have
been the contempt which General Hawley entertained
for the enemy, and his unhesitating belief,
that, far from venturing on any offensive movement,
the insurgents were upon the point of dispersing
themselves, from the dread of his approach.
It is moreover said, that General Hawley, having
felt the influence of the wit and gaiety of the
Countess of Kilmarnock (whose husband was in the
Prince's army), had been unable to resist her
ladyship's invitation to Callander house, and that he
had resided there from the time of his arrival in
Falkirk on the 16th until the afternoon of the 17th
of January, old style, with less attention to the
army which he commanded than became an old
soldier. In the mean time, rougher cheer was
preparing for him than he probably experienced at
Callander.

The Highlanders, holding a council of war on
the field where they rendezvoused, had determined,
since the English General did not move forward
to fight them, that they would save him the trouble
by an immediate advance on their side. There
were only about seven miles between the two
armies; and General Hawley, with a carelessness;

very unbecoming a veteran officer, appears to have

sent out no patrols from his camp. This gave the

insurgents an opportunity of trying a stratagem,

which proved eminently successful. It was
determined that Lord John Drummond, with his own
regiment, the Irish picquets, and all the cavalry of
the rebel army, should advance upon the straight
road leading from Stirling and Bannockburn
towards Falkirk. They were also to carry with
them the royal standard, and other colours, of
which they were to make a display in front of the
decayed forest called the Torwood. This march
and position of Lord John Drummond was,
however, only designed as a feint, to persuade the
King's army that the whole rebel force was
advancing in that quarter.

Meanwhile, Lord George Murray, making a
circuit by the south side of the Torwood, had
crossed the river Carron near Dunnipace, and was
advancing to the southward of the high ground
called Falkirk Moor, then an open and unenclosed
common, swelling into a considerable ridge or
eminence, which lay on the westward, and to the
left of the royal camp. General Huske, who, as
we have said, was second in command, was first
aware of the approach of the enemy. About
eleven o'clock Lord John Drummond's division
was visible from the camp, and, as had been designed,
attracted exclusive attention, till about
two hours later, when General Huske, by information,

and the aid of spy-glasses, descried the
approach of Lord George Murray's division, from
which the real attack was to be apprehended.

But though Huske saw the danger, General Hawley, whose task it peculiarly was to apply the remedy, was still at Callander-house. In this dilemma, the second in command formed the line of battle in front of the camp, but, in the absence of his superior officer, he had it not in his power to direct any movement either towards the division of Highlanders which kept the road, under Lord John Drummond, or against that which was ascending the heights to the left, under the command of Lord George Murray. The regiments remained on their ground in wonder, impatience, and anxiety, waiting for orders, and receiving none.

Hawley, however, at length caught the alarm. He suddenly appeared in front of the camp, and, ordering the whole line to advance, placed himself at the head of three regiments of dragoons, drew his sword, and led them at a rapid pace up the hill called Falkirk moor, trusting, by a rapid movement, to anticipate the Highlanders, who were pressing on towards the same point from the opposite side of the eminence.

In the mean time, that part of the Highland army which was designed to possess themselves of the heights, marched on in three divisions, keeping along the moor in such a manner, that first the thickets of the Torwood, and afterwards the acclivity of the ground, hid them in some measure from Hawley’s camp. In this movement they kept
their columns parallel to the ridge; and when they had proceeded as far in this direction as was necessary to gain room for their formation, each column wheeled up and formed in line of battle, in which they proceeded to ascend the eminence.

The first line consisted of the clans,- the Mac Donalds having the right and the Camerons the left; in the second line, the Athole brigade had the right, Lord Lewis Gordon's Aberdeenshire-men the left, and Lord Ogilvie's regiment the centre; the third line, or reserve, was weak in numbers, chiefly consisting of cavalry, and the Irish picquets. It may be remarked, that Lord John Drummond, who made the feint, remained with his troops on the high-road until the whole of the other division had passed the Carron, and then fell into the rear, and joined the cavalry who were with the Prince, thus reinforcing the third line of the army.

When Hawley set off with his three regiments of dragoons, the infantry of the King's army followed in line of battle, having six battalions in the first line, and the same number in the second. Howard's regiment marched in the rear, and formed a small body of reserve.

At the moment that the Highlanders were pressing up Falkirk moor on the one side, the dragoons, who had advanced briskly, had gained the eminence, and displayed a line of horse occupying about as much ground as one half of the first line of the Chevalier's army. The Highlanders, however, were in high spirits, and their natural ardour was
(81-267)still farther increased at the sight of the enemy.
(81-267)They kept their ranks, and advanced at a prodigious
(81-267)rate towards the ridge occupied by Hawley's
(81-267)three regiments. The dragoons, having in vain
(81-267)endeavoured to stop this movement of the clans
(81-267)towards them by one or two feints, resolved at
(81-267)length to make a serious attack, while they still
(81-267)retained the advantage of the higher ground. Their
(81-267)first movement was to take the enemy in flank, but
(81-267)the MacDonals, who were upon the right of the
(81-267)whole Highland line, inclined to a morass, which
(81-267)effectually disconcerted that scheme; the dragoons
(81-267)then came on in front at a full trot, with their
(81-267)sabres drawn, to charge the Highlanders, who
(81-267)were still advancing. The clans, seeing the menaced
(81-267)charge, reserved their fire as resolutely as
(81-267)could have been done by the steadiest troops in
(81-267)Europe, until Lord George Murray, who was in
(81-267)front, and in the centre of the line, presented his
(81-267)own fusee within about ten yards of the cavalry.
(81-267)On this signal they gave a general discharge, so
(81-267)close, and so well levelled, that the dragoons were
(81-267)completely broken. Some few made their way
(81-267)through the first line of the Highlanders, but were
(81-267)for the most part slain by those in the second line.

[81-268]About 400 fell, either man or horse being killed
(81-268)or wounded. The greater part went to the right
(81-268)in complete disorder, and fled along the front of
(81-268)the Highland line, who poured a destructive fire
(81-268)on them, by which many fell.

(81-268)This defeat of the cavalry began the battle bravely
(81-268)on the part of the insurgents, but they had
nearly paid dear for their success. At the instant when the attack commenced, a violent storm of wind and rain came on, which blew straight in the faces of the King's troops, and greatly disconcerted them. Lord George Murray called to the MacDonalds to stand fast, and not to regard the flying horsemen, but keep their ranks, and reload. It was in vain. The Highlanders, in their usual manner, rushed on sword in hand, and dropped their muskets. Their left wing, at the same moment, fell furiously sword in hand upon the right and centre of Hawley's foot, broke them, and put them to flight; but the lines of the contending armies not being exactly parallel, the extreme right of Hawley's first line stretched considerably beyond the left of the Highlanders. Three regiments, Price's, Ligonier's, and Burrell's, on the extreme flank, stood fast, with the greater advantage, that they had a ravine in front which prevented the Highlanders from attacking them sword in hand, according to their favourite mode of fighting. These corps gallantly maintained this natural fortification, and by repeated and steady firing repulsed the Highlanders from the opposite side of the ravine. One of the three routed regiments of dragoons, called Cobham's, rallied in the rear of this body of infantry who stood firm; the other two, being the same which had been at Preston, did not behave better, and could not well behave worse, than they had done on that memorable occasion.

The battle was now in a singular state; "both armies," says Mr Home, "were in flight at the same time." Hawley's cavalry, and most of his
infantry, excepting those on his extreme right, had been completely thrown into confusion and routed,

but the three regiments which continued fighting had a decided advantage over the Prince's left, and many Highlanders fled under the impression that the day was lost.

The advantage, upon the whole, was undeniably with Charles Edward; but from the want of discipline among the troops he commanded, and the extreme severity of the tempest, it became difficult even to learn the extent of the victory, and impossible to follow it up. The Highlanders were in great disorder. Almost all the second line were mixed and in confusion, the victorious right had no idea, from the darkness of the weather, what had befallen the left, nor were there any mounted generals or aides-de-camp, who might have discovered with certainty what was the position of affairs. In the mean time, the English regiments which had been routed fled down the hill in great confusion, both cavalry and infantry, towards the camp and town of Falkirk. General Huske brought up the rear of a very disorderly retreat, or flight, with the regiments who had behaved so well on the right; this he effected in good order, with drums beating and colours flying. Cobham's dragoons, such at least who had rallied, also retreated in tolerable order. General Hawley felt no inclination to remain in the camp which he had taken possession of with such an affectation of anticipated triumph. He caused the tents to be set
on fire, and withdrew his confused and dismayed followers to Linlithgow, and from thence the next day retreated to Edinburgh, with his forces in a pitiabable state of disarray and perturbation. The Glasgow regiment of volunteers fell into the power of the rebels upon this occasion, and were treated with considerable rigour; for the Highlanders were observed to be uniformly disposed to severity against those voluntary opponents, who, in their opinion, were not like the regular soldiers, called upon by duty to take part in the contention.

Many valuable lives were lost in this battle; about twenty officers and four or five hundred privates were slain, on the part of General Hawley; and several prisoners were made, of whom the greater part were sent to Doune castle.

The loss of the rebels was not considerable; and they had only one made prisoner, but in a manner rather remarkable. A Highland officer, a brother of MacDonald of Keppoch, had seized upon a trooper's horse and mounted him, without accurately considering his own incapacity to manage the animal. When the horse heard the kettle-drums beat to rally the dragoons, the instinct of discipline prevailed, and in spite of the efforts of his rider, he galloped with all speed to his own regiment. The Highlander, finding himself in this predicament, endeavoured to pass himself for an officer of the Campbell regiment, but being detected was
secured; and although the ludicrous manner in which he was taken might have pleaded for some compassion, he was afterwards executed as a traitor.

The defeat at Falkirk struck consternation and terror into all parts of Britain. The rebellion had been regarded as ended when the Highlanders left England, and Hawley's own assertions had prepared all the nation to expect tidings very different from those which were to be gathered from the disastrous appearance of his army, and the humiliating confession of his own looks and demeanour.

There were more visages rendered blank and dismayed by the unexpected event of the battle of Falkirk, than that of the unfortunate general. Throughout the whole civil war, those of the better ranks in England had shown themselves more easily exalted and depressed, than consisted with their usual reputation for steadiness. In the march upon Derby, they might have been said to be more afraid than the nature of the danger warranted, were it not that the peril chiefly consisted in the very stupor which it inspired. After the retreat had commenced, the hopes and spirit of the nation rose again to spring-tide, as if nothing farther were to be apprehended from a band of men so desperately brave, who had already done so much with such little means. The news of the defeat at Falkirk, therefore, were received with general alarm; and at court, during a levee held immediately
after the battle, only two persons appeared with countenances unmarked by signs of perturbation. These were, George the Second himself, who, whatever may have been his other foibles, had too much of the lion about him to be afraid; and Sir John Cope, who was radiant with joy at the idea that Hawley's misfortune or misconduct was likely to efface his own from the public recollection.

No person was now thought of sufficient consequence to be placed at the head of the army, but the Duke of Cumberland, who was, therefore, appointed to the chief command. His Royal Highness set off from St James's on the 25th of January, 1746, attended by Lord Cathcart, Lord Bury, Colonel Conway, and Colonel York, his aides-de-camp. His arrival at Holyrood House restored the drooping spirits of the members of the government. To the army, also, the arrival of the commander-in-chief was very acceptable, not only from a reliance on his talents, but as his presence put a stop to a course of cruel punishments instituted by General Hawley, who had invoked the assistance of the gibbet and the scourge to rectify a disaster, which had its principal source, perhaps, in his own want of military skill. The Duke's timely arrival at Edinburgh saved the lives of two dragoons who were under sentence of death, and rescued others who were destined to inferior punishments, many of which had already taken place.

The army which the Duke commanded consisted of twelve squadrons of horse and fourteen battalions
of infantry; but several of them had suffered much in the late action, and the whole were far from being complete. Every effort had, however, been made, to repair the losses which had taken place on Falkirk moor; and it may be said, the Duke of Cumberland was at the head of as gallant and well-furnished an army as ever took the field. Hawley, who was a personal favourite with the King, continued to act as lieutenant-general under the Duke; and Lord Albemarle held the same situation. The major-generals were Bland, Huske, Lord Semple, and Brigadier Mordaunt.

In a council of war held at Edinburgh, it was resolved that the troops should march the next morning towards Stirling, in order to raise the siege of the castle, and give battle to the rebels, if they should dare to accept of it, under better auspices than that of Falkirk. Great pains had been taken, in previous general orders, to explain to the common soldiers the mode in which the Highlanders fought, - a passage so curious, that I shall extract it from the orderly-book for your amusement.

Perhaps the most comfortable part of the instructions might be the assurance, that there were but few true Highlanders in the Prince's army.

THE insurgents did not reap such advantages from the battle of Falkirk as might have been expected. The extreme confusion of their own forces, and their consequent ignorance respecting the condition of the enemy, prevented their pursuing Hawley's army, which might, in all
(82-280) probability, have been an easy prey. Had they done so,
(82-280) they might, on the spur of the moment, have again
(82-280) obtained possession of the capital, with all the eclat
(82-280) attendant on such success.

(82-280) But the Chevalier, who had kept his word in
(82-280) convoking no councils since the retreat from Derby,
(82-280) saving that held on the field of battle, acted only
(82-280) by the advice of his secretary Mr Murray, his
(82-280) quartermaster John Hay, Sir Thomas Sheridan,
(82-280) and the Irish officers, who were suspected of

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(82-281) being less ready to give unbiassed advice to the
(82-281) young Prince, than willing to echo back his own
(82-281) opinions. On this occasion he conceived, that
(82-281) raising the siege of Stirling would be a disgrace to
(82-281) his arms, and resolved, therefore, to proceed with
(82-281) it at all events. This proved an unlucky
(82-281) determination.

(82-281) M. Mirabelle de Gordon, the French engineer
(82-281) who conducted the siege, was imperfectly acquainted
(82-281) with his profession. He constructed a battery
(82-281) upon the Gowan Hill; but opening it when only
(82-281) three guns were mounted, they were speedily
(82-281) silenced by the superior fire of the castle. Some
(82-281) skirmishing took place at the same time between
(82-281) the English armed vessels, which endeavoured to
(82-281) force their way up the Forth, and the batteries
(82-281) which were established on the sides of the river;
(82-281) but these events were of little consequence. The
(82-281) progress of the siege seemed protracted, and was
(82-281) liable to interruption by the advance of the Duke
(82-281) of Cumberland and his army.
On the other hand, the Highland army had suffered great diminution since the battle of Falkirk,

An accident also, which happened the day after the battle of Falkirk, cost the Chevalier the loss of a clan regiment of no small distinction. A private soldier, one of Clanranald's followers, was tampering with a loaded musket, when the piece went off, and by mishap killed a younger son of Glengarry, major of that regiment. To prevent a quarrel between two powerful tribes, the unlucky fellow who had caused the mischief was condemned to death, though innocent of all intentional guilt, and was shot accordingly. This sacrifice did not, however, propitiate the tribe of Glengarry; they became disgusted with the service on the loss of their major, and most of them returned to their mountains without obtaining any leave, a desertion severely felt at this critical moment.

The chiefs of clans, and men of quality in the army, observing the diminution of their numbers, and disgusted at not being consulted upon the motions of the army, held a council, by their own authority, in the town of Falkirk, and drew up a paper addressed to the Prince, which was signed
by them all, advising a retreat to the north. The purport of this document expressed, that so many of their men had gone home since the last battle, that they were in no condition to prosecute the siege of Stirling, or to repel the army of the Duke of Cumberland, which was advancing to raise it. They concluded by advising the Prince to retreat with his army to Inverness, there to annihilate the forces of Lord Loudon, with his other enemies in that country, and to take or demolish the Highland forts, thus making himself complete master of the north. This being effected, they assured him they would be ready to take the field next spring, with eight or ten thousand Highlanders, to follow him wherever he pleased.

This advice, which had, in the circumstances in which it was given, the effect of a command, came upon Charles like a clap of thunder. He had concluded that a battle was to be fought; and the sick and wounded, with the followers of the camp, had been sent to Dunblane with that view. Lord George Murray had also been at headquarters, and showed to Charles a plan which he had drawn of the proposed battle, which the Prince had approved of, and corrected with his own hand. When, therefore, this proposition for a retreat was presented to him, he was at first struck with a feeling of despair, exclaiming, "Good God! have I lived to see this?" He dashed his head with such violence against the wall, that he staggered, and then sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Falkirk, to reason against the resolution which the chiefs had adopted. But it was found unalterable, and their
number and importance were too great for Charles to contend with.

The Prince, after yielding to the measure of retreating, concerted with Lord George Murray, that, on the 1st of February, all the army should be ordered to cross the Forth at the fords of Frew, very early in the morning; that the heavy cannon should be spiked; that the ammunition which could not be carried along with the army, should be destroyed; and, finally, that a strong rearguard, composed of 1200 picked Highlanders, and Lord Elcho's body of horse, should protect the retreat of the army.

None of these precautions were, however, resorted to; and the retreat, attended with every species of haste and disorder, resembled a flight so much, that there was nowhere one thousand men together. The army passed the river in small bodies, and in great confusion, leaving carts and cannon upon the road behind them. There was no rearguard, and Lord Elcho's troop, which had been commanded to wait at the bridge of Carron till farther orders, was totally forgotten, and had nearly been intercepted by a body of troops from the town and castle of Stirling, ere they received orders to retreat. This confusion was supposed to have arisen from the recklessness with which the Prince altered the order of retreat, after it had been adjusted betwixt himself and Lord George Murray; a recklessness which seemed to show that he was so much vexed at the measure, as to be indifferent with what degree of order or
confusion it was carried into execution.

Accident added to the damage which attended this hasty movement. In destroying their magazine at St Ninians, the Highlanders managed so awkwardly as to blow up at the same time the church itself, by which several lives were lost. This was represented, by the malice of party spirit, as having been an intentional act on the part of the Prince's army; a thing scarcely to be supposed, since some of themselves, and particularly the man who fired the train, were killed by the explosion. The retreat from Stirling was, nevertheless, conducted without much loss, except from temporary dispersion. The march of the Highland army was by Dunblane and Crieff. On the 3d of February, a council of war was held at a place called Fairnton, near the latter town. Here the argument concerning the necessity of the retreat from Stirling was renewed, and those officers who were hostile to Lord George Murray, took care to throw on him the blame of a measure, which, however necessary, was most unpalatable to the Prince, and had been in a great degree forced upon him. It was now said that the desertion was not half so great as apprehended, and did not exceed a thousand men; and that the Prince need not, on account of such a deficiency, have been forced into a measure resembling flight, which, in a contest where so much depended on opinion, must, it was said, lower his character both with friends and foes. But the resolution had been finally adopted, and it was now necessary to follow it out.
At Crieff, the army of Charles separated. One division, chiefly consisting of west Highlanders, marched northward by the Highland road. Another, under Lord George Murray, took the coast road, by Montrose and Aberdeen, to Inverness. It consisted chiefly of the Lowland regiments and cavalry, the latter of whom suffered much, having lost many of their horses by forced marches at that inclement season of the year. The troopers, being chiefly gentlemen, continued to adhere with fidelity to their ill-omened standards. A small part of the army, belonging to that part of the Highlands, went by Braemar.

The Duke of Cumberland followed the Highlanders as far as Perth, and found that, moving with rapidity and precision amid their disorder, they had accomplished their purpose of retreating to the Highlands, and carrying off their garrisons from Montrose and elsewhere. The presence of Charles in Inverness-shire, was likely to be attended with advantages which might protract the war.

It is a mountainous province, giving access to those more western Highlands of which the Jacobite clans were chiefly inhabitants, and itself containing several tribes devoted to his cause. It was also thought the Prince would obtain recruits both in Caithness and Sutherland.

The Chevalier's only enemy in the north was the small army which Lord Loudon had raised by means of the Grants, Monros, Rosses, and other northern clans, with whom he had united the MacDonalds of Skye and the MacLeods. Their number,
however, was not such as to prevent the Prince's troops from spreading through the country; and, to indulge the humour of the Highlanders, as well as for their more easy subsistence, they were suffered to stroll up and down at pleasure. Prince Charles retaining only a few hundreds about his person. He appeared, indeed, to be everywhere master in the open country; and the little army of Lord Loudon, amounting at the utmost to 2000 men, remained cooped up in Inverness, which they had in some degree fortified with a ditch and palisade. In these circumstances, Charles found it easy to attack and take the barracks at Ruthven of Badenoch, which had resisted him on his descent from the Highlands; and after this success, he went to reside for two or three days at the castle of Moy, the chief seat of the Laird of MacIntosh, a distinction which was well deserved by the zealous attachment of the Lady MacIntosh to his cause. The husband of this Lady, AEneas, or Angus MacIntosh of that Ilk, appears to have had no steady political attachments of his own; for at one time he seems to have nourished the purpose of raising his clan in behalf of the Chevalier,1 notwithstanding which, he continued to hold a commission in Lord Loudon's army. Not so his lady, who, observing the indecision, perhaps we ought to say the imbecility, of her husband, gave vent to her own Jacobite feelings, and those of the clan of MacIntosh, by levying the fighting men of that ancient tribe, to the amount of three hundred men, at whose head she rode, with a man's bonnet on her head, a tartan riding-habit richly laced, and pistols at her saddle-bow. MacGillivray of Drumnaglass commanded [TG82-289]
Charles Edward was living there in perfect security, and had not more than three hundred men about his person, when Lord Loudon made a bold attempt to end the civil war, by making the Adventurer prisoner. For this purpose, he proposed to employ chiefly the Highlanders of MacLeod's clan, as well qualified to execute a swift and secret enterprise. They were accompanied by several volunteers. It is said that Lady MacIntosh had private intelligence of this intention; at any rate, she had employed the blacksmith of the clan, a person always of some importance in a Highland tribe, with a few followers, to patrol betwixt Inverness and Moy castle. On the night of the 16th of February, this able and intelligent partisan fell in with the vanguard of the MacLeods, bending their course in secrecy and silence towards Moy. The party thus advancing consisted of one thousand five hundred men. The smith and his followers, not above six or seven in all, divided into different parts of the wood, and fired upon the advancing columns, who could not discover the numbers by which they were opposed. The MacIntoshes, at the same time, cried the war-cries of Lochiel, Keppoch, and other well-known sounds of the most distinguished clans; and two or
three bagpipers played most furiously the gathering tunes of the same tribes.

Those who are engaged in an attempt to surprise others, are generally themselves most accessible to surprise. The sudden attack astonished the MacLeods, who conceived that they had fallen into an ambush consisting of the Chevalier's whole army. The consequence was, that they turned their backs, and fled back to Inverness in extreme confusion, incurring much danger and some loss, not from the fire of the enemy, but from throwing down and treading upon each other. The confusion was so great, that the Master of Ross, a gallant officer, who was afterwards in many perils, informed Mr Home, that he had never been in a condition so grievous as what was called the Rout of Moy.

Some accounts state, that the Prince was never disturbed from sleep during all the confusion attending this attack, which, but for the presence of mind of the lady so admirably seconded by her retainer, might have put an end to his enterprise and to his life. It is at any rate certain, that early on the following day Charles assembled his army, or such part of it as could be immediately got together, and advanced upon Inverness, with the purpose of repaying to Lord Loudon the unfriendly visit of the preceding night. Neither the strength of the place, nor the number of Lord Loudon's forces, entitled him to make any stand against an army so superior to his own. He was therefore compelled to retreat by the Kessoch ferry; and having carried the boats with him, he
(82-292) prevented for a time the pursuit of the rebels.
(82-292) But Lord Cromarty, having marched round the
(82-292) head of the ferry, dislodged Lord Loudon from the
(82-292) town of Cromarty, afterwards pursued him to Tain,

[TG82-293]
(82-293) and compelled him finally to cross the Great Ferry
(82-293) into Sutherland.

(82-293) The Highland army took possession of Inverness
(82-293) on the 18th, and on the 20th, the citadel,
(82-293) called Fort George, was also yielded to them.
(82-293) By these movements, it was proposed to follow up
(82-293) the plan of tactics recommended in the Address of
(82-293) the chiefs at Falkirk; that on retiring to the north,
(82-293) they should employ the winter season in destroying
(82-293) Lord Loudon's power, and reducing the forts held
(82-293) in the Highlands. With the latter purpose, the
(82-293) siege of Fort Augustus was formed by Lord
(82-293) John Drummond's regiment, and the French
(82-293) picquets. The battering cannon proving too small
(82-293) for the purpose, cohorns were employed to throw
(82-293) shells, by means of which the garrison, being only
(82-293) three companies, was compelled to surrender. It
(82-293) was determined by the Prince to send the officers
(82-293) to France, to remain as hostages for such of his
(82-293) own followers as had already fallen into the hands
(82-293) of the Government, or might have that fate in
(82-293) future. We have seen that such a scheme had
(82-293) been proposed after the battle of Preston, and
(82-293) was refused by the Prince from motives of
(82-293) generosity; and that the prisoners were dismissed into
(82-293) Angus-shire upon their parole of honour. At the
(82-293) time of General Hawley's movement upon Stirling,
(82-293) some risings had taken place in support of
(82-293) Government in the county of Angus, of which the
prisoners of war had availed themselves, under the idea that they were thus liberated from their parole.

The Highlanders were of a different opinion, and expressed their sentiments in a singular manner, after the battle of Falkirk. General Hawley had, previous to that action, been pleased to foresee occasion for an extraordinary number of executioners in his camp. As some of these functionaries became prisoners to the insurgent army after the battle, they endeavoured to express their scorn of the behaviour of the regular officers who had, as they alleged, eluded their parole, by liberating these hangmen on their word of honour, as if equally worthy of trust with those who bore King George's commission. The scheme of sending the captive officers to France might have operated as some check on the Government's judicial proceedings after the close of the rebellion, had it been adopted in the early part of the insurrection. As it was, the current of the insurgents' success had begun to turn, and there was no further prospect of succeeding by this method, which was adopted too late to be of service.

While the Highlanders were pushing their petty and unimportant advantages against the forts in the north, the Duke of Cumberland, advancing on their rear, and occupying successively the districts which they abandoned, was already bringing up important succours, by which he hoped to narrow their quarters, and, finally, to destroy their army. Following the track of the Highlanders; he had arrived
at Perth on the 6th of February, and detached
Sir Andrew Agnew, with 500 men, and 100 of
the Campbells, to take possession of the castle of
Blair-in-Athole, while Lieutenant-colonel Leighton,
with a similar force, occupied castle Menzies.
These garrisons were designed to straiten the
Highland army, and to prevent their drawing
reinforcements from the countries in which their
cause had most favour.

About the same time, the Duke of Cumberland
learned that a body of auxiliaries, consisting of
6000 Hessians, had disembarked at Leith, under the
command of Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel.
These troops had been sent for, because a dilemma
had occurred, which occasioned the withdrawing
of the 6000 Dutch troops originally destined
to assist the King of England. So soon as Lord
John Drummond had arrived with the French
auxiliaries, a message had been despatched to the
Dutch commandant, formally acquainting him, that
the colours of France were displayed in the
Chevalier's camp, and that as troops upon their parole
not to serve against that country, the Dutch were
cited to withdraw themselves from the civil war
of Britain. They recognised the summons, and
withdrew their forces from Britain accordingly.

In order to replace these auxiliaries, the King
of Great Britain concluded a subsidiary treaty with
the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, which was confirmed in
Parliament, and it was in consequence of this
engagement that the Hessian troops had now arrived
at Leith. The Duke of Cumberland made a hasty
visit to Edinburgh, where he held a council with
the Prince of Hesse and the principal officers. A
general opinion was entertained and expressed,
that the Highlanders would break up and disperse,
and never venture a battle against the Duke of
Cumberland and his army. Lord Milton, a Scottish
judge, being asked to deliver his sentiments,
was of a different opinion. He declared himself
persuaded, that the Highlanders would, according
to their ready habits, again unite in a large body
and make another struggle for the accomplishment
of their enterprise.

This opinion of Lord Milton made a deep
impression upon the Duke of Cumberland's mind,
who resolved to proceed upon the probability that
a battle would be necessary, and to move northwards
slowly, but with an overpowering force.
For this purpose he returned to Perth, and sending
three regiments of infantry to Dundee,
proceeded with the main body of his army to the
north, and reached Aberdeen on the 27th of
February. The Hessian troops, with their Prince,
arrived at Perth after the Duke of Cumberland's
departure. Their mustaches and blue dress
occasioned some surprise to the Scottish people, who
were greatly edified, however, by their quiet and
civil behaviour, which formed a strong contrast to
the profligate language and demeanour of the
English soldiery. The country between Perth and
Aberdeen, including Blair-in-Athole, and some
posts still farther north, were occupied by parties,
both of the Campbells and of the regular troops.
The Duke of Cumberland's headquarters were at
Aberdeen, where it was generally believed by the rebels he intended to remain till summer.

In the mean time, the clans resolved to proceed in subjecting the forts upon the chain, of which

Fort-William still remained in possession of the regular troops. General Campbell had taken care that it should be provided with every thing necessary for a siege, and had reinforced the garrison with some companies of his own followers, so that it amounted to about six hundred men, under a commandant named Campbell. Lochiel and Keppoch formed the blockade, but could not cut off the garrison's communications by sea, as two sloops of war supported them with their guns. General Stapleton soon after came up with the French picquets, and formed a regular battery against the fort; but, as we shall hereafter see, to little good purpose.

About this time Charles heard news of the succours from France, which he had expected so anxiously. On the 23d of February, he received a letter from Captain Shee of Fitz-James's dragoons, acquainting him that he made part of an armament commanded by the Marquis de Fimarion; that he had landed with a part of the above regiment; that the rest of the squadron conveyed about eight hundred men, and that each of the ships brought a certain sum of money.

In confirmation of this news, the Prince was informed that one of the squadron announced by Captain Shee, having appeared off Peterhead, had landed two thousand louis-d'or for his service, but
had declined to land the soldiers who were on board, without an order from the Marquis D'Eguilles, called the ambassador of France. Prince Charles despatched Lord John Drummond and the Marquis D'Eguilles, with a strong body of troops to superintend the landing of this important reinforcement; but they came too late. The Duke of Cumberland, moving with all his forces, had arrived at Aberdeen on the 27th; and Moir of Stonywood, who commanded there for the Prince, was compelled to retreat to Fochabers, where he, and Captain Shee who accompanied him, met with Lord John Drummond, who had advanced so far to protect the disembarkation. A picquet of Berwick's regiment was also safely landed at Portsoy, but no other troops of the embarkation afterwards reached the Prince's army. The remainder of Fitz-James's cavalry were taken by Commodore Knowles, and sent to the Thames. The Marquis de Fimarion, having held a council of war, thought it most prudent to return to France.

Thus unpitifully rigorous was fortune, from beginning to end, in all that might be considered as the chances from which Prince Charles might receive advantage. The miscarriage of the reinforcements was the greater, as the supplies of treasure were become almost indispensable. His money now began to run short, so that he was compelled to pay his soldiers partly in meal, which caused great discontent. Many threatened to abandon the enterprise; some actually deserted; and the army, under these adverse circumstances, became more refractory and unmanageable than
Yet their spirit of military adventure was still shown, in the instinctive ingenuity with which they carried on enterprises of irregular warfare. This was particularly evident, from a series of attacks planned and executed by Lord George Murray, for delivering his native country of Athole from the small forts and military stations which had been established there by the Duke of Cumberland. This expedition was undertaken in the middle of March, and Lord George Murray himself commanded the detachment destined for the service, which amounted to 700 men; one half of these were natives of Athole, the other half were MacPhersons, under the command of Cluny, their chief. They marched from Dalwhinny when daylight began to fail, and halted at Dalspiddel about midnight, when it was explained to them, that the purpose of the expedition was to surprise and cut off all the military posts in Athole, which were occupied either by the regular troops or by the Campbells.

These posts were very numerous, and it was necessary they should be all attacked about the same time. The most important were gentlemen's houses, such as Kinnachin, Blairfettie, Lude, Faskallie, and the like, which, in the Highlands, and indeed throughout Scotland generally, were of a castellated form, and capable of defence. Other small posts were slightly fortified, and commanded
by non-commissioned officers. Lord George Murray's force of 700 men was divided into as many small parties as there were posts to be carried; and in each were included an equal number of Athole-men and MacPhersons. Each party was expected to perform the duty assigned to it before daybreak, and all were then to repair to the bridge of Bruar, within two miles of the castle of Blair-in-Athole. The various detachments set out with eagerness upon an enterprise which promised to relieve their country or neighbourhood from invasion and military occupation; and Lord George and Cluny, with only 25 men, and a few elderly gentlemen, proceeded to the bridge of Bruar, being the rendezvous, there to await the success of their undertaking and the return of their companions.

It had nearly chanced, that, in an expedition designed to surprise others, they had been surprised themselves. For, in the grey of the morning, a man from the village of Blair came to inform Lord George Murray, that Sir Andrew Agnew, who commanded at Blair castle, had caught the alarm from an attack on a neighbouring post; had got a great proportion of his garrison of 500 men under arms, and was advancing to the bridge of Bruar, to see what enemies were in the neighbourhood. Lord George Murray and Cluny were in no condition to engage the veteran; and it was proposed, as the only mode of escape, to betake themselves to the neighbouring mountains. Lord George Murray rejected the proposition. "If," he said, "we leave the place of rendezvous, our parties, as..."
they return in detail from discharging the duty
intrusted to them, will be liable to be surprised by
the enemy. This must not be. I will rather try
what can be done to impose upon Sir Andrew
Agnew's caution, by a fictitious display of strength."

With this resolution Lord George took possession
of a turf-dyke, or wall, which stretched along a
neighbouring field, and disposed his followers
behind it, at distant intervals from each other, so as
to convey the idea of a very extended front. The
colours of both regiments were placed in the centre
of the pretended line, and every precaution used
to give the appearance of a continued line of soldiers,
to what was in reality only a few men placed at a
distance from each other. The bagpipers were not
forgotten; they had orders to blow up a clamorous
pi broch, so soon as the advance of the regulars
should be observed, upon the road from Blair. The
sun just arose when Sir Andrew's troops came in
sight; the pipers struck up, and the men behind
the turf-wall brandished their broadswords, like
officers at the head of their troops preparing to
charge. Sir Andrew was deceived into the idea
that he had before him a large body of Highlanders
drawn up to attack him, and anxious for the safety
of his post, he marched back his garrison to the
castle of Blair-in-Athole.

Lord George Murray remained at the bridge to
receive his detachments, who came in soon after
sunrise; they had all succeeded more or less
completely, and brought in upwards of 300 prisoners,
taken at the various posts, which, great and small,
amounted to thirty in number. Only one or two of
the clansmen were killed, and but five or six of the
King's troops; for the Highlanders, though in
some respects a wild and fierce people, were seldom
guilty of unnecessary bloodshed. Encouraged by
this success, Lord George Murray was tempted
to make an effort to possess himself of the castle
of Blair, notwithstanding its natural strength,
and that of its garrison. With this view he

invested the place, which was a very large, strong
old tower, long a principal residence of the Athole
family. There was little hope from battering
with two light field-pieces a castle whose walls
were seven feet thick; the situation was so rocky
as to put mining out of the question; but Lord
George, as the garrison was numerous, and supposed
to be indifferently provided for a siege, conceived
the possibility of reducing the place by
famine. For this purpose he formed a close
blockade of the place, and fired with his Highland
marksmen upon all who showed themselves
at the windows of the tower, or upon the battlements.
And here, as in this motley world that
which is ridiculous is often intermixed with what
is deeply serious, I may tell you an anecdote of a
ludicrous nature.

Sir Andrew Agnew, famous in Scottish tradition,
was a soldier of the old military school, severe in
discipline, stiff and formal in manners, brave to
the last degree, but somewhat of an humourist,
upon whom his young officers were occasionally
tempted to play tricks, not entirely consistent with
the respect due to their commandant. At the
The siege of Blair, some of the young wags had obtained an old uniform coat of the excellent Sir Andrew, which, having stuffed with straw, they placed in a small window of a turret, with a spy-glass in the hand, as if in the act of reconnoitring the besiegers. This apparition did not escape the hawk's eyes of the Highlanders, who continued to pour their fire upon the turret window, without producing any adequate effect. The best deer-stalkers of Athole and Badenoch persevered, nevertheless, and wasted, as will easily be believed, their ammunition in vain on this impassible commander. At length Sir Andrew himself became curious to know what could possibly induce so constant a fire upon that particular point of the castle. He made some enquiry, and discovered the trick which had been played. His own head being as insensible to a jest of any kind as his peruke had proved to the balls of the Highlanders, he placed the contumacious wags under arrest, and threatened to proceed against them still more seriously; and would certainly have done so, but by good fortune for them, the blockade was raised after the garrison had suffered the extremity of famine.

The raising of the blockade was chiefly owing to the advance of a body of Hessians from Perth, together with the Earl of Crawford. Lord George Murray on this occasion sent an express to the Prince, that if he could spare him 1200 men, he would undertake to engage the Prince of Hesse and Lord Crawford. Charles returned for answer
that he could not spare the men, being in the act
of concentrating his army. Lord George Murray
was therefore obliged to relinquish the blockade
of Blair, and withdraw his forces into Strathspey,
and from thence to Speyside. He himself went
to the Chevalier's headquarters, where he found
that his exploits in the field had not been able to
save him from enemies, who had made a bad use of
their master's ear.

We have seen that, from the very first meeting at
Perth, Mr Murray, the secretary, had filled the
Prince's mind with suspicions of Lord George, as
a person who, if disposed to serve him, was not
inclined to do so upon the pure principles of unlimited
monarchy. The self-will and obstinacy of
this nobleman, a brave soldier, but an unskilful
courtier, gave all the advantage which his enemies
could desire; and in despite of his gallant achievements,
the Prince was almost made to believe that
the best officer in his army was capable of betraying
him at least, if not actually engaged in a conspiracy
to do so. Thus prepossessed, though
usually eager for fighting, the Chevalier, both at
Clifton and on the present occasion, declined
intrusting Lord George with a separate command of

On the present occasion, Charles entertained the
opinion that Lord George might have taken the
castle of Blair, had he been so disposed; but that
he abstained, least by doing so he might injure the
house of his brother, the Duke of Athole. Lord
George was altogether undeserving of such a suspicion, there being perhaps no man in the Prince's army who had fewer indirect motives to decide his political creed than this nobleman. If the Prince succeeded in his enterprise, his eldest brother would recover the dukedom, now held by the second. But it does not appear that Lord George Murray could be thus personally benefited. It is no small merit to him, that, faithful while suspected, and honest though calumniated, he adhered to the tenor of his principles, and continued to serve with zeal and fidelity a master by whom he knew he was not beloved, nor fully trusted. It is even said by Lord Elcho, that the Prince told some of the French and Irish officers that he suspected Lord George; and it is added, that being requested to watch whether his conduct in battle authorized such a suspicion, they undertook to put him to death if such should appear to be the case.

THE final act of this great domestic tragedy was now about to begin, yet there remain some other incidents to notice ere we approach that catastrophe. The outposts of the principal armies were extended along the river Spey, and the Highlanders appeared disposed for a time to preserve the line of that river, although a defensive war is not that which Highlanders could be expected to wage with most success. It is probable they did not expect the Duke of Cumberland to make a serious advance from his headquarters at Aberdeen, until the summer was fairly commenced, when their own army would be reassembled. Several affairs of posts took place betwixt General Bland, who commanded the advance of the Duke's army, and Lord John
Drummond, who was opposed to him on the side of the Chevalier. The Highlanders had rather the advantage in this irregular sort of warfare, and in particular, a party of a hundred regulars were surprised at the village of Keith, and entirely slain or made prisoners by John Roy Stewart.

About the same time, Prince Charles sustained a heavy loss in the Hazard sloop of war, which made her appearance in the North Seas, having on board 150 troops for his service, and, what he needed still more, a sum of gold equal to £10,000 or £12,000. This vessel, with a cargo of so much importance, being chased by an English frigate, was run ashore by her crew in the bay of Tongue, and the sailors and soldiers escaping ashore, carried the treasure along with them. They were, however, in a hostile, as well as a desolate country. The tribe of the MacKays assembled in arms, and, with some bands of Lord Loudon's army, pursued the strangers so closely as to oblige them to surrender themselves and the specie. It is said only £8000 of gold was found upon them, the rest having been embezzled, either by their captors or by others, after they came ashore. This loss of the Hazard, which was productive of injurious consequences to the Highland army, was connected with a series of transactions in Sutherland, which I will here briefly tell you of.

Lord Loudon, you will recollect, had retreated from Inverness into Ross-shire, at the head of about 2000 men, composed of the Whig clans. In the beginning of March, Lord Cromarty had been
[TG83-311]
(83-311)despatched by the Prince, with his own regiment,
(83-311)together with the MacKinnons, MacGregors, and
(83-311)Barrisdale's people, to dislodge Lord Loudon;
(83-311)they effected by the temporary aid of Lord
(83-311)George Murray. Lord Loudon, retreating before
(83-311)an army which now consisted of the flower of the
(83-311)Highlanders, disposed his forces at various ferries
(83-311)upon the Frith which divides the shire of Sutherland
(83-311)from that of Ross, in order to defend the
(83-311)passage.

(83-311)On the 20th of March, however, the rebels,
(83-311)under Lord Cromarty, pushed across near a place
(83-311)called the Meikle Ferry, and nearly surprised a
(83-311)party that kept guard there. The Earl of Loudon,
(83-311)informed of this invasion, concluded that, as his
(83-311)forces were inferior in number, and much scattered,
(83-311)there was no possibility of drawing them together
(83-311)for the purpose of making a stand; he therefore
(83-311)sent orders to the officers commanding the different
(83-311)posts, to provide for their safety, by marching
(83-311)the men whom they commanded into their several
(83-311)districts. Loudon himself, with the Lord President,
(83-311)and other persons of rank, who might be
(83-311)supposed particularly obnoxious to the insurgents,
(83-311)embarked with the MacLeods and MacDonals,
(83-311)and returned with them to the isle of Skye. The
(83-311)army, therefore, might be said to be dispersed and
(83-311)disbanded. Owing to this dispersion, it happened
(83-311)that some of Lord Loudon's soldiers were in the
(83-311)MacKays' country, and assisted in taking prisoners
(83-311)the crew of the Hazard sloop of war when they
(83-311)landed.
Lord Cromarty was now in full possession of the coast of Sutherland and of the castle of Dunrobin, which the Earl of Sutherland had found it impossible to defend. The Jacobite general could not, however, exercise much influence in that country; the vassalage and tenantry not only declined to join the rebels, but kept possession of their arms, and refused the most favourable terms of submission. The Earl of Cromarty, indeed, collected some money, emptied the Earl of Sutherland's stables of nineteen or twenty good horses, and cut his carriages to pieces in order to convert the leather and brass mounting into targets; but the country itself being hostile to the Jacobite cause, obliged the Earl, though a mild good-natured man, to use some severity on this occasion. The houses and property of two of the captains of the militia were plundered and burnt, in order to strike terror into other recreants. This was alien to the inclinations of some of the Highlanders, the gentleness of whose conduct had hitherto been the subject of surprise and panegyric. "I like not this raising of fire," said an old Highlander, who looked on during the devastation; "hitherto five of us have put twenty to flight, but if we follow this inhuman course, we may look for twenty of us to fly before five of our enemies." In fact, the prophecy was not far from its accomplishment. The Earl of Cromarty extended his operations even into the islands of Orkney, but received as little encouragement from the inhabitants of that archipelago as from the people of Sutherland. In Caithness a few gentlemen of the name of Sinclair adopted their
cause; but it is said that not above forty-three men in all from that country joined the Chevalier's standard. The beginning of April was now come, and the indications of the Duke of Cumberland's advance in person made it plain that the insurgents would be no longer permitted to protract the campaign by a war of posts, but must either fight, or retire into the Highlands. The last measure, it was foreseen, must totally break up Prince Charles's Lowland cavalry, many of whom had already lost their horses in the retreat; it was necessary, therefore, to form them into a body of foot-guards.

The Prince did not hesitate a moment which course to pursue. He entertained, like others who play for deep stakes, a tendency to fatalism, which had been fostered by his success at Preston and Falkirk, and he was determined, like a desperate gamester, to push his luck to extremity. The kind of warfare which he had been waging for some weeks past, had necessarily led to a great dispersion of his forces, and, intent upon the impending contest, he now summoned his detachments from every side, to join his own standard at Inverness.

The powerful body of men under the Earl of Cromarty received similar orders. MacDonald of Barrisdale, in great haste to obey, set out on his march upon the 14th of April. On the 15th he was to have been followed by the Earl of Cromarty and his regiment. This projected evacuation of Sutherland, which ought to have been kept secret, was imprudently suffered to transpire; and the

Sutherland men resolved to annoy the rear of their
unwelcome visitants as they left the country. With this view, a great many of the armed militia collected from the hills, in which they had taken shelter, and prepared to take such advantage of the retreating insurgents as opportunity should permit. About two hundred men assembled for this purpose, and approached the coast. One John MacKay, a vintner in Golspie, had a division of about twenty to act under his own separate command.

The Earl of Cromarty, for whom the militia were lying in ambush, was far from suspecting the danger he was in. He remained, with his son Lord MacLeod, and several other officers, at the castle of Dunrobin, witnessing, it is said, the tricks of a juggler, while his men, three hundred and fifty in number, were marched, under the command of subaltern officers, and with little precaution, to the ferry where they were to embark. The consequences were fatal. John MacKay with his twenty men, threw himself between the rear of the main body and Lord Cromarty and his officers, who were following in imagined security, and suddenly firing, with considerable execution, upon the Earl and his attendants, forced them back to Dunrobin castle, which they had just left. The same active partisan contrived to gain admittance into the castle without a single follower, and boldly summoned the Earl and his officers to surrender, which at length, under a false apprehension of the amount of force by which they were surrounded, they were induced to do. The Earl of Cromarty, Lord MacLeod, and the other officers of Lord Cromarty's regiment, who had not marched with their men, were thus made prisoners, and
put on board the Hound, a British sloop of war.
The rebellion, therefore, was thus extinguished in
Sutherland on the 16th of April, the very day on
which it was put an end to throughout Scotland,
by the great battle of Culloden.

Having given a short account of these distant
operations, we must return to the motions of the
main armies.

The Duke of Cumberland, with the last division
of his army, left Aberdeen on the 8th of April,
with the intention of moving upon Inverness, being
Charles's headquarters, in the neighbourhood of
which it was understood that the Prince designed
to make a stand. As he advanced northward, the
Duke of Cumberland was joined by Generals
Bland and Mordaunt, who commanded his advanced
divisions, and the whole army assembled at the
town of Cullen, about ten miles from the banks of
the Spey.

An opinion had been entertained, to which we
have already alluded, that the Highlanders intended
to defend the passage of this deep and rapid
river. A trench and some remains of works seemed
to show that such had been their original purpose,
and a considerable division of the Lowland
troops were drawn up under Lord John Drummond,
so, and the Duke of Cumberland forded the Spey with his army in three divisions, his music playing a tune calculated to insult his antagonists. Several lives were lost, owing to the strength of the stream; they were chiefly females, followers of the camp.

On the 13th of April, the Duke of Cumberland's army marched to the moor of Alves, and on the 14th advanced to Nairne, where there was a slight skirmish between their advance and the rearguard of the Highlanders, who were just leaving the town. The last were unexpectedly supported in their retreat, about five miles from Nairne, by the Chevalier himself, who arrived suddenly at the head of his guards and the MacIntosh Regiment, at a place called the Loch of the Clans. On the appearance of this additional force, the vanguard of the Duke's army retreated upon their main body, which was encamped near Nairne.

It is now necessary to examine the state of the contending armies, who were soon to be called upon to decide the fate of the contest by a bloody battle.

The Duke of Cumberland was at the head of an army of disciplined troops, completely organized, and supported by a fleet, which, advancing along the coast, could supply them with provisions, artillery, and every other material requisite for the carrying on of the campaign. They were under the command of a Prince, whose authority was absolute, whose courage was undoubted, whose
high birth was the boast of his troops, and whose military skill and experience were, in the opinion of his followers, completely adequate to the successful termination of the war.

On the other hand, the army of Prince Charles lay widely dispersed, on account of the difficulty of procuring subsistence; so that there was great doubt of the possibility of assembling them in an united body within the short space afforded them for that purpose. The councils also of the adventurous Prince were unhappily divided; and those dissensions which had existed even in their days of prosperity, were increased in the present critical moment, even by the pressure of the emergency. The first difficulty might be in some degree surmounted, but the last was of a fatal character; and I must once more remind you of the causes in which it originated.

The aversion of the Prince to Lord George Murray has been already stated; and although the fact may seem surprising, the unwarranted suspicion with which this individual was regarded by the Chevalier, is pretty well understood to have extended itself about this period to a great part of his other Scottish followers, more especially as the present state of the contest, joined to the private disaffection, or rather discontent, among the clans, tended to weaken the confidence of the commander. Such sparks of disagreement assume more importance in the time of adversity, as lights, little distinguished of themselves, are more visible on the approach of darkness. Since the council at Derby,
the Prince had convoked or advised with no public assembly of his chiefs and followers of rank, as he had formerly been wont to do, if we except the council of war held near Crieff, which was in a manner forced on him by the retreat from Stirling. During all that time he had, in the fullest sense, commanded the army by his own authority. His trust and confidence had been chiefly reposed in Secretary Murray, in Sir Thomas Sheridan, his former tutor, and in the Irish officers, who made their way to his favour by assenting to all he proposed, and by subscribing, without hesitation, to the most unlimited doctrine of the monarch's absolute power. On the other hand, the Scottish nobility and gentry, who had engaged their lives and fortunes in the quarrel, naturally thought themselves entitled to be consulted concerning the manner in which the war was to be conducted, and were indignant at being excluded from offering their advice, where they themselves were not only principally interested, but best acquainted with the localities and manners of the country in which the war was waged. They were also displeased that in his communication with the court of France, announcing his successes at Preston, and at Falkirk, the Prince had intrusted his negotiations with the court of France to Irishmen in the French service. They suspected, unjustly, perhaps, that instead of pleading the cause of the insurgents fairly, and describing and insisting upon the amount and nature of the succours which were requisite, these gentlemen would be satisfied to make such representations as
might give satisfaction to the French ministers, and
insure to the messengers their own advancement
in the French service. Accordingly, all the officers
sent to France by Charles received promotion.
The Scots also suspected that the Irish and French
officers, willing to maintain themselves in exclusive
favour, endeavoured to impress the Prince with
suspicions of the fidelity of the Scottish people, and
invidiously recalled to his memory the conduct of
the nation to Charles I. It is said that Charles
was not entirely convinced of the falsehood of these
suspicions till the faithful services of so many of
that nation, during the various perils of his escape,
would have rendered it base ingratitude to harbour
them longer.

There was another subject of discontent in the
Prince's army, arising, perhaps, from too high
pretensions on the part of one class of his followers,
and too little consideration on that of Charles.
Many of the gentlemen who served as privates in
the Prince's cavalry, conceived that they were
entitled to more personal notice than they received,
and complained that they were regarded more in
the light of ordinary troopers than as men of estate
and birth, who were performing, at their own
expense, the duty of private soldiers, to evince their
loyalty to the cause of the Stewarts.

Notwithstanding these secret jealousies, Charles
remained unaltered in the system which he had
adopted. Neither did the discontent of his followers
proceed further than murmurs, or in any case
break out, as in Mar's insurrection, into mutiny, or
even a desire on the part of the gentlemen engaged
to make, by submission or otherwise, their separate peace with Government. Notwithstanding, however, what has been said, the gallant bravery and general deportment of the Prince secured him popularity with the common soldiers of his army, though those with higher pretensions were less easily satisfied, when mere civility was rendered instead of confidence.

The Chevalier had been unwell of a feverish complaint during several days of his residence at Elgin in the month of March. On his retreat to Inverness, he seemed perfectly recovered, and employed himself by hunting in the forenoon, and in the evening with balls, concerts, and parties of pleasure, in which he appeared in as good spirits, and as confident, as after the battle of Preston.

This exterior show of confidence would have been well had there been good grounds for its foundation; but those alleged by Charles rested upon a firm conviction that the army of the Duke of Cumberland would not seriously venture to oppose in battle their lawful prince; an idea which he found impossible to impress upon such of his followers, as were in the least acquainted with the genius and temper of the English soldiery.

While the Prince was at Inverness, two gentlemen of the name of Haliburton arrived from France, with tidings of a cold description. They informed him that the court of that country had entirely laid aside the thoughts of an invasion upon a large scale, and that his brother, the Duke of York, who had been destined to be placed at the head of it, had
left the coast, being recalled to Paris. This put a final end to the most reasonable hopes of the unfortunate Adventurer, which had always rested upon a grand exertion of France in his favour; although, indeed, he might have been convinced, that since they had made no such effort during the time of his inroad into England, when his affairs bore an aspect unexpectedly favourable, they would not undertake any considerable risk to redeem him from the destruction which seemed now to be impending.

Besides the discords in the Prince's camp, which, like a mutiny among the crew of a sinking vessel, prevented an unanimous exertion to secure the common safety, the separation of his forces, and the pecuniary difficulties which now pressed hard upon him, were material obstacles to any probability of success in an action with the Duke of Cumberland. Charles endeavoured, indeed, to concentrate all his army near Inverness, but without entire success. General Stapleton, who had been engaged in attempting to reduce Fort William, abandoned that enterprise and returned to the Prince's camp, together with Lochiel and the other Highlanders by whom that irregular siege had been supported. But the Master of Fraser, who was employed in levying the full strength of his clan, together with Barrisdale and Cromarty, engaged as we have seen in Sutherland, were absent from the main army. Cluny, and his MacPhersons, had been despatched into Badenoch, with a view to their more easy subsistence in their own country, and were wanting in the hour when their services were...
most absolutely necessary. There were besides
800 or 1000 men of different Highland clans, who
were dispersed in visiting their own several glens,
and would certainly have returned to the army, if
space had been allowed them for so doing.

It is also proper to mention, that, as already
hinted, the cavalry of the Prince had suffered
greatly. That of Lord Pitsligo might be said to
have been entirely destroyed by their hard duty on
the retreat from Stirling, and was in fact converted
into a company of foot-guards. Now, although
these horsemen, consisting of gentlemen and their
servants, might have been unable to stand the shock

of heavy and regular regiments of horse, yet from
their spirit and intelligence, they had been of the
greatest service as light cavalry, and their loss to
Charles Edward's army was a great misfortune.

The force which remained with the Prince was
discontented from want of pay, and in a state of
considerable disorganization. The troops were not
duly supplied with provisions, and, like more
regular soldiers under such circumstances, were
guilty of repeated mutiny and disobedience of
orders. For all these evils Charles Edward saw
no remedy but in a general action, to which he was
more disposed, that hitherto, by a variety of
chances in his favour, as well as by the native
courage of his followers, he had come off victorious,
though against all ordinary expectation, in every
action in which he had been engaged. On such
an alternative then, and with troops mutinous for
want of pay, half starved for want of provisions,
and diminished in numbers from the absence of 3000 or 4000 men, he determined to risk an action with the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of an army considerably outnumbering his own, and possessed of all those advantages of which he himself at the moment was so completely deprived.

The preparations for the engagement were not made with more prudence than that which was shown in the resolution to give instant battle. Charles drew out his forces upon an extensive moor, about five miles distant from Inverness, called Drumossie, but more frequently known by the name of Culloden, to which it is adjacent. The Highlanders lay upon their arms all the night of the 14th; on the next morning they were drawn up in order of battle, in the position which the Chevalier proposed they should maintain during the action. On their right there were some park walls, on their left a descent which slopes down upon Culloden house; their front was directly east. They were drawn up in two lines, of which the Athole brigade held the right of the whole, next to them Lochiel. The clans of Appin, Fraser, and Macintosh, with those of MacLauchlan, MacLean, and Farquharson, composed the centre; and on the left were the three regiments of MacDonalds, styled, from their chiefs, Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glengarry.

As if a fate had hung over the councils of Charles, the disposition of this order of battle involved the decision of a point of honour, esteemed of the utmost importance in this singular army, though in
any other a mere question of idle precedence. The MacDonals, as the most powerful and numerous of the clans, had claimed from the beginning of the expedition the privilege of holding the right of the whole army. Lochiel and Appin had waived any dispute of this claim at the battle of Preston; the MacDonals had also led the right at Falkirk; and now the left was assigned to this proud surname, which they regarded not only as an affront, but as an evil omen. The Prince's second line, or reserve, was divided into three bodies, with an interval between each. On the right were Elcho's, FitzJames's and Lord Strathallan's horse, with Abbachie's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments of infantry. The centre division was formed of the Irish picquets, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and that of the Earl of Kilmarnock. The left wing of the second line consisted of the hussars, with Sir Alexander Bannerman's and Moir of Stonywood's Lowland battalions. The number of the whole first line might be about 4700 men; that of the second line 2300, of which 250 were cavalry; but, as I will presently show you, the numbers which appeared at the review were very considerably diminished before the action.

A great error on the part of the commissaries, or such as acted in that capacity, in the Highland army, was exhibited in the almost total want of provisions; a deficiency the more inexcusable, as it was said there was plenty of meal at Inverness. The soldiers, however, received no victuals, except
a single biscuit per man during the whole day of the 15th, and this dearth of provisions was such, that whether the army had been victorious or vanquished, upon the day of the 16th, they must have dispersed to distant quarters for the mere purpose of obtaining subsistence.

Early on the 15th of April, Lord Elcho was despatched to reconnoitre the camp of the Duke of Cumberland, situated near the little town of Nairne. It was the anniversary of the royal Duke's birth-day, which was apparently dedicated to festivity and indulgence on the part of the soldiers whom he commanded. Lord Elcho remained within view of the enemy until high noon, and then retired to announce that to all appearance the English army did not mean to move that day.

Upon this report the Prince assembled the chief officers of his army, being the first council of war which he had held since that in which the retreat from Derby was resolved upon, excepting the meeting at Fairnton, near Crieff. Charles opened the business by asking the opinion of the council what was best to be done. There was a diversity of opinions. The want of provisions alone rendered a battle inevitable, but the place and mode of giving that battle were matter of discussion. Lord George Murray, as usual, was the first to give his opinion, and enlarged much on the advantage which a Highland army was sure to possess in taking the enemy by surprise, and in darkness rather than in daylight. Regular soldiers, he said, depend entirely on their discipline, an advantage of which
they are deprived by darkness and confusion. Highlander, on the contrary, had, he observed, little discipline but what was of an intuitive nature, independent either of light or regularity. He concluded by giving his opinion, that the first line should march in two divisions at the dusk of the evening; he himself offered to lead that composed of the right wing of the first line, with which he designed to march round the town of Nairne, and attack the Duke of Cumberland's camp in the rear; at the same time he proposed that the Duke of Perth, with the left division of the first line, should attack the camp in front, when he did not doubt that the confusion occasioned by the sudden onset on two points, joined to the effects of the past day's festivity, would throw the regulars into total confusion, and afford the Prince a complete victory. This plan also included a march of the whole second line, or body of reserve, under the command of the Prince himself, to support the front attack. To this proposal several objections were made; one was, that it was a pity to hazard anything until the MacPhersons, a great part of the Frasers, MacDonald of Barrisdale, Glengyle, with his [TG83-328]
MacGregors, the Earl of Cromarty, whose misfortune was not known, and other reinforcements at present absent, should have joined the army. It was also stated, that in all probability the Duke would receive notice of the intended movement, either by his spies or his patrols; that in either case it would be difficult to provide against the necessary consequences of such discovery; and that, if the Highlanders were once thrown into confusion in a night attack, there would be no possibility of rallying...
them. The principal answer to these objections was founded on the exigency of the moment, which required a considerable hazard to be incurred in one shape or other, and that the plan of the night attack was as feasible as any which could be proposed.

Another objection strongly urged, was the impossibility of marching twelve miles, being the distance between Culloden and the enemy's camp, between nightfall and dawn. To this Lord George Murray returned for answer, that he would pledge himself for the success of the project, provided secrecy was observed. Other plans were proposed, but the night march was finally resolved upon.

Between seven and eight o'clock, the Chevalier ordered the heath to be set on fire, that the light might convey the idea of his troops being still in the same position there, and got all his men under arms, as had been agreed upon.

It was explained by the Prince's aide-de-camp, Colonel Ker of Gradon, that during the attack on the camp the Highlanders were not to employ their fire-arms, but only broadswords, dirks, and Lochaber axes, with which they were instructed to beat down the tent poles, and to cut the ropes, taking care at the same moment to strike or stab with force wherever they observed any swelling or bulge in the fallen canvass of the tent. They were also instructed to observe the profoundest silence during the time of the march, and the watchword assigned to them was "King James the VIII."
Thus far all was well; and for resolute men, an attempt so desperate presented, from its very desperation, a considerable chance of success. But an inconvenience occurred on the march, for which, and the confusion which it was sure to occasion, due allowance seems scarcely to have been made in the original project. It had been proposed by Lord George Murray that the army should march in three columns, consisting of the first line in two divisions, and the whole reserve, or second line, under the Prince himself. But from the necessity of the three columns keeping the same road as far as the house of Kilravock, where the first division was to diverge from the others, and cross the river Nairne, in order to get in the rear of the enemy's camp, it followed that the army, instead of forming three distinct columns of march, each on its own ground, composed only one long one, the second line following the first, and the third the second, upon the same track, which greatly diminished the power of moving with rapidity. The night, besides, was very dark, which made the progress of the whole column extremely slow, especially as there was a frequent necessity for turning out of the straight road, in order to avoid all inhabited places, from which news of their motions might have been sent to the Duke of Cumberland.

Slow as the march was, the van considerably outmarched the rear. A gap, or interval, was left in the centre of the whole, and messages were sent repeatedly to Lochiel, who was in front, and to
Lord George Murray, who commanded the head of the line, requesting them to halt until the rear of the columns should come up. Fifty of these messages were brought to the van of the column before they had marched above eight miles, by which time they had reached Kilravock, or Kilraick House, within four miles of the Duke of Cumberland's camp.

Hitherto Lord George Murray had not halted upon his line of march; but had only obeyed the aides-de-camp by marching more slowly, in the hope that the rear might come up. But at this place the Duke of Perth himself, who commanded the second division, came up to Lord George Murray, and putting his horse across the road, insisted that the rear could not advance unless the van was halted. Lord George Murray halted accordingly, and many of the principal officers came to the head of the column to consult what was to be done. They reported that many of the Highlanders had straggled from the ranks, and lain down to sleep in the wood of Kilravock; which must have been owing to faintness, or want of food, since an eight miles' march could not be supposed to have fatigued these hardy mountaineers to such an excess. It was also said, that more gaps were left in the line than one, and that there was no possibility of the rear keeping pace with the head of the column. Watches were next consulted. It had been proposed to make the attack before two o'clock in the morning; but that hour was now come, and the head of the column was still four miles distant from the English camp. The object of the expedition,
therefore, was frustrated. Some of the gentlemen
volunteers were of opinion that they ought to
proceed at all risks; but, as they must have marched
for at least two miles in broad light, all hopes of a
surprise must have been ended. In these doubtful
circumstances Mr O'Sullivan found the officers
at the head of the column, when he came to Lord
George Murray with orders from the Prince, expressing
it to be his desire, if possible, that the attack
should proceed; yet referring to Lord George,
as nearest to the head of the column, to form his
own judgment whether the attempt could be made
with advantage or not. At this moment the distant
roll of the drums from the Duke of Cumberland's
camp announced that his army was upon the
alert, and that the moment was gone by when the
camp might have been taken by surprise. "They
are awake," said Lord George." I never expected
to have found them otherwise," said Mr Hepburn
of Keith, who had joined the van as a volunteer;
" but we may yet find them unprepared." Lord
George applauded Hepburn's courage, but

considered that, from the lateness of the hour, and
the great diminution of the strength of the attacking
column, the plan could not be persevered
in with any hope of success. He therefore ordered
the troops to march back with as much expedition
as possible.

As this retreat, though apparently unavoidable,
was executed by Lord George Murray without the
express orders of the Prince, though in execution
of an optional power reposed in Lord George himself,
it was at the time, and has been since, used as
a handle by those who were inclined to accuse that nobleman of treachery to a cause, which he had served with so much valour and talent.

It may be here remarked that the Duke or Cumberland's army took no alarm either from the march or countermarch of the enemy, and that but for the inauspicious circumstances which delayed the movement, the attacking column had a great chance of success.

The retreat was executed with much more rapidity than the advance, it being unnecessary to take any precautions for concealing their motions; so that the whole army had regained the heights of Culloden moor before five o'clock in the morning. The disadvantages of the night march, and of the preceding day's abstinence, became now visible. The men went off from their colours in great numbers, to seek food at Inverness and the neighbouring villages. They were unpaid, unfed, exhausted with famine and want of sleep, and replied with indifference to the officers who endeavoured to force them to return to their colours, that they might shoot them if they chose but that they would not return till they had procured some food. The principal officers themselves were exhausted from want of rest and sustenance. They went as if instinctively, to the house of Culloden, where they had previously assembled, but were so worn out, that, instead of holding a council of war, each laid himself down to sleep, on beds or tables, or on the floor where such conveniences were not to be had.
The time was now arrived for putting into execution the alternative proposed in the council of war of the preceding day, which was only postponed to the proposed march to Nairne. This was, that the Highland army should retire, and take up a strong position beyond the river Nairne, inaccessible to cavalry. Such a movement would have been no difficult matter, had the confused state of the Chevalier's army, and the total want of provisions, permitted them to take any steps for their preservation. All, however, which looked either like foresight or common sense, seemed to be abandoned on this occasion, under the physical exhaustion of fatigue and famine. The army remained on the upper part of the open moor, having their flank covered on the right by the park-walls which we have mentioned, their only protection from cavalry, and, as it proved, a very slight one.

About two hours after the Prince had again reached Culloden, that is, about seven or eight o'clock, a patrol of horse brought in notice that a party of the Duke of Cumberland's cavalry was within two miles, and the whole of his army not above four miles distant. Upon this alarm, the Prince and the Duke of Perth, Lord George Murray and Lord John Drummond, mounted their horses, and ordered the drums to beat, and the pipes to play their respective gatherings. This sudden summons to arms caused much hurry and confusion amongst men half dead with fatigue, and roused from the sleep of which they had so much need. The chiefs and officers did what was
possible to get them together; but, as they were dispersed in every direction, as far as Inverness itself, nearly two thousand of the Highlanders who were at the review of the preceding day, were absent from the battle of the 16th.

It would have been yet time to retreat by the right of their line, to cross the water of Nairne, and to draw up upon ground inaccessible to the Duke of Cumberland's army, when they might, after sunset, have renewed, if it was thought advisable, the attempt to surprise his camp; for it is believed that the Duke was not, till some time afterwards, made aware of their purpose of the previous night. No motion, however, was made to this effect. The Chevalier talked confidently of a battle and a victory; and those who did not share his hopes were prepared to die, if they did not expect to conquer.

The Duke of Cumberland's army now appeared about two miles off, advancing straight in front of the Prince's line of battle. His Royal Highnesses force consisted of fifteen battalions of foot, viz. Pulteney's, 500; The Royals, 500; Cholmondely's, 500; Price's, 500; Scots Fusileers, 500; Dejan's, 500; Burrel's, 500; Battereau's, 500; Blakeny's, 500; Howard's, 500; Fleming's, 500; Sackville's, 500; Sempill's, 500; Conway's, 500; Wolfe's, 500; and 600 Campbells; which, with Lord Mark Ker's dragoons, 300, Cobham's, 300, and Kingston's horse, 300, made 8100 foot, and 900 horse. The day of the battle they were drawn up in two lines, seven battalions in the first, and eight in the second line,
supported by the two squadrons of horse on the right, and four squadrons of dragoons on the left. The Campbells were on the left with the dragoons. There were two pieces of cannon betwixt every battalion in the first line, three on the right, and three on the left of the second. The army was commanded in chief by the Duke of Cumberland, and under him by lieutenant-generals Earl of Albemarle, Hawley, and Bland, major-general Huske, brigadiers Lord Sempill, Cholmondely, and Mordaunt.

Had the whole Highland army been collected, there would have been very little, if any difference in numbers between the contending parties, each of which amounted to about 9000 men; but we have already shown that the Prince was deprived of about 2000 of his troops, who had never come up, and the stragglers who left his standard between the time of the review and the battle amounted to at least 2000 more; so that, upon the great and decisive battle of Culloden, only 5000 of the insurgent army were opposed to 9000 of the King's troops. The men who were absent, also, were chiefly Highlanders, who formed the peculiar strength of the Chevalier's army.

There was no appearance of discouragement on either side; the troops on both sides huzza'd repeatedly as they came within sight of each other, and it seemed as if the Highlanders had lost all sense of fatigue at sight of the enemy. The MacDonaldis alone had a sullen and discontented look, arising from their having taken offence at the post which had been assigned them.
As the lines approached each other, the artillery opened their fire, by which the Duke of Cumberland's army suffered very little, and that of the Highlanders a great deal; for the English guns, being well served, made lanes through the ranks of the enemy, while the French artillery scarcely killed a man. To remain steady and inactive under this galling fire, would have been a trial to the best disciplined troops, and it is no wonder that the Highlanders showed great impatience under an annoyance peculiarly irksome to their character. Some threw themselves down to escape the artillery, some called out to advance, and a very few broke their ranks and fled. The cannonade lasted for about an hour; at length the clans became so impatient, that Lord George Murray was about to give the order to advance, when the Highlanders from the centre and right wing, rushed without orders furiously down, after their usual manner of attacking sword in hand. Being received with a heavy fire, both of cannonade and grape-shot, they became so much confused, that they got huddled together in their onset, without any interval or distinction of clans or regiments. Notwithstanding this disorder, the fury of their charge broke through Monro's and Burrel's regiments, which formed the left of the Duke of Cumberland's line. But that General had anticipated the possibility of such an event, and had strengthened his second line, so as to form a steady support in case any part of his first should give way. The Highlanders, partially victorious, continued to advance with fury, and although much disordered by their own success, and
partly disarmed by having thrown away their guns on the very first charge, they rushed on Sempill's regiment in the second line with unabated fury.

That steady corps was drawn up three deep, the first rank kneeling, and the third standing upright. They reserved their fire until the fugitives of Burrel's and Monro's broken regiments had escaped round the flanks, and through the intervals of the second line. By this time the Highlanders were

within a yard of the bayonet point, when Sempill's battalion poured in their fire with so much accuracy, that it brought down a great many of the assailants, and forced the rest to turn back. A few pressed on, but, unable to break through Sempill's regiment, were bayoneted by the first rank. The attack of the Highlanders was the less efficient, that on this occasion most of them had laid aside their targets, expecting a march rather than a battle. While the right of the Highland line sustained their national character, though not with their usual success, the MacDonalds on the left seemed uncertain whether they would attack or not. It was in vain the Duke of Perth called out to them, "Claymore!" telling the murmurers of this haughty tribe, "That if they behaved with their usual valour, they would convert the left into the right, and that he would in future call himself MacDonald." It was equally in vain that the gallant Keppoch charged with a few of his near relations, while his clan, a thing before unheard of, remained stationary. The chief was near the front of the enemy, and was exclaiming with feelings which cannot be appreciated, "My God! have the children of my tribe forsaken me!"

At this instant, he received several shots, which
closed his earthly account, leaving him only time to advise his favourite nephew to shift for himself. The three regiments of MacDonalds were by this time aware of the rout of their right wing, and retreated in good order upon the second line. A body of cavalry, from the right of the King's army, was commanded to attack them on their retreat, but was checked by a fire from the French picquets, who advanced to support the MacDonalds. But at the same moment another decisive advantage was gained by the Duke's army over the Highland right wing. A body of horse, making 600 cavalry, with three companies of Argyleshire Highlanders, had been detached to take possession of the park walls, repeatedly mentioned as covering the right of the Highlanders. The three companies of infantry had pulled down the east wall of the enclosure, and put to the sword about a hundred of the insurgents, to whom the defence had been assigned; they then demolished the western wall, which permitted the dragoons, by whom they were accompanied, to ride through the enclosure, and get out upon the open moor, to the westward, and form, so as to threaten the rear and flank of the Prince's second line. Gordon of Abbachie, with his Lowland Aberdeenshire regiment, was ordered to fire upon these cavalry, which he did with some effect. The Campbells then lined the north wall of the enclosure so often mentioned, and commenced a fire upon the right flank of the Highlanders' second line. That line, increased by the MacDonalds, who retired upon it, still showed a great number of men keeping their ground, many
of whom had not fired a shot. Lord Elcho rode up to the Prince, and eagerly exorted him to put himself at the head of those troops who yet remained, make a last exertion to recover the day, and at least die like one worthy of having" contended for a crown. Receiving a doubtful or hesitating answer, Lord Elcho turned from him with a bitter execration, and declared he would never see his face again. On the other hand, more than one of the Princess officers declared, and attested Heaven and their own eyes as witnesses, that the unfortunate Adventurer was forced from the field by Sir Thomas Sheridan, and others of the Irish officers who were about his person.

That Lord Elcho and others, who lost rank and fortune in this disastrous adventure, were desirous that the Chevalier should have fought it out to the very last, can easily be imagined; nor is it difficult to conceive why many of the public were of the same opinion, since a fatal tragedy can hardly conclude so effectively as with the death of the hero. But there are many reasons besides a selfish desire of safety, which may dictate to a defeated chieftain the task of preserving himself for a better day. This is particularly the case with those in the rank of Kings and Princes, who, assured by the unanimous opinion of those around them that their safety is of the last importance to the world, cannot easily resist the flattering and peculiar reasons which may be assigned in support of the natural principle of self-preservation, common to them with all mankind.
Besides, although the Chevalier, if determined on seeking it, might certainly have found death on the field where he lost all hopes of empire, there does not appear a possibility that his most desperate exertions could have altered the fortune of the day. The second line, united with a part of the first, stood, it is true, for some short time after the disaster of the left wing, but they were surrounded with enemies. In their front was the Duke of Cumberland, dressing and renewing the ranks of his first line, which had been engaged, bringing up to their support his second, which was yet entire, and on the point of leading both to a new attack in front. On the flank of the second line of the Chevalier's army were the Campbells, lining the northern wall of the enclosure. In the rear of the whole Highland army, was a body of horse, which could be greatly increased in number by the same access through the park wall which had been opened by the Campbells. The Highlanders of the Prince's army, in fact, were sullen, dejected, and dispirited, dissatisfied with their officers and generals, and not in perfect good humour with themselves. It was no wonder that, after remaining a few minutes in this situation, they should at last leave the field to the enemy, and go off in quest of safety wherever it was to be found. A part of the second line left the field with tolerable regularity, with their pipes playing and banners displayed. General Stapleton also, and the French auxiliaries, when they saw the day lost, retreated in a soldier-like manner to Inverness, where they surrendered to the Duke of Cumberland on honourable
Many of the Highland army fled in the direction of Inverness, but the greater part towards Badenoch and the Highlands. Some of these never stopped till they had reached their own distant homes; and the alarm was so great, that one very gallant gentleman told your Grandfather, that he himself had partaken in the night march, and that, though he had tasted nothing for twenty-four hours, he ran near twenty miles ere he took leisure to sit down and eat a biscuit which had been served out to him at the moment the battle was to begin, and which he had put into his sporran, or purse, to eat when it should be ended.

The Duke of Cumberland proceeded with caution. He did not permit his first line to advance on the repulsed Highlanders till he had restored their ranks to perfect order, nor to pursue till the dispersion of the Highland army seemed complete. When that was certain, Kingston's horse, and the dragoons from each wing of the Duke's army, were detached in pursuit, and did great execution. Kingstone's horse followed the chase along the Inverness road. They did not charge such of the enemy, whether French or Highlanders, as kept in a body, but dogged and watched them closely on their retreat, moving more or less speedily as they moved, and halting once or twice when they halted. On the stragglers they made great havoc, till within a mile of Inverness.

It was in general remarked, that the English horse, whose reputation had been blemished in previous actions with the Highlanders, took a cruel
pleasure in slaughtering the fugitives, giving quarter to none, except a few who were reserved for public execution, and treating those who were disabled, with cruelty unknown in modern war. Even the day after the battle, there were instances of parties of wounded men being dragged from the thickets and huts in which they had found refuge, for the purpose of being drawn up and despatched by platoon-firing; while those who did not die under this fusilade, were knocked on the head by the soldiers with the stocks of their muskets. In a word, the savageness of the regulars on this occasion formed such a contrast to the more gentle conduct of the insurgents, as to remind men of the old Latin proverb, that the most cruel enemy is a coward who has obtained success. It was early found necessary to make some averment which might seem to justify this unheard-of cruelty; and, accordingly, a story was circulated, concerning an order said to have been issued by Lord George Murray, commanding the Highlanders to give no quarter if victorious. But not one of the insurgent party ever saw such an order; nor did any of them hear of it, till after the battle. In this decisive action, the victors did not lose much above 300 men, in killed and wounded. Lord Robert Ker, captain of grenadiers, was slain at the head of his company.

The loss of the vanquished army was upwards of 1000 men. The Highlanders on the right wing, who charged sword in hand, suffered most severely. These were the MacLeans, and MacLauchlans,
the MacIntoshes, the Frasers, the Stewarts, and the Camerons. The chief of MacLauchlan was slain in the action, together with MacLean of Drimnin, MacGillivray of Drumnaglass, several of whose persons were also killed.

Lochiel was wounded, but borne from the field by his two henchmen. In short, the blow was equally severe and decisive, and the more so, that the heaviest of the loss fell on the high chiefs and gentlemen, who were the soul of the Highland army.

It was not to be expected that the defeat of Culloden should pass over, without fatal consequences to those who had been principally concerned in the insurrection. A handful of men had disturbed the tranquillity of a peaceful people, who were demanding no change of their condition, had inflicted a deep wound upon the national strength, and what is seldom forgotten in the moment when revenge becomes possible, had inspired universal terror. It was to be expected, therefore, that those who had been most active in such rebellious and violent proceedings, should be called to answer with their lives for the bloodshed and disorder to which they had given occasion. They themselves well knew at what bloody risk they had played the deadly game of insurrection, and expected no less forfeit than their lives. But as all concerned in the rebellion had, in strictness, forfeited their lives to the law, it became fitting that Justice should so select her victims, as might, if possible, reconcile her claims
with the feelings of humanity, instead of outraging
them by a general and undistinguishing effusion of
blood. Treason upon political accounts, though one
of the highest crimes that can be committed against
a state, does not necessarily infer any thing like the
detestation which attends offences of much less
general guilt and danger. He who engages in conspiracy
or rebellion, is very often, as an individual,
not only free from reproach, but highly estimable,
in ins private character; such men, for example,
as Lord Pitsligo, or Cameron of Lochiel, might be
said to commit the crime for which they were obnoxious
to the law, from the purest, though, at the
same time, the most mistaken motives - motives
which they had sucked in with their mother's milk,
and which urged them to take up arms by all the
ties of duty and allegiance. The sense of such
men's purity of principles and intention, though
not to be admitted in defence, ought, both morally
and politically, to have limited the proceedings
against them within the narrowest bounds consistent
with the ends of public justice, and the purpose
of intimidating others from such desperate courses.

If so much could be said in favour of extending
clemency even to several of the leaders of the
insurrection, how much more might have been added
in behalf of their simple and ignorant followers,
who came out in ignorance of the laws of the
civilized part of the nation, but in compliance with
the unalienable tie by which they and their fathers
had esteemed themselves bound to obey their chief.
It might have been thought, that generosity would
have overlooked such poor prey, and that justice
would not have considered them as proper objects of punishment. Or, if a victorious general of subordinate rank had been desirous to display his own zeal in behalf of the reigning family at the expense of humanity, by an indiscriminate chastisement of the vanquished foe, of whatever degree of intellect and fortune, better things might have been expected from a Son of Britain—a Royal Prince, who, most of all, might have remembered, that the objects whom the fate of war had placed at his disposal, were the misguided subjects of his own royal house, and who might gracefully have pleaded their cause at the foot of a father's throne which his own victory had secured.

Unfortunately for the Duke of Cumberland's fame, he saw his duty in a different light. This Prince bore deservedly the character of a blunt, upright, sensible man, friendly and good-humoured in the ordinary intercourse of life. He was a brave soldier, and acquainted with the duties of war; but, both before and after the battle of Culloden, his campaigns were unfortunate; nor does it appear from his proceedings upon that occasion, that he merited better success. He had learned war in the rough school of Germany, where the severest infliction upon the inhabitants was never withheld, if it was supposed necessary, either to obtain an advantage, or to preserve one already gained.

His Royal Highness understood, as well as any commander in Europe, the necessity, in the general case, of restraining that military license, which, to use the words of a revered veteran, renders an
army formidable to its friends alone. In the march from Perth, an officer was brought to a court-martial, and lost his commission, by the Duke's perfect approbation, because he had suffered a party under his command to plunder the house of Gask, belonging to Mr Oliphant, then in arms, and with the Prince's army. This strict exercise of discipline renders us less prepared to expect the violences which followed the battle of Culloden. But unhappily the license which it was thought fit to check while the contest lasted, was freely indulged in when resistance was no more. The fugitives and wounded were necessarily the first to experience the consequences of this departure from the ordinary rules of war.

We have mentioned the merciless execution which was done upon the fugitives and on the wounded who remained on the field of battle. The first might be necessary to strike terror into an enemy so resolute and so capable of rallying as the Highlanders; the second might be the effect of the brutal rage of common soldiers flushed by victory, to which they had not been of late accustomed, and triumphant over an enemy before whom many of them had fled; but the excesses which followed, must, we fear, be imputed to the callous disposition of the Commander-in-chief himself, under whose eye, and by whose command, a fearful train of ravages and executions took place.

The Duke proceeded, in military phrase, to improve his victory, by it laying waste "what was termed "the country of the enemy;" and his
measures were taken slowly, that they might be attended with more certain success. Proclamations had been sent forth for the insurgent Highlanders to come in and surrender their arms, with which very few complied. Several of the chiefs, indeed, had made an agreement among themselves to meet together and defend their country; but although a considerable sum of money, designed for the Chevalier's use, reached Lochiel, and others his stanch adherents, the list of the slain and disabled chiefs had been so extensive, and the terror and dismay attending the dispersion so great, as to render the adoption of any general measures of defence altogether impossible.

The Duke of Cumberland—so much maybe said in his justification—entered what was certainly still a hostile, but an unresisting country, and, fixing his own headquarters in a camp near Fort Augustus, extended his military ravages, by strong parties of soldiery, into the various glens which had been for ages the abode of the disaffected clans. The soldiers had orders to exercise towards the unfortunate natives the utmost extremities of war.

They shot, therefore, the male inhabitants who fled at their approach; they plundered the houses of the chieftains; they burnt the cabins of the peasants; they were guilty of every kind of outrage towards women, old age, and infancy; and where the soldier fell short of these extremities, it was his own mildness of temper, or that of some officer of gentler mood, which restrained the license of his hand. There can be no pleasure in
narrating more particularly such scenes as this
devastation gave rise to. When the men were slain,
the houses burnt, and the herds and flocks driven
off, the women and children perished from famine
in many instances, or followed the track of the
plunderers, begging for the blood and offal of their
own cattle, slain for the soldier's use, as the
miserable means of supporting a wretched life.

Certainly; such instances lead us to join in the
observation of Monluc, that those engaged in war
have much occasion for the mercy of the Deity,
since they are, in the exercise of their profession,
led to become guilty of so much violence towards
their fellow-creatures. One remarkable narrative
of this melancholy time is worth telling you; and
I willingly consign to silence many others, which
could only tend to recall hostile feelings better left
to slumber.

A gamekeeper of MacDonald of Glengarry, returning
from the forest to his home, found it had
been visited by a party of the English troops, who
had laid waste and burnt his house, and subjected
his wife to the most infamous usage. The unfortunate
husband vowed revenge. The principal
author of the injury, who commanded the party,
was described to him by the circumstance of his
riding upon a grey horse. The detachment had
to pass by the side of Loch Arkaig, through the
wild rocks of Lochaber; lurking in a thicket, the
MacDonald, a marksman by profession, took aim
at the person whom he saw mounted on the grey
horse, and shot him dead. His revenge, however,
was disappointed; the person who had perpetrated
the crime happened to have committed his horse to the charge of a groom, or individual of inferior rank, who suffered the penalty of the officer's outrage. The avenger, having learned his mistake, again waylaid the line of march, and once more seeing an officer ride upon the fatal grey horse, between the advanced guard and the main body of the troops, he again took aim, and his bullet again proved fatal—but he had a second time mistaken his victim. The person whom he shot was not the author of the injury, but a gentleman generally esteemed in the Highlands, Captain George Monro of Culcairn (the same who escaped so remarkably at Glenshiel, by the fidelity of his foster brother). Upon learning this second mistake, the MacDonald broke his gun, and renounced further prosecution of his revenge. " It was not the will of Heaven," he said, " that the man who had injured him should perish by his hands; and he would spill no more innocent blood in the attempt."

During the prosecution of these severities, no man experienced more keen regret than President Forbes, whose active zeal had made such an important stand in favour of Government, and who, by determining the wavering purpose of Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and the Laird of MacLeod, must be considered as having contributed so materially to the suppression of the rebellion. It is said, that in venturing to quote to the Commander-in-chief the law of the country, he was repulsed, with the reply, " That a brigade should give
He was deeply affected by the miseries which civil war had brought upon his country; nor had he any reason to congratulate himself individually, on having obtained personal favour by the part he had acted. It is certain that at his death his estate was embarrassed by debts contracted in behalf of Government, during 1745-6. All we can say on the subject is, that justice was not so profuse in its rewards on this remarkable occasion as in its punishments.

Other persons, who had given sufficient proof of their loyalty in the course of the rebellion, fell, nevertheless, into disgrace with the Commander-in-chief, for expressing the slightest sympathy with the distress of the vanquished, or uttering any censure of the severities inflicted on them. The late Lord Forbes, than whom a man more loyal to the King's government was not to be found, had served in the field of Preston, and done all that an officer could do to prevent the flight of the cavalry; notwithstanding this, he found that his preferment in the military profession was so much impeded as to render his retirement advisable. The only reason which could be assigned was, that this nobleman, the Premier Baron of Scotland, had ventured to interfere with the course of ravage practised upon the offending districts.

A story is told, that after the battle of Culloden, the Grants of Glenmoriston, who had been in the rebellion, came into Inverness to surrender themselves to the chief of their own name. They were
armed cap-a-pe. "Who are these men?" said the Duke of Cumberland. He was informed by the Laird of Grant that they were the Grants of Glenmoriston. "And to whom have they surrendered?"

"To me," answered their chief; "and to no man in Britain, but me, would they have submitted."

"No?" replied the Duke, after a pause; "I will let them know that they are the King’s subjects, and must likewise submit to me." He ordered the Grants of Glenmoriston to be instantly surrounded and disarmed; which might be a very proper check to the spirit of clanship. But when we learn that they were shipped off for the colonies we cannot wonder that the example of submission afforded small encouragement to such surrenders as this.

On most occasions these proceedings by martial law would have attracted animadversion in England, whoever were the sufferers. But the truth is, that the English nourished a very false idea respecting the political opinions of the Scots, and were much disposed to conceive that the whole inhabitants of that kingdom were at heart their enemies; or at least to entertain violent suspicions against such as expressed the least sympathy with the sufferings of a Jacobite, or supposed that his punishment might, by possibility, be more severe than the crime deserved. There was something of consolation in such an opinion, in so far as it seemed a justification for the extent of the alarm of which, by this time, the English people had become ashamed, since it sounded more respectable to have feared the whole force of Scotland, than...
(84-358)that of a few Highland clans, much inferior in
number to those of their own nation who embraced
the side of the Government. Nor would it be just
to blame the English alone for these severities. It
must be confessed, that Scottish officers were found
willing to escape from the suspicion of Jacobitism,
so fatal to preferment, at the expense of becoming
the agents of the cruelties practised on their
unfortunate countrymen. At length, and slowly, the
military operations began to be relaxed. After
residing at Fort Augustus from the 24th of May
till the 18th of July, the Duke of Cumberland
returned towards Edinburgh.

(84-358)That town had, in the mean time, witnessed a
procession of fourteen of the rebel standards, borne
by as many chimney-sweepers, to be publicly burnt
by the hands of the common hangman. A Jacobite
might have observed, like a captive who received
a blow after he was bound, that there was
little gallantry in this insult. The Duke was
received with all the honours due to conquest, and
all the incorporated bodies of the capital, from the
guild brethren to the butchers,1 desired his acceptance
of the freedom of their craft or corporation.
From Edinburgh his Royal Highness proceeded
to London, to reap the full harvest of honours and
rewards, which would not have been less richly
deserved, if he had mingled more clemency with a
certain degree of severity.

After this period the military executions, slaughters,
and ravages, were in a great measure put an
end to. The license of the soldiery was curbed;
The first in rank, in misfortune, and in the temerity which led to the civil war, was, unquestionably, Charles Edward himself. A reward of L.30,000 was offered for the discovery and seizure of this last scion of a royal line. It was imagined, that in a country so poor as the Highlands, lawless in a sense, so far as the law of property was concerned, and where the people were supposed to be almost proverbially rapacious, a much smaller reward would have insured the capture of the Pretender to the throne. His escape, however, so long delayed, and effected through so many difficulties, has been often commemorated as a brilliant instance of fidelity. I shall only here touch upon its general outlines, leaving you to acquire farther details from other authors.

During the battle of Culloden, Charles had his share of the dangers of the field. The cannon, specially directed against his standard, made some havoc among his guards, and killed one of his servants who held a led horse near to his person. The Prince himself was covered with the earth thrown up by the balls. He repeatedly endeavoured to
rally his troops, and in the opinion of most who
saw him, did the duties of a brave and good
commander. When he retreated from the field, he was
attended by a large body of horse, from whom,
being perhaps under some doubt of their fidelity,
disengaged himself, by dismissing them on
various errands, but particularly with instructions
to warn the fugitives that they were to rendezvous
at Ruthven, in Badenoch; for such had been
the reckless resolution to fight, and such perhaps
the confidence in victory, that no place of
rendezvous had been announced to the army in case
of defeat. Having dismissed the greater part of
his horsemen, Charles retained around his person
only a few of the Irish officers, who had been his
constant followers, and whose faith he considered
as less doubtful than that of the Scots, perhaps
because they were themselves more loud in asserting
it. He directed his flight to Gortuleg, where he
understood Lord Lovat was residing. Perhaps he
expected to find counsel in the renowned sagacity
of this celebrated nobleman; perhaps he expected

assistance from his power; for the Master of Lovat,
and Cluny Macpherson, Lovat's son-in-law, were
neither of them in the action of Culloden, but both
in the act of bringing up strong reinforcements to
the Prince's army, and on the march thither when
the battle was lost.

Charles and Lovat met, for the first and last
time, in mutual terror and embarrassments The
Prince exclaimed upon the distresses of Scotland;
Lord Lovat had a more immediate sense of his own
downfall. Having speedily found that neither
counsel nor aid was to be obtained at Lovat's hands, the Prince only partook of some slight refreshment, and rode on. He thought Gortuleg dangerous, as too near the victorious army; perhaps also he suspected the faith of its principal inmate. Invergarry, the castle of the Laird of Glengarry, was the next halt, where the chance success of a fisherman who had caught a brace of salmon, afforded him a repast. The mansion-house suffered severely for the temporary reception of the Prince, being wasted and destroyed by the English soldiery with unusual rigour. From Invergarry the fugitive Prince penetrated into the West Highlands, and took up his abode in a village called Glenbeisdale, very near the place where he had first landed. By this time he had totally renounced the further prosecution of his enterprise, his sanguine hopes being totally extinguished in the despair which attended his defeat. Charles despatched a message to those chiefs and soldiers who should rendezvous at Ruthven in obedience to his order, to acquaint them that, entertaining deep gratitude for their faithful attention and gallant conduct on all occasions, he was now under the necessity of recommending to them to look after their own safety, as he was compelled by circumstances to retire to France, from whence he hoped soon to return with succours.

Although not above one thousand men had attended at the appointed rendezvous, a great many of these thought that there was still hopes of continuing the enterprise, and were disposed to remonstrate with the Prince on his resolution of
abandoning it. Lord George Murray was of this opinion, and declared that, as for provisions, if he was intrusted with any direction, they should not want as long as there were cattle in the Highlands, or meal in the Lowlands. John Hay was despatched to wait upon the Prince, and entreat him even yet to resume his post at the head of his army.

It must be owned that these were the thoughts of desperate men; the enterprise had been despaired of by all sensible persons ever since the retreat from Stirling, if not since that from Derby. It was not to be supposed that an army with little hope of supplies or reinforcement, and composed of clans each independent of the others, and deprived of a great many of the best and boldest chiefs, while others, like Lochiel, were disabled by wounds, should adhere to an alliance in which there was no common object; and it is much more likely, that, divided as they were by jealousies, they would have broken up as on former occasions, by each clan endeavouring to make its separate peace.

When John Hay, therefore, came to Charles at Glenbeisdale, to convey Lord George Murray's expostulation and request, he received from the Prince a letter in answer, declaring in stronger and plainer words, his determined intention to depart for France, from which he hoped soon to return with a powerful reinforcement. Each behaved according to his character. The stubborn resolution of Lord George Murray demonstrated the haughty obstinacy of his rough and indomitable character, which had long looked on the worst as
an event likely to arrive, and was now ready to
brave it; while the Prince, whose sanguine hopes
could not be taught to anticipate a defeat, now
regarded it with justice as an irretrievable evil.

From this time Charles must be regarded as
providing for his own escape, and totally detached
from the army which he lately commanded. With
this view he embarked for the Long Island, on the
coast of which he hoped to find a French vessel.
Contrary winds, storms, disappointments of several
sorts, attended with hardships to which he could be
little accustomed, drove him from place to place in
that island and its vicinity, till he gained South
Uist, where he was received by Clanranald, who,
one of the first who joined the unfortunate Prince,
was faithful to him in his distresses. Here, for
security's sake, Charles was lodged in a forester's
hut of the most miserable kind, called Corradale
about the centre of the wild mountain so named.

But every lurking place was now closely sought
after, and the islands in particular were strictly
searched, for the purpose of securing the fugitive
Prince, suspected of being concealed in their
recesses. General Campbell sailed as far as the island
of St Kilda, which might well pass for the extremity
of the habitable world. The simple inhabitants
had but a very general idea of the war which had
disturbed all Britain, except that it had arisen from
some difference between their master, the Laird of
MacLeod, and a female on the continent - probably
some vague idea about the Queen of Hungary's
concern in the war.

General Campbell, returning from Kilda, landed upon South Uist, with the purpose of searching the Long Island from south to north, and he found the MacDonals of Skye, and MacLeod of MacLeod, as also a strong detachment of regular troops, engaged in the same service. While these forces, in number two thousand men, searched with eagerness the interior of the island, its shores were surrounded with small vessels of war, cutters, armed boats, and the like. It seemed as if the Prince's escape from a search so vigorously prosecuted was altogether impossible; but the high spirit of a noble-minded female rescued him, when probably every other means must have failed.

This person was the celebrated Flora MacDonald; she was related to the Clanranald family, and was on a visit to that chief's house at Ormaclade, in South Uist, during the emergency we speak of. Her stepfather was one of Sir Alexander MacDonald's clan, an enemy to the Prince of course, and in the immediate command of the militia of the name of MacDonald, who were then in South Uist.

Notwithstanding her stepfather's hostility, Flora MacDonald readily engaged in a plan for rescuing the unfortunate Wanderer. With this purpose she procured from her stepfather a passport for herself, a man servant, and a female servant, who was termed Betty Burke - the part of Betty Burke being to be acted by the Chevalier in woman's attire.
In this disguise, after being repeatedly in danger of being taken, Charles at length reached Kilbride, in the Isle of Skye; but they were still in the country of Sir Alexander MacDonald, and, devoted as that chief was to the service of the Government, the Prince was as much in danger as ever. Here the spirit and presence of mind of Miss Flora MacDonald were again displayed in the behalf of the object, so strangely thrown under the protection of one of her sex and age. She resolved to confide the secret to Lady Margaret MacDonald, the wife of Sir Alexander, and trust to female compassion, and the secret reserve of Jacobitism which lurked in the heart of most Highland women.

The resolution to confide in Lady Margaret was particularly hardy, for Sir Alexander MacDonald, the husband of the lady to be trusted with the important secret, was, as you will recollect, originally believed to be engaged to join the Prince on his arrival, but had declined doing so, under the plea, that the stipulated support from France was not forthcoming; he was afterwards induced to levy his clan on the side of Government. His men had been at first added to Lord Loudon's army, in Inverness-shire, and now formed part of those troops from which the Chevalier had with difficulty just made his escape.

Flora MacDonald found herself under the necessity of communicating the fatal secret of her disguised attendant to the lady of a person thus situated. Lady Margaret MacDonald was much
alarmed. Her husband was absent, and as the best mode for the unfortunate Prince's preservation, her house being filled with officers of the militia, she committed him to the charge of MacDonald of Kingsburgh, a man of courage and intelligence, who acted as factor or steward for her husband. Flora MacDonald accordingly conducted Charles to MacDonald of Kingsburgh's house; and he was fortunate enough to escape detection on the road, though the ungainly and awkward appearance of a man dressed in female apparel attracted suspicion on more than one occasion.

From Kingsburgh the Wanderer retired to Rasa, where he suffered great distress, that island having been plundered on account of the laird's accession to the rebellion. During this period of his wanderings he personated the servant of his guide, and the country of the Laird of MacKinnon became his temporary refuge; but notwithstanding the efforts of the chief in his favour, that portion of Skye could afford him neither a place of repose or safety, so that he was compelled once more to take refuge on the mainland, and was by his own desire put ashore on Loch Nevis.

Here also he encountered imminent danger, and narrowly escaped being taken. There were a number of troops engaged in traversing this district, which being the country of Lochiel, Keppoch, Glengarry, and other Jacobite chiefs, was the very cradle of the rebellion. Thus the Wanderer and his guides soon found themselves included within a line of sentinels, who, crossing each other upon their posts, cut them off from proceeding into the
interior of the province. After remaining two
days cooped up within this hostile circle, without
daring to light a fire, or to dress any provisions,
they at length escaped the impending danger by
creeping down a narrow and dark defile, which
divided the posts of two sentinels.

Proceeding in this precarious manner, his clothes
reduced to tatters, often without food, fire, or
shelter, the unfortunate Prince, upheld only by the
hope of hearing of a French vessel on the coast, at
length reached the mountains of Strathglass, and
with Glenaladale, who was then in attendance
upon him, was compelled to seek refuge in a cavern
where seven robbers had taken up their abode -
(by robbers you are not in the present case to
understand thieves, but rather outlaws, who dared
to show themselves, on account of their accession
to the rebellion) - and lived upon such sheep and
cattle as fell into their hands. These men readily
afforded refuge to the Wanderer, and recognising
the Prince, for whom they had repeatedly ventured
their lives, in the miserable suppliant before
them, they vowed unalterable devotion to his cause:
Among the flower of obedient and attached subjects,
ever did a Prince receive more ready,
faithful, and effectual assistance, than he did from
those who were foes to the world and its laws.
Desirous of rendering him all the assistance in their
power, the hardy freebooters undertook to procure
him a change of dress, clean linen, refreshments,
and intelligence. They proceeded in a manner
which exhibited a mingled character of ferocity and simplicity. Two of the gang way-laid and killed the servant of an officer, who was going to Fort Augustus with his masters baggage. The portmanteau which he carried fell into the robbery hands, and supplied the articles of dress which they wanted for the Chevalier's use. One of them, suitably disguised, ventured into Fort Augustus, and obtained valuable information concerning the movements of the troops; and desirous to fulfil his purpose in every particular, he brought back, in the singleness of his heart, as a choice regale to the unhappy Prince, a pennyworth of gingerbread!

With these men Charles Edward remained for about three weeks, and it was with the utmost difficulty they would permit him to leave them. "Stay with us," said the generous robbers; "the mountains of gold which the Government have set upon your head may induce some gentleman to betray you, for he can go to a distant country and live on the price of his dishonour; but to us there exists no such temptation. We can speak no language but our own--we can live nowhere but in this country, where, were we to injure a hair of your head, the very mountains would fall down to crush us to death."

A singular instance of enthusiastic devotion happened about this time (August 2d), which served to aid the Prince's escape. A son of a goldsmith in Edinburgh, one Roderick MacKenzie, late an officer in the Prince's army, happened to be lurking in the braes of Glenmoriston. He
was about the same size as the Prince, and was reckoned like him both in person and features. A party of soldiers set upon the young man in his hiding-place; he defended himself gallantly; and, anxious to render his death useful to the cause which he must no longer serve in life, he said in his mortal agony, "Ah, villains! you have slain your Prince!" His generous design succeeded. MacKenzie's head was cut off, passed for that of Charles Edward, and was sent as such up to London. It was some time ere the mistake was discovered, during which the rumour prevailed that Charles was slain; in consequence of which the search after him was very much relaxed. Owing to this favourable circumstance, Charles became anxious to see his adherents, Lochiel and Cluny MacPherson, who were understood to be lurking in Badenoch with some other fugitives; and in order to join these companions of his councils and dangers, he took leave of the faithful outlaws, retaining, however, two of them, to be his guard and guides. After many difficulties he effected a junction with his faithful adherents, Cluny and Lochiel, though not without great risk and danger on both sides. They took up for a time their residence in a hut called the cage, curiously constructed in a deep thicket on the side of a mountain called Benalder, under which name is included a great forest or chase, the property of Cluny. Here they lived in tolerable security, and enjoyed a rude plenty, which the Prince had not hitherto known during his
About the 18th of September, Charles received intelligence that two French frigates had arrived at Lochmanuagh, to carry him and other fugitives of his party to France. Lochiel embarked along with him on the 20th, as did near one hundred others of the relics of his party, whom the tidings had brought to the spot where the vessel lay. Cluny MacPherson remained behind, and continued to skulk in his own country for several years, being the agent by means of whom Charles Edward long endeavoured to keep up a correspondence with his faithful Highlanders. A letter is in my possession, by which the Prince expressed his senses of the many services which he had received from this gentleman and his clan. I give it as a curiosity in the note below.

The Prince landed near Morlaix, in Brittany, on the 29th of September. His short but brilliant expedition had attracted the attention and admiration of Europe, from his debarkation in Boradale, about the 26th of August, 1745, until the day of his landing in France, a period of thirteen months and a few days, five months of which had been engaged in the most precarious, perilous, and fatiguing series of flight, concealment, and escape, that has ever been narrated in history or romance. During his wanderings, the secret of the Adventurer's concealment was intrusted to hundreds of every sex, age, and condition; but no individual was found, in a high or low situation, or robbers even who procured their food at the risk of their lives,
who thought for an instant of obtaining opulence at the expense of treachery to the proscribed and miserable fugitive. Such disinterested conduct will reflect honour on the Highlands of Scotland while their mountains shall continue to exist.

WE must now detail the consequences of the civil war to the Prince's most important adherents. Several had been taken prisoners on the field of battle, and many more had been seized in the various excursions made through the country of the rebels by the parties of soldiery. The gaols both in England and Scotland had been filled with these unfortunate persons, upon whom a severe doom was now to be inflicted. That such was legally incurred, cannot be denied; and, on the other hand, it will hardly be now contradicted, that it was administered with an indiscriminate severity, which counteracted the effects intended, by inspiring horror instead of awe.

The distinguished persons of the party were with good reason considered as most accountable for its proceedings. It was they who must have obtained power and wealth had the attempt succeeded, and they were justly held most responsible when they failed in their attempt at accomplishing a revolution.

Lord George Murray, who acted so prominent a part in the insurrection, effected his escape to the
continent, and died at Medenblinck in Holland, in 1760.

The Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, and Lords Balmerino and Lovat, in Scotland, with Mr Charles Ratcliffe, in England (brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, attainted and executed in 1715), were the persons most distinguished by birth and title whom the Government had within their power. The Marquis of Tullibardine had also been made prisoner, but death, by a disease under which he had long languished, relieved his captivity in the Tower, and removed him from all earthly trial or punishment. There could have been no difficulty in obtaining evidence against Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmerino, all of whom had acted openly in the rebellion at the head of an armed force; but in Lovat's case, who had not been personally in arms, it was absolutely necessary that evidence should be brought of his accession to the secret councils of the conspiracy, which it was also desirable should be made known to the British public.

The Government were therefore desirous to get at the grounds, if possible, on which the conspiracy had been originally formed, and to obtain knowledge of such Jacobites of power and consequence in England, as had been participant of the councils which had occasioned such an explosion in North Britain.

A disclosure so complete could only be attained by means of an accomplice deep in the secret
intrigues of the insurgents. It was, therefore, necessary to discover among the late counsellors of the Chevalier, some individual who loved life better than honour and fidelity to a ruined cause and such a person was unhappily found in John Murray of Broughton, secretary to Charles Edward. This unfortunate gentleman, as we have already seen, was intimately acquainted with the circumstances in which the rebellion had originated, had been most active in advancing the Chevalier's interest, both in civil and military affairs; and though he considerably embroiled his master's affairs, by fanning the discord between the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, and stimulating the Chevalier's dislike to the latter nobleman; yet it would be overloading the memory of the unfortunate, to suppose that his conduct arose from any other motive than a desire to advance the objects of his own ambition, without a thought of betraying his master's interest. After the battle of Culloden, Murray fled to the Highlands, but, unable to endure the hardships which he incurred in these regions, he returned to his native country, and took refuge with a relation, whose seat is in the mountains at the head of Tweeddale. He was here discovered and made prisoner. Being assailed by threats and promises, this unhappy gentleman was induced, by promise of a free pardon, to confess to Ministers the full detail of the original conspiracy in 1740, and the various modifications which it underwent subsequent to that period, until the landing of Prince Charles in the Hebrides. It has never been doubted that
his details must have involved the names of many persons, both in England and Scotland, who did not take up arms in the insurrection of 1745, although, as the law of England requires two witnesses to every act of high treason, none such could have been brought to trial upon Murray's single evidence. He himself urged, in extenuation of his conduct, that although he preserved his own life, by bringing forward his evidence against such men as Government could have convicted without his assistance, yet he carefully concealed many facts, which, if disclosed, would either have borne more hard upon such complotters before the Government, thus made fully acquainted, by Mr Murray's means, with the original plan and extent of the conspiracy, proceeded to bring to trial those leading culprits by whom it had been carried on in arms.

The two Earls, of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, with Lord Balmerino, were brought to the bar of the House of Lords, towards the end of July, 1746, upon a charge of high treason, to which the
two Earls pleaded guilty, and adhered to that plea. Lord Balmerino, when asked to plead, declared, that he had been indicted as the Lord Balmerino of the city of Carlisle," a title which did not belong to him, and that he even had not been at Carlisle on the day when he was charged by the indictment. He was answered, that the words, " late of Carlisle," were not made part of his title, but only an addition of place, which law required by way of description, of a person indicted like his lordship.

Lord Balmerino then pleaded not guilty. Several witnesses appeared, who proved that the accused party had been seen clothed in the uniform of the rebel guards, heading and commanding them, and acting in every respect as a chief of the rebellion. Lord Balmerino only alleged, that he had not been at the taking of Carlisle on the day mentioned in the indictment. This, he said, was an idea of his own adoption, and as he was now satisfied that it was not founded on law, he was sorry that he had given their lordships the trouble of hearing it.

The three peers were then pronounced guilty, by the voice of the House of Lords.

On the noblemen being brought up for sentence, on the 30th July, Lord Kilmarnock again confessed his offence, and pleaded guilty, urging that his father had bred him up in the strictest revolution principles, and pleading that he himself had imprinted the same so effectually on the mind of his own eldest son, that Lord Boyd bore, at the very time, a commission in the royal service, and had been in arms for King George at the battle of Culloden, when he himself fought on the other
He pleaded likewise, that he had, in the course of the insurrection, protected the persons and property of loyal subjects; and that he had surrendered after the battle of Culloden of his own accord, although he might have made his escape. Although this confession of offences was made at a time when its sincerity might be doubted, the grace and dignity of Lord Kilmarnock's appearance, together with the resignation and mildness of his address, melted all the spectators to tears; and so fantastic are human feelings, that a lady of fashion present, who had never seen his lordship before, contracted an extravagant passion for his person, which, in a less serious affair, would have been little less than a ludicrous frenzy.

Lord Cromarty also implored his Majesty's clemency, and declined to justify his crime. He threw his life and fortune on the compassion of the high court, and pleaded for mercy in the name of his innocent wife, his eldest son, who was a mere boy, and eight helpless children, who must feel their parent's punishment before they knew his guilt.

Lord Balmerino being called upon to speak, why judgment of death should not pass upon him, at first objected to the act of Parliament under which he was tried; but withdrew his plea in arrest of judgment upon further consideration. Sentence of death was pronounced according to the terrible behest of the law, in cases of high treason.

The conduct of Balmerino was a striking and
admirable contrast to that of the other two noblemen
He never either disowned or concealed his
political principles. He stated, that he had, indeed,

held an independent company of foot from Queen
Anne, which he accounted an act of treason against
his lawful Prince; but that he had atoned for this
by joining in the insurrection in 1715; and
willingly, and with Ins full heart, drew his sword in
1745, though his age might have excused him from
taking arms. He, therefore, neither asked, nor
seems to have wished, for either acquittal or pardon,
and the bold and gallant manner in which he
prepared for death, attracted the admiration of all
who witnessed it.

It was understood that one of the two Earls who
had submitted themselves to the clemency of the
sovereign, was about to be spared. The friends of
both solicited anxiously which should obtain
preference on the occasion. The circumstance of his
large family, and the situation of his lady, it is
believed, influenced the decision which was made in
Lord Cromarty's favour. When the Countess of
Cromarty was delivered of the child which she had
borne in her womb, while the horrible doubt of her
husband's fate was impending, it was found to be
marked on the neck with an impression resembling"a broad axe; a striking instance of one of those
mysteries of nature which are beyond the knowledge
of philosophy.

While King George the Second was perplexed
and overwhelmed with personal applications for mercy, in behalf of Lords Cromarty and Kilmarnock, he is said to have exclaimed, with natural feeling, "Heaven help me, will no one say a word in behalf of Lord Balmerino? he, though a rebel, is at least an honest one!" The spirit of the time was, however, adverse to this generous sentiment; nor would it have been consistent to have spared a criminal, who boldly avowed and vindicated his political offences, while exercising the severity of the law towards others, who expressed penitence for their guilt. The Earl of Cromarty being, as we have said, reprieved, the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino remained under sentence, with an intimation that they must prepare for death. The King, however, commuted the mode of execution into decapitation.

The behaviour of both noblemen, during the short interval they had now to live, was of a piece with their conduct on the trial. Lord Kilmarnock was composed, though penitent, and prepared himself with decency for the terrible exit. Balmerino, on the contrary, with a bold military frankness, seemed disposed to meet death on the scaffold with the same defiance as in a field of battle. His lady was with him at the moment the death-warrant arrived. They were at dinner: Lady Balmerino fainted at the awful tidings. "Do you not see," said her husband to the officer who had intimated the news, "you have spoiled my lady's dinner with your foolish warrant?"

On the 18th of August, 1746, the prisoners were
delivered over by the Governor of the Tower to the custody of the Sheriffs; on which occasion, the officers closed the words of form by the emphatic prayer, "God save King George!" Kilmarnock answered with a deep "Amen." Lord Balmerino replied, in a loud and firm tone, "God save King James!"

Having been transported in a carriage to an apartment on Tower-hill provided for the purpose, the companions in suffering were allowed a momentary interview, in which Balmerino seemed chiefly anxious to vindicate the Prince from the report, that there had been orders issued at the battle of Culloden to give no quarter. Kilmarnock confessed he had heard of such an order, signed George Murray, but it was only after he was made prisoner. They parted with mutual affection. "I would," said Lord Balmerino, "that I could pay this debt for us both." Lord Kilmarnock acknowledged his kindness. The Earl had the sad precedence in the execution. When he reached the spot, and beheld the fatal scaffold covered with black cloth; the executioner with his axe and his assistants; the sawdust which was soon to be drenched with his blood; the coffin prepared to receive the limbs which were yet warm with life; above all, the immense display of human countenances which surrounded the scaffold like a sea, all eyes being bent on the sad object of the preparation, his natural feelings broke forth in a whisper to the friend on whose arm he leaned,
Home, this is terrible! No sign of indecent
timidity, however, affected his behaviour; he
prayed for the reigning King and family; knelt
calmly to the block, and submitted to the fatal blow.

Lord Balmerino was next summoned to enter
on the fatal scene. "I suppose," he said, "my
Lord Kilmarnock is now no more; I will not
detain you longer, for I desire not to protract my
life." His Lordship then, taking a glass of wine,
desired the bystanders to drink "ain degrae ta haiven,"
that is, an ascent to Heaven. He took the
axe out of the hand of the executioner, and run his
finger along the edge, while a momentary thrill
went through the spectators, at seeing so daring a
man in the possession of such a weapon. Balmerino
did not, however, meditate such desperate
folly as would have been implied in an attempt
at resistance; he returned the axe to the executioner,
and bid him strike boldly, " for in that,"
he said, " my friend, will consist thy mercy."

"There may be some," he said, " who think my
behaviour bold. Remember what I tell you,"
addressing a bystander, " it arises from a confidence
in God and a clear conscience."

With the same intrepid countenance, Balmerino
knelt to the block, prayed for King James and his
family, entreated forgiveness of his own sins,
petitioned for the welfare of his friends, and pardon
to his enemies. These brief prayers finished, he
gave the signal to the executioner; but the man
was so surprised at the undaunted intrepidity of his
victim, that he struck the first blow irresolutely,
and it required two to despatch the bloody work.

The conclusion of Lord Lovat's eventful and mysterious career was the next important act of this eventful tragedy. That old conspirator, after making his escape from his vassal's house of Gortuleg, had fled to the Highlands, where he was afterwards taken in one of the Western Islands, by a detachment from the garrison of Fort William, who had disembarked from on board a bomb vessel, called the Furnace.1 The old man was brought to the Tower of London. On this occasion, using the words of the Latin poet,2 he expressed himself prepared either to resort to his old stratagems, or to meet death like a man, if he should find it inevitable. Lovat's trial, which came on before the House of Lords on the 9th, and was finished on the 19th day of March, was very long and extremely curious. On the former occasions it had not been necessary to produce the evidence of Secretary Murray; but on the present, as Lovat had not been personally engaged in the insurrection, it was indispensable to prove his accession to the previous conspiracy. This was accomplished in the fullest manner; indeed he said of himself, probably with great truth, that he had been engaged in every insurrection in favour of the family of James the Seventh, since he was fifteen years old; and he might have added, he had betrayed some of them to the opposite party. His guilt, thinly covered by a long train of fraud, evasion, and deceit, was clearly manifested, though he
displayed very considerable skill and legal knowledge in his defence. Being found guilty by the House of Lords, the sentence of high treason was pronounced upon the old man in the usual horrible terms. He heard it with indifference, and replied, "I bid your Lordships an everlasting farewell! Sure I am, we shall never all meet again in the same place."

During the interval between the sentence and its execution, this singular personage employed himself at first in solicitations for life, expressed pretty much in the style of a fawning letter, which, when he was first taken prisoner, he had written to the Duke of Cumberland, pleading his high favour with George the First, and how he had carried his royal highness about when a child, in the parks of Kensington and Hampton-Court. Finding these meanesses were in vain, he resolved to imitate in his death the animal he most resembled in his life, and die like the Fox, without indulging his enemies by the utterance of a sigh or groan. It is remarkable, my dear boy, how the audacity of this daring man rendered him an object of wonder and awe at his death, although the whole course of his life had been spent in a manner calculated to excite very different feelings. Lovat had also, indeed, the advantage of the compassion due to extreme old age, still nourishing a dauntless spirit, even when a life beyond the usual date of humanity was about to be cut short by a public execution. Many circumstances are told of him in prison, from which we may infer, that the careless spirit of levity was indulged by him to the last moment. On the evening before his execution, his
warder expressed himself sorry that the morrow should be such a bad day with his Lordship. "Bad!"
replied his lordship; "for what? do you think I am afraid of an axe? It is a debt we must all pay, and better in this way than by a lingering disease."

When ascending the scaffold (in which he requested the assistance of two warders), he looked round on the multitude, and seeing so many people, said with a sneer, "God save us, why should there be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head from a man who cannot get up three steps without' two assistants?" On the scaffold he repeated the line of Horace-

"Dulce et decorum eat pro patria mori."

It was more in his true character, that when a scaffold fell, and he was informed that many persons had been killed and maimed, he replied in the words of the Scottish adage - "The more mischief the better sport!" He submitted to the fatal blow with unabated courage, and left a strong example of the truth of the observation, that it is easier to die well than to live well. The British government did not escape blame, for having selected as an example of punishment, an old man on the very verge of life. Yet, of all the victims to justice, no one either deserved or received less compassion than Lovat,

While the blood of the nobility concerned in the insurrection of 1745 was flowing thus plentifully, the criminals of minor importance had no
cause to think that justice was aristocratic in her selection of victims. The persons who earliest fell into the hands of the Government, were the officers of the Manchester regiment, left, as we have seen, in Carlisle after the retreat from Derby. Of these the colonel and eight other persons who had held commissions, were tried and condemned in London. Eight others were found guilty at the same time, but were reprieved. Those who were destined for execution, underwent the doom of law in its most horrible shape, upon Kennington Common; where they avowed their political principles, and died firmly.

A melancholy and romantic incident took place amid the terrors of the executions. A young lady, of good family and handsome fortune, who had been contracted in marriage to James Dawson, one of the sufferers, had taken the desperate resolution of attending on the horrid ceremonial. She beheld her lover, after having been suspended for a few minutes, but not till death (for such was the barbarous sentence), cut down, embowelled, and mangled by the knife of the executioner. All this she supported with apparent fortitude; but when she saw the last scene finished, by throwing Dawson's heart into the fire, she drew her head within the carriage, repeated his name, and expired on the spot. This melancholy circumstance was made by Mr Shenstone the theme of a tragic ballad.

The mob of London had hooted these unfortunate gentlemen as they passed to and from their trial, but they witnessed their last sufferings with
(85-393)decent. Three Scottish officers of the party taken
at Carlisle, were next condemned and executed in
the same manner as the former; others were tried
in the like manner, and five were ordered for
execution; among these, Sir John Wedderburn,
Baronet, was the most distinguished.

(85-393)At Carlisle no less than 385 prisoners had been
assembled, with the purpose of trying a select
number of them at that place, where their guilt had
been chiefly manifested. From this mass, 119
were selected for indictment and trial at the
principal towns in the north. At York, the Grand
Jury found bills against 75 insurgents. Upon this
occasion, the chaplain of the High Sheriff of York-
shire preached before the judges on the very
significant text (Numbers, xxv. 5), "And Moses said
unto the judges of Israel, slay ye every one his
man that were joined unto Baalpeor."

At York and Carlisle seventy persons upon the
whole received sentence of death; some were
acquitted on the plea of having been forced into
the rebellion by their chiefs. This recognises a
principle which might have been carried much

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farther; when it is considered how much by
education and principle these wretched kerne were at
the disposal of their leaders, a similar apology
ought, in justice, to have been admitted as an
excuse to a much larger extent. The law, which
makes allowance for the influence of a husband over
a wife, or a father over a son, even when it
involves them in guilt, ought unquestionably to have
had the same consideration for the clansmen, who
were trained up in the most absolute ideas of obedience to their chief, and politically exerted no judgment of their own.

Nine persons were executed at Carlisle on the 18th of October. The list contained one or two names of distinction; as Buchanan of Arnprior, the chief of his name; MacDonald of Kinloch-Moidart, one of the first who received the Prince on his landing; MacDonald of Teindreich, who began the war by attacking Captain Scott's detachment when marching to Fort Augustus, and John MacNaughton, a person of little note, unless in so far as he was said, but it is believed erroneously, to have been the individual by whose hand Colonel Gardiner fell at Preston. Six criminals suffered at Brampton; seven were executed at Penrith, and twenty-two at the city of York; eleven more were afterwards executed at Carlisle; nearly eighty in all were sacrificed to the terrors which the insurrection had inspired.

These unfortunate sufferers were of different ages, rank, and habits, both of body and mind; they agreed, however, in their behaviour upon the scaffold. They prayed for the exiled family, expressed their devotion to the cause in which they died, and particularly their admiration of the princely leader whom they had followed, till their attachment conducted them to this dreadful fate. It may be justly questioned, whether the lives of these men, supposing every one of them to have been an apostle of Jacobitism, could have done so much to prolong their doctrines, as the horror and
loathing inspired by so many bloody punishments. And when to these are added the merciless slaughter upon the fugitives at Culloden, and the devastation committed in the Highland districts, it might have been expected that the sword of justice would have been weary with executions.

There were still, however, some individuals, upon whom, for personal reasons, vengeance was still desired. One of these was Charles Ratcliffe, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater. This gentleman had been partaker in the Earl's treason of 1715, and had been condemned for that crime, but escaped from Newgate. In the latter end of the year 1745 or beginning of 1746, he was taken on board a French ship of war, with other officers. The vessel was loaded with arms and warlike stores, bound for the coast of Scotland, for the use of the insurgents. Ratcliffe's case was, therefore, a simple one. He was brought before the King's Bench, where evidence was adduced to show that he was the same Charles Ratcliffe who had been condemned for the earlier rebellion, and who had then made his escape. Upon this being found proved by a jury, he was condemned to die, although, appealing to his French commission, he pleaded that he was not a subject of Britain, and denied himself to be the Charles Ratcliffe to whom the indictment and conviction referred, alleging" he was Charles Earl of Derwentwater.

On the 8th of December, Ratcliffe appeared on the scaffold, where he was admitted, in respect of his birth, to the sad honours of the axe and block.
He was richly dressed, and behaved with a mixture of grace and firmness which procured him universal sympathy. Lovat, whose tragedy I have already given, was, in point of time, the last person who suffered death for political causes in 1747.

An act of Indemnity was passed in June 1747, granting a pardon to all persons who had committed treason, but with an awful list of exceptions, amounting to about eighty names. I may here mention the fate of some of those persons who had displayed so much fidelity to Charles during the time of his escape. The Laird of MacKinnon, MacDonald of Kingsburgh, and others, ascertained to have been active in aiding the Prince's escape, were brought to London, and imprisoned for some time. Flora MacDonald, the heroine of this extraordinary drama, was also, for a time, detained in the Tower. As I have recorded several of the severities of Government, I ought to add, that nothing save a short imprisonment attended the generous interference of those individuals in behalf of the unfortunate Adventurer, during his dangers and distresses. After being liberated from the Tower, Flora MacDonald found refuge, or rather a scene of triumph, in the house of Lady Primrose, a determined Jacobite, where the Prince's High-land guardian was visited by all persons of rank who entertained any bias to that unhappy cause. Neither did the English Jacobites limit their expressions of respect and admiration to empty compliments. Many who, perhaps, secretly regretted they had not given more effectual instances of their faith to the exiled family, were desirous to make
some amends, by loading with kind attentions and valuable presents, the heroine who had played such a dauntless part in the drama. These donations supplied to the gallant Highlandwoman a fortune of nearly L.1500. She bestowed this dowery, together with her hand, upon MacDonald of Kingsburgh, who had been her assistant in the action which procured her so much fame. The applause due to her noble conduct, was not rendered by Jacobites alone; many of the Royal Family, and particularly the good-natured and generous Prince Frederick of Wales, felt and expressed what was due to the worth of Flora MacDonald, though exerted for the safety of so dangerous a rival. The simplicity and dignity of her character was expressed in her remark, that she never thought she had done any thing wonderful till she heard the world wondering at it. She afterwards went to America with her husband Kingsburgh, but both returned, in consequence of the civil war, and died in their native isle of Skye.

I should make these volumes thrice as long as they ought to be, were I to tell you the stories which I have heard (sometimes from the lips of those who were themselves the sufferers) concerning the strange concealments and escapes which the Jacobites were reduced to for the safety of their lives after their cause was ruined. The severity of legal prosecution was not speedily relaxed, although the proceedings under martial law were put a stop to. Lord Pitsligo, who lurked on his own estate, and displayed a model of patience under
unusual sufferings, continued to be an object of occasional search long after the 1746; and was in some degree under concealment till his death in 1762, at the age of eighty-five. Some other criminals peculiarly obnoxious to Government were not liberated from prison until the accession of George the Third.

WE have hitherto only detailed the penal procedure taken against the principal actors in the rebellion 1745. Before proceeding to narrate the legislative measures which Parliament thought proper to adopt to prevent the recurrence of such a calamity, it may be necessary, in this place, to take a review of the character of the insurrection, and the result which it actually did or might have produced.

Looking at the whole in a general point of view, there can be no doubt that it presents a dazzling picture to the imagination, being a romance of real life equal in splendour and interest to any which could be devised by fiction. A primitive people, residing in a remote quarter of the empire, and themselves but a small portion of the Scottish Highlanders, fearlessly attempted to place the British Crown on the head of the last scion of those ancient kings, whose descent was traced to their own mountains. This gigantic task they undertook in favour of a youth of twenty-five, who landed on their shore without support of any kind, and threw himself on their generosity -- they assembled an army in his behalf -- their speech, their tactics,
their arms, were alike unknown to their countrymen and to the English, -- holding themselves free from the obligations imposed by common law or positive statute, they were yet governed by rules of their own, derived from a general sense of honour, extending from the chief to the lowest of his tribe. With men unaccustomed to arms, the amount of the most efficient part of which never exceeded 2000, they defeated two disciplined armies commanded by officers of experience and reputation, penetrated deep into England, approached within a hundred miles of the capital, and made the crown tremble on the king's head; retreated with the like success, when they appeared on the point of being intercepted between three hostile armies; checked effectually the attack of a superior body detached in pursuit of them; reached the North in safety, and were only suppressed by a concurrence of disadvantages which it was impossible for human nature to surmount. All this has much that is splendid to the imagination, nor is it possible to regard without admiration, the little band of determined men by whom such actions were achieved, or the interesting young Prince by whom their energies were directed. It is therefore natural that the civil strife of 1745 should have been long the chosen theme of the poet, the musician, and the novelist, and each has in turn found it possessed of an interest highly suitable to his purpose.

In a work founded on history, we must look more closely into the circumstances of the rebellion, and deprive it of some part of the show which pleases the fancy, in order to judge of it by the
sound rules of reason. The best mode of doing this, is to suppose that Charles had accomplished his romantic adventure, and seated himself in temporary security in the palace of St James's; when common sense must admit that nothing could have been expected from such a counter-revolution, excepting new strife and fiercer civil wars. The opinion and conduct of the whole British empire, with very few exceptions, had shown their disinclination to have this man to rule over them; nor were all the clans in his army numerous enough to furnish more than two battalions of guards to have defended his throne, had they been able to place him upon it. It was not to be supposed that England, so opulent, so populous, so high-spirited, could be held under a galling yoke by a few men of unknown language and manners, who could only be regarded as a sort of strelitzes or janissaries, and detested in that capacity. By far the greater part of Scotland itself was attached to the House of Hanover, and the principles which placed them on the throne; and its inhabitants were votaries of the Presbyterian religion, a form of church government which it had been long the object of the Stewart family to destroy. From that quarter, therefore, Charles, in his supposed state of perilous exaltation, could have drawn no support, but must have looked for opposition. The interference of a French force, had such taken place, could only have increased the danger of the restored dynasty, by rousing against them the ancient feelings of national hatred and emulation; nor is it likely that they could have offered successful resistance to the general opposition which such unpopular aid would
Neither is it probable that Charles Edward, educated as he had been in foreign courts, and in the antiquated principles of passive obedience and arbitrary power, would have endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the great mass of his subjects, by disavowing those sentiments of despotic government which had cost his grandfather so dear. Even while his enterprise was in progress, there existed a great schism in his camp, between Lord George Murray, Lord Elcho, and others, who, though engaged with the Prince and favouring his pretensions to the throne, conceived themselves entitled, as their lives and fortunes were depending on the issue, to remonstrate against measures of which they did not always approve. Charles Edward naturally, but fatally for himself and his family, preferred and followed the counsels of those who made it a point to coincide with him in opinion; so that had the strength of this army been adequate to place him upon the throne, he must nevertheless have speedily been precipitated into civil war, the seeds of which existed even among his own followers, since they did not agree among themselves on what principles he was to govern, whether as a despotic or constitutional monarch.

From all this it would appear, that however severe upon the Highlanders and their country at the moment when it happened, the defeat of Prince Charles at Culloden could alone have ended the internal divisions of Great Britain; and that any victory which he might have obtained, would
only have added to the protraction of civil strife, and the continuance and increase of national calamity.

Neither were the actions of the Highlanders under Prince Charles, though sufficiently glorious for their arms, altogether so wonderful as to be regarded as miraculous. Without detracting from their undoubted bravery, it must be said that the Chevalier was fortunate in meeting with two such antagonists as Cope and Hawley, neither of whom appears to have dreamed of maintaining a second line or effectual reserve, though rendered so necessary by the violence and precipitance of the Highland attack, which must always have thrown a certain degree of disorder into those troops who were first exposed to its fury, but at the same time have brought confusion among the assailants themselves. The two regiments of dragoons who fought, or rather fled, at Preston, having previously lost their character by a succession of panics, must be also looked upon as affording to the Highlanders an advantage unusual to those who encounter an English army. Of the general plan of insurrection, it may be safely said to have been a rash scheme, devised by a very young man, who felt his hopes from France to be rendered absolutely desperate; and by piquing the honour of Lochiel and his friends, wrought them to such a height of feeling as to induce them to engage in what their common sense assured them was positive ruin.

We may also observe, that though the small number of this Prince's forces was in a great measure
the cause of his ultimate defeat, yet the same circumstance contributed to his partial success.

This may appear paradoxical, but you are to re-member, that the imperfections of an undisciplined army increase in proportion to its numbers, as an ill-constructed machine becomes more unmanageable in proportion to its size. The powerful army of clans commanded by Mar in the year 1715, could not have acted with the same speed and decision as the comparatively small body which was arrayed under Charles. And if, on the latter occasion, the Prince wanted the aid of such large forces as were brought to Perth in 1715 by the Marquis of Huntly and the Earls of Breadalbane and Seaforth, his councils were also unembarrassed by the respect and deference claimed by these dignitaries, and by the discords which often arose between them, either amongst themselves, or with the Commander-in-chief. It is also worthy of remark, that without derogating from the desire to maintain discipline, which was certainly entertained by the Highland chiefs during the enterprise, the small number of the Prince's army must also have occasioned among themselves a consciousness of weakness, and they were perhaps the more disposed to attend to orders and abstain from all unnecessary violence, because they saw from the beginning that their safety depended on mutual concord, and on preserving or acquiring the good opinion of the country.

Upon the whole, it was perhaps fortunate for the history of Highland clanship, that in point of
effective and recognised influence, the system may be considered as having closed with the gallant and generous display of its character which took place in 1745. We have said already that the patriarchal spirit was gradually decaying, and that the system had been insensibly innovated upon in each successive generation. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, it probably would not have existed, if the chiefs had not sedulously nursed and kept it alive, to maintain in their persons that peculiar military power, which most of them expected to render the means of distinguishing themselves in the civil war that was yearly expected. If the country had remained in profound peace, the chiefs, like the Lowland barons, would have been induced to exchange the command of their clansmen, whose services they had no prospect of requiring, for other advantages, which increased rents, and improved possessions, would have procured them. The slow but certain operation of those changes would have finally dissolved, though perhaps at a later period, the connexion between the clan and the chief, and under circumstances, perhaps, less creditable to the latter. It is therefore better, even for the fame of the Highlands, that the spirit of the patriarchal system, like the light of a dying lamp, should have collected itself into one bright flash before its final extinction; and in the short period of a few months, should have exhibited itself in a purer and more brilliant character than it had displayed during the course of ages.

It must also be remarked, that the period at which the patriarchal system was totally broken
up, was that at which it presented the most interesting appearance. The Highland chiefs of the eighteenth century, at least those who were persons of consideration, were so much influenced by the general civilisation of Britain, as to be not only averse to the abuse of power over their clansmen, but disposed, as well as from policy as from higher motives, to restrain their followers from predatory habits, and, discouraging what was rude and fierce, to cultivate what was honourable and noble in their character. It is probable the patriarchal system was never exercised, generally speaking, in a mode so beneficial to humanity, as at the time when it was remotely affected by the causes, which must ultimately have dissolved it. In this respect, it resembled the wood of certain trees, which never afford such beautiful materials for the cabinet-maker, as when they have felt the touch of decay.

For these and other reasons, the view which we cast upon the system of clanship, as it existed in the time of the last generation, is like looking back upon a Highland prospect, enlivened by the tints of a beautiful summer evening. On such an occasion, the distant hills, lakes, woods, and precipices, are touched by the brilliance of the atmosphere with a glow of beauty, which is not properly their own, and it requires an exertion to recall to our mind the desolate, barren, and wild character, which properly belong to the objects we look upon. For the same reason, it requires an effort of the understanding to remind us, that the system of society under which the Highland clans were governed,
although having much in it which awakens both
the heart and the fancy, was hostile to liberty, and
to the progress both of religious and moral improvement,
by placing the happiness, and indeed the

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whole existence, of tribes at the disposal of
individuals, whose power of administration was
influenced by no restraint saving their own pleasure.
Like other men, the heads of the clans were liable
to be seduced into the misuse of unlimited authority;
and you have only to recall what I have said
in these pages of Lovat and others, to be aware
what a curse and a plague a violent or crafty chief
might prove to his own clan, to the general government,
to the peace of his neighbours, and indeed
to the whole country in which he lived. The
possession of such power by a few men made it
always possible for them to erect the standard of
civil war in a country otherwise disposed to peace;
and their own bravery and that of their retainers,
only rendered the case more dangerous, the
provocation more easily taken, and their powers of
attack or resistance more bloody and desperate.
Even in peace, the power of ravaging the estates
of a neighbour or of the Lowlands, by letting
loose upon them troops of banditti, kennelled like
blood-hounds in some obscure valley, till their
services were required, was giving to every petty
chieftain the means of spreading robbery and
desolation through the country at his pleasure.

With whatever sympathy, therefore, we may
regard the immediate sufferers, with whatever
general regret we may look upon the extinction,
by violence, of a state of society which was so
much connected with honour, fidelity, and the

tenets of romantic chivalry, it is impossible, in

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sober sense, to wish that it should have continued,
or to say that, in political wisdom, the government
of Great Britain ought to have tolerated its longer
existence.

The motives, however, of the legislature, in
destroying the character of the patriarchal system
adopted in the Highlands, were more pressing than
those arising out of general expediency and utility.
The measures struck less at what was inexpedient
in general principles, than at the constant source
of repeated rebellions against the Royal Family;
and we cannot wonder, that being now completely
masters of the disaffected districts by the fate of
war, they aimed at totally eradicating all marks of
distinction between the Highlander and Lowlander,
and reducing the mountains to the quiet and peaceful
state which the Lowlands of Scotland had
presented for many years.

The system of disarming the Highlands had been
repeatedly resorted to upon former occasions but the
object had been only partially attained. It was now
resolved, not only to deprive the Highlanders of
their arms, but of the ancient garb of their country;
a picturesque habit, the custom of wearing which
was peculiarly associated with the use of warlike
weapons. The sword, the dirk, the pistol, were all
as complete parts of the Highland dress as the
plaid and the bonnet, and the habit of using the
latter was sure to remind the wearer of the want
of the former. It was proposed to destroy this
association of ideas, by rendering the use of the Highland garb, in any of its peculiar forms, highly penal.

Many objections, indeed some which appealed to compassion, and others founded upon utility, were urged against this interdiction of an ancient national costume. It was represented that the form of the dress, light, warm, and convenient for the use of those who were accustomed to it, was essentially necessary to men who had to perform long journeys through a wild and desolate country; or discharge the labours of the shepherd or herdsman among extensive mountains and deserts, which must necessarily be applied to pasture. The proscription also of a national garb, to which the people had been long accustomed, and were necessarily much attached, was complained of as a stretch of arbitrary power, especially as the law was declared to extend to large districts and tracts of country, the inhabitants of which had not only refrained from aiding the rebellion, but had given ready and effectual assistance in its suppression.

Notwithstanding these reasons, and notwithstanding the representation of the loyal chiefs that it was unjust to deprive them of the swords which they had used in the Government's defence, it was judged necessary to proceed with the proposed measure, as one which, rigidly enforced by the proposed severity of Government, promised completely to break the martial spirit of the Highlanders, so
far as it had been found inconsistent with the peace
and safety of the country at large. A law was
accordingly passed, forbidding the use of what is
called tartan, in all its various checkers and
modifications, under penalties which, at that time, might
be necessary to overcome the reluctance of the
Highlanders to part with their national dress, but
which certainly now appear disproportioned to the
offence. The wearing any part of what is called
the Highland garb, that is, the plaid, philabeg,
trews, shoulder-belt, or any other distinctive part
of the dress, or the use of any garment composed
tartan, or parti-coloured cloth, made the offender
liable, for the first offence, to six months' imprisonment;
and for the second, to transportation to the
colonies. At the same time, the wearing or even
possession of arms subjected a Highlander to serve
as a common soldier, if he should prove unable to
pay a fine of fifteen pounds. A second offence was
to be punished with transportation for seven years.
The statute is 20th George II. chap 51.

Whatever may be thought of these two statutes,
not only restraining the use of arms under the
highest penalties, but proscribing the dress of a
whole nation, no objection can be made to another
Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1748, for
abolishing the last effectual remnant of the feudal
system, viz., the hereditary jurisdictions throughout
Scotland. These last remains of the feudal system
I have repeatedly alluded to, as contrary alike to
common sense, and to the free and impartial
administration of justice. In fact, they vested the power
decking all ordinary actions at law in the
persons of great landholders, neither educated to the legal profession, nor in the habit of separating their own interests and passions from the causes which they were to decide as judges. The statute appointed sums of money to be paid as a compensation to the possessors of those judicial rights, whose existence was inimical to the progress of a free country. The administration of justice was vested in professional persons, called Sheriffs-depute (so called as deputed by the Crown, in contradistinction to the Sheriffs principal, formerly enjoying jurisdiction as attached to their patrimony). Such a Sheriff-depute was named for each county, to discharge the judicial duties formerly exercised by hereditary judges.

This last Act was not intended for the Highlands alone, its influence being extended throughout Scotland. By the Act of 20th King Geo. II. cap. 5, all tenures by wardholding, that is, where the vassal held lands for the performance of military service, were declared unlawful, and those which existed were changed into holdings for feu, or for blanch tenures, -- that is to say, either for payment of an annual sum of money, or some honorary acknowledgment of vassalage, -- so that it became impossible for any superior or overlord, in future, to impose upon his vassals the fatal service of following him to battle, or to discharge the oppressive duties of what were called hunting, hosting, watching, and warding. Thus, although the feudal forms of investiture were retained, all the essential influence of the superior or overlord over the vassal or tenant, and especially the right which he had to
bring him into the field of battle, in consequence of his own quarrels, was in future abrogated and disallowed. The consequence of these great alterations we reserve for the next chapter.

BEFORE giving a farther account of the effect produced on Scotland and its inhabitants by the Disarming Act, the Jurisdiction Act, and other alterations adopted into the law of Scotland, in consequence of the insurrection of 1745, we may take some notice of the melancholy conclusion of Charles Edward's career, which had commenced with so much brilliancy. There are many persons like this unfortunate Prince, who, having failed in an effort boldly made and prosecuted with vigour, seem afterwards to have been dogged by misfortune, and deprived, by the premature decay of the faculties they once exhibited, of the power of keeping up the reputation gained at the beginning of their career.

On his first arrival in France, with all the eclat of his victories and his sufferings, the Chevalier was very favourably received at Court, and obtained considerable advantages for some of his followers. Lochiel and Lord Ogilvie were made lieutenant-colonels in the French service, with means of appointing to commissions some of the most distinguished of the exiles who had participated in their fate. The Court of France also granted 40,000 livres a-year for the support of such Scottish fugitives as were not provided for in their military service.
This allowance, however liberal on the part of France, was totally insufficient for the maintenance of so many persons, accustomed not only to the necessaries but comforts of life; and it is not to be wondered at, that many, reduced to exile and indigence in his cause, murmured, though perhaps with injustice, against the Prince, whose power of alleviating their distresses they might conclude to be greater than it really was.

An incident which followed, evinced the same intractability of temper which seems to have characterised this young man in his attempt to regain the throne of his ancestors. When the French Government, in the winter of 1748, were disposed to accede to a peace with England, it was an indispensable stipulation, that the young Pretender, as he was styled, should not be permitted to reside within the French territories. The King and ministers of France felt the necessity of acceding to this condition if they would obtain peace; but they were desirous to do so with all the attention possible to the interest and feelings of Charles Edward.

With this purpose, they suggested to him that he should retreat to Friburg, in Switzerland, where they proposed to assure him an asylum, with a company of guards, a large pension, and the nominal rank and title of Prince of Wales.

It is not easy to say with what possible views Charles rejected these offers, or from what motive, saving the impulse of momentary spleen, he positively refused to leave France. He was in a kingdom, however, where little ceremony was then
used upon such occasions. One evening as he went to the opera, he was seized by a party of the French guards, bound hand and foot, and conveyed first to the state prison of Vincennes, and from thence to the town of Avignon, which belonged to the Pope, where he was set at liberty, never to enter France again.

To this unnecessary disgrace Charles appears to have subjected himself from feelings of obstinacy alone; and of course a line of conduct so irrational was little qualified to recommend him as a pleasant guest to other states.

He went first to Venice with a single attendant; but upon a warning from the Senate, he returned to Flanders.

Here, about the year 1751, he admitted into his family a female, called Miss Walkinshaw. The person whom he thus received into his intimacy had connexions, of which his friends and adherents in Britain were extremely jealous. It was said that her sister was a housekeeper at Leicester House, then inhabited by the Prince of Wales; and such was the general suspicion of her betraying her lover, that the persons of distinction in England who continued to adhere to the Jacobite interest, sent a special deputy, called Macnamara, to request, in the name of the whole party, that this lady might be removed from the Chevalier's residence, and sent into a convent, at least for a season. The Prince decidedly put a negative upon this proposal." Not," he said, " that he entertained any particular
affection or even regard for Miss Walkinshaw, but because he would not be dictated to by his subjects in matters respecting his own habits or family." When Macnamara was finally repulsed, he took his leave with concern and indignation, saying, as he retired,--" By what crime, sir, can your family have drawn down the vengeance of Heaven, since it has visited every branch of them through so many ages?"

This haughty reply to a request, reasonable and respectful in itself, was the signal for almost all the Jacobite party in England to break up and dissolve itself; they were probably by this time only watching for an opportunity of deserting with honour a cause which was become hopeless.

Before this general defection, some intrigues had been set on foot in behalf of Charles, but always without much consideration, and by persons of incompetent judgment. Thus the Duchess of Buckingham, a woman of an ambitious but flighty disposition, took it upon her at one time to figure as a patroness of the House of Stewart, and made several journeys from England to Paris and also to Rome, with the affectation of making herself the heroine of a Jacobite revolution. This intrigue, it is needless to say, could have no serious object or termination.

In 1750, the Jacobite intrigues continued to go on, and the Prince himself visited London in that year. Dr King, then at the head of the Church of England Jacobites, received him in his house. He assures us, that the scheme which Charles had
formed was impracticable, and that he was soon prevailed upon to return to the continent. Dr

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King at this time draws a harsh picture of the unfortunate Prince; he represents him as cold, interested, and avaricious, which is one frequent indication of a selfish character. This author's evidence, however, must be taken with some modification, since the Doctor wrote his anecdotes at a time when, after having long professed to be at the head of the nonjuring party, he had finally withdrawn from it, joined the Government, and paid his duty at court. He is therefore not likely to have formed an impartial judgment, or to have drawn a faithful picture, of the Prince whose cause he had deserted. In 1752, the embers of Jacobitism threw out one or two sparks. Patrick, Lord Elibank, conducted at this time what remained of a Jacobite interest in Scotland; he was a man of great wit, shrewdness, and sagacity; but like others who are conscious of great talent, often both in his conduct and conversation chose the most disadvantageous side of the question, in order to make a more marked display of his abilities.

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The Honourable Alexander Murray, one of Lord Elibank's brothers, a very daring man, had devised a desperate scheme for seizing upon the Palace of St James's and the person of the King, by means of sixty determined men. There was a second branch of the conspiracy which should have exploded in Scotland, where there were no longer either men or means to accomplish an insurrection.
MacDonell of Lochgarry, and Dr Archibald Cameron, brother to Lochiel, were the agents employed in this northern part of the plot. The latter fell into the hands of the Government, being taken upon the banks of Loch Katrine, and sent prisoner to London. Dr Cameron was brought to trial upon the Bill of Attainder, passed against him on account of his concern in the Rebellion 1745, and upon that charge he was arraigned, condemned, and put to death at Tyburn, June 1753. His execution for this old offence, after the date of hostilities had been so long past, threw much reproach upon the Government, and even upon the personal character of George the Second, as sullen, relentless, and unforgiving. These aspersions were the more credited, that Dr Cameron was a man of a mild and gentle disposition, had taken no military share in the Rebellion, and had uniformly exercised his skill as a medical man in behalf of the wounded of both armies. Yet since, as is now well known, he returned to Scotland with the purpose of again awakening the names of rebellion, it must be owned, that whatever his private character might be, he only encountered the fate which his enterprise merited and justified.

The Honourable Alexander Murray ventured to London about the same period, where a proclamation was speedily issued for his arrest. Having discovered that the persons on whose assistance he had relied for the execution of his scheme had lost courage, he renounced the enterprise. Other wild or inefficient intrigues were carried on in behalf of Charles down to about 1760; but they have all the
character of being formed by mere projectors, desirous of obtaining money from the exiled Prince, without any reasonable prospect, perhaps without any serious purpose, of rendering him effectual service.

A few years later than the period last mentioned, a person seems to have been desirous to obtain Charles's commission to form some interest for him among the North American colonists, who had then commenced their quarrels with the mother country. It was proposed by the adventurer alluded to, to make a party for the Prince among the insurgents in a country which contained many Highlanders. But that scheme also was entirely without solid foundation, for the Scottish colonists in general joined the party of King George.

Amidst these vain intrigues, excited by new hopes, which were always succeeded by fresh disappointment, Charles, who had supported so much real distress and fatigue with fortitude and firmness, gave way both in mind and body. His domestic uneasiness was increased by an unhappy union with Louisa of Stohlberg, a German princess, which produced happiness to neither party, and some discredit to both. Latterly, after long retaining the title of Prince of Wales, he laid it aside, because, after his father's death in 1766, the courts of Europe would not recognise him as King of Great Britain. He afterwards lived incognito, under the title of Count D'Albany. Finally, he
died at Rome upon the 31st of January, 1788, in his 68th year, and was royally interred in the cathedral church of Frescati, of which his brother was bishop.

The merits of this unhappy Prince appear to have consisted in a degree of dauntless resolution and enterprise, bordering upon temerity; the power of supporting fatigues and misfortunes, and extremity of every kind, with firmness and magnanimity; and a natural courtesy of manner highly gratifying to his followers, which he could exchange for reserve at his pleasure. Nor, when his campaign in Scotland is considered, can he be denied respectable talents in military affairs. Some of his partisans of higher rank conceived he evinced less gratitude for their services than he ought to have rendered them; but by far the greater part of those who approached his person were unable to mention him without tears of sorrow, to which your Grandfather has been frequently a witness.

His faults or errors arose from a course of tuition totally unfit for the situation to which he conceived himself born. His education, intrusted to narrow-minded priests and soldiers of fortune, had been singularly limited and imperfect; so that, instead of being taught to disown or greatly modify the tenets which had made his fathers exiles from their throne and country, he was instructed to cling to those errors as sacred maxims, to which he was bound in honour and conscience to adhere. He left a natural daughter, called Countess of Albany, who died only a few years since.
The last direct male heir of the line of Stewart, on the death of Charles, was his younger brother, Henry Benedict, whom the Pope had created a cardinal. This Prince took no other step for asserting his claim to the British kingdoms, than by striking a beautiful medal, in which he is represented in his cardinal's robes, with the crown, sceptre, and regalia, in the background, bearing the motto, Volunta te dei non desiderio populi, implying a tacit relinquishment of the claims to which, by birth, he might have pretended. He was a Prince of a mild and beneficent character, and generally beloved. After the innovations of the French Revolution had destroyed, or greatly diminished, the revenues he derived from the church, he subsisted, singular to tell, on an annuity of £4000 a-year assigned to him by the generosity of the late King George the Third, and continued by that of his royal successor. In requital of their bounty, and as if acknowledging the House of Hanover to be the legitimate successors of his claims to the crown of Britain, this, the last of the Stewarts, bequeathed to his present Majesty all the crown jewels, some of them of great value, which King James the Second had carried along with him on his retreat to the Continent in 1688, together with a mass of papers, tending to throw much light on British history. He died at Rome, June 1807, in the 83d year of his age.

Having now finished my account of the House of Stewart, extinguished in the person of its last direct male heir, I return to notice the general effects produced in Scotland, by the laws adopted for the
abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions, and prohibition
of the Highland dress and arms. On the
first point, no dissatisfaction was expressed, and
little was probably felt, excepting by a few landed
proprietors, who might conceive their dignity
diminished by their power over their tenants being
abridged and limited. But it was different with
the Disarming Act, which was resented by the
Highlanders as a deadly insult, and which seemed
for a considerable time rather to increase than
allay the discontent, which it was the desire of the
Government to appease.

Indeed, when the state of the Highlands is
considered, we cannot be surprised, that for the space
of ten years at least, it should have been wilder
than it was before the insurrection. The country
was filled with desperate men, whom their education
to the use of arms, as well as the recent scenes
of civil war, had familiarized to rapine and violence,
and the check, such as it was, which the authority
of the chiefs extended over malefactors, was entirely
dissolved by the downfall of their power.
Accordingly, the criminal records of that period are
full of atrocities of various kinds, perpetrated in
the Highlands, which give a strange idea of the
disorderly state of the country.

Tradition also delights to enumerate, among the
sons of vulgar rapine, the names of Sergeant Mor
Cameron and others, depredators of milder mood,
Hood and his merry archers, as friends and
benefactors to the poor, though plunderers of the rich.
The sword of justice was employed in weeding
them out; and if frequent examples of punishment
did not correct the old depredators, it warned
the young from following their footsteps. But
the race of Forty-five men, as they were called,
who supplied this generation of heroes, became in
time old, and accustomed to peaceful habits.

Government also had, by the Act of Attainder,
which forfeited the lands of those engaged in the
rebellion, acquired very large estates in the
Highlands, which had previously belonged to the Jacobite
chiefs. More wise than their predecessors in
1715, instead of bringing this property to sale, they
retained it under the management of a Board of
Commissioners, by whom, after the necessary
expenses were defrayed, the surplus revenue was
applied to the improvement of Scottish arts and
manufactures, and especially to the amelioration of the
Highlands. The example of agriculture and
successful industry, which was set on foot under the
patronage of these commissioners, was imitated by
those Highlanders, who, excluded from the rough
trade of arms, began to turn a late and unwilling
eye to such pursuits. The character of the natives,
as well as the face of the country, underwent a
gradual change; the ideas of clanship, which long
clung to the heart of a Scottish Highlander,
gradually gave way under the absence of many chiefs,
and the impoverishment of others. The genius of
the Earl of Chatham, about the same time also,
Highlanders, by levying regiments for the service of Government in Canada, where they behaved themselves in a distinguished manner; while, in the mean time, the absence of the most inflammable part of a superabundant population greatly diminished the risk of fresh disturbances. Many persons also, who had served in their youth in the campaigns of Prince Charles, now entered this new levy, and drew the sword for the reigning monarch, whose generosity readily opened every rank of military service to his ancient enemies. I will give you one instance among many:

The commission of a field officer, in one of these new regiments, being about to be bestowed on a gentleman of Athole, a courtier who had some desire to change the destination of the appointment, told his late Majesty [George III.] of some bold and desperate actions which the candidate for military preferment had performed on the side of Charles Edward, during the insurrection of 1745.

"Has this gentleman really fought so well against me?" said the good-natured and well-judging monarch; "then, believe me, he will fight as well in my cause." So the commission kept its original destination.

Such instances of generosity, on the part of the Sovereign, could not but make proselytes among a warm-hearted people like the Jacobites, with whom George the Third became personally popular at an early period of his reign. With an amiable inconsistency, many of those who had fought against the grandfather would have spent the last drop of
their blood for the grandchild, and those who even yet refused to abjure the right of the Pretender, showed themselves ready to lay down their lives for the reigning monarch.

While a good understanding was gradually increasing between the Highlanders and the Government, which they had opposed so long and with so much obstinacy, the management of the forfeited estates in the Highlands was so conducted as to afford the cultivators a happy and easy existence; and though old men might turn back with fondness to the recollection of their younger days, when every Highlander walked the heath with his weapons rattling around him, the preference must, upon the whole, have been given to a period, in which a man's right needed nothing else to secure it than the equal defence of the law. In process of time, it was conceived by Government that the period of punishment by forfeiture ought, in equity as well as policy, to be brought to a close, and that the descendants of the original insurgents of the year 1745, holding different tenets from their unfortunate ancestors, might be safely restored to the enjoyment of their patrimonial fortunes. By an Act of Grace accordingly, dated 24th George III. chap. 37, the estates forfeited for treason, in the year 1745, were restored to the descendants of those by whom they had been forfeited. A long train of honourable names was thus restored to Scottish history, and a debt of gratitude imposed upon their representatives to the memory of the then reigning monarch. To complete this Act of Grace, the present King [George IV.] has, in
addition to the forfeited property returned by his
father, restored, in blood, such persons descended
of attainted individuals as would have been heirs
to Peerages, had it not been for the attainder; -- a
step well chosen to mark the favour entertained by
his Majesty for his Scottish subjects, and his desire
to obliterate all recollection that discord had ever
existed between his royal house and any of their
ancestors.

Another feature of the same lenient and healing
measures, was the restoring the complete liberty of
wearing the Highland dress, without incurring
penalty or prosecution, by 22d George III. chap. 63. This boon was accepted with great apparent
joy by the natives of the Highlands; but an effectual
change of customs having been introduced during
the years in which it was proscribed, and the
existing generation having become accustomed to the
Lowland dress, the ancient garb is seldom to be
seen, excepting when assumed upon festive
occasions.

A change of a different kind is very deeply
connected with the principles of political economy, but
I can here do little more than name it. Clanship,
I have said, was abolished, or subsisted only as the
shadow of a shade; the generality of Highland
proprietors, therefore, were unwilling to support,
upon their own estates, in the capacity of poor
kindred, a number of men whom they no longer
had the means of employing in military service.
They were desirous, like a nation in profound
peace, to discharge the soldiers for whom they had
no longer use, and who, indeed, could no longer
(87-432)legally remain under their authority. The country
(87-432)was, therefore, exposed to all the inconveniences of
(87-432)an over population, while the proprietors were, by
(87-432)the same circumstance, encumbered by the number

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(87-433)of persons whom, under the old system, they would
(87-433)have been glad to have enrolled in their clan-
(87-433)following.

(87-433)Another circumstance greatly increased the
(87-433)multitude of Highlanders, whom this new state or
(87-433)things threw out of employment.

(87-433)The mountainous region of the north of Scotland
(87-433)contained large tracts of moorland, which was
(87-433)anciently employed, chiefly, if not entirely, for the
(87-433)rearing of black cattle. It was, however, found
(87-433)at a later period, that these extensive pastures
(87-433)might, with much better advantage, be engaged in
(87-433)the feeding of sheep; but to this latter mode of
(87-433)employing them, the Highlanders are by nature
(87-433)and education decidedly averse and ill qualified,
(87-433)being as unfit for the cares of a shepherd, as they
(87-433)are eminently well acquainted with those of the
(87-433)rearer of cattle. The consequence was, that as
(87-433)the Highlands began to be opened to inhabitants
(87-433)from the Lowlands, the sheep farmers of the southland
(87-433)mountains made offers of large rents to the
(87-433)proprietors of these store-farms, with which the
(87-433)Highland tenant was unable to enter into
(87-433)competition; and the latter, deprived at once of their
(87-433)lands and their occupation, left the country in
(87-433)numbers, and emigrated to North America and
(87-433)other foreign settlements.
The author can well recollect the indignation with which these agricultural innovations were regarded by the ancient Highlanders. He remembers hearing a chief of the old school say, in sorrow and indignation, the words following: "When I was a young man, the point upon which every Highland gentleman rested his importance, was the number of MEN whom his estate could support; the question next rested on the amount of his stock of BLACK CATTLE; it is now come to respect the number of sheep; and I suppose our posterity will enquire how many rats or mice an estate will produce."

It must be allowed that, in a general point of view, this change was a necessary consequence of the great alteration in the system of manners, and that therefore it was an inevitable evil. It is no less true, that the humanity of individual proprietors bestowed much trouble and expense in providing means to enable those inhabitants who were necessarily ejected from their ancient pastures and possessions, to obtain new occupation in the fisheries, and other modes of employment, to which their energies might be profitably turned. Upon the great estate of Sutherland in particular, the Marquis of Stafford incurred an outlay of more than L.100, 000 in providing various modes of employment for Highland tenants, who might be unfit to engage in the new system of improved farming, while two years' free possession of their old farms without rent, in order to furnish funds for their voyage, was allowed to those who might prefer emigration.
But many other Highland proprietors neither possessed the means nor the disposition to await with patience the result of such experiments, and the necessary emigration of their followers was attended with circumstances of great hardship.

It is, however, a change which has taken place, and has had its crisis. The modern Highlanders, trained from their youth to the improved mode of agriculture, may be expected to maintain their place in their native country, without experiencing the oppressive rivalry of the south country farmers, which a change of times has done much to put a stop to. The late introduction of steam navigation, by facilitating the communications with the best markets, presents an important stimulus to the encouragement of industry, in a country almost every where indented by creeks and salt water lakes, suitable to the access of steam vessels. We may therefore hope, in terms of the Highland Society's motto, that a race, always renowned in arms, will henceforward be equally distinguished by industry.

With the Highlands we have now done, nor are their inhabitants now much distinguished from those of the rest of Scotland, except in the use of the Gaelic language, and that they still retain some vestiges of their ancient feelings and manners.

Neither has any thing occurred in Scotland at
large to furnish matter for the continuation of these narratives. She has, since 1746, regularly felt her share in the elevation or abasement of the rest of the empire. The civil war, a cruelly severe, yet a most effectual remedy, had destroyed the seeds of disunion which existed in the bosom of Scotland; her commerce gradually increased, and, though checked for a time by the American war, revived after the peace of 1780, with a brilliancy of success hitherto unexampled. The useful arts, agriculture, navigation, and all the aids which natural philosophy affords to industry, came in the train of commerce. The shocks which the country has sustained since the peace of 1815, have arisen out of causes general to the imperial kingdoms, and not peculiar to Scotland. It may be added also, that she has not borne more than her own share of the burden, and may look forward with confidence to be relieved from it as early as any of the sister kingdoms.