

[TG74-1]

(74-1)IT might well have been expected, after the
(74-1)foundations of the throne had been so shaken by
(74-1)the storm in 1715, that the Government would
(74-1)have looked earnestly into the causes which
(74-1)rendered the Highland clans so dangerous to the
(74-1)public tranquillity, and that some measures would
(74-1)have been taken for preventing their ready valour
(74-1)being abused into the means of ruining both
(74-1)themselves and others. Accordingly, the English
(74-1)Ministers lost no time in resorting to the more forcible

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(74-2)and obvious means of military subjugation, which
(74-2)necessarily are, and must be, the most immediate
(74-2)remedy in such a case, though far from being the
(74-2)most effectual in the long run. The law for
(74-2)disarming the Highlanders, although in many cases
(74-2)evaded, had yet been so generally enforced as to
(74-2)occasion general complaints of robbery by bands of
(74-2)armed men, which the country had no means of
(74-2)resisting. Those complaints were not without
(74-2)foundation; but they were greatly exaggerated by
(74-2)Simon Fraser, now called Lord Lovat, and others,
(74-2)who were desirous to obtain arms for their vassals,
(74-2)that they might serve purposes of their own.

(74-2)Accordingly, in 1724 a warrant, under the sign
(74-2>manual, was granted to Field-marshal Wade, an
(74-2)officer of skill and experience, with instructions
(74-2)narrowly to inspect and report upon the state of
(74-2)the Highlands; the best measures for enforcing
(74-2)the laws and protecting the defenceless; the modes
(74-2)of communication which might be opened through
(74-2)the country; and whatever other remedies might
(74-2)conduce to the quiet of a district so long distracted.

(74-2)In 1725, a new sign manual was issued to the same
(74-2)officer for the same purpose. In consequence of
(74-2)the Marshal's report, various important measures
(74-2)were taken. The clan of the MacKenzies had for
(74-2)years refused to account for the rents on Seaforth's
(74-2)forfeited estate to the collector nominated by
(74-2)Government, and had paid them to a factor appointed
(74-2)amongst themselves, who conveyed them openly to
(74-2)the exiled Earl. This state of things was now
(74-2)stopped, and the clan compelled to submit and give

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(74-3)up their arms the Government liberally granting
(74-3)them an indulgence and remission for such arrears
(74-3)as they had transmitted to Seaforth in their obstinate
(74-3)fidelity to him. Other clans submitted, and
(74-3)made at least an ostensible surrender of their arms,
(74-3)although many of the most serviceable were
(74-3)retained by the clans which. were hostile to
(74-3)Government. An armed vessel was stationed on
(74-3)Lochness, to command the shores of that extensive
(74-3)lake. Barracks were rebuilt; in some places,
(74-3)founded anew in others, and filled with regular
(74-3)soldiers.

(74-3)Another measure of very dubious utility, which
(74-3)had been resorted to by King William and disused
(74-3)by George I., Was now again had recourse to.
(74-3)This was the establishment of independent companies
(74-3)to secure the peace of the Highlands, and
(74-3)suppress the gang of thieves who carried on so bold
(74-3)a trade of depredation. These companies, consisting
(74-3)of Highlanders, dressed and armed in their
(74-3)own peculiar manner, were placed under the
(74-3)command of men well affected to Government, or
(74-3)supposed to be so, and having a great interest in the

(74-3)Highlands. It was truly said, that such a militia,
(74-3)knowing the language and manners of the country,
(74-3)could do more than ten times the number of regular

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(74-4)troops to put a stop to robbery. But, on the
(74-4)other hand, it had been found by experience, that
(74-4)the privates in such corps often, from clanship or
(74-4)other motives, connived at the thefts, or
(74-4)compounded for them with the delinquents. Their
(74-4)officers were accused of imposing upon Government
(74-4)by false musters; and above all, the doubtful
(74-4)faith even of those chiefs who made the strongest
(74-4)show of affection to Government, rendered the
(74-4)reestablishment of Black soldiers, as they were called,
(74-4)to distinguish them from the regular troops, who
(74-4)wore the red national uniform, a measure of
(74-4)precarious policy. It was resorted to, however, and
(74-4)six companies were raised on this principle.

(74-4)Marshal Wade had also the power of receiving
(74-4)submission and granting protections to outlaws or
(74-4)others exposed to punishment for the late rebellion,
(74-4)and received many of them into the King's peace
(74-4)accordingly. He granted, besides, licenses to drovers,
(74-4)foresters, dealer? in cattle, and others engaged

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(74-5)in such traffic, empowering them to carry arms for
(74-5)the defence of their persons and property. In all
(74-5)his proceedings towards the Highlanders, there
(74-5)may be distinguished a general air of humanity and
(74-5)good sense, which rendered him a popular character
(74-5)even while engaged in executing orders which
(74-5)they looked upon with the utmost degree of
(74-5)jealousy and suspicion.

(74-5)The Jacobite partisans, in the mean while, partly
(74-5)by letters from, abroad, partly by agents of ability
(74-5)who traversed the country on purpose, did all in
(74-5)their power to thwart and interrupt the measures
(74-5)which; were taken to reduce the Highlands to a
(74-5)state of peaceful cultivation. The act for disarming
(74-5)the body of the people they represented in the
(74-5)most odious colours, though, indeed, it is hardly
(74-5)possible to aggravate the feelings of shame and
(74-5)dishonour in which a free people must always
(74-5)induce at being deprived of the means of self-defence.

[TG74-6]

(74-6)And the practical doctrine was not new
(74-6)to them, that if the parties concerned could evade
(74-6)this attempt to deprive them of their natural right
(74-6)and lawful property, either by an elusory surrender,
(74-6)or by such professions as might induce the Government
(74-6)to leave them in possession of their weapons,
(74-6)whether under license, or as members of the
(74-6)independent companies, it would be no dishonour in
(74-6)oppressed men meeting force by craft, and eluding
(74-6)the unjust and unreasonable demands which they
(74-6)wanted means openly to resist. Much of the quiet
(74-6)obtained by Marshal Wade's measures was apparent
(74-6)only; and while he boasts that the
(74-6)Highlanders, instead of going armed with guns, swords,
(74-6)dirks, and pistols, now travelled to churches,
(74-6)markets, and fairs with only a staff in- their hands, the
(74-6)veteran General was ignorant how many thousand
(74-6)weapons, landed from the Spanish frigates in 1719,
(74-6)or otherwise introduced into the country, lay in
(74-6)caverns and other places of concealment, ready for
(74-6)use when occasion should offer.

(74-6)But the gigantic part of Marshal Wade's task,
(74-6)and that which he executed with the most complete
(74-6)success, was the establishment of military roads
(74-6)through the rugged and desolate regions of the
(74-6)north, ensuring the free passage of regular troops
(74-6)in a country, of which it might have been said,
(74-6)while in its natural state, that every mountain was
(74-6)a natural fortress, every valley a defensible pass.
(74-6)The roads, as they were termed, through the Highlands,
(74-6)had been hitherto mere tracks, made by the
(74-6)feet of men and the cattle which they drove before

[TG74-7]

(74-7)them, interrupted by rocks, morasses, torrents, and
(74-7)all the features of an inaccessible country, where
(74-7)a stranger even unopposed, might have despaired
(74-7)of making his solitary way, but where the passage
(74-7)of a regular body of troops, with cavalry, artillery,
(74-7)and baggage, was altogether impossible. These
(74-7)rugged paths, by the labours of the soldiers
(74-7)employed under Field-marshal Wade, were, by an
(74-7)extraordinary exertion of skill and labour,
(74-7)converted into excellent roads of great breadth and
(74-7)sound formation, which have ever since his time
(74-7)afforded a free and open communication through
(74-7)all parts of the Scottish Highlands.

(74-7)Two of these highways enter among the hills
(74-7)from the low country, the one at Crieff, twenty
(74-7)miles north of Stirling, the other at Dunkeld,
(74-7)fifteen miles north of Perth. Penetrating around
(74-7)the mountains from different quarters, these two
(74-7)branches unite at Dalnacardoch. From thence
(74-7)a single line leads to Dalwhinny, where it again
(74-7)divides into two. One road runs north-west
(74-7)through Garviemore, and over the tremendous

(74-7)pass of Corryarrack, to a new fort raised by Marshal

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(74-8)Wade, called Fort Augustus. The second line
(74-8)extends from Dalnacardoch north to the barracks
(74-8)of Ruthven, in Lochaber, and thence to Inverness.
(74-8)From that town it proceeds almost due westward
(74-8)across the island, connecting Fort Augustus above-
(74-8)mentioned, with Inverness, and so proceeding to
(74-8)Fort William, in Lochaber, traversing the country
(74-8)inhabited by the Camerons, the MacDonalds of
(74-8)Glengarry, and other clans judged to be the worst
(74-8)affected to the reigning family.

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

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(74-9)the task by some trifling addition of pay; an
(74-9)experiment which succeeded so well as to excite some
(74-9)surprise that public works have not been more
(74-9)frequently executed by similar means.

(74-9)Other measures of the most laudable character
(74-9)were resorted to by the Government and their
(74-9)friends, for the improvement of the Highlands; but
(74-9)as they were of a description not qualified to
(74-9)produce ameliorating, effects, save after a length of
(74-9)time, they were but carelessly urged. They related
(74-9)to the education of this wild population, and the
(74-9)care necessary to train the rising generation in
(74-9)moral and religious principles; but the Act of
(74-9)Parliament framed for this end proved in a great measure
(74-9)ineffectual. Those exertions, which ought to
(74-9)have been national, were in some degree supplied
(74-9)by the- Society for the Propagation of Christian
(74-9)Knowledge in the Highlands and Isles, who, by
(74-9)founding chapels and schools in different places,
(74-9)did more for enlightening the people of that country,
(74-9)than had been achieved by any prince who had yet
(74-9)reigned in or over Scotland.

(74-9)While Marshal Wade was employed in pacifying
(74-9)the Highlands, and rendering them accessible
(74-9)to military forces, a subject of discontent broke out
(74-9)in the Lowlands which threatened serious
(74-9)consequences. The Government had now become
(74-9)serious to make the income of Scotland a source of
(74-9)revenue to the general exchequer, as hitherto it
(74-9)had been found scarcely adequate to maintain the
(74-9)public institution of the kingdom, and to pay and
(74-9)support the troops which it was necessary to quarter

[TG74-10]

(74-10)there for the general tranquillity. Now a surplus
(74-10)of revenue was desirable, and the Jacobites
(74-10)invidiously reported that the immediate object was
(74-10)chiefly to find funds in Scotland for defraying an
(74-10)expense of about ten guineas weekly, allowed to
(74-10)every North British Member of Parliament, for
(74-10)supporting the charge of his residence in London.
(74-10)This expense had been hitherto imposed on the
(74-10)general revenue, but now, said the Jacobites, the
(74-10)Scottish Members were made aware by Sir Robert
(74-10)Walpole, that they were to find, or acquiesce in,
(74-10)some mode of making up this sum out of the
(74-10)Scottish revenue; or, according to a significant phrase,
(74-10)that they must in future lay their account with
(74-10)tying up their stockings with their own garters.

(74-10)With this view of rendering the Scottish revenue
(74-10)more efficient, it was resolved to impose a tax
(74-10)of sixpence per barrel on all ale brewed in Scotland.
(74-10)Upon the appearance of a desperate resistance to
(74-10)this proposal, the tax was lowered to three pence
(74-10)per barrel, or one half of what was originally
(74-10)proposed. In this modified proposal the Scottish
(74-10)members acquiesced. Yet it did not become more

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(74-11)popular in Scotland; for it went to enhance the
(74-11)rate of a commodity in daily request, and excited
(74-11)by the inflammatory language of those whose interest
(74-11)it was to incense the populace, the principal
(74-11)towns in Scotland prepared to resist the imposition
(74-11)at all hazards.

(74-11)Glasgow, so eminent for its loyalty in 1715, was

(74-11)now at the head of this opposition; and on the
(74-11)23d June [17253], when the duty was to be laid
(74-11)on, the general voice of the people of that city
(74-11)declared that they would not submit to its payment,
(74-11)and piles of stones were raised against the doors of
(74-11)the breweries and malt-houses, with a warning to
(74-11)all excise officers to keep their distance. On the
(74-11)appearance of these alarming symptoms, two
(74-11)companies of foot, under Captain Bushell, were marched
(74-11)from Edinburgh to Glasgow to prevent further
(74-11)disturbances.¹ When the soldiers arrived, they
(74-11)found that the mob had taken possession of the
(74-11)guardhouse, and refused them admittance. The
(74-11)provost of the city, a timid or treacherous man,
(74-11)prevailed on Captain Bushell to send his men into
(74-11)their quarters, without occupying the guardhouse,
(74-11)or any other place proper to serve for an alarm-
(74-11)post or rendezvous. Presently after the rabble,
(74-11)becoming more and more violent directed their
(74-11)fury against Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, member

[TG74-12]

(74-12)for the city, and the set of boroughs in which
(74-12)it is included. His mansion, then the most
(74-12)elegant in Glasgow, was totally destroyed; and the
(74-12)mob, breaking into Ills cellars, found fresh incitement
(74-12)to their fury in the liquors there contained.
(74-12)All this was done without opposition, although
(74-12)Captain Bushell offered the assistance of his
(74-12)soldiers to keep the peace.

(74-12)Next day the provost ventured to break open
(74-12)the guardroom door, and the soldiers were
(74-12)directed to repair thither. One or two rioters were
(74-12)also apprehended. Upon these symptoms of
(74-12)reviving authority, an alarm was beat by the mob, who

(74-12)assembled in a more numerous and formidable
(74-12)body than ever, and, surrounding Bushell's two
(74-12)companies, loaded them with abuse, maltreated
(74-12)them with stones, and compelled them at last to
(74-12)fire, when nine men were killed and many wounded.
(74-12)The rioters, undismayed, rung the alarm bell,
(74-12)broke into the town magazine of arms, seized all
(74-12)the muskets they could find, and continued the
(74-12)attack on the soldiers. Captain Bushell, by the
(74-12)command, and at the entreaty of the provost, now
(74-12)commenced a retreat to Dunbarton castle, insulted
(74-12)and pursued by the mob a third part of the way.

(74-12)In the natural resentment excited by this
(74-12)formidable insurrection, the Lord Advocate for the
(74-12)time (the celebrated Duncan Forbes) advanced to
(74-12)Glasgow at the head of a considerable army of
(74-12)horse, foot, and artillery. Marry threats were
(74-12)thrown out against the rioters, and the magistrates
(74-12)were severely censured for a gross breach of duty.

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(74-13)But the cool sagacity of the Lord Advocate anticipated
(74-13)the difficulty which, in the inflamed state of
(74-13)the public mind, he was likely to experience in
(74-13)procuring a verdict against such offenders as he
(74-13)might bring to trial. So that the affair passed away
(74-13)with less noise than might have been expected, it
(74-13)having been ascertained that the riot had no
(74-13)political tendency; and though inflamed by the lending
(74-13)Jacobites, was begun and carried on by the
(74-13)people of Glasgow, solely on the principle of a
(74-13)resolution to drink their two-penny ale untaxed.

(74-13)The metropolis of Scotland took this excise tax
(74-13)more coolly than the inhabitants of Glasgow, for

(74-13)though greatly averse to the exaction, they only
(74-13)opposed it by a sort of *vis inertiae*, the principal
(74-13)brewers threatening to resign their trade, and,
(74-13)if the impost was continued, to brew no more ale
(74-13)for the supply of the public. The Lords of the
(74-13)Court of Session declared by an Act of Sederunt,
(74-13)that the brewers had no right to withdraw
(74-13)themselves from. their occupation; and when the brewers,
(74-13)in reply, attempted, to show that they could
(74-13)not be legally compelled to follow their trade, after
(74-13)it had been rendered a losing one, the Court
(74-13)appointed their petition to be burnt by the hands of
(74-13)the common hangman, assuring them they would
(74-13)be allowed no alternative between the exercise of
(74-13)their trade or imprisonment. Finally, four of the
(74-13)recusants were, actually thrown into jail, which
(74-13)greatly shook the firmness of these refractory
(74-13)fermentators, and at length reflecting that the ultimate
(74-13)loss must fall not on them, but on the public, they

[TG74-14]

(74-14)returned to the ordinary exercise of their trade, and
(74-14)quietly paid the duties imposed on their liquor.

(74-14)The Union having now begun in some degree
(74-14)to produce beneficial effects, the Jacobite party
(74-14)were gradually losing much of the influence over
(74-14)the public mind which had arisen out of the general
(74-14)prejudices against that measure, and the natural
(74-14)disgust at the manner in which it was carried on
(74-14)and concluded. Accordingly, the next narrative
(74-14)of a historical character which occurs as proper to
(74-14)tell you, is unmingled with politics of Whig and
(74-14)Tory, and must be simply regarded as a strong and
(74-14)powerful display of the cool, stern, and resolved
(74-14)manner in which the Scottish, even of the lower

(74-14)classes, can concert and execute a vindictive
(74-14)purpose.

(74-14)The coast of Fife, full of little boroughs and
(74-14)petty seaports, was, of course, much frequented by
(74-14)smugglers, men constantly engaged in disputes
(74-14)with the excise officers, which were sometimes
(74-14)attended with violence. Wilson and Robertson, two
(74-14)persons of inferior rank, but rather distinguished in
(74-14)the contraband trade, had sustained great loss by a
(74-14)seizure of smuggled goods. The step from illicit
(74-14)trading to positive robbery is not along one. The
(74-14)two men robbed the collector, to indemnify
(74-14)themselves from the effects of the seizure. They were

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(74-15)tried before the Court of Justiciary, and
(74-15)condemned to death.

(74-15)While the two criminals were lying under
(74-15)sentence in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, two horse-
(74-15)stealers, named Ratcliffe and Stewart, were
(74-15)confined in the room immediately above where they
(74-15)lay. These, having obtained spring-saws and
(74-15)other instruments, cut through the thick iron bar
(74-15)that secured a window on the inside, and afterwards
(74-15)the cross-gratings on the out, and having
(74-15)opened a communication with their unfortunate
(74-15)companions by boring a large hole in the floor of
(74-15)their apartment, about two o'clock in the morning
(74-15)hauled them up. One party sung psalms, to drown
(74-15)the noise, while the others were sawing. One of
(74-15)the horse-stealers was let down in safety, and the
(74-15)others might have escaped but for the obstinacy of
(74-15)Wilson. This man, of a bulky person, insisted on
(74-15)making the next essay of the breach which had

(74-15)been accomplished, and having stuck fast between
(74-15)the bars, was unable either to get through or to

[TG74-16]

(74-16)return back. Discovery was the consequence, and
(74-16)precautions were taken against any repetition of
(74-16)such attempts to escape. Wilson reflected bitterly
(74-16)on himself for not having permitted his comrade to
(74-16)make the first trial, to whom, as being light and
(74-16)slender, the bars would have been no obstacle. He
(74-16)resolved, with a spirit worthy of a better man, to
(74-16)atone to his companion, at all risks, for the injury
(74-16)he had done him.

(74-16)At this time it was the custom in Edinburgh for
(74-16)criminals under sentence of death to be carried,
(74-16)under a suitable guard, to hear divine service, on
(74-16)the Sabbath before execution, in a church adjacent
(74-16)to the prison. Wilson and Robertson were
(74-16)brought thither accordingly, under the custody
(74-16)of four soldiers of the city-guard. Wilson, who
(74-16)was a very strong man, suddenly seized a soldier
(74-16)with each hand, and calling to his comrade to
(74-16)fly for his life, detained a third by grappling his
(74-16)collar with his teeth". Robertson shook himself
(74-16)clear of the fourth, and making his escape over
(74-16)the pews of the church, was no more heard of
(74-16)in Edinburgh. The common people, to whose
(74-16)comprehension the original crime for which the
(74-16)men were condemned had nothing very abhorrent
(74-16)in it, were struck with the generosity and self-
(74-16)devotion that this last action evinced, and took such
(74-16)an interest in Wilson's fate, that it was generally,
(74-16)rumoured there would be an attempt to rescue
(74-16)him at the place of execution. To prevent, as was
(74-16)their duty, any riotous plan of this kind, the magistrates

(74-16)ordered a party of the guard of the city, a

[TG74-17]

(74-17)sort of Marechausse or gendarmes, armed and
(74-17)trained as soldiers, to protect the execution.

(74-17)The captain of the party was the celebrated
(74-17)John Porteous, whose name will long be remembered
(74-17)In Scotland. This man, whose father was a
(74-17)burgess and citizen of Edinburgh, had himself been
(74-17)bred in the regular army, circumstances which
(74-17)recommended him to the magistrates, when in the
(74-17)year 1715 they were desirous to give their civic
(74-17)guard something of a more effective military
(74-17)character. As an active police officer Porteous was
(74-17)necessarily often in collision with the rabble of the
(74-17)city, and being strict, and even severe in the manner
(74-17)in which he repressed and chastised petty riots
(74-17)and delinquencies, he was, as is usual with persons
(74-17)of his calling, extremely unpopular and odious to
(74-17)the rabble. They also accused him of abusing the
(74-17)authority reposed in him, to protect the
(74-17)extravagancies of the rich and powerful, while he was
(74-17)inexorable in punishing the license of the poor.
(74-17)Porteous had besides a good deal of the pride of
(74-17)his profession, and seems to have been determined
(74-17)to show that the corps he commanded was adequate,
(74-17)without assistance, to dispel any commotion in the
(74-17)city of Edinburgh. For this reason, he considered
(74-17)it rather as an affront that the magistrates, on
(74-17)occasion of Wilson's execution, had ordered Moyle's
(74-17)regiment to be drawn up in the suburbs to enforce
(74-17)order, should the city-guard be unable to maintain
(74-17)it. It is probable from what followed, that the
(74-17)men commanded by Porteous shared their leader's
(74-17)jealousy of the regular troops, and his dislike to

[TG74-18]

(74-18)the populace, with whom in the execution of their
(74-18)duty, they were often engaged in hostilities.¹

(74-18)The execution of Wilson on the 14th of April,
(74-18)1736, took place in the usual manner, without any
(74-18)actual or menaced interruption. The criminal,
(74-18)according to his sentence, was hanged to the death,
(74-18)and it was not till the corpse was cut down that
(74-18)the mob, according to their common practice, began
(74-18)to insult and abuse the executioner, pelting him
(74-18)with stones, many of which were also thrown at the
(74-18)soldiers. At former executions it had been the
(74-18)custom for the city-guard to endure such insults
(74-18)with laudable patience, but on this occasion they
(74-18)were in such a state of irritation, that they forgot
(74-18)their usual moderation, and repaid the pelting of the
(74-18)mob by pouring amongst them a fire of musketry,
(74-18)killing and wounding many persons. In their
(74-18)retreat also to the guard-house, as the rabble pressed
(74-18)on them with furious execrations, some soldiers in

[TG74-19]

(74-19)the rear of the march again faced round and renewed
(74-19)the fire. In consequence of this unauthorized
(74-19)and unnecessary violence, and to satisfy the
(74-19)community of Edinburgh for the blood which had been
(74-19)rashly shed, the Magistrates were inclined to have
(74-19)taken Porteous to trial under the Lord Provost's
(74-19)authority as High Sheriff within the city. Being
(74-19)advised, however, by the lawyers whom they consulted,
(74-19)that such proceeding would be subject to
(74-19)challenge, Porteous was brought to trial for murder
(74-19)before the High Court of Justiciary. He denied
(74-19)that he ever gave command to fire, and it was proved

(74-19)that the fusee which he himself carried had never
(74-19)been discharged. On the other hand, in the
(74-19)perplexed and contradictory evidence which was
(74-19)obtained, where so many persons witnessed the same
(74-19)events from different positions, and perhaps with
(74-19)different feelings, there were witnesses who said
(74-19)that they saw Porteous take a musket from one of
(74-19)his men, and fire it directly at the crowd. A jury
(74-19)of incensed citizens took the worst view of the case,
(74-19)and found the prisoner guilty of murder. At this
(74-19)King George II. Was on the continent, and
(74-19)the regency was chiefly in the hands of Queen
(74-19)Caroline, a woman of very considerable talent, and
(74-19)naturally disposed to be tenacious of the crown's
(74-19)rights. It appeared to her Majesty, and her
(74-19)advisers that though the action of Porteous and his
(74-19)soldiers was certainly rash and unwarranted, yet
(74-19)that, considering the purpose by which it was dictated,
(74-19)it must fall considerably short of the guilt of
(74-19)murder. Captain Porteous, in the discharge of a

[TG74-20]

(74-20)duty imposed on him by legal authority, had
(74-20)unquestionably been assaulted without provocation on
(74-20)his part, and had therefore a right to defend
(74-20)himself; and if there were excess in the means he had
(74-20)recourse to, yet a line of conduct originating in self-
(74-20)defence cannot be extended into murder, though it
(74-20)might amount to homicide. Moved by these
(74-20)considerations, the Regency granted a reprieve of
(74-20)Porteous's sentence, preliminary to his obtaining a
(74-20)pardon, which might perhaps have been clogged
(74-20)with some conditions.

(74-20)When the news of the reprieve readied
(74-20)Edinburgh, they were received with gloomy and

(74-20)general indignation. The lives which had been taken
(74-20)in the affray were not those of persons of the meanest
(74-20)rank, for the soldiers, of whom many, with
(74-20)natural humanity, desired to fire over the heads of the
(74-20)rioters, had, by so doing, occasioned additional
(74-20)misfortune, several of the balls taking effect in windows
(74-20)which were crowded with spectators, and killing
(74-20)some persons of good condition. A great number,
(74-20)therefore, of all ranks, were desirous that Porteous
(74-20)should atone with his own life for the blood which
(74-20)had been so rashly spilt by those under his
(74-20)command. A general feeling seemed to arise,
(74-20)unfavourable to the unhappy criminal, and public threats
(74-20)were cast out, though the precise source could not
(74-20)be traced, that the reprieve itself should not save
(74-20)Porteous from the vengeance of the citizens of
(74-20)Edinburgh.

[TG74-21]

(74-21)The 7th day of September, the day previous to
(74-21)that appointed for his execution, had now arrived,
(74-21)and Porteous, confident of his speedy deliverance
(74-21)from jail, had given an entertainment to a party of
(74-21)friends, whom he feasted within the tolbooth, when
(74-21)the festivity was strangely interrupted. Edinburgh
(74-21)was then surrounded by a wall on the east and
(74-21)south sides; on the west it was defended by the
(74-21)castle, on the north by a lake called the North loch.
(74-21)The gates were regularly closed in the evening,
(74-21)and guarded. It was about the hour of shutting the
(74-21)ports, as they were called when a disorderly
(74-21)assemblage began to take place in the suburb called
(74-21)Portsburgh, a quarter which has been always the
(74-21)residence of labourers and persons generally of
(74-21)inferior rank. The rabble continued to gather to a
(74-21)head, and, to augment their numbers, beat a drum

[TG74-22]

(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

(74-23)way into the town from the Canongate, where they
(74-23)were quartered, or had the garrison descended
(74-23)from the Castle. But neither Colonel Moyle nor
(74-23)the governor of the Castle chose to interfere on
(74-23)their own responsibility, and no one dared to carry
(74-23)a written warrant to them on the part of the
(74-23)magistrates.

(74-23)In the mean time the multitude demanded that
(74-23)Porteous should be delivered up to them; and as
(74-23)they were refused admittance to the jail, they pre-
(74-23)pared to burst open the doors. The outer gate,
(74-23)as was necessary to serve the purpose, was of such
(74-23)uncommon strength as to resist the united efforts
(74-23)of the rioters, though they employed sledge ham-
(74-23)mers and iron crows to force it open. Fire was at
(74-23)length called for, and a large bonfire, maintained

[TG74-24]

(74-24)with tar-barrels and such ready combustibles, soon
(74-24)burnt a hole in the door, through which the jailor
(74-24)flung the keys. This gave the rioters free
(74-24)entrance. Without troubling themselves about the
(74-24)fate of the other criminals, who naturally took the
(74-24)opportunity of escaping, the rioters or their leaders
(74-24)went in search of Porteous. They found him
(74-24)concealed in the chimney of his apartment, which he
(74-24)was prevented from ascending by a grating that
(74-24)ran across the vent, as is usual in such edifices. The
(74-24)rioters dragged their victim out of his concealment,
(74-24)and commanded him to prepare to undergo
(74-24)the death he had deserved; nor did they pay the
(74-24)least attention either to his prayers for mercy, or
(74-24)to the offers by which he endeavoured to purchase
(74-24)his life. Yet, amid all their obduracy of vengeance
(74-24)there was little tumult, and no more violence than

(74-24)was inseparable from the action which they
(74-24)meditated. Porteous was permitted to intrust what
(74-24)money or papers he had with him to a friend, for
(74-24)the behoof of his family. One of the rioters, a
(74-24)grave and respectable-looking man, undertook, in
(74-24)the capacity of a clergyman, to give him ghostly
(74-24)consolation suited to his circumstances, as one who
(74-24)had not many minutes to live. He was conducted
(74-24)from the Tolbooth to the Grassmarket, which, both
(74-24)as being the usual place of execution and the scene
(74-24)where their victim had fired, or caused his soldiers
(74-24)to fire, on the citizens, was selected as the place of
(74-24)punishment. They marched in a sort of procession,
(74-24)guarded by a band of the rioters, miscellaneously
(74-24)armed with muskets, battle-axes, &c., which

[TG74-25]

(74-25)were taken from the guard-house, while others
(74-25)carried links or flambeaux. Porteous was in the
(74-25)midst of them, and as he refused to walk, he was
(74-25)carried by two of the rioters on what is in Scotland
(74-25)called the King's cushion, by which two persons
(74-25)alternately grasping each other's wrists, form a kind
(74-25)of seat on the backs of their hands, upon which a
(74-25)third may be placed. They were so cool as to halt
(74-25)when one of the slippers dropped from his foot, till
(74-25)it was picked up and replaced.

(74-25)The citizens of the better class looked from their
(74-25)windows on this extraordinary scene, but terrified
(74-25)beyond the power of interference, if they had
(74-25)possessed the will. In descending the West Bow,
(74-25)which leads to the place of execution, the rioters,
(74-25)or conspirators-a term, perhaps, more suited to
(74-25)men of their character-provided themselves with
(74-25)a coil of ropes, by breaking into the booth of a

(74-25)dealer in such articles, and left at the same time a
(74-25)guinea to pay for it; a precaution which would
(74-25)hardly have occurred to men of the lowest class, of
(74-25)which in external appearance the mob seemed to
(74-25)consist. A cry was next raised for the gallows, in
(74-25)order that Porteous might die according to all the
(74-25)ceremony of the law. But as this instrument of
(74-25)punishment was kept in a distant part of the town,
(74-25)so that time must be lost in procuring it, they

[TG74-26]

(74-26)proceeded to hang the unfortunate man over ii dyer's
(74-26)pole, as near to the place of execution as possible.
(74-26)The poor man's efforts to save himself only added
(74-26)to his tortures; for as he tried to keep hold of the
(74-26)beam to which Ire was suspended, they struck his
(74-26)hands with guns and Lochaber axes, to make him
(74-26)quit his hold, so that he suffered more than usual
(74-26)in the struggle which dismissed him from life.

(74-26)When Porteous was dead the rioters dispersed,
(74-26)withdrawing without noise or disturbance all the
(74-26)outposts which they had occupied for preventing
(74-26)interruption, and leaving the city so quiet, that had
(74-26)it not been for the relics of the fire which had been
(74-26)applied to the jail-door; the arms which lay
(74-26)scattered in disorder on the street, as the rioters had
(74-26)flung them down; and the dead body of Porteous,
(74-26)which remained suspended in the place where he
(74-26)died; there was no visible symptom of so violent an
(74-26)explosion of popular fury having taken place.

(74-26)The Government, highly offended at such a
(74-26)daring contempt of authority, imposed on the Crown
(74-26)counsel the task of prosecuting the discovery of the
(74-26)rioters with the utmost care. The report of Mr

(74-26)Charles Erskine, then solicitor-general, is now
(74-26)before me,¹ and bears witness to his exertions in
(74-26)tracing the reports, which were numerous, in assigning
(74-26)to various persons particular shares in this
(74-26)nocturnal outrage. All of them, however, when
(74-26)examined, proved totally groundless, and it was evident

[TG74-27]

(74-27)that they had been either wilful falsehoods,
(74-27)sent abroad to deceive and mislead the investigators,
(74-27)or at least idle and unauthenticated rumours
(74-27)which arise out of such commotions, like bubbles
(74-27)on broken and distracted waters. A reward of
(74-27)two hundred pounds was offered by. Government,
(74-27)for the discovery of any person concerned in the
(74-27)riot, but without success.

(74-27)Only a single person was proved to have been
(74-27)present at the mob, and the circumstances in which
(74-27)he stood placed him out of the reach of punishment.
(74-27)He was footman to a lady of rank, and a
(74-27)creature of weak intellects. Being sent into
(74-27)Edinburgh on a message by Ills mistress, he had drunk
(74-27)so much liquor as to deprive him of all capacity
(74-27)whatever, and in this state mixed with the mob,
(74-27)some of whom put a halberd in his hand. But the
(74-27)witnesses who proved this apparent accession to
(74-27)the mob, proved also that the accused could not
(74-27)stand without the support of the rioters, and was
(74-27)totally incapable of knowing for what purpose they
(74-27)were assembled, and consequently of approving of
(74-27)or aiding their guilt. He was acquitted accordingly,
(74-27)to the still further dissatisfaction of the
(74-27)Ministry, and of. Queen Caroline, who considered the
(74-27)commotion, and the impunity with which it was
(74-27)followed, as an insult to her personal authority.

[TG74-28]

(74-28)A bill was prepared and brought into Parliament
(74-28)for the punishment of the city of Edinburgh, in a
(74-28)very vindictive spirit, proposing to abolish the city
(74-28)charter, demolish the city walls, take away the
(74-28)town-guard, and declare the provost incapable of
(74-28)holding any office of public trust. A long investigation
(74-28)took place on the occasion, in which many
(74-28)persons were examined at the bar of the House of
(74-28)Lords, without throwing the least light on the
(74-28)subject of the Porteous Mob, or the character of the
(74-28)persons by whom it was conducted. The penal
(74-28)conclusions of the bill were strenuously combated by
(74-28)the Duke of Argyle, Duncan Forbes, and others,
(74-28)who represented the injustice of punishing with
(74-28)dishonour the capital of Scotland for the insolence
(74-28)of a lawless mob, which, taking advantage of a
(74-28)moment of security, had committed a great breach of
(74-28)the peace, attended with a cruel murder. As men's
(74-28)minds cooled, the obnoxious clauses were dropped

[TG74-29]

(74-29)out of the bill, and at length its penal consequences
(74-29)were restricted to a fine of L.2000 sterling on the
(74-29)city, to be paid for the use of Captain Porteous's
(74-29)widow. This person, having received other
(74-29)favours from the town, accepted of L.1500 in full of
(74-29)the fine; and so ended the affair, so far as the city
(74-29)of Edinburgh was concerned.

(74-29)But, as if some fatality had attended the subject,
(74-29)a clause was thrown in, compelling the ministers of
(74-29)the Scottish church to read a proclamation from
(74-29)the pulpit, once every month during the space of a
(74-29)whole year, calling on the congregation to do all in

(74-29)their power for discovering; and bringing to justice
(74-29)the murderers of Captain Porteous, or any of them,
(74-29)and noticing the reward which Government had
(74-29)promised to such as should bring the malefactors
(74-29)to conviction. Many of the Scottish clergy
(74-29)resented this imposition, as indecorously rendering
(74-29)the pulpit a vehicle for a hue and cry, and still
(74-29)more as an attempt, on the part of the state, to
(74-29)interfere with the spiritual authorities of the kirk,
(74-29)which amounted, in their opinion, to an Erastian
(74-29)heresy. Neither was it held to be matter of
(74-29)indifference, that in reading the proclamation of the
(74-29)Legislature, the, clergymen were compelled to
(74-29)describe the bishops as the " Lords Spiritual in
(74-29)Parliament assembled;" an epithet seemingly
(74-29)acknowledging the legality and the rank of an
(74-29)order disavowed by all true Calvinists. The dispute
(74-29)was the more violent, as it was immediately subsequent
(74-29)to a schism in the church, on the fruitful
(74-29)subject of patronage, which had divided from the

[TG74-30]

(74-30)communion of the Established Church of Scotland
(74-30)that large class of dissenters, generally called
(74-30)Seceders. Much ill blood was excited, and great
(74-30)dissensions took place betwixt those clergymen
(74-30)who did, and those who did not, read the proclamation.
(74-30)This controversy, like others, had its hour,
(74-30)during which little else was spoken of, until in due
(74-30)time the subject was worn threadbare and forgotten.

(74-30)The origin of the Porteous Mob continued long
(74-30)to exercise the curiosity of those by whom the
(74-30)event was remembered, and from the extraordinary
(74-30)mixture of prudence and audacity with which the
(74-30)purpose of the multitude had been conceived and

(74-30)executed, as well as the impenetrable secrecy with
(74-30)which the enterprise was carried through, the public
(74-30)were much inclined to suspect that there had been
(74-30)among its actors men of rank and character, far
(74-30)superior to that belonging to the multitude who were
(74-30)the ostensible agents. Broken and imperfect stories
(74-30)were told of men in the disguise of women and of
(74-30)common artisans, whose manner betrayed a sex and
(74-30)manners different from what their garb announced.
(74-30)Others laughed at these as unauthorized exaggerations,
(74-30)and contended that no class were so likely to
(74-30)frame or execute the plan for the murder of the
(74-30)police officer, as the populace to whom his official
(74-30)proceedings had rendered him obnoxious, and that

[TG74-31]

(74-31)the secrecy so wonderfully preserved on the occasion
(74-31)arose out of the constancy and fidelity which
(74-31)the Scottish people observe towards each other
(74-31)when engaged in a common cause. Nothing is, or
(74-31)probably ever will be, known with certainty on the
(74-31)subject; but it is understood, that several young
(74-31)men left Scotland in apprehension of the strict
(74-31)scrutiny which was made into that night's proceedings;
(74-31)and in your grandfather's younger days, the
(74-31)voice of fame pointed out individuals, who, long
(74-31)absent from that country, had returned from the
(74-31)East and West Indies in improved circumstances,
(74-31)as persons who had fled abroad on account of the
(74-31)Porteous Mob. One story of the origin of the
(74-31)conspiracy was stated to me with so much authority,
(74-31)and seemed in itself so simple and satisfactory
(74-31)that although the degree of proof, upon investigation,
(74-31)fell far short of what was necessary as full
(74-31)evidence, I cannot help considering it as the most
(74-31)probable account of the mysterious affair. A man,

(74-31)who lung bore an excellent character, and tilled a
(74-31)place of some trust as forester and carpenter to a
(74-31)gentleman of fortune in Fife, was affirmed to have
(74-31)made a confession on Ins death-bed, that he had been
(74-31)not only one of the actors in the hanging of Porteous,
(74-31)but one of the secret few by whom the deed
(74-31)was schemed and set on foot. Twelve persons of
(74-31)the village of Path-head-so this man's narrative
(74-31)was said to proceed-resolved that Porteous should
(74-31)die, to atone for the life of Wilson, with whom
(74-31)many of them had been connected by the ties of
(74-31)friendship and joint adventure in illicit trade, and

[TG74-32]

(74-32)for the death of those shot at the execution. This
(74-32)vengeful band crossed the Forth by different
(74-32)ferries, and met together at a solitary place near the
(74-32)city, where they distributed the party which were
(74-32)to act in the business which they had in hand; and
(74-32)giving a beginning to the enterprise, soon saw it
(74-32)undertaken by the populace of the city, whose minds
(74-32)were precisely in that state of irritability which
(74-32)disposed them to follow the example of a few desperate
(74-32)men. According to this account, most of the
(74-32)original devisers of the scheme fled to foreign parts,
(74-32)the surprise of the usual authorities having
(74-32)occasioned some days to pass over ere the investigations
(74-32)of the affair were commenced. On making
(74-32)enquiry of the surviving family of this old man,
(74-32)they were found disposed to treat the rumoured
(74-32)confession as a fiction, and to allege that although
(74-32)he was of an age which seemed to support the
(74-32)story, and had gone abroad shortly after the
(74-32)Porteous Mob, yet he had never acknowledged any
(74-32)accession to it, but on the contrary, maintained his
(74-32)innocence when taxed, as he sometimes was, with

(74-32)having a concern in the affair. The report,
(74-32)however, though probably untrue in many of its
(74-32)circumstances, yet seems to give a very probable
(74-32)account of the origin of the riot in the vindictive
(74-32)purpose of a few resolute men, whose example was
(74-32)quickly followed by the multitude, already in a state
(74-32)of mind to catch fire from the slightest spark.

(74-32)This extraordinary and mysterious outrage seems
(74-32)to be the only circumstance which can be interesting
(74-32)to you, as exclusively belonging to the history

[TG74-33]

(74-33)of Scotland, betwixt the years immediately succeeding
(74-33)the civil war of 1715, and those preceding the
(74-33)last explosion of Jacobitism in that country, in
(74-33)1745-6.

[TG75-34]

(75-34)AFTER the temporary subjection of the
(75-34)Highlands in 1720, and the years immediately
(75-34)succeeding, had been in appearance completed, by the
(75-34)establishment of garrisons, the formation of military
(75-34)roads, and the general submission of the Highland
(75-34)clans who were most opposed to Government, Scotland
(75-34)enjoyed a certain degree of internal repose, if
(75-34)not of prosperity. To estimate the nature of this
(75-34)calm, we must look at the state of the country, in
(75-34)two points of view, as it concerned the Highlands
(75-34)and the Lowlands.

[TG75-35]

(75-35)In the Lowlands a superior degree of improvement
(75-35)began to take place, by the general influence
(75-35)of civilisation, rather than by the effect of any
(75-35)specific legislative enactment. The ancient laws, which

(75-35)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 which 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

[TG75-36]

(75-36)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

[TG75-37]

(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

(75-37)character of the nation, joined with the ready
(75-37)assistance which each Scotsman who attained
(75-37)prosperity extended to those who were struggling for it.
(75-37)very often led to success. The elder sons of the
(75-37)Scottish landholders were generally, like those of
(75-37)France, devoted to the law or to the sword, so that
(75-37)in one way or other they might add some means of
(75-37)increase to the family estates. Commerce was
(75-37)advancing by gradual steps. The colonial trade had
(75-37)opened slow but increasing sources of exertion to
(75-37)Glasgow, which is so conveniently situated for the
(75-37)trade with North America, of which that enterprising
(75-37)town early acquired a respectable portion.

(75-37)The Church of Scotland still afforded a respectable
(75-37)asylum for such as were disposed to turn their
(75-37)thoughts towards it. It could, indeed, in no shape
(75-37)afford wealth, but it gave sufficiency for the
(75-37)moderate wants of a useful clergyman, and a degree
(75-37)of influence over the minds of men, which, to a
(75-37)generous spirit, is more valuable than opulence.
(75-37)The respectability of the situation, and its importance
(75-37)in society, reconciled the clergyman to its
(75-37)poverty, an evil little felt, where few could be
(75-37)termed rich.

[TG75-38]

(75-38)Learning was not so accurately cultivated as in
(75-38)the sister country. But although it was rare to
(75-38)find a Scottish gentleman, even when a divine or
(75-38)lawyer, thoroughly grounded in classical lore, it
(75-38)was still more uncommon to find men in the higher
(75-38)ranks who did not possess a general tincture of
(75-38)letters, or, thanks to their system of parochial
(75-38)education, individuals even in the lowest classes, without
(75-38)the knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

(75-38)A certain degree of pedantry, indeed, was
(75-38)considered as a characteristic of the nation, and
(75-38)the limited scholarship which it argued, proved
(75-38)eminently useful to Scotchmen, who, going abroad,
(75-38)or to England, which they considered as a foreign
(75-38)country, mixed in the struggle for success with the
(75-38)advantage of superior information over those of
(75-38)the same class elsewhere. Thomson, Mallet, and
(75-38)others engaged in the pursuits of literature, were
(75-38)content to receive their reward from the sister
(75-38)country; and if we except the Poems of Allan
(75-38)Ramsay, praised by his countrymen, but neither
(75-38)relished nor understood by South Britons, the Scots
(75-38)made little figure in composition, compared to the
(75-38)period of Gawin Douglas and Dunbar. Upon the
(75-38)whole, the situation of Scotland during the early
(75-38)part of the eighteenth century, was like that of a
(75-38)newly transplanted forest-tree, strong enough to
(75-38)maintain itself in its new situation, but too much
(75-38)influenced by the recent violence of the change of
(75-38)position, to develope with freedom its principles
(75-38)of growth or increase.

(75-38)The principal cause which rendered Scotland

[TG75-39]

(75-39)stationary in its advance, towards improvement,
(75-39)was the malevolent influence of political party. No
(75-39)efforts seem to have been made to heal the rankling
(75-39)wounds which the civil war of 1715 had left
(75-39)behind it. The party in favour failed not, as is
(75-39)always the case, to represent those who were
(75-39)excluded from it as the most dangerous enemies of
(75-39)the king on the throne, and the constitution by
(75-39)which he reigned; and those who were branded
(75-39)as Jacobites were confirmed in their opinions, by

(75-39)finding themselves shut out from all prospect of
(75-39)countenance and official employment. Almost all
(75-39)beneficial situations were barred against those who
(75-39)were suspected of harbouring such sentiments, by
(75-39)the necessity imposed on them, not only of taking
(75-39)oaths to the established government, but also such
(75-39)as expressly denounced and condemned the
(75-39)political opinions of those who differed from it. Men
(75-39)of high spirit and honourable feelings were averse
(75-39)to take, oaths by which they were required openly
(75-39)to stigmatize and disown the opinions of their
(75-39)fathers and nearest relatives, although perhaps they
(75-39)themselves saw the fallacy of the proscribed tenets,
(75-39)and were disposed tacitly to abandon them. Those
(75-39)of the higher class, once falling under suspicion,
(75-39)were thus excluded from the bar and the army,
(75-39)which we have said were the professions embraced
(75-39)by the elder sons of gentlemen. The necessary
(75-39)consequence was, that the sons of Jacobite families
(75-39)went into foreign service and drew closer those
(75-39)connexions with the exiled family, which they
(75-39)might have otherwise been induced to drop, and

[TG75-40]

(75-40)became confirmed in their party opinions, even from
(75-40)the measures employed to suppress them. In the
(75-40)rank immediately lower, many young men of
(75-40)decent families were induced to renounce the privileges
(75-40)of their birth, and undertake mechanical employments,
(75-40)in which their conduct could not be obstructed
(75-40)by the imposition of the obnoxious oaths.

(75-40)It was fortunate for the peace of the kingdom,
(75-40)that, though many of the landed gentry were still
(75-40)much imbued with the principles of Jacobitism,
(75-40)they did not retain the influence which so long

(75-40)rendered them the active disturbers of the Government;
(75-40)for, although the feudal rights still subsisted
(75-40)in form, it was now a more difficult matter for a
(75-40)great lord to draw into the field the vassals who
(75-40)held of him by military tenure. The various
(75-40)confiscations which had taken place operated as serious
(75-40)warnings to such great families as those of Gordon,
(75-40)Athole, Seaforth, or others, how they rashly
(75-40)hoisted the standard of rebellion, while the provisions
(75-40)of the Clan Act and other statutes, enabled
(75-40)the vassal so summoned to dispense with attendance
(75-40)upon it, without hazarding, as in former times,
(75-40)the forfeiture of his fief. Nor was the influence
(75-40)of the gentry and landed proprietors over the
(75-40)farmers and cultivators of the soil less diminished
(75-40)than that of the great nobles. When the
(75-40)proprietors, as was now generally the case throughout
(75-40)the Lowlands, became determined to get the
(75-40)highest rent they could obtain for their land, the
(75-40)farmer did not feel his situation either so easy or
(75-40)so secure, that he should, in addition, be called on

[TG75-41]

(75-41)to follow his landlord to battle. It must also be
(75-41)remembered, that though many gentlemen, on the
(75-41)north of the Tay especially, were of the Episcopal
(75-41)persuasion, which was almost synonymous
(75-41)with being Jacobites, a great proportion of the
(75-41)lower classes were Presbyterian in their form of
(75-41)worship, and Whigs in political principle, and every
(75-41)way adverse to the counter-revolution which it was
(75-41)the object of their landlords to establish. In the
(75-41)south and west, the influence of the established
(75-41)religion was general amongst both gentry and
(75-41)peasantry.

(75-41)The fierce feelings occasioned throughout Scotland
(75-41)generally, by the recollections of the Union,
(75-41)had died away with the generation which
(75-41)experienced them, and the benefits of the treaty began
(75-41)to be visibly, though slowly, influential on their
(75-41)descendants. The Lowlands, therefore, being by
(75-41)far the wealthiest and most important part of Scotland,
(75-41)were much disposed to peace, the rather that
(75-41)those who might have taken some interest in
(75-41)creating fresh disturbances, had their power of doing
(75-41)so greatly diminished.

(75-41)It is also to be considered, that the Lowlanders
(75-41)of this later period were generally deprived of arms,
(75-41)and unaccustomed to use them. The Act of Security,
(75-41)in the beginning of the 18th century, had been
(75-41)made the excuse for introducing quantities of arms
(75-41)into Scotland, and disciplining the population to
(75-41)the use of them; but the consequences of this
(75-41)general arming and training act had long ceased to

[TG75-42]

(75-42)operate, and, excepting the militia, which were
(75-42)officered; and received a sort of discipline, the use
(75-42)of arms was totally neglected in the Lowlands of
(75-42)Scotland.

(75-42)The Highlands were in a very different state,
(75-42)and from the tenacity with which the inhabitants
(75-42)retained the dress, language, manners, and customs
(75-42)of their fathers, more nearly resembled their
(75-42)predecessors of centuries long since past, than any
(75-42)other nation in Europe. It is true, they were no
(75-42)longer the ignorant and irreclaimable barbarians,
(75-42)in which light they were to be regarded so late
(75-42)perhaps as the sixteenth century. Civilisation had

(75-42)approached their mountains. Their mariners were
(75-42)influenced by the presence of armed strangers,
(75-42)whose fortresses were a check to the fire of their
(75-42)restless courage. They were obliged to yield
(75-42)subjection to the law, and, in appearance at least, to
(75-42)pay respect to those by whom it was administered.
(75-42)But the patriarchal system still continued, with
(75-42)all the good and bad which attached to its influence.
(75-42)The chief was still the leader in war, the judge and
(75-42)protector in peace. The whole income of the tribe,
(75-42)consisting of numerous but petty articles of rude
(75-42)produce, was paid into the purse of the chief, and
(75-42)served to support the rude hospitality of his household,
(75-42)which was extended to the poorest of the clan.
(75-42)It was still the object of each leader, by all
(75-42)possible means, to augment the number capable of bearing,
(75-42)arms; and, of course, they did not hesitate to
(75-42)harbour on their estates an excess of population,
[TG75-43]
(75-43)idle, haughty, and warlike, whose only labour was
(75-43)battle and the chase, and whose only law was the
(75-43)command of their chieftain.

(75-43)It is true, that, in the eighteenth century, we no
(75-43)longer hear of the chiefs taking arms in their own
(75-43)behalf, or fighting pitched battles with each other,
(75-43)nor did they, as formerly, put themselves at the
(75-43)head of the parties which ravaged the estates of
(75-43)rival clans or the Lowlands. The creaghs or
(75-43)inroads took place in a less open and avowed manner
(75-43)than formerly, and were interrupted frequently
(75-43)both by the regular soldiers from the garrisons, and
(75-43)by the soldiers of the independent companies, called
(75-43)the Black Watch. Still, however, it was well
(75-43)understood that on the estates, or countries, as they
(75-43)are called, of the great chiefs, there was suffered to

(75-43)exist, under some bond of understood but unavowed
(75-43)conditions of allegiance on the one side, and protection
(75-43)on the other, amongst pathless woods and
(75-43)gloomy valleys, gangs of banditti ready to execute
(75-43)the will of the chief by whom they were sheltered,
(75-43)and upon a hint darkly given and easily caught up,
(75-43)willingly disposed to avenge his real, or supposed

[TG75-44]

(75-44)wrongs. Thus the celebrated Rob Roy, at the
(75-44)commencement of the eighteenth century, was able,
(75-44)though an outlawed and desperate man, to maintain
(75-44)himself against every effort of the Montrose family,
(75-44)by the connivance which he received from that of
(75-44)Argyle, who allowed him, as the phrase then went,
(75-44)"wood and water," that is to say, the protection of
(75-44)their lakes and forests.

(75-44)This primitive state of things must, in the
(75-44)gradual course of events, have suffered great
(75-44)innovations. The young Highlanders of fortune received
(75-44)their education in English or Lowland schools, and,
(75-44)gradually adopting the ideas of those with whom
(75-44)they were brought up, must have learned to value
(75-44)themselves less on their solitary and patriarchal
(75-44)power, than on the articles of personal expenditure
(75-44)and display which gave distinction to those around
(75-44)them. This new passion would have been found
(75-44)in time inconsistent with the performance of the
(75-44)duties which the tribe expected and exacted from
(75-44)their chief, and the bonds which connected them,
(75-44)though so singularly intimate, must have in time
(75-44)given way. The Reverend Peter Rae, historian
(75-44)of the Rebellion in 1715, states that, even in his
(75-44)own time, causes of the nature we have hinted at
(75-44)were beginning to operate, and that some chiefs,

(75-44)with the spaghlin or assumption of consequence not

[TG75-45]

(75-45)uncommon to the Celtic race, had addicted
(75-45)themselves to expenses and luxuries to which their
(75-45)incomes were not equal/and which began already to
(75-45)undermine their patriarchal power and authority
(75-45)over their clans.

(75-45)But the operation of such causes, naturally slow,
(75-45)was rendered almost imperceptible, if not altogether
(75-45)neutralized, by the strong and counteracting
(75-45)stimulus afforded by the feelings of jacobitism common
(75-45)to the western chiefs. These persons and
(75-45)their relations had many of them been educated or
(75-45)served as soldiers abroad, and were in close
(75-45)intercourse with the exiled family, who omitted no
(75-45)means by which they could ensure the attachment
(75-45)of men so able to serve them. The communication
(75-45)of the Stewart family with the Highlands was
(75-45)constant and unceasing, and was, no doubt, most
(75-45)effectual in maintaining the patriarchal system in its
(75-45)integrity. Each chief looked upon himself as destined
(75-45)to be raised to greatness by the share he might be
(75-45)able to take in the eventful and impending struggle
(75-45)which was one day to restore the House of Stewart
(75-45)to the throne, and that share must be greater or
(75-45)less according to the number of men at whose head
(75-45)he might take the field.¹ This prospect, which to

[TG75-46]

(75-46)their sanguine, eyes appeared a near one, was a
(75-46)motive which influenced the lives, and regulated
(75-46)the conduct, of the Highland chiefs, and which had
(75-46)its natural effect in directing their emulous attention
(75-46)to cement the bonds of clanship, that might otherwise

(75-46)have been gradually relaxed.

(75-46)But though almost all the chiefs were endeavoring
(75-46)to preserve their people in a state to take the
(75-46)field, and to assist the cause of the heir of the
(75-46)Stewart family when the moment of enterprise
(75-46)should arrive, yet the individual character of each
(75-46)modified the manner in which he endeavoured to
(75-46)provide for this common object; and I cannot
(75-46)propose to you a stronger contrast than the manner in
(75-46)which the patriarchal power was exercised by
(75-46)Donald Cameron of Lochiel, and the notorious
(75-46)Fraser of Lovat.

(75-46)The former was one of the most honourable and
(75-46)well-intentioned persons in whom the patriarchal
(75-46)power was ever lodged. He was grandson of that
(75-46)Sir Evan Dhu, or Black Sir Evan, who made so
(75-46)great a figure in Cromwell's time, and of whom I
(75-46)have already told you many stories in a former
(75-46)volume of this little work. Far from encouraging

[TG75-47]

(75-47)the rapine which had, been, for a long time
(75-47)objected to the men of Lochaber, he made the most
(75-47)anxious exertions to put a stop to it by severe
(75-47)punishment; and while he protected his own
(75-47)people and his allies, would not permit them to
(75-47)inflict any injury upon others. He encouraged
(75-47)among them such kinds of industry as they could
(75-47)be made to apply themselves to; and in general
(75-47)united the high spirit of a Highland chief: with the
(75-47)sense and intelligence of a well-educated English
(75-47)gentleman of fortune. Although possessed of an
(75-47)estate, of which the income hardly amounted to
(75-47)seven hundred a-year, this celebrated chief brought

(75-47)fourteen hundred men into the Rebellion, and he
(75-47)was honourably distinguished by his endeavours on
(75-47)all occasions to mitigate the severities of war,

[TG75-48]

(75-48)and deter the insurgents from acts of vindictive
(75-48)violence.

(75-48)A different picture must be presented of Lord
(75-48)Lovat, whose irregular ambition induced him to
(75-48)play the Highland chief to the very utmost, while
(75-48)he cared for nothing save the means of applying
(75-48)the power Implied in the character to the advancement
(75-48)of his own interest. His hospitality was
(75-48)exuberant, yet was regulated by means which
(75-48)savoured much of a paltry economy. His table was
(75-48)filled with Frasers, all of whom he called his
(75-48)cousins, but took care that the fare with which they
(75-48)were regaled was adapted, not to the supposed
(75-48)equality, but to the actual importance of his guests.
(75-48)Thus the claret diet not pass below a particular
(75-48)mark on the table; those who sat beneath that
(75-48)limit had some cheaper liquor, which had also its
(75-48)bounds of circulation; and the clansmen at the
(75-48)extremity of the board were served with single ale.
(75-48)Still it was drunk at the table of their chief, and
(75-48)that made amends for all. Lovat had a Lowland
(75-48)estate, where he fleeced his tenants without mercy,
(75-48)for the sake of maintaining his Highland military,
(75-48)retainers. He was a master of the Highland
(75-48)character, and knew how to avail himself of its
(75-48)peculiarities. He knew every one whom it was convenient
(75-48)for him to caress; had been acquainted with
(75-48)his father; remembered the feats of his ancestors,
(75-48)and was profuse in his complimentary expressions,
(75-48)of praise and fondness. If a man of substance

(75-48)offended Lovat, or, which was the same thing, if he
(75-48)possessed a troublesome claim against him, and was

[TG75-49]

(75-49)determined to enforce it, one would have thought
(75-49)that all the plagues of Egypt had been denounced
(75-49)against the obnoxious individual. His house was
(75-49)burnt, his flocks driven off, his cattle houghed; and
(75-49)if the perpetrators of such outrages were secured,
(75-49)the jail of Inverness was never strong enough to
(75-49)detain them till punishment. They always broke
(75-49)prison. With persons of low rank, less ceremony
(75-49)was used; and it was not uncommon for witnesses
(75-49)to appear against them for some imaginary crime,
(75-49)for which Lord Lovat's victims suffered the
(75-49)punishment of transportation.

(75-49)We cannot wonder that a man of Lovat's disposition
(75-49)should also play the domestic tyrant; but it
(75-49)would be difficult to conceive the excess to which
(75-49)he carried enormities in this character. After his
(75-49)return to Scotland in 1715, he was twice married;
(75-49)first, in 1717, to a daughter of the Laird of Grant,
(75-49)by whom he had two sons and two daughters; his
(75-49)second, or rather his third wife, was a Campbell, a
(75-49)relation of the Argyle family. It is supposed he
(75-49)married her with a view to secure the friendship of
(75-49)that great family. Finding himself disappointed in
(75-49)this expectation, he vented his resentment on the
(75-49)poor lady, whom he shut up in a turret of his
(75-49)castle, neither affording her food, clothes, or other
(75-49)necessaries, in a manner suitable to her education,
(75-49)nor permitting her to go abroad, or to receive any
(75-49)friend within doors. Dark rumours went forth of
(75-49)the treatment of the wife of this daring chief, who
(75-49)had thus vanished from society. She had a friend,

(75-49)whose fearless interest in her fate induced her to

[TG75-50]

(75-50)surmount all sense of personal danger, and to visit
(75-50)Castle Downie with the purpose of ascertaining the
(75-50)situation of Lady Lovat. She contrived to
(75-50)announce her arrival so unexpectedly, as to leave
(75-50)Lovat no apology by which he could escape her intrusive
(75-50)visit. He took his resolution, went to the prison-
(75-50)chamber of his unfortunate wife, and announced to
(75-50)her the arrival of her friend. " As it is my
(75-50)pleasure, madam," he said, " that you receive your
(75-50)visitor in the character of a contented and
(75-50)affectionate wife, you will please to dress yourself"
(75-50)(laying proper apparel before her), "and come
(75-50)down with the easy and free air of the mistress of
(75-50)the mansion, happy in her husband's affection and
(75-50)unlimited trust. It will become you to beware how
(75-50)you give the least hint of any discord between you
(75-50)and me; for secret eyes will be upon you, and you
(75-50)know what reason you have to dread disobeying
(75-50)my commands." In this manner the poor lady met
(75-50)her friend, with her tongue padlocked concerning
(75-50)all that she would willingly have disclosed, Lovat
(75-50)contriving all the while to maintain so constant a
(75-50)watch on his wife and her visitor, that they could
(75-50)not obtain the least opportunity of speaking apart.
(75-50)The visitor, however, in the very silence and
(75-50)constraint of her friend, had seen enough to satisfy her
(75-50)that all was not well; and when she left Castle
(75-50)Downie, became importunate with Lady Lovat's
(75-50)family to be active in her behalf. She in
(75-50)consequence obtained a separation from her cruel
(75-50)husband, whom she long survived.

(75-50)Such acts of tyranny were the dismal fruits of

[TG75-51]

(75-51)the patriarchal power, when lodged in the hands
(75-51)of a man of fraud and violence. But Lovat's
(75-51)conduct was so exaggerated, as inclines us to believe
(75-51)there must have been a certain mixture of deranged
(75-51)intellect with his wickedness; a compound
(75-51)perfectly reconcilable to the profound craft which
(75-51)displayed itself in other points of his character.
(75-51)I must not forget to notice that Lord Lovat,
(75-51)having obtained the command of one of the Highland
(75-51)independent companies, in consequence of his
(75-51)services in the year 1715y took advantage of the
(75-51)opportunity it gave him to make all the men of his
(75-51)clan familiar with the use of arms; for though he
(75-51)could not legally have more than a certain number
(75-51)of men under arms at once, yet nothing was more
(75-51)easy than to exchange the individuals from time to
(75-51)time, till the whole younger Frasers had passed a

[TG75-52]

(75-52)few months at least in the corps. He became
(75-52)incautious, however, and appeared too publicly in
(75-52)some suspicious purchases of arms and ammunition
(75-52)from abroad. Government became alarmed about
(75-52)his intentions¹ and withdrew his commission in the
(75-52)Black Watch. This happened in 1737, and it was,
(75-52)as we shall hereafter see, the indignation arising
(75-52)from being deprived of this independent company,
(75-52)that finally determined him on rushing into the
(75-52)rebellion.

(75-52)Few of the Highland chiefs could claim the
(75-52)spotless character due to Lochiel, and none, so far
(75-52)as is known to us, descended to such nefarious
(75-52)practices as Lovat. The conduct of most of them

(75-52)hovered between the wild and lawless expedients
(75-52)of their predecessors in power, and the new ideas
(75-52)of honour and respect to the rights of others which
(75-52)recent times had introduced; and they did good or
(75-52)committed evil as opportunity and temptation were
(75-52)presented to them. In general a spirit of honour
(75-52)and generosity was found to unite easily and
(75-52)gracefully with their patriarchal pretensions; and those

[TG75-53]

(75-53)who had to deal with them gained more by an
(75-53)appeal to their feelings than by arguments addressed
(75-53)to their understandings.

(75-53)Having thus taken a view of the situation of
(75-53)Scotland both in the Highlands and Lowlands, we
(75-53)must next take some notice of the political condition
(75-53)of the two contending families, by whom the
(75-53)crown of Great Britain was at the time disputed.

(75-53)George, the first of his family who had ascended
(75-53)the British throne, had transmitted the important
(75-53)acquisition to his son, George II. Both sovereigns
(75-53)were men of honour, courage, and good sense; but,
(75-53)being born and educated foreigners, they were
(75-53)strangers to the peculiar character, no less than to
(75-53)the very complicated form of government, of the
(75-53)country over which they were called by Providence
(75-53)to reign. They were1 successively under the
(75-53)necessity of placing the administration in the hands
(75-53)of a man of distinguished talent, the celebrated Sir
(75-53)Robert Walpole. Unfortunately, this great statesman
(75-53)Was a man of a coarse mind, who altogether
(75-53)disbelieving in the very existence of patriotism, held
(75-53)the opinion that every man had his price, and might
(75-53)be bought if his services were worth the value at

(75-53)which he rated them. His creed was as unfavourable
(75-53)to the probity of public men, as that of a leader
(75-53)who should disbelieve in the existence of military
(75-53)honour would be degrading to the character of a
(75-53)soldier. The venality of Sir Robert Walpole's
(75-53)administration became a shame and reproach to the
(75-53)British nation, which was also burdened with the

[TG75-54]

(75-54)means of supplying the wages of the national
(75-54)corruption.

(75-54)The kings also, George I. and II., under whom
(75-54)Sir Robert Walpole conducted public affairs, were
(75-54)themselves unpopular from a very natural reason.
(75-54)They loved with fond partiality their paternal
(75-54)dominions of Hanover, and the manners and customs
(75-54)of the country in which they had been born and
(75-54)bred. Their intimacy and confidence were chiefly
(75-54)imparted to those of their own nation; and so far,
(75-54)though the preference might be disagreeable to
(75-54)their British subjects, the error flowed from a laudable
(75-54)motive. But both the royal father and son
(75-54)suffered themselves to be hurried farther than this.
(75-54)Regard for their German territories was the principle
(75-54)which regulated their political movements,
(75-54)and both alliances and hostilities were engaged in
(75-54)for interests and disputes which were of a nature
(75-54)exclusively German, and with which the British
(75-54)nation had nothing to do. Out of this undue
(75-54)partiality for their native dominions arose a great
(75-54)clamour against the two first kings of the House
(75-54)of Guelph, that, called to the government of so fair
(75-54)and ample a kingdom as Britain, they neglected or
(75-54)sacrificed its interests for those of the petty and
(75-54)subaltern concerns of their electorate of Hanover.

(75-54) Besides other causes of unpopularity, the length
(75-54) of Sir Robert Walpole's administration was alone
(75-54) sufficient to render it odious to a people so fickle as
(75-54) the English, who soon become weary of one class
(75-54) of measures, and still sooner of the administration

[TG75-55]

(75-55) of any one minister. For these various reasons,
(75-55) the government of Sir Robert Walpole, especially
(75-55) towards its close, was highly unpopular in
(75-55) England, and the Opposition attacked it with a degree
(75-55) of fury which made those who watched the strife
(75-55) from a distance imagine, that language so outrageous
(75-55) was that of men in the act of revolt. The
(75-55) foreign nations, whose ideas of our constitution
(75-55) were as imperfect formerly as they are at this
(75-55) moment, listened like men who hear what they
(75-55) conceive to be the bursting of a steam-engine, when
(75-55) the noise only announces the action of the safety-
(75-55) valves.

(75-55) While the family of Hanover maintained an
(75-55) uneasy seat on an unpopular throne, the fortunes
(75-55) of the House of Stewart seemed much on the
(75-55) decline. Obligated to leave France, Spain, and Avignon,
(75-55) and not permitted to settle in Germany, the
(75-55) Chevalier de St George was obliged, shortly after
(75-55) his Scottish enterprise of 1715, to retire to Italy,
(75-55) where the sufferings of his father for the Roman
(75-55) Catholic religion gave him the fairest right to
(75-55) expect hospitality. He was then in the thirtieth year
(75-55) of his age, the last male of his unfortunate family,
(75-55) when, by the advice of his counsellors, he fixed his
(75-55) choice of a wife on the Princess Clementina Sobieski,
(75-55) daughter to Prince James Sobieski of Poland,

(75-55)and grand-daughter to that King John Sobieski
(75-55)who defeated the Turks before Vienna. This
(75-55)young lady was accounted one of the greatest
(75-55)fortunes in Europe. The dazzling pretension to the
(75-55)British crown set forth by the negotiator of the

[TG75-56]

(75-56)marriage on the part of James, propitiated the
(75-56)parents of the princess, and it was agreed that she
(75-56)should be conducted privately to Bologna, with a
(75-56)view to her union with the Chevalier de St George.
(75-56)Some extra preparation on the part of the princess
(75-56)and her mother, in the way of dress and equipage,
(75-56)brought the intrigue to the knowledge of the
(75-56)British court, who exerted all their influence with that
(75-56)of Austria for the interruption of the match. The
(75-56)Emperor, obliged to keep measures with Britain on
(75-56)account of his pretensions to Sicily, which were
(75-56)supported by the English fleet, arrested the bride
(75-56)as she passed through Innsbruck, in the Tyrol, and
(75-56)detained her, along with her mother, prisoners in a
(75-56)cloister of that town. The Emperor also deprived
(75-56)Prince James Sobieski the lady's father, of his
(75-56)government of Augsburg, and caused him to be
(75-56)imprisoned.

(75-56)A bold attempt for the release of the princess
(75-56)was contrived and executed by Charles Wogan,
(75-56)who had been one of the prisoners at Preston, and
(75-56)was a devoted partisan of the cause in which he
(75-56)had nearly lost his life. He obtained a passport
(75-56)from the Austrian ambassador, in the name of
(75-56)Count Cernes and family, stated to be returning
(75-56)From Loretto to the Low Countries. A Major
(75-56)Misset and his wife, personated the supposed count
(75-56)and countess; Wogan was to pass for the brother

(75-56)of the count ; the Princess Clementina, when she
(75-56)should be liberated, was to represent the count's
(75-56)sister, which character was in the mean time enacted
(75-56)by a small girl, a domestic of Mrs Misset. They

[TG75-57]

(75-57)represented to the wench that she was only to
(75-57)remain one or two days in confinement, in the room
(75-57)of a lady whom Captain Toole, one of the party,
(75-57)was to carry off, and whose escape it might be
(75-57)necessary to conceal for some time. Captain Toole,
(75-57)with two other steady partisans, attended on the
(75-57)party of the supposed Count Cernes, in the dress
(75-57)and character of domestics.

(75-57)They arrived at Innsbruck on the evening of
(75-57)the 27th of April, 1719, and took a lodging near
(75-57)the convent. It appears that a trusty domestic of
(75-57)the princess had secured permission of the porter
(75-57)to bring a female with him into the cloister, and
(75-57)conduct her out at whatever hour he pleased. This
(75-57)was a great step in favour of their success, as it
(75-57)permitted the agents of the Chevalier de St George
(75-57)to introduce the young female, and to carry out
(75-57)Clementina Sobieski in her stead. But while they
(75-57)were in consultation upon the means of executing
(75-57)their plan, Jenny, the servant girl, heard them name
(75-57)the word princess, and afraid of being involved in a
(75-57)matter where persons of such rank were concerned,
(75-57)declared she would have nothing more to do with
(75-57)the plot. Many fair words, a few pieces of gold,
(75-57)and the promise of a fine suit of damask belonging
(75-57)to her mistress, overcame her scruples; and taking
(75-57)advantage of a storm of snow and hail Jenny was
(75-57)safely introduced into the cloister and the princess,
(75-57)changing clothes with her, came out at the hour by

(75-57)which the stranger was to return. Through bad
(75-57)roads and worse weather they pushed on till they
(75-57)quitted the Austrian territories, and entered those

[TG75-58]

(75-58)of Venice. On the 2d of May, after a journey of
(75-58)great fatigue and some danger, they arrived at
(75-58)Bologna, where the princess thought it unnecessary
(75-58)to remain longer incognita.

(75-58)In the mean time, while his destined bride made
(75-58)her escape from the Tyrol, the Chevalier had been
(75-58)suddenly called on to undertake a private expedition
(75-58)to Spain. The lady was espoused in his
(75-58)absence by a trusty adherent, who had the Chevalier's
(75-58)proxy to that effect, and the bridegroom's visit to
(75-58)Spain having terminated in nothing satisfactory, he
(75-58)soon after returned to complete the marriage.

(75-58)The Jacobites drew many happy omens from the
(75-58)success with which the romantic union of the
(75-58)Chevalier de St. George was achieved, although after
(75-58)all, it may be doubted whether the Austrian
(75-58)Emperor, though obliged in appearance to comply with
(75-58)the remonstrances of the British Court, was either
(75-58)seriously anxious to prevent the Princess's escape,
(75-58)or extremely desirous that she should be retaken.

(75-58)By this union the Chevalier de St George transmitted
(75-58)his hereditary claims, and with them his evil
(75-58)luck, to two sons. The first, Charles Edward, born
(75-58)the 31st of December, 1720, was remarkable for the
(75-58)figure he made during the civil war of 1745-6; the
(75-58)second, Henry Benedict, born the 6th of March,
(75-58)1725, for being the last male heir, in the direct line,
(75-58)of the unfortunate House of Stewart. He bore the

(75-58)title of Duke of York, and entering the Church of
(75-58)Rome, was promoted to the rank of Cardinal.

(75-58)The various schemes and projects which were
(75-58)agitated, one after another, in the councils of the

[TG75-59]

(75-59)Chevalier de St George, and which for a time
(75-59)served successively to nourish and keep afloat the
(75-59)hopes of his partisans in England and Scotland,
(75-59)were so numerous, so indifferently concocted, and
(75-59)so ineffectual in their consequences, that, to borrow
(75-59)an expression from the poet, the voyage of his life
(75-59)might be said to be spent in shallows.¹

(75-59)With whatever Court Britain happened to have
(75-59)a quarrel, thither came the unfortunate heir of the
(75-59)House of Stewart, to show his miseries and to
(75-59)boast his pretensions. But though treated with
(75-59)decency, and sometimes fed with hopes which
(75-59)proved altogether fallacious, the Chevalier found
(75-59)his eloquence too feeble to persuade any Government
(75-59)to embarrass themselves by making common
(75-59)cause with him after the miscarriage of the
(75-59)Spanish invasion of 1719, which only gave rise to the
(75-59)petty skirmish of Glenshiel. In the intervals of
(75-59)these ineffectual negotiations, the Chevalier's
(75-59)domestic establishment was divided by petty intrigues
(75-59)among his advisers, in which his wife occasionally
(75-59)took such keen interest, as to proclaim, in a public
(75-59)and scandalous degree, their domestic disunion.
(75-59)From all these circumstances, from his advance in
(75-59)years, and the disappointments which he brooded
(75-59)over, the warmest adherents of the House of Stewart

[TG75-60]

(75-60)ceased to expect any thing from the personal
(75-60)exertions of him whom they called their King,
(75-60)and reposed the hopes of their party in the spirit
(75-60)and talents of his eldest son, Charles Edward;
(75-60)whose external appearance, and personal
(75-60)accomplishments seemed at first sight to justify his high
(75-60)pretensions, and to fit him well for the leader of
(75-60)any bold and gallant enterprise by which they
(75-60)might be enforced.

(75-60)In attempting to describe to you this remarkable
(75-60)young man, I am desirous of qualifying the
(75-60)exaggerated praise heaped upon him by his enthusiastic
(75-60)adherents and no less so to avoid repeating the
(75-60)disparaging language of public and political opponents,
(75-60)and of discontented and disobliged followers, who
(75-60)have written rather under the influence of their
(75-60)resentments than in defence of truth.

(75-60)Prince Charles Edward styling himself Prince

[TG75-61]

(75-61)of Wales, was a youth of tall stature and fair
(75-61)complexion. His features were of a noble and elevated
(75-61)cast but tinged with an expression of melancholy.
(75-61)His manners were courteous, his temper apparently
(75-61)good, his courage of a nature fit for the most
(75-61)desperate undertakings, his strength of constitution
(75-61)admirable, and his knowledge of manly exercises
(75-61)and accomplishments perfect. These were all
(75-61)qualities highly in favour of one who prepared to act
(75-61)the restorer of an ancient dynasty. On the other
(75-61)hand, his education had been strangely neglected
(75-61)in certain points of the last consequence to his
(75-61)success. Instead of being made acquainted with the
(75-61)rights and constitution of the English nation by

(75-61)those who superintended his education, they had
(75-61)taken care to train him up exclusively in those
(75-61)absurd, perverse, exaggerated and antiquated
(75-61)doctrines of divine hereditary right, and passive
(75-61)obedience, out of which had arisen the errors and
(75-61)misfortunes of the reign of his ancestor, James the
(75-61)Second of England. He had been also strictly
(75-61)brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, which had
(75-61)proved so fatal to his grandfather; and thus he was
(75-61)presented to the British nation without any alteration
(75-61)or modification of those false tenets in church
(75-61)and state so obnoxious to those whom he called his
(75-61)subjects, and which had cost his ancestor a throne.
(75-61)It was a natural consequence of the high ideas of
(75-61)regal prerogative in which he was trained, though
(75-61)it might also be in some respects owing to a temper
(75-61)naturally haughty and cold, that the young Prince
(75-61)was apt to consider the most important services

[TG75-62]

(75-62)rendered him, and the greatest dangers encountered
(75-62)in his cause, as sufficiently to reward the actors by
(75-62)the internal consciousness of having discharged their
(75-62)duties as loyal subjects, nor did he regard them as
(75-62)obligations laying him under a debt which required
(75-62)acknowledgment or recompense. This degree of
(75-62)indifference to the lives or safety of his followers
(75-62)(the effect of a very bad education) led to an
(75-62)indulgence in rash and sanguine hopes, which could
(75-62)only be indulged at an extravagant risk to all
(75-62)concerned. It was the duty of every subject to sacrifice
(75-62)every thing for his Prince, and if this duty was
(75-62)discharged, what results could be imagined too
(75-62)difficult for their efforts? Such were the principles
(75-62)instilled into the mind of the descendant of the
(75-62)ill-starred House of Stewart.

(75-62)It is easy to be imagined, that these latter attributes
(75-62)were carefully veiled over in the accounts of
(75-62)the character of the young Chevalier, as spread
(75-62)abroad by his adherents within Scotland and
(75-62)England; and that he was held up to hope and
(75-62)admiration, as a shoot of the stem of Robert Bruce, and
(75-62)as one who, by every perfection of mind and body,
(75-62)was ordained to play anew the part of that great
(75-62)restorer of the Scottish monarchy.

(75-62)The state of the Jacobite party, both in the
(75-62)Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, has been
(75-62)already noticed. In England it was far inferior
(75-62)to its strength in 1715; the fatal affair of Preston
(75-62)was remembered with dread. But many great
(75-62)families attached to the High Church principles
(75-62)continued to look with a longing eye towards him

[TG75-63]

(75-63)whom they regarded as the heir of the crown, by
(75-63)indefeasible right; and some, at considerable risk
(75-63)to their persons and estates, maintained an
(75-63)intercourse with the agents of the old Chevalier de St
(75-63)George, who thus received intelligence of their
(75-63)hopes and plans. The principal of these were the
(75-63)Wynnes of Wynnstay, in Wales, with the great
(75-63)family of Windham. Other houses, either Catholics
(75-63)or High Churchmen; in the west, were united
(75-63)in the same interest. A great part of the Church
(75-63)of England clergy retained their ancient prejudices;
(75-63)and the Universities, Oxford in particular,
(75-63)still boasted a powerful party, at the head of which
(75-63)was Dr William King, Principal of St Mary's
(75-63)Hall, who entered into the same sentiments.

(75-63)Such being the state of affairs when war was
(75-63)declared betwixt Britain and Spain, in 1740, seven
(75-63)daring Scottish Jacobites signed an association,
(75-63)engaging themselves to risk their lives and fortunes
(75-63)for the restoration of the Stewart family, provided
(75-63)that France would send a considerable body of
(75-63)troops to their assistance. The titular Duke of
(75-63)Perth, the Earl of Traquair, Lochiel, and Lovat,
(75-63)were of the number who signed this association.

(75-63)The agent employed to advocate the cause of
(75-63)the Jacobites at Paris, was Drummond, alias
(75-63)MacGregor, of Bohaldie, with whom was Joined a person
(75-63)whom they called Lord Semple; these agents
(75-63)were supposed to have ready access to the French

[TG75-64]

(75-64)ministers. Bohaldie was closely related to several
(75-64)chieftains of the Scottish clans, and in particular
(75-64)to Cameron of Lochiel, on whose judgment and
(75-64)prudence the others were in a great degree
(75-64)disposed to rely. But after a protracted negotiation,
(75-64)nothing could be resolved upon with any certainty;
(75-64)for the French ministers, on the one hand, were
(75-64)afraid that the Jacobites in their political zeal might
(75-64)dupe both themselves and France, by inducing
(75-64)them to hazard the forces of the latter kingdom
(75-64)upon a distant and dangerous expedition; while,
(75-64)on the other hand, the Jacobites, who were to risk
(75-64)their all in the enterprise, were alike apprehensive
(75-64)that France, if she could by their means excite a
(75-64)civil war in England, and oblige its Government
(75-64)to recall her troops from Germany, would not,
(75-64)after that point was gained, greatly concern herself
(75-64)about their success or failure.

(75-64)At length, however, when France beheld the
(75-64)interest which Britain began to take in the German
(75-64)war, assisting the Empress Queen both with
(75-64)troops and money, her Administration seems
(75-64)suddenly to have taken into serious consideration the
(75-64)proposed descent upon Scotland. With a view to
(75-64)the arrangement of an enterprise, Cardinal de Tencin,
(75-64)who had succeeded Cardinal Fleury in the
(75-64)administration of France, invited Charles Edward,
(75-64)the eldest son of the old Chevalier de St George,
(75-64)to repair from Italy to Paris. The young prince,
(75-64)on receiving a message so flattering to his hopes,
(75-64)left Rome as if on a hunting expedition; but
(75-64)instantly took the road to Genoa, and, embarking on

[TG75-65]

(75-65)board a small vessel, ran through the English fleet
(75-65)at great risk of being captured, and arriving safe
(75-65)at Antilles, proceeded to Paris. He there took part
(75-65)in counsels of a nature highly dangerous to Great
(75-65)Britain. It had been settled by the French Court
(75-65)that a French army of fifteen thousand men should
(75-65)be landed in England under the celebrated Field-
(75-65)marshal Saxe, who was to act under the commission
(75-65)of the Chevalier de St George as commander-
(75-65)in-chief. Having intimated this determination to
(75-65)the Earl-marischal and Lord Elcho, eldest son of
(75-65)the Earl of Wemyss, who were then in the French
(75-65)capital, Charles left Paris to superintend the
(75-65)destined embarkation, and took up his residence at
(75-65)Gravelines, in the beginning of February, 1744.
(75-65)Here he resided in the most strict privacy, under
(75-65)the name of the Chevalier Douglas. Bohaldie
(75-65)waited upon him as his secretary.

(75-65)The French fleet was got in readiness, and the

(75-65)troops designed for the invasion embarked; but the
(75-65>alertness of the British navy disconcerted this as it
(75-65)had done former expeditions. The French army
(75-65)no sooner appeared off Torbay, than they were
(75-65)confronted by a fleet of twenty-one sail of the line,
(75-65)under Admiral Sir John- Norris. The elements
(75-65)also took part in the strife, and, as usually happened
(75-65)on former occasions, decided against the House of
(75-65)Stewart. A heavy, tempest arose, obliging both
(75-65)the English and French to scud before the wind.
(75-65)The latter fleet were dispersed and suffered
(75-65)Damage. The plan of invasion was once more given

[TG75-66]

(75-66)up, and the French troops were withdrawn from
(75-66)the coast.

(75-66)It is in vain to enquire upon what principles the
(75-66)French Ministry preferred this attempt upon
(75-66)England, at great expense, and with a large army, to
(75-66)an invasion of Scotland, where they were sure to
(75-66)be joined by a large body of Jacobites, and where
(75-66)one-third part of the troops would have made a
(75-66)serious, perhaps a fatal impression. History is full
(75-66)of attempts to assist malecontents in an enemy's
(75-66)country, which have miscarried from being ill-concerted
(75-66)in point of place or time. That the present
(75-66)did not arise out of any very accurate combinations
(75-66)is certain, for so little had the French Ministers
(75-66)thought on the means of propitiating the English
(75-66)Jacobites, that they did not at first design that the
(75-66)Duke of Ormond should embark with the expedition,
(75-66)though the most popular of the Chevalier's
(75-66)adherents in South Britain. The Duke was at
(75-66)length hastily summoned from Avignon to join the
(75-66)armament when it was on the eve of sailing, but

(75-66)receiving information while he was on the road
(75-66)that the design was given up, he returned to his
(75-66)residence. It is probable that the French were
(75-66)determined to make England the object of attack,
(75-66)merely because they could more easily either reinforce
(75-66)or bring off their expedition, than if it was sent
(75-66)against Scotland.

(75-66)Lord Marischal had repaired to the Prince at
(75-66)Gravelines, but was not much consulted on the
(75-66)objects of the expedition. When he asked concerning
(75-66)the embarkation for Scotland, he was informed

[TG75-67]

(75-67)that it would take place after that to England was
(75-67)despatched. But after the miscarriage of the
(75-67)enterprise, and disembarkation of the troops, Charles
(75-67)Edward invited the Earl to visit him at Gravelines,
(75-67)when he seriously proposed to hire a boat, and go
(75-67)with him to Scotland, where, he said, he was sure
(75-67)he had many friends who would join him. This
(75-67)idea, from which he was diverted with difficulty,
(75-67)seems to have been the slight sketch which was
(75-67)afterwards the ground-work of the rash expedition
(75-67)of 1745-6. In the end of summer Prince Charles
(75-67)left Gravelines and went to Paris, where he resided
(75-67)for the winter, little noticed by French families of
(75-67)fashion, but much resorted to by the Irish and Scots
(75-67)who were in that capital.

(75-67)In the month of August, 1744, John Murray of
(75-67)Broughton, who had been for three or four years
(75-67)an agent of the old Chevalier, and much trusted by
(75-67)him and his adherents, returned to Paris from Scotland,
(75-67)carrying with him the joint opinion of the
(75-67)Jacobites in that country upon the subject of an

(75-67)invasion. Mr Murray was a gentleman of honourable
(75-67)birth and competent fortune, being the son of
(75-67)Sir David Murray, by his second wife, a daughter
(75-67)of Sir John Scott of Ancrum. His early travels
(75-67)to Rome gave him an opportunity of offering his
(75-67)services to the old Chevalier, and he had ever since
(75-67)retained his confidence. The opinion which he
(75-67)now delivered to Charles, as the united sentiments
(75-67)of his friends in Scotland, was, that if he could
(75-67)persuade the French Government to allow him six
(75-67)thousand auxiliary troops, ten thousand stand of

[TG75-68]

(75-68)arms, and thirty thousand louis-d'or, he might
(75-68)assuredly reckon on the support of all his Scottish
(75-68)friends. But Murray had been charged at the same
(75-68)time to say, that if the Prince could not obtain
(75-68)succours to the amount specified, they could do
(75-68)nothing in his behalf. The answer which the Prince
(75-68)returned by Murray to his Scottish adherents was,
(75-68)that he was weary and disgusted with waiting upon
(75-68)the timid, uncertain, and faithless politics of the
(75-68)Court of France; and that, whether with or without
(75-68)their assistance or concurrence, he was determined
(75-68)to appear in Scotland in person, and try his
(75-68)fortune. Mr Murray has left a positive declaration,
(75-68)that he endeavoured as much as possible to
(75-68)divert the Prince from an attempt, which rather
(75-68)announced desperation than courage; but as there
(75-68)were other reasons for imputing blame to the agent,
(75-68)many of those who suffered by the expedition
(75-68)represent him as having secretly encouraged the
(75-68)Prince in his romantic undertaking, instead of
(75-68)dissuading him from so rash a course. Whether
(75-68)encouraged by Murray, or otherwise, Charles
(75-68)Edward continued fixed in his determination to try

(75-68)what effect could be produced by his arrival in
(75-68)Scotland, with such slender supplies of money and
(75-68)arms as his private fortune might afford.

(75-68)With a view to this experiment, the Prince sent
(75-68)Murray back to Scotland, with commissions to
(75-68)those whom he regarded as the most faithful
(75-68)friends of his family, given in his own name, as
(75-68)Prince of Wales and Regent for James VIII.,
(75-68)for which last title he possessed an ample warrant

[TG75-69]

(75-69)from his father. The arrival of these documents
(75-69)in Scotland excited the utmost surprise and anxiety;
(75-69)and at a full meeting of the principal Jacobites held
(75-69)at Edinburgh, it was agreed to despatch Mr Murray
(75-69)to the Highlands, to meet, if possible, the young
(75-69)Adventurer on his first coming upon the coast, and
(75-69)communicating their general disapprobation of an
(75-69)attempt so desperate, to entreat him to reserve
(75-69)himself and the Scottish friends of his family for
(75-69)some period in which fortune might better favour
(75-69)their exertions. The titular Duke of Perth alone
(75-69)dissented from the opinion of the meeting, and
(75-69)declared, in a spirit of high-strained loyalty, that he
(75-69)would join the Prince if he arrived without a single
(75-69)man. The others were unanimous in a different
(75-69)judgment, and Murray, empowered by them,
(75-69)remained on the watch on the Highland coast during
(75-69)the whole month of June, when, the Chevalier not
(75-69)appearing, he returned to his own seat in the south
(75-69)of Scotland, supposing naturally that the young
(75-69)man had renounced an attempt which had in it so
(75-69)much of the headlong rashness of youth, and which
(75-69)he might be fairly believed to have laid aside on
(75-69)mature consideration.

(75-69)But the Chevalier had resolved on his expedition.
(75-69)He was distrustful of the motives, doubtful
(75-69)of the real purposes of France, and was determined
(75-69)to try his fate upon his own resources, however
(75-69)inadequate to the purpose he meant to effect. It
(75-69)is said that Cardinal Tencin was the only member
(75-69)of the French Government to whom his resolution
(75-69)was made known, to which the minister yielded

[TG75-70]

(75-70)his acquiescence rather than his countenance; and
(75-70)at length, as England and France were now
(75-70)engaged in open war, he generously consented that
(75-70)Charles should pursue his desperate enterprise upon
(75-70)his own risk and his own means, without farther
(75-70)assistance than a very indirect degree of encouragement
(75-70)from France. The fatal defeat at Fontenoy
(75-70)happened about the same period, and as the British
(75-70)forces in Flanders were much weakened, the
(75-70)Adventurer was encouraged to hope that no troops
(75-70)could be spared from thence to oppose his
(75-70)enterprise.

(75-70)In consequence of the understanding betwixt
(75-70)diaries and Tencin, a man-of-war of sixty guns,
(75-70)named the Elizabeth, was placed at the disposal of
(75-70)the adventurous Prince, to which diaries Edward
(75-70)added a frigate or sloop of war, called the Doutelle,
(75-70)which had been fitted out by two merchants of
(75-70)Dunkirk, named Rutledge and Walsh, to cruize
(75-70)against the British trade. In this latter vessel he
(75-70)embarked, with a very few attendants, and with the
(75-70)whole or greater part of the money and arms which
(75-70)he had provided.

(75-70)The expedition was detained by contrary winds
(75-70)till the 8th of July, when the vessels set sail upon
(75-70)this romantic adventure. But the chances of the
(75-70)sea seem to have been invariably unpropitious to

[TG75-71]

(75-71)the line of Stewart. The next day after they left
(75-71)port, the Lion, an English ship of war, fell in with
(75-71)them, and engaged the Elizabeth. The battle was
(75-71)desperately maintained on both sides, and the vessels
(75-71)separated after much mutual injury. The
(75-71)Elizabeth, in particular, lost her first and second
(75-71)captains, and was compelled to bear away for Brest
(75-71)to refit.

(75-71)The Doutelle, on board of which was Charles
(75-71)Edward and his suite, had kept at a distance during
(75-71)the action, and seeing its termination, stood away
(75-71)for the north-west of Scotland, so as to reach the
(75-71)Hebrides. Avoiding another large vessel, understood
(75-71)to have been an English man-of-war, which
(75-71)they met in their course, the sloop that carried the
(75-71)young Prince and his fortunes at length moored
(75-71)near the island of South Uist, one of the isles
(75-71)belonging to MacDonald of Clanranald and his kinsfolk.
(75-71)Clanranald was himself on the mainland;
(75-71)but his uncle, MacDonald of Boisdale, by whose
(75-71)superior talents and sagacity the young Chief was
(75-71)much guided, was at that time on South Uist,
(75-71)where his own property lay. On being summoned
(75-71)by the Prince, he came on board the Doutelle.

(75-71)Charles Edward immediately proposed to Boisdale
(75-71)to take arms, and to engage his powerful
(75-71)neighbours, Sir Alexander MacDonald, and the
(75-71)Chief of the MacLeods, in his cause. These two

(75-71)chiefs could each bring to the field from 1200 to
(75-71)1500 men. Boisdale replied, with a bluntness to
(75-71)which the Adventurer had not been accustomed,
(75-71)that the enterprise was rash to the verge of insanity;

[TG75-72]

(75-72)that he could assure him that Sir Alexander
(75-72)MacDonald and the Laird of MacLeod were positively
(75-72)determined not to join him unless on his bringing
(75-72)the forces stipulated by the unanimous determination
(75-72)of the friends of his family; and that, by his
(75-72)advice, his nephew Clanranald would also adopt
(75-72)the resolution of remaining quiet. The young
(75-72)Chevalier argued the point for some time, still
(75-72)steering towards the mainland; until, finding Boisdale
(75-72)inexorable, he at length dismissed him, and
(75-72)suffered him to take his boat and return to South
(75-72)Uist. It is said, that this interview with Boisdale
(75-72)had such an influence on the mind of Charles, that
(75-72)he called a council of the principal followers who
(75-72)accompanied him in the Doutelle, when all voices,
(75-72)save one, were unanimous for returning, and Charles
(75-72)himself seemed for a moment disposed to relinquish
(75-72)the expedition. Sir Thomas Sheridan alone, an
(75-72)Irish gentleman, who had been his tutor, was
(75-72)inclined to prosecute the adventure farther, and
(75-72)encouraged his pupil to stand his ground, and consult
(75-72)some more of his Scottish partisans before renouncing
(75-72)a plan, on which he had ventured so far, that
(75-72)to relinquish it without farther trial would be an act
(75-72)of cowardice, implying a renunciation of the birth-
(75-72)right he came to seek. His opinion determined his
(75-72)pupil, who was on all occasions much guided by it,
(75-72)to make another appeal to the spirit of the Highland
(75-72)leaders.

(75-72)Advancing still towards the mainland, Charles
(75-72)with his sloop of war entered the bay of Lochnannagh,
(75-72)between Moidart and Arisaig, and sent a

[TG75-73]

(75-73)messenger ashore to apprise Clanranald of his
(75-73)arrival. That chieftain immediately came on board,
(75-73)with his relation, MacDonald of Kinloch-Moidart,
(75-73)and one or two others. Charles applied to them
(75-73)the same arguments which he had in vain exhausted
(75-73)upon Boisdale, their relation, and received the
(75-73)same reply, that an attempt at the present time.
(75-73)and with such slender means, could end in nothing
(75-73)but ruin. A young Highlander, a brother of Kinloch-
(75-73)Moidart, began now to understand before
(75-73)whom he stood, and, grasping his sword, showed
(75-73)visible signs of impatience at the reluctance
(75-73)manifested by his chief and his brother to join their
(75-73)Prince. Charles marked his agitation, and availed
(75-73)himself of it.

(75-73)He turned suddenly towards the young
(75-73)Highlander, and said, " You at least will not forsake
(75-73)me?"

(75-73)" I will follow you to death," said Ranald,
(75-73)" were there no other to draw a sword in your
(75-73)cause."

(75-73)The Chief, and relative of the warm-hearted
(75-73)young man, caught his enthusiasm, and declared,
(75-73)That since the Prince was determined, they would
(75-73)no longer dispute his pleasure. He landed
(75-73)accordingly, and was conducted to the house of
(75-73)Boisdale, as a temporary place of residence. Seven
(75-73)persons came ashore as his suite. These were the

(75-73)Marquis of Tullibardine, outlawed for his share in
(75-73)the insurrection of 1715, elder brother of James,
(75-73)the actual Duke of Athole; Sir Thomas Sheridan,
(75-73)the Prince's tutor; Sir John MacDonald, an officer

[TG75-74]

(75-74)in the Spanish service; Francis Strictland, an
(75-74)English gentleman; Kelly, who had been implicated
(75-74)in what was called the Bishop of Rochester's
(75-74)Plot; Aeneas MacDonald, a banker in Paris, a
(75-74)brother of Kinloch-Moidart; and Buchanan, who
(75-74)had been intrusted with the service of summoning
(75-74)the Chevalier from Rome to Paris. One of his
(75-74)attendants, or who immediately afterwards joined
(75-74)him, has been since made generally known by the
(75-74)military renown of his son, Marshal MacDonald,
(75-74)distinguished by his integrity, courage, and capacity,
(75-74)during so many arduous scenes of the great
(75-74)revolutionary war.

(75-74)This memorable landing in Moidart took place
(75-74)on the 25th July, 1745. The place where Charles
(75-74)was lodged was remarkably well situated for
(75-74)concealment, and for communication with friendly
(75-74)clans, both in the islands and on the mainland,
(75-74)without whose countenance and concurrence it was
(75-74)impossible that his enterprise could succeed.

(75-74)Cameron of Lochiel had an early summons from
(75-74)the Prince, and waited on him as soon as he
(75-74)received it. He came fully convinced of the utter
(75-74)madness of the undertaking, and determined, as he

[TG75-75]

(75-75)thought, to counsel the Adventurer to return to
(75-75)France, and wait a more favourable opportunity.

(75-75)" If such is your purpose, Donald," said Cameron
(75-75)of Fassiefern to his brother of Lochiel, " write
(75-75)to the Prince your opinion; but do not trust yourself
(75-75)within the fascination of his presence. I know
(75-75)you better than you know yourself, and you will
(75-75)be unable to refuse compliance."

(75-75)Fassiefern prophesied truly. While the Prince
(75-75)confined himself to argument, Lochiel remained
(75-75)firm, and answered all his reasoning. At length
(75-75)Charles, finding it impossible to subdue the chief's
(75-75)judgment, made a powerful appeal to Ills feelings.

(75-75)" I have come hither," he said, " with my mind
(75-75)unalterably made up, to reclaim my rights or to
(75-75)perish. Be the issue what will, I am determined
(75-75)to display my standard, and take the field with
(75-75)such as may join it. Lochiel, whom my father
(75-75)esteemed the best friend of our family, may
(75-75)remain at home, and learn his Prince's fate from the
(75-75)newspapers."

(75-75)" Not so," replied the chief, much affected, " if
(75-75)you are resolved on this rash undertaking, I will
(75-75)go with you, and so shall every one over whom I
(75-75)have influence."

(75-75)Thus was Lochiel's sagacity overpowered by his
(75-75)sense of what he esteemed honour and loyalty, which
(75-75)induced him to front the prospect of ruin with a
(75-75)disinterested devotion, not unworthy the best days of
(75-75)chivalry. His decision was the signal for the
(75-75)commencement of the Rebellion; for it was generally
(75-75)understood at the time, that there was not a chief

[TG75-76]

(75-76)in the Highlands who would have risen, if Lochiel
(75-76)had maintained his pacific purpose.

(75-76)He had no sooner embraced the Chevalier's
(75-76)proposal, than messengers were despatched in every
(75-76)direction to summon such clans as were judged
(75-76)friendly, announcing that the royal standard was to
(75-76)be erected at Glenfinnan on the 19th of August,
(75-76)and requiring them to attend on it with their
(75-76)followers in arms.

(75-76)Sir Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and
(75-76)MacLeod of MacLeod, were,; is already mentioned,
(75-76)men of the greatest note in the Hebrides, and their
(75-76)joint forces were computed at more than three
(75-76)thousand men. They had declared themselves
(75-76)friendly to the Prince's cause, and Clanranald was
(75-76)despatched to them to hasten their junction. The
(75-76)envoy found them both at Sir Alexander
(75-76)MacDonald's, and said all he could to decide them to
(75-76)raise their following; but that chieftain alleged that
(75-76)he had never come under any explicit engagement
(75-76)to join Charles, nor could he be persuaded to do so
(75-76)in such a desperate undertaking. MacLeod's
(75-76)engagements are said to have been more peremptory;
(75-76)but he appears to have been as reluctant as Sir
(75-76)Alexander MacDonald to comply with Charles
(75-76)Edward's summons, alleging that his agreement
(75-76)depended on the Prince bringing certain
(75-76)auxiliaries and supplies, which were not forthcoming.
(75-76)He, moreover, pleaded to Clanranald, that a number
(75-76)of his men resided in the distant islands, as an
(75-76)additional excuse for not joining the standard
(75-76)immediately. Clanranald's mission was therefore

[TG75-77]

(75-77)unsuccessful, and the defection of these two powerful
(75-77)chiefs was indifferently supplied by the zeal
(75-77)displayed by others of less power.

(75-77)Charles, however, displayed great skill in
(75-77)managing the tempers, and gaining the affections, of
(75-77)such Highlanders as were introduced to him during
(75-77)his abode at Borodale. The memoirs of an officer,
(75-77)named MacDonald, engaged in his army, give so
(75-77)interesting an account of his person and behaviour,
(75-77)that I shall throw it to the end of this chapter in
(75-77)the form of a note. The Prince's Lowland friends
(75-77)were also acquainted with his arrival, and prepared
(75-77)for his designs.

(75-77)Government was, at the same time, rendered
(75-77)vigilant, by the visible stir which seemed to take
(75-77)place among the Jacobites, and proceeded to the
(75-77)arrest of suspicious persons. Among these, one
(75-77)of the principal was the titular Duke of Perth, upon
(75-77)whose ancestor the Court of St Germain's had
(75-77)conferred that rank. He was son of Lord John Drummond,
(75-77)who flourished in the 1715, and grandson
(75-77)of the unfortunate Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor
(75-77)to James VII. before the Revolution. The present
(75-77)descendant of that honourable house was a
(75-77)man respected for his high rank, popular manners,
(75-77)dauntless bravery, and sweetness of disposition, but
(75-77)not possessed of any extraordinary degree of
(75-77)talent. This nobleman was residing at Castle-
(75-77)Drummond, when Captain Campbell of Inveraw, who
(75-77)commanded an independent Highland company
(75-77)lying at Muthil, in the neighbourhood, received orders
(75-77)to lay him under arrest. Campbell, by the mediation

[TG75-78]

(75-78)of a friend, procured himself an invitation to
(75-78)dine at Drummond-castle, and caused his men to
(75-78)approach the place as near as they could without
(75-78)causing suspicion. When dinner was over, and
(75-78)the ladies had retired, Inveraw put the arrest into
(75-78)execution, and told the Duke he was his prisoner,
(75-78)stating", at the same time, his orders in apology.
(75-78)The Duke seemed to treat the thing with indifference,
(75-78)and said, since it was so there was no help
(75-78)for it. But, in leaving the apartment, he made the
(75-78)captain pass before him as if by a natural motion of
(75-78)politeness, and turning short on his heel, instead of
(75-78)following him, left the room, and by a private door
(75-78)fled from the house into the wood. There was an
(75-78)instant pursuit, and the Duke would probably have
(75-78)been retaken, had he not found a pony, and leapt
(75-78)upon its back, with only a halter on its head, and
(75-78)without a saddle. By the advantage thus afforded
(75-78)him, he was enabled to escape to the neighbouring
(75-78)Highlands, where he lay safe from pursuit, and
(75-78)soon after obtained knowledge of the young
(75-78)Chevalier's having landed, and made preparation to
(75-78)join him.

(75-78)John Murray of Broughton, in the mean while,
(75-78)Had discharged the perilous task of having the
(75-78)manifestoes printed, which were to be dispersed
(75-78)when the invasion should become public, as well as
(75-78)that of warning several persons who had agreed to
(75-78)give supplies of money and arms. He now left
(75-78)his house, where he had lived for the last three
(75-78)weeks in constant danger, and fear of arrest, and
(75-78)set out to join the Prince. His active genius

[TG75-79]

(75-79)meditated some other exploits. By the assistance of
(75-79)a Jacobite friend, of a fearless and enterprising
(75-79)disposition, he laid a scheme for surprising the Duke
(75-79)of Argyle (brother and successor to the famous
(75-79)Duke John), and making him prisoner at his own
(75-79)castle of Inverary. Another project was to cause
(75-79)Government to receive information, which, though
(75-79>false in the main, was yet coloured with so many
(75-79)circumstances of truth as to make it seem plausible,
(75-79)and which came to them through a channel
(75-79)which they did not mistrust. The reports thus
(75-79)conveyed to them bore, that the Jacobite chiefs
(75-79)were to hold a great consultation in the wilds of
(75-79)Rannoch, and that Murray had left his house in the
(75-79)south to be present at the meeting. It was
(75-79)proposed to those managing on the part of Government
(75-79)to seize the opportunity of despatching parties
(75-79)from Fort William and Fort Augustus to
(75-79)secure the conspirators at their rendezvous. The
(75-79)object of the scheme was, that the Highlanders
(75-79)might have an opportunity of surprising the forts,
(75-79)when the garrison should be diminished by the
(75-79)proposed detachments. Mr Murray having thus
(75-79)planned two exploits, which, had they succeeded,
(75-79)must have been most advantageous to the Prince's
(75-79)cause, proceeded to join Charles Edward, whom
(75-79)he found at the house of MacDonald of Kinloch-
(75-79)Moidart, who had advanced to that place from
(75-79)Boisdale. Many Highland gentlemen had joined
(75-79)him, and his enterprise seemed to be generally
(75-79)favoured by the chiefs on the mainland. Clanranald
(75-79)had also joined with three hundred and upwards of

[TG75-80]

(75-80)his clan. Regular guards were mounted on the
(75-80)person of the Prince; his arms and treasure were

(75-80)disembarked from the Doutelle, and distributed
(75-80)amongst those who seemed most able to serve him.
(75-80)Yet he remained straitened for want of provisions,
(75-80)which might have disconcerted his expedition, had
(75-80)not the Doutelle fallen in with and captured two
(75-80)vessels laden with oatmeal, a supply which enabled
(75-80)him to keep his followers together, and to look with
(75-80)confidence to the moment which had been fixed for
(75-80)displaying his standard.

(75-80)Mr Murray, to whose management so much of
(75-80)the private politics of Prince Charles had been
(75-80)confided, was recognised as his Secretary of State,
(75-80)and trusted with all the internal management of the
(75-80)momentous undertaking.

[TG76-83]

(76-83)IN the mean while, and even before the day
(76-83)appointed by Charles Edward for erecting his standard,
(76-83)the civil war commenced. This was not by
(76-83)the capture of the Duke of Argyle, or the projected
(76-83)attack upon the forts, neither of which took
(76-83)place. But the hostile movements of the
(76-83)Highlanders had not escaped the attention of the
(76-83)governor of Fort Augustus, who, apprehensive for
(76-83)the safety of Fort William, which lay nearest to
(76-83)the disaffected clans, sent a detachment of two
(76-83)companies under Captain John Scott, afterwards

[TG76-84]

(76-84)General Scott. He marched early in the morning of
(76-84)the 16th of August, with the purpose of reaching
(76-84)Fort-William before nightfall. His march ran
(76-84)along the military road which passes by the side of
(76-84)the chain of lakes now connected by the Caledonian
(76-84)Canal. Captain Scott and his detachment had

(76-84)passed the lakes, and were within eight miles of
(76-84)Fort-William, when they approached a pass called
(76-84)High Bridge, where the river Spean is crossed by
(76-84)a steep and narrow bridge, surrounded by rocks
(76-84)and woods. Here he was alarmed by the sound of
(76-84)a bagpipe, and the appearance of Highlanders in
(76-84)arms. This was a party of men belonging to
(76-84)MacDonald of Keppoch, and commanded by his
(76-84)kinsman, MacDonald of Tiendreich. They did
(76-84)not amount to more than twelve or fifteen men,
(76-84)but showing themselves in different points, it was
(76-84)impossible for Captain Scott to ascertain their number.
(76-84)He detached a steady sergeant in advance,
(76-84)accompanied by a private soldier, to learn the
(76-84)meaning of this opposition; but they were instantly
(76-84)made prisoners by the mountaineers.

(76-84)Scott, who was a man of unquestionable courage,
(76-84)was desirous of pursuing his route and fighting his
(76-84)way. But his officers were of a different opinion,
(76-84)considering that they were to storm a strong pass
(76-84)in the face of an enemy of unknown strength, and
(76-84)the privates, who were newly raised men, showed
(76-84)symptoms of fear. In this predicament Captain
(76-84)Scott was induced to attempt a retreat by the
(76-84)same road along which he had advanced. But the
(76-84)firing had alarmed the country; and the

[TG76-85]

(76-85)Highlanders assembling with characteristic promptitude,
(76-85)their numbers increased at every moment. Their
(76-85)activity enabled them to line the mountains, rocks,
(76-85)and thickets overhanging the road, and by which
(76-85)it was commanded, and the regulars were
(76-85)overwhelmed with a destructive fire, to which they
(76-85)could only make a random return upon an invisible

(76-85)enemy. Mean while the hills, the rocks, and dingles,
(76-85)resounded with the irregular firing, the fierce
(76-85)shrieks of the Highlanders, and the yellings of the
(76-85)pibroch. The soldiers continued to retreat, or
(76-85)rather to run, till about five or six miles eastward
(76-85)from High Bridge, when Keppoch came up with
(76-85)about twenty more men, hastily assembled since
(76-85)the skirmish began. Others, the followers of
(76-85)Glengarry, had also joined, making the number
(76-85)about fifty. The Highlanders pressed their
(76-85)advantage, and showed themselves more boldly in
(76-85)front, flank, and rear, while the ammunition of the
(76-85)soldiers was exhausted without having even wounded
(76-85)one of their assailants. They were now closely
(76-85)surrounded, or supposed themselves to be so; their
(76-85)spirits were entirely sunk, and on Keppoch coming
(76-85)in front, and summoning them to surrender, on pain
(76-85)of being cut to pieces, they immediately laid down
(76-85)their arms. Captain Scott was wounded, as were
(76-85)five or six of his men. About the same number
(76-85)were slain. This disaster, which seems to have
(76-85)arisen from the commanding officer's neglecting to
(76-85)keep an advanced guard, gave great spirits to the
(76-85)Highlanders, and placed in a flattering light their
(76-85)peculiar excellence as light troops. The prisoners

[TG76-86]

(76-86)were treated with humanity, and carried to
(76-86)Lochiel's house of Auchnacarrie, where the wounded
(76-86)were carefully attended to. As the governor
(76-86)of Fort-Augustus would not permit a surgeon
(76-86)from that garrison to attend Captain Scott, Lochiel,
(76-86)with his wonted generosity, sent him on parole
(76-86)to the Fort, that he might have medical assistance.

(76-86)The war being thus openly commenced, Charles

(76-86)moved from the House of Glenaladale, which had
(76-86)been his last residence, to be present at the raising
(76-86)of his standard at the place of rendezvous in
(76-86)Glenfinnan. He arrived early on the 19th of August
(76-86)in the savage and sequestered vale, attended only
(76-86)by a company or two of the MacDonalds, whose
(76-86)chief, Clanranald, was absent, raising his men in
(76-86)every quarter where he had influence. Two hours
(76-86)elapsed, and the mountain ridges still looked as
(76-86)lonely as ever, while Charles waited as one uncertain
(76-86)of his fate, until at length Lochiel and the
(76-86)Camerons appeared. This body amounted to seven
(76-86)or eight hundred. They advanced in two lines,
(76-86)having betwixt them the two companies who had
(76-86)been taken on the 16th, disarmed and marching as
(76-86)prisoners. Keppoch arrived shortly afterwards
(76-86)with three hundred men, and some chieftains of
(76-86)less importance brought in each a few followers.

[TG76-87]

(76-87)The standard was then unfurled; it was
(76-87)displayed by the Marquis of Tullibardin, exiled, as
(76-87)we have already said, on account of his accession
(76-87)to the rebellion in 1715, and now returned to
(76-87)Scotland with Charles in the Doutelle. He was
(76-87)supported by a man on each side as he performed
(76-87)the ceremony.¹ The manifesto of the old Chevalier,
(76-87)and the commission of regency granted to his
(76-87)son Charles Edward, were then read, and the
(76-87)Adventurer made a short speech, asserting his
(76-87)title to the throne, and alleging that he came for
(76-87)the happiness of his people, and had chosen this
(76-87)part of the kingdom for the commencement of his
(76-87)enterprise, because he knew he should find a
(76-87)population of brave gentlemen, zealous as their noble
(76-87)predecessors for their own honour and the rights

(76-87)of their sovereign, and as willing to live and die
(76-87)with him, as he was willing at their head to shed
(76-87)the last drop of his blood.

[TG76-88]

(76-88)A leader of the clan of MacLeod appeared at
(76-88)this rendezvous, and renounced on the occasion his
(76-88)dependence upon his chief, whom indeed he did
(76-88)not acknowledge as such, and promised to join
(76-88)with his own following. Lochiel and some others
(76-88)of the chiefs present took this opportunity of
(76-88)writing to MacLeod and Sir Alexander MacDonald,
(76-88)to engage them to join, as the writers alleged their
(76-88)honour obliged them. This letter gave great
(76-88)offence to both the chiefs, and to Sir Alexander
(76-88)in particular, who alleged the insinuation it
(76-88)contained as a reason for the part he afterwards took
(76-88)in this affair.

(76-88)Tidings were soon heard that the Government
(76-88)troops were in motion to put down the
(76-88)insurrection.

(76-88)The Prince had resolved to avoid the great
(76-88)mistake of Mar in the year 1715, and to avail himself
(76-88)to the uttermost of the fierce and ardent activity
(76-88)of the troops whom he commanded, and it was with
(76-88)pleasure that he heard of the enemy's approach.
(76-88)He remained for a few days at Auchnacarrie, the
(76-88)house of Lochiel, and finding the unwillingness
(76-88)which the Highlanders evinced to carry baggage,
(76-88)the impossibility of finding horses, and the execrable
(76-88)character of the roads, he left a quantity of

[TG76-89]

(76-89)swivel-guns and pioneer's tools behind, as tending

(76-89)only to encumber his march. In the mean time,
(76-89)he was joined by the following clans:-MacDonald
(76-89)of Glencoe brought with him 150 men; the
(76-89)Stuarts of Appin, under Ardshiel, amounting to
(76-89)250; Keppoch brought 300 MacDonalds;
(76-89)Glengarry, the younger, joined the army, as it marched
(76-89)eastward with about 300-making a total of nearly
(76-89)2000 men.

(76-89)There was an association drawn up and signed
(76-89)at Auchnacarrie, by the chiefs who had taken the
(76-89)field, in which the subscribers bound themselves
(76-89)never to abandon the Prince while he remained in
(76-89)the realm, or to lay down their arms, or make peace
(76-89)with Government, without his express consent.

(76-89)While the insurrection was thus gathering strength
(76-89)and consistency, the heads of the official bodies at
(76-89)Edinburgh became apprised of its existence, which,
(76-89)however rash on the part of the Adventurer, was
(76-89)yet very hazardous to the state, on account of the
(76-89)particular time when it broke out. George II. was
(76-89)absent in Hanover, and the Government was in the
(76-89)hands of a Council of Regency, called Lords

[TG76-90]

(76-90)Justices, whose councils seemed neither to have evinced
(76-90)sagacity nor vigour.

(76-90)Early in summer, they had received intelligence
(76-90)that the young Chevalier had a design to sail from
(76-90)Nantes with a single vessel; and, latterly, they had
(76-90)heard a rumour that he had actually landed in the
(76-90)Highlands. This intelligence was sent by the
(76-90)Marquis of Tweeddale to the commander-in-chief; to
(76-90)Lord Milton, a Scottish judge, who was much

(76-90)consulted in state affairs; to the Lord Advocate, the
(76-90)President of the Court of Session, and the Lord
(76-90)Justice Clerk. These principal officers or advisers
(76-90)of Government formed a sort of council for the
(76-90)direction of state affairs.

(76-90)The report of Charles's landing at length reached
(76-90)Edinburgh with such marks of authenticity, as no
(76-90)longer to admit of doubt. The alarm was very
(76-90)considerable, for the regular forces of Britain were
(76-90)chiefly engaged on the continent. There were not
(76-90)in all Scotland quite three thousand troops, exclusive
(76-90)of garrisons. Of three battalions and a half of
(76-90)infantry, only one battalion was an old corps; the

[TG76-91]

(76-91)rest were newly raised. Two regiments of
(76-91)dragoons, Hamilton's and Gardiner's, were the youngest
(76-91)in the service. There were independent companies
(76-91)levied for the purpose of completing the
(76-91)regiments which were in Flanders: and there were
(76-91)several companies of a Highland regiment, which
(76-91)Lord Loudon commanded, but who, being
(76-91)Highlanders, were not to be much trusted in the present
(76-91)quarrel. Out of this small force, two of the newly
(76-91)raised companies had been made prisoners at High
(76-91)Bridge. Yet, reduced as his strength was, Sir
(76-91)John Cope, the commander-in-chief, deemed it
(76-91)equal to the occasion, and resolved to set out
(76-91)northward at the head of such troops as he could most
(76-91)hastily assemble, to seek out the Adventurer, give
(76-91)him battle, and put an end to the rebellion. The
(76-91)Lords Justices approved of this as a soldierlike
(76-91)resolution, and gave orders to the general to proceed
(76-91)to put his plan in execution.

(76-91)Sir John took the field accordingly on the 19th
(76-91)of August, and marched to Stirling, where he left
(76-91)the two regiments of dragoons, as they could have
(76-91)been of little use in the hills, and it would have
(76-91)been difficult to obtain forage for them. His
(76-91)infantry consisted of between fourteen and fifteen
(76-91)hundred men; and, together with a train of artillery
(76-91)and a superfluity of baggage, he had with him
(76-91)a thousand stand of spare muskets, to arm such
(76-91)loyal clans as he expected to join him. None such
(76-91)appearing, he sent back 700 of the firelocks from
(76-91)Crieff to Stirling. His march was directed upon
(76-91)Fort Augustus, from which, as a central point, he

[TG76-92]

(76-92)designed to operate against the insurgents, where-
(76-92)ever he might find them. As this route was the
(76-92)same with that by which the Highland army were
(76-92)drawing towards the Lowlands, Sir John Cope had
(76-92)no sooner arrived at Dalnacardoch, than he learned,
(76-92)from undoubted intelligence, that the Highlanders
(76-92)were advancing, with the purpose of meeting and
(76-92)fighting him at the pass of Corryarrack. How
(76-92)this intelligence affected the motions of the
(76-92)English general I will presently tell you, but must, in
(76-92)the first place, return to the operations of the young
(76-92)Chevalier and his insurrectionary army.

(76-92)Amongst other persons of consequence with
(76-92)whom the Prince had held correspondence since
(76-92)his landing, was the celebrated Lord Lovat, who,
(76-92)highly discontented with Government for depriving
(76-92)him of his independent company, had long
(76-92)professed his resolution to return to his original
(76-92)allegiance to the Stewart dynasty, and was one of
(76-92)those seven men of consequence who subscribed the

(76-92)invitation to the Chevalier in the year 1740. As
(76-92)no one, however, suspected Lovat of attachment
(76-92)either to King or political party farther than his
(76-92)own interest was concerned, and as the Chevalier
(76-92)had come without the troops, money, and arms,
(76-92)which had been stipulated in that offer of service,
(76-92)there was great reason to suspect that the old wily
(76-92)chief might turn against the Adventurer, and
(76-92)refuse him his support. It chanced, however, that
(76-92)Lovat had attached considerable importance to the
(76-92)idea of becoming Duke of Fraser, and Lord
(76-92)Lieutenant of Inverness-shire; and the desire of obtaining

[TG76-93]

(76-93)these objects, though but of ideal value, induced
(76-93)him, notwithstanding his natural selfish sagacity, to
(76-93)endeavour to secure them, at the same moment
(76-93)while he was meditating how to escape from fulfilling
(76-93)the promises of which these titular honours and
(76-93)offices were to be the guerdon.

(76-93)While the Chevalier lay at Invergarry, Fraser
(76-93)of Gortuleg, an especial confidant of Lovat, waited
(76-93)upon the Prince in the capacity of his chief's
(76-93)envoy, and made an humble request for the patent of
(76-93)the dukedom and the lieutenancy, which King
(76-93)James VIII. had promised to him. At the same
(76-93)time, the emissary brought a specious, but evasive
(76-93)protestation of Lovat's respect for the Stewart
(76-93)family, and his deep regret that his age and
(76-93)infirmities, with other obstacles, would not permit
(76-93)him instantly to get his clan to take up arms.

(76-93)Such a message was easily seen to evince a
(76-93)desire to seize the bait, without, if possible, swallowing
(76-93)the hook it covered. But Lovat was a man

(76-93)of great importance at the time. Besides his own
(76-93)clan, which he retained in high military order, he
(76-93)had also great influence over the Laird of Cluny,
(76-93)his son-in-law, and chief of the MacPhersons,-
(76-93)over the MacIntoshes, the Farquharsons, and other
(76-93)clans residing in the neighbourhood of Inverness,
(76-93)who were likely to follow his example in rising or
(76-93)remaining quiet. Sir Alexander MacDonald of
(76-93)Sleat, and the Laird of MacLeod, were also much
(76-93)in the habit of taking his advice, and following his
(76-93)example. He was not, therefore, to be disobliged;
(76-93)and as the original patents, subscribed by James

[TG76-94]

(76-94)himself, had been left behind with the heavy
(76-94)baggage, the Chevalier caused new deeds of the same
(76-94)tenor to be written out, and delivered to Gortuleg
(76-94)for Lovat's satisfaction.

(76-94)The crafty old man, by the same messenger,
(76-94)made another request, which had a relish of blood
(76-94)in it. I have told you that Lovat's most intimate
(76-94)friend had been Duncan Forbes, now Lord President
(76-94)of the Court of Session, to whose assistance
(76-94)he owed his establishment in the country and estate
(76-94)of his ancestors, in the year 1715. They had
(76-94)continued since that period on the most intimate terms,
(76-94)Lord Lovat applying, according to his nature, every
(76-94)expression of devotion and flattery which could
(76-94)serve to secure the President's good opinion. As
(76-94)Duncan Forbes, however, was a man of perfect
(76-94)knowledge of the world, he speedily traced Lovat's
(76-94)growing dislike to the established government; and
(76-94)being, by his office, as well as his disposition, a
(76-94)decided friend to the ruling dynasty, he easily
(76-94)fathomed Lovat's designs, and laboured to render

(76-94)them abortive. Their correspondence, though still
(76-94)full of profession and adulation on Lovat's side,
(76-94)assumed a tone of mutual suspicion and alarm, which
(76-94)made the latter to grow weary of the President's
(76-94)active, vigilant, and frequent remonstrances.
(76-94)Gortuleg, therefore, stated Lovat's extreme sense of
(76-94)the power which the President had to hurt the
(76-94)cause of the Stewart family, and demanded a
(76-94)warrant from the Prince, authorizing him to secure his
(76-94)friend, the President, dead or alive. The Prince
(76-94)declined granting it in the terms required, but

[TG76-95]

(76-95)signed a warrant for seizing the President's person,
(76-95)and detaining him in close custody. With
(76-95)these documents Fraser of Gortuleg returned to
(76-95)his wily and double-dealing old master.

(76-95)In the mean time, Lovat's conduct exhibited
(76-95)strange marks of indecision. He became apprised
(76-95)by the Lord President, that Sir Alexander
(76-95)MacDonald and MacLeod had declined to join the
(76-95)Chevalier,-a resolution, indeed, to which the
(76-95)prudential advice of Forbes had strongly contributed,
(76-95)-and he expressed his own determination to
(76-95)adhere to the established government.

[TG76-96]

(76-96)While these intrigues were in progress, the
(76-96)Chevalier obtained accurate accounts of Sir John
(76-96)Cope's movements, from deserters who frequently
(76-96)left Lord Loudon's companies, which consisted
(76-96)chiefly of Highlanders, these men having a strong
(76-96)temptation to join the ranks of the Chevalier, in
(76-96)whose service their relations and chief were
(76-96)engaged.

(76-96)The Prince was so much animated at the
(76-96)prospect of battle, that he summoned together his
(76-96)clans, now augmented by the Grants of Glenmorriston,
(76-96)in number one hundred men - burned and
(76-96)destroyed all that could impede his march, and
(76-96)sacrificed his own baggage, that the men might not
(76-96)complain of hardship. By a forced march he
(76-96)assembled his adherents at Invergarry, where he gave
(76-96)them some hours' repose, in order that they might
(76-96)be the better fitted for the fatigues of the impending
(76-96)battle.

(76-96)On the morning of the 26th August, the
(76-96)Chevalier marched to Aberchallader, within three miles

[TG76-97]

(76-97)of Fort Augustus, and rested for the evening. On
(76-97)the dawning of the next morning, he resumed his
(76-97)march, to dispute with Sir John Cope, whom all
(76-97)reports announced to be advancing, the passage of
(76-97)the rugged pass of Corryarrack. This mountain
(76-97)is ascended by a part of Marshal Wade's military
(76-97)road, which attains the summit by a long succession
(76-97)[seventeen] of zig-zags, or traverses, gaining
(76-97)slowly and gradually on the steep and rugged
(76-97)elevation on the south side, by which General Cope
(76-97)was supposed to be advancing. The succession of
(76-97)so many steep and oblique windings on the side of
(76-97)the hill, the other parts of which are in the highest
(76-97)degree impracticable, bears the appropriate name
(76-97)of the Devil's Staircase. The side of the mountain,
(76-97)save where intersected by this uncouth line of
(76-97)approach, is almost inaccessible, and the traverses
(76-97)are themselves intersected by deep mountain
(76-97)ravines and torrents, crossed by bridges which might

(76-97)be in a very short time broken down, and, being
(76-97)flanked with rocks and thickets, afford innumerable
(76-97)points of safe ambush to sharpshooters or enfilading
(76-97)parties. The Chevalier hastened to ascend
(76-97)the northern side, and possess himself of the top of
(76-97)the hill, which has all the effect of a natural
(76-97)fortress, every traverse serving for a trench. He
(76-97)displayed exulting hope and spirits, and while putting
(76-97)on a new pair of Highland brogues, said with high
(76-97)glee, " Before I throw these off, I shall fight with
(76-97)General Cope." He expected to meet the
(76-97)English general about one o'clock.

[TG76-98]

(76-98)MacDonald of Lochgarry, with the Secretary
(76-98)Murray, were ordered to ascend the hill on the
(76-98)north side, and reconnoitre the position of the
(76-98)supposed enemy. But to their astonishment, when
(76-98)they reached the summit, instead of seeing the
(76-98)precipitous path filled with the numerous files of Cope's
(76-98)army in the act of ascent, they looked on silence
(76-98)and solitude. Not a man appeared on the numerous
(76-98)windings of the road, until at length they
(76-98)observed some people in the Highland garb, whom
(76-98)they at first took for Lord Loudon's Highlanders,
(76-98)who, as familiar with the roads and the country,
(76-98)it was natural to think might form the advanced
(76-98)guard of the English army. On a nearer approach,
(76-98)these men were discovered to be deserters from
(76-98)Cope's army, who brought the intelligence that that
(76-98)general had entirely altered his line of march, and,
(76-98)avoiding the expected contest, was in full march to
(76-98)Inverness.

(76-98)The truth proved to be, that General Cope, when
(76-98)he approached within a day's march of the Chevalier

(76-98)and his little army, saw objections to his plan
(76-98)of seeking out the Adventurer and fighting him,
(76-98)which had not occurred to him while there was a
(76-98)greater distance between them. It could have
(76-98)required no great powers of anticipation to suppose,
(76-98)that the Highlanders would rally round their Prince
(76-98)in considerable numbers, impressed by the romantic
(76-98)character of his expedition; or to conjecture
(76-98)that, in so very rugged a country, an irregular
(76-98)army would take post in a defile. But General
(76-98)Cope had not imagined such a rapid assembling of

[TG76-99]

(76-99)the mountaineers as had taken place, or a pass so
(76-99)formidable as the Devil's Staircase, on Corryarrack.
(76-99)This unlucky general, whose name became a sort
(76-99)of laughing-stock in Scotland, was not by any means
(76-99)a poltroon, as has been supposed; but he was one
(76-99)of those second-rate men, who are afraid of
(76-99)responsibility, and form their plan of a campaign
(76-99)more with reference to the vindication of their own
(76-99)character, than the success of their enterprise. He
(76-99)laid his embarrassments before a council of war,
(76-99)the usual refuge of generals who find themselves
(76-99)unable to decide, of their own judgment, upon
(76-99)arduous points of difficulty. He had received exact
(76-99)information concerning the numbers and disposition
(76-99)of the enemy from Captain Sweetenham, an
(76-99)English officer, who was taken prisoner by the
(76-99)insurgents, while on his route to take the command
(76-99)of three companies lying at Fort William, and,
(76-99)having been present at the setting up of the standard,
(76-99)described the general huzzas and clouds of
(76-99)bonnets which were flung up on the occasion. The
(76-99)prisoner had been treated with much courtesy, and
(76-99)dismissed to carry the report that the rebels

(76-99)intended to give General Cope battle. Sir John
(76-99)Cope laid the intelligence before the council. He
(76-99)stated the unexpected numbers of the Highland
(76-99)insurgents, the strength of their position, the

[TG76-100]

(76-100)disappointment which he had met with in not being
(76-100)joined, as he expected, by any of the well-affected
(76-100)inhabitants of the country, and he asked the advice
(76-100)of his officers.

(76-100)It was now too late to enquire, whether the
(76-100)march into the Highlands was at all a prudent
(76-100)measure, unless the English general had possessed
(76-100)such a predominant force, as to be certain of crushing
(76-100)the rebellion at once; or whether the forming
(76-100)a camp at Stirling, and preventing the Chevalier
(76-100)from crossing the Forth, while, at the same time,
(76-100)troops were sent by sea to raise the northern clans
(76-100)who were friendly to Government, in the rear of
(76-100)the Adventurer's little army, might not have been
(76-100)a preferable scheme. The time for option was
(76-100)ended. General Cope had proposed, and the
(76-100)Government had sanctioned, the advance into the
(76-100)north, and the plan had been acted upon. Still it
(76-100)does not appear to have been necessary that Cope
(76-100)should have relinquished his purpose so meanly as
(76-100)was implied in the march, or rather flight, to
(76-100)Inverness, which so much dispirited his troops, and
(76-100)gave such enthusiastic courage to the insurgents.
(76-100)Indeed, no general in his senses would have
(76-100)attacked the defile of Corryarrack; but had Cope
(76-100)chosen to have encamped on the plain, about two
(76-100)miles to the south of Dalwhinnie, he could not
(76-100)have been forced to fight but on his own terms,
(76-100)with the full advantage of his artillery and his

(76-100)superior discipline, and Charles must have either
(76-100)given battle at a disadvantage, or suffered
(76-100)extremely by the want of money and provisions. Sir

[TG76-101]

(76-101)John, in the mean time, might have drawn his
(76-101)supplies from Athole, and would have overawed that
(76-101)highly disaffected district, the inhabitants of which,
(76-101)relieved from his presence by his march to Inverness,
(76-101)immediately joined the rebels. The superiority
(76-101)of the Highland army in numbers was but
(76-101)trifling, and such as the discipline of regular troops
(76-101)had always been esteemed sufficient to compensate,
(76-101)although there is reason to think that it was greatly
(76-101)exaggerated to the English general. None of this
(76-101)reasoning seemed to influence the council of war;
(76-101)they gave it as their opinion that the troops should
(76-101)be drawn off to Inverness, instead of making a
(76-101)stand, or retiring to Stirling, although the option
(76-101)involved the certain risk of exposing the Low
(76-101)country to the insurgents.

(76-101)Sir John Cope, having his motions thus sanctioned
(76-101)by the opinion of the council of war,
(76-101)advanced for a mile or two, on the morning of the
(76-101)27th of August, in his original direction, till he
(76-101)reached the point where the road to Inverness
(76-101)leaves that which leads to Fort-Augustus, when
(76-101)the march was suddenly altered, and the route to
(76-101)Inverness adopted.

(76-101)The exultation which filled the Highlanders on
(76-101)learning Cope's retreat was of a most exuberant
(76-101)description; but it was mingled with disappointment,
(76-101)like that of hunters whose prey has escaped
(76-101)them. There was an unanimous call to follow the

(76-101)retreating general with all despatch, and compel
(76-101)him to fight. Cope had, indeed, some hours the
(76-101)start; but, in a council of chiefs, it was proposed

[TG76-102]

(76-102)to march five hundred picked men across the
(76-102)country, to throw themselves by rapid marches
(76-102)between Inverness and the English general's
(76-102)forces, and detain the regulars until the rest of the
(76-102)army came up in their rear. The advantages to
(76-102)be gained by an unopposed march into the
(76-102)Lowlands were, however, superior to what could be
(76-102)obtained by the pursuit, or even the defeat of Sir John
(76-102)Cope, and the latter plan was given up accordingly.

(76-102)An attempt was made, on the part of the
(76-102)Highlanders, to surprise or burn the barracks of Ruthven;
(76-102)but they were bravely defended by the little
(76-102)garrison, and the attempt proved unsuccessful.
(76-102)They therefore directed their march southward
(76-102)upon Garviemore.

(76-102)In the mean time, the intrigues of Lord Lovat
(76-102)continued to agitate the north, while the Lord
(76-102)President Forbes endeavoured, by soliciting
(76-102)Government for arms, by distributing commissions
(76-102)for independent companies, of which twenty were
(76-102)intrusted to his disposal, and by supplying money
(76-102)from his private purse, to animate the clans who
(76-102)remained attached to Government, and to confirm
(76-102)those which were doubtful.

(76-102)The old chief of the clan Fraser, apparently
(76-102)seconding all his measures, was, in fact, counteracting
(76-102)them as far as he could, and endeavouring,
(76-102)if not to turn the scale in favour of the young

(76-102)Adventurer, at least to preserve the parties in such a
(76-102)state of equality, that he himself might have a
(76-102)chance of determining the balance, when he could
(76-102)see on which side there was most to be gained

[TG76-103]

(76-103)He feared, however, the shrewd sense, steady
(76-103)loyalty, and upright character of the President,
(76-103)and regarded him with a singular mixture of
(76-103)internal fear and hatred, and external affected
(76-103)respect and observance. A jesuitical letter to Lochiel,
(76-103)in which Lovat alleges his fear of the President.
(76-103)whom he states to be playing at cat and mouse
(76-103)with him, is, perhaps, the most extraordinary
(76-103)picture of this extraordinary person's mind that can
(76-103)be exhibited.

(76-103)The line of conduct to be adopted by MacPherson
(76-103)of Cluny, whose numerous and hardy clan is
(76-103)situated chiefly in the district of Badenoch, was at
(76-103)this time a matter of great importance. This chief
(76-103)was a man of a bold and intrepid disposition, who
(76-103)had shown more respect for the laws of property,
(76-103)and more attention to prevent depredations, than
(76-103)any other chief in the Highlands, Lochiel perhaps
(76-103)excepted. He entered into extensive contracts with
(76-103)the Duke of Gordon, and many of the principal
(76-103)proprietors in countries exposed to the Highland
(76-103)caterans, agreeing for a moderate sum of yearly
(76-103)black-mail, to secure them against theft. This
(76-103)species of engagement was often undertaken by
(76-103)persons like Rob Roy, who prosecuted the trade
(76-103)of a freebooter, and was in the habit of stealing at
(76-103)least as many cattle as he was the means of
(76-103)recovering. But Cluny MacPherson pursued the plain
(76-103)and honourable system expressed in the letter of

(76-103)his contract, and by actually securing and bringing

[TG76-104]

(76-104)to justice the malefactors who committed the
(76-104)depredations, he broke up the greater part of the
(76-104)numerous gangs of robbers in the shires of Inverness
(76-104)and Aberdeen. So much was this the case,
(76-104)that when a clergyman began a sermon on the
(76-104)heinous nature of the crime of theft, an old
(76-104)Highlander of the audience replied, that he might
(76-104)forbear treating of the subject, since Cluny, with
(76-104)his broadsword, had done more to check it than all
(76-104)the ministers in the Highlands could do by their
(76-104)sermons.

(76-104)This gentleman had been named captain of an
(76-104)independent company, and therefore remained, in
(76-104)appearance, a friend of Government; but, in fact,
(76-104)he only watched an opportunity to return to the
(76-104)allegiance of James VIII., whom he accounted his
(76-104)lawful sovereign. In compliance with his father-
(76-104)in-law Lovat's mysterious politics. Cluny waited on
(76-104)Sir John Cope on the 27th of August, and received
(76-104)that general's orders to embody his clan. But on
(76-104)the next morning the chief of the MacPhersons
(76-104)was made prisoner in his own house, and carried
(76-104)off to the rebel camp. Whether he was entertained
(76-104)there as a captive, or as a secret friend, we have
(76-104)not now the means of knowing. He was conveyed
(76-104)along with the Highland army to Perth, seemingly
(76-104)by constraint.

(76-104)On 28th August, the Prince bivouacked at
(76-104)Dalwhinnie, himself and his principal officers lying on
(76-104)the moor, with no other shelter than their plaids.
(76-104)On the 29th he reached Dalnacardoch, being thus

(76-104)enabled by the retreat of the English army to possess

[TG76-105]

(76-105)himself of the passes of the mountains between
(76-105)Badenoch and Athole, and to descend upon the
(76-105)latter country. On the 30th, Charles arrived at
(76-105)Blair in Athole, a castle belonging to the Duke of
(76-105)Athole, whose family, with his Grace's elder
(76-105)brother, Lord Tullibardine, and his uncle, Lord Nairne,
(76-105)were well disposed to the cause of the Prince,
(76-105)though his grace, who enjoyed the title, was
(76-105)favourable to Government. 1 lie families and clans
(76-105)of Stewarts of Athole, Robertsons, and others of
(76-105)less importance, were all inclined to support the
(76-105)insurgents, having never forgotten the fame which
(76-105)their ancestors had obtained In a like cause during
(76-105)the wars of Montrose. The name and authority
(76-105)of the Marquis of Tullibardine was well calculated
(76-105)to call these ready warriors to arms. He was, as
(76-105)we have said, the elder brother of the Duke who
(76-105)enjoyed the title, and had been forfeited for his
(76-105)share in the rebellion of 1715,-a merit in the eyes
(76-105)of most of the vassals of his family.

(76-105)The Prince remained two days at Blair, where
(76-105)he was joined by Viscount Strathallan and his
 (76-105)son; by Mr Oliphant of Gask and his son; and
(76-105)the Honourable Mr Murray, brother to the Earl
(76-105)of Dunmore, John Roy Stewart, a most excellent
(76-105)partisan officer, also joined the Prince (to whom
(76-105)he had devoted his service) at this place. He
(76-105)arrived from the continent, and brought several
(76-105)letters with him from persons of distinction abroad.
(76-105)They contained fair and flourishing promises of good
(76-105)wishes and services to be rendered, none of which
(76-105)civilities ever ripened into effectual assistance.

[TG76-106]

(76-106)On the 3d of September, in the evening, the
(76-106)Highland army reached Perth, where it was joined
(76-106)by two persons of first-rate consequence; namely,
(76-106)the Duke of Perth, with two hundred men, whom
(76-106)he had collected while in hiding, in consequence of
(76-106)the warrant which was out for the purpose of
(76-106)arresting him, and the celebrated Lord George
(76-106)Murray, fifth brother of the Marquis of Tullibardine,
(76-106)already mentioned. Both these noblemen were
(76-106)created lieutenant-generals in the Prince's service.

(76-106)It was at this time, and upon this occasion, that
(76-106)a sort of jealousy took place between these two
(76-106)great men, which had a sinister effect upon the
(76-106)future affairs of Charles Edward.

(76-106)"We have already given the character of the
(76-106)Duke of Perth, as he was called, a gentleman in
(76-106)the highest degree courtly, pleasing, and amiable,
(76-106)particularly calculated to be agreeable to a person
(76-106)educated abroad, like the Prince, and not likely to
(76-106)run the risk of displeasing him by rough admonition
(76-106)and blunt contradiction. All his habits and
(76-106)opinions had been formed in France, where he had
(76-106)spent the first twenty years of his life. He even
(76-106)spoke English with some marks of a foreigner,
(76-106)which he concealed under the use of the broad
(76-106)Scottish dialect. He was a man of the most
(76-106)undoubted courage, but had no peculiar military
(76-106)talent.

[TG76-107]

(76-107)Lord George Murray was a man of original and
(76-107)powerful character. He had been engaged with

(76-107)his brother, the Marquis of Tullibardine, in the
(76-107)affair of 1715, was also present at the battle of
(76-107)Glenshiel, in 1719, and had served for some time in the
(76-107)Sardinian army, then no bad school of war. He
(76-107)had at a later period been reconciled to the reigning
(76-107)family, by the interest of his brother, the
(76-107)actual Duke of Athole. It is said, he had even
(76-107)solicited a commission in the English army. It was,
(76-107)however, refused; and in 1745 he re-assumed his
(76-107)original sentiments, and joined Prince Charles
(76-107)Edward. Lord George Murray was in many respects
(76-107)an important acquisition. He was tall, hardy, and
(76-107)robust; and had that intuitive acquaintance with
(76-107)the art of war, which no course of tactics can teach.
(76-107)Being little instructed by early military education,
(76-107)he was unfettered by its formal rules; and perhaps
(76-107)in leading an army of Highlanders, themselves
(76-107)undisciplined, except from a sort of tact which seemed
(76-107)natural to them, he knew far better how to
(76-107)employ and trust their native energies than a tactician
(76-107)accustomed to regular troops would have ventured

[TG76-108]

(76-108)to attempt. He was, moreover, undauntedly brave,
(76-108)and in the habit of fighting sword-in-hand in the
(76-108)front of the battle; he slept little, meditated much,
(76-108)and was the only person in the Highland army who
(76-108)seemed to study the movements of the campaign.
(76-108)The chiefs only led their men to the attack in the
(76-108)field, and the French and Irish officers had been so
(76-108)indifferently selected, that their military knowledge
(76-108)did not exceed the skill necessary to relieve a guard;
(76-108)and only one or two had served in a rank above
(76-108)that of captain. Over such men Lord George
(76-108)Murray had great superiority. He had, however,
(76-108)his failings, and they were chiefly those of temper

(76-108)and manners. He was proud of his superior talents,
(76-108)impatient of contradiction, and haughty and blunt
(76-108)in expressing his opinions.

(76-108)It happened also not unfrequently, that the Prince
(76-108)himself and his tutor, Sir Thomas Sheridan, both
(76-108)extremely ignorant of the British constitution and
(76-108)habits of thinking, suffered sentiments of arbitrary
(76-108)power to escape them, as impolitic as they were
(76-108)ungracious. In checking and repelling such opinions,
(76-108)Lord George Murray did a most valuable service
(76-108)to his master; but the manner in which he performed
(76-108)a task necessarily unpleasing was often rude and
(76-108)assuming, and with the best intentions lie gave
(76-108)offence, which was not the less sensibly felt by the
(76-108)Prince, that his situation obliged him to suppress
(76-108)all outward indication of his displeasure.

(76-108)From' this peculiarity of Lord George Murray's
(76-108)temper, there was early formed in the Prince's
(76-108)council a party who set up the Duke of Perth in

[TG76-109]

(76-109)opposition to him; although the gentle, honourable,
(76-109)and candid temper of the Duke mitigated the
(76-109)animosity of the internal faction. John Murray, the
(76-109)secretary, who having been the early agent of Prince
(76-109)Charles's party, possessed a great share of his
(76-109)master's confidence, was supposed to have been
(76-109)chiefly desirous of setting the claims of the Duke
(76-109)of Perth in opposition to those of Lord George
(76-109)Murray, as he considered the former a person over
(76-109)whom his own ambitious and active disposition
(76-109)might preserve an influence, which he could not
(76-109)hope to gain over the haughty and confident temper
(76-109)of the latter nobleman. Mr Murray is supposed

(76-109)chiefly to have insisted upon Lord George's having
(76-109)taken the oaths to Government, and having been
(76-109)willing to serve the House of Hanover. By these
(76-109)insinuations he impressed on the Prince a shade of
(76-109)suspicion towards the general, who was the most
(76-109)capable of directing the movements of his army,
(76-109)which was never entirely eradicated from his mind,
(76-109)even while he most felt the value of Lord George
(76-109)Murray's services. Charles's high idea of the
(76-109)devotion due to his rights by his subjects, rendered
(76-109)him jealous of the fidelity of a follower, who had
(76-109)not at all times been a pure royalist, or who had
(76-109)shown any inclination, however transitory, to make
(76-109)his own peace by a compromise with the reigning
(76-109)family. The disunion arising from these intrigues
(76-109)had an existence even at Perth, in the very
(76-109)commencement of their enterprise, and continued till
(76-109)the very end of the affair to vex and perplex the
(76-109)councils of the insurgents.

[TG76-110]

(76-110)On his arrival at Perth also, the Chevalier first
(76-110)found the want of money, which has been well called
(76-110)the sinews of war. When he entered that town, he
(76-110)showed one of his followers that his purse contained
(76-110)only a single guinea of the four hundred pounds
(76-110)which he had brought with him in the Doutelle.
(76-110)But Dundee, Montrose, and all the Lowland towns
(76-110)north of the Tay, as far as Inverness, were now at
(76-110)his command. He proceeded to levy the cess and
(76-110)public revenue in name of his father; and as such
(76-110)of his adherents, who were too old or timid to join
(76-110)the standard, sent in contributions of money according
(76-110)to their ability, his military chest was by these
(76-110)resources tolerably supplied. Parties were sent
(76-110)for this purpose to Dundee, Aberbrothwick,

(76-110)Montrose, and other towns. They proclaimed King
(76-110)James VIII., but committed little violence except
(76-110)opening the prisons; and it is remarkable, that

[TG76-111]

(76-111)even in my own time, a chieftain of high rank had
(76-111)to pay a large sum of money on account of his
(76-111)ancestors having set at liberty a prisoner who was
(76-111)detained for a considerable amount of debt.

(76-111)It was no less necessary to brigade the men
(76-111)assembled under this adventurous standard. This
(76-111)was, however, easily done, for the Highlanders
(76-111)were familiar with a species of manoeuvring exactly
(76-111)suited to their own irregular tactics. They marched
(76-111)in a column of three abreast, and could wheel up
(76-111)with prompt regularity, in order to form the line,
(76-111)or rather succession of clan columns, in which it
(76-111)was their fashion to charge. They were accustomed
(76-111)also to carry their arms with habitual
(76-111)ease, and handle them with ready promptitude;
(76-111)to fire with a precise aim, and to charge with
(76-111)vigour, trusting to their national weapons, the broad-
(76-111)sword and target, with which the first rank of every
(76-111)clan, being generally gentlemen, was completely
(76-111)armed. They were, therefore, as well prepared
(76-111)for the day of battle as could be expected from
(76-111)them; and as there was no time to instruct them
(76-111)in more refined manoeuvres, Lord George Murray
(76-111)judiciously recommended to the Prince to trust to
(76-111)those which seemed naturally their own. Some
(76-111)modelling and discipline was, however, resorted to,
(76-111)so far as the short interval would permit.

(76-111)The time which Charles Edward could allot to

[TG76-112]

(76-112)supply his finances, arrange the campaign, and
(76-112)discipline his army, was only from the 4th to the 11th
(76-112)of September; for he had already adopted the
(76-112)daring resolution to give eclat to his arms, by taking
(76-112)possession of the Scottish capital, and was eager
(76-112)to advance upon it ere Sir John Cope could with
(76-112)his forces return from the north for its defence.

[TG77-114]

(77-114)Edinburgh had long been a peaceful capital;
(77-114)little accustomed to the din of arms, and considerably
(77-114)divided by factions, as was the case of other
(77-114)towns in Scotland. The rumours from the Highlands
(77-114)had sounded like distant thunder during a
(77-114)serene day, for no one seemed disposed to give
(77-114)credit to the danger as seriously approaching. The
(77-114)unexpected intelligence, that General Cope had
(77-114)marched to Inverness, and left the metropolis in a
(77-114)great measure to its own resources, excited a very
(77-114)different and more deep sensation, which actuated
(77-114)the inhabitants variously, according to their political
(77-114)sentiments. The Jacobites, who were in
(77-114)considerable numbers, hid their swelling hopes under
(77-114)the cover of ridicule and irony, with which they

[TG77-115]

(77-115)laboured to interrupt every plan which was adopted
(77-115)for the defence of the town. The truth was,
(77-115)that in a military point of view there was no town,
(77-115)not absolutely defenceless, which was worse
(77-115)protected than Edinburgh. The spacious squares and
(77-115)streets of the New Town had then, and for a long
(77-115)time after, no existence, the city being strictly
(77-115)limited to its original boundaries, established as
(77-115)early as the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It

(77-115)had defences, but they were of a singularly antique
(77-115)and insufficient character. A high and solid wall
(77-115)enclosed the city from the West Port to the
(77-115)Potterrow Port. It was embattled, but the parapet
(77-115)was too narrow for mounting cannon, and, except
(77-115)upon one or two points, the wall neither exhibited
(77-115)redoubt, turret, or re-entering angle, from which
(77-115)the curtain or defensive line might be flanked or
(77-115)defended. It was merely an ordinary park-wall
(77-115)of uncommon height and strength, of which you
(77-115)may satisfy yourself by looking at such of its ruins
(77-115)as still remain. The wall ran eastward to what is
(77-115)called the South Back of the Canongate, and then,
(77-115)turning northward, ascended the ridge on which
(77-115)the town is built, forming the one side of a suburb
(77-115)called Saint Mary's Wynd, where it was covered
(77-115)by houses built upon it from time to time, besides
(77-115)being within a few feet of the other side of the
(77-115)wynd, which is narrow, and immediately in its
(77-115)front. In this imperfect state the defence reached
(77-115)the Netherbow Port, which divided the city from
(77-115)the Canongate. From this point the wall ran
(77-115)down Leith Wynd, and terminated at the hospital

[TG77-116]

(77-116)called Paul's Work, connecting itself on that point
(77-116)with the North, or Nor' Loch, so called because it
(77-116)was on the northern side of the city, and its sole
(77-116)defence on that quarter.

(77-116)The nature of the defensive protections must,
(77-116)from this sketch, be judged extremely imperfect;
(77-116)and the quality of the troops by which resistance
(77-116)must have been made good, if it should be seriously
(77-116)thought upon, was scarce better suited to the task.
(77-116)The town's people, indeed, such as were able to

(77-116)hear arms, were embodied under the name of
(77-116)Trained Bands, and had firelocks belonging to
(77-116)them, which were kept in the town's magazines.
(77-116)They amounted nominally to sixteen companies, of
(77-116)various strength, running between eighty and a
(77-116)hundred men each. This would have been a
(77-116)formidable force, had their discipline and good-will
(77-116)corresponded to their numbers. But, for many
(77-116)years, the officers of the Trained Bands had
(77-116)practised no other martial discipline, than was implied
(77-116)in a particular mode of flourishing their wine-
(77-116)glasses on festive occasions; and it was well
(77-116)understood that, if these militia were called on, a
(77-116)number of them were likely enough to declare for
(77-116)Prince Charles, and a much larger proportion
(77-116)would be unwilling to put their persons and
(77-116)property in danger, for either the one or the other
(77-116)side of the cause.¹ The only part of the civic

[TG77-117]

(77-117)defenders of Edinburgh who could at all be trusted,
(77-117)was the small body of foot called the City-guard,
(77-117)whom we have already seen make some figure in
(77-117)the affair of Porteous. The two regiments of
(77-117)dragoons, which General Cope had left behind him
(77-117)for the protection of the Lowlands, were the only
(77-117)regular troops.

(77-117)Yet, though thus poorly provided for defence,
(77-117)there was a natural reluctance on the part of the
(77-117)citizens of Edinburgh, who were in general friendly
(77-117)to Government, to yield up their ancient metropolis
(77-117)to a few hundred wild insurgents from the
(77-117)Highlands, without even an effort at defence. So
(77-117)early as the 27th of August, when it was known
(77-117)in the capital that the regular troops had marched

(77-117)to Inverness, and that the Highlanders were
(77-117)directing their march on the Lowlands, a meeting of

[TG77-118]

(77-118)the friends of Government was held, at which it
(77-118)was resolved that the city should be put in a state
(77-118)of defence, its fortifications repaired or improved,
(77-118)as well as time would permit, and a regiment of a
(77-118)thousand men raised by general subscription among
(77-118)the inhabitants. This spirit of resistance was
(77-118)considerably increased by the arrival of Captain
(77-118)Rogers, aid-de-camp to General Cope, who came from
(77-118)Inverness by sea, with directions that a number of
(77-118)transports, lying then at Leith, should be despatched,
(77-118)without loss of time for Aberdeen. He
(77-118)announced that General Cope was to march his troops
(77-118)from Inverness to Aberdeen, and embark them at
(77-118)the latter seaport, by the means which he was now
(77-118)providing for that purpose. The General, he stated,
(77-118)would with his army thus return to Lothian
(77-118)by sea, in time, as he hoped, for the safety of the
(77-118)city.

(77-118)These tidings highly excited the zeal of those
(77-118)who had thus voted for defending the capital. As
(77-118)the regiment which had been voted could not be
(77-118)levied without the express warrant of Government,
(77-118)several citizens, to the number of an hundred,
(77-118)petitioned to be permitted to enrol themselves as
(77-118)volunteers for the defence of the city. Their

[TG77-119]

(77-119)numbers soon increased. At length, on the 11th
(77-119)September, six companies were appointed, and officers
(77-119)named to them. In the mean time, fortifications
(77-119)were added to the walls, under the scientific direction

(77-119)of the celebrated M'Laurin, professor of
(77-119)mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. The
(77-119)volunteers were taught with all possible speed the
(77-119)most necessary parts of military discipline; cannon
(77-119)were also mounted on the walls, chiefly obtained
(77-119)from the shipping at Leith. The whole city rung
(77-119)with the din of preparation; and much seemed to
(77-119)depend on the event of a struggle for time. The
(77-119)party which was uppermost for the moment,
(77-119)expressed their eager wishes and hopes for General
(77-119)Cope's arrival from Aberdeen; while those who
(77-119)hoped soon to change positions with them, whispered
(77-119)to each other in secret their hopes that the
(77-119)English general would be anticipated by the arrival
(77-119)of the Highland army.

(77-119)In the mean time, Charles Edward, having stopped
(77-119)at Perth only long enough to collect some
(77-119)money, refresh and regulate his army, and receive
(77-119)a few supplies of men, proceeded on his venturous
(77-119)march on the 11th September. His manifestoes,
(77-119)in his father's name and his own, had already
(77-119)announced his purpose of remedying all the grievances
(77-119)of which the nation could complain. Among

[TG77-120]

(77-120)these the dissolution of the Union was proposed as
(77-120)a principal object of reformation. It certainly
(77-120)continued to be felt as a grievance by many of the
(77-120)country gentlemen in Scotland, whose importance
(77-120)it had greatly diminished; but the commercial part
(77-120)of the nation had begun to be sensible of its
(77-120)advantages, and were not greatly captivated by the
(77-120)proposed dissolution of the national treaty, which had
(77-120)so much enlarged their sources of foreign traffic.
(77-120)Another proclamation was issued, in answer to one

(77-120)which had set the price of L.30, 000 upon the
(77-120)Adventurer's head. He should reply to this, he said,
(77-120)by a similar announcement, but in confidence that
(77-120)no adherent of his would ever think of doing any
(77-120)thing to merit such a reward. Accordingly, he
(77-120)published a reward for the Elector of Hanover's
(77-120)person. Charles's original idea was to limit the
(77-120)sum offered to L.30, but it was ultimately extended
(77-120)to the same amount which had been placed upon
(77-120)his own.

(77-120)On the evening of the 11th, the Chevalier reached
(77-120)Dunblane with the vanguard of his army, or
(77-120)rather detachments of the best men of every clan.
(77-120)It was found very difficult to remove the others
(77-120)from the good quarters and provisions of Perth,
(77-120)which were superior to what they had to expect on

[TG77-121]

(77-121)a march. The fords of Frew, situated on the
(77-121)Forth about eight miles above Stirling, which the
(77-121)Earl of Mar, with a much more numerous army,
(77-121)of Highlander's, had in vain attempted to cross,
(77-121)formed no obstacle to the advance of their present
(77-121)more adventurous leader.¹ The great drought,
(77-121)which prevailed that year, and which in Scotland
(77-121)is generally most severe towards the end of
(77-121)autumn, made it easy to cross the river. Gardiner's
(77-121)regiment of dragoons, which had been left at Stirling,
(77-121)offered no opposition to the enemy, but
(77-121)retreated to Linlithgow, to interpose betwixt the
(77-121)Highlanders and Edinburgh,-a retrograde movement,
(77-121)which had a visible effect on the spirits of
(77-121)the soldiers.

[TG77-122]

(77-122)In the mean time, the confusion in the capital
(77-122)was greatly increased by the near approach of the
(77-122)insurgent army. The volunteers had at no time
(77-122)amounted to more than about four hundred men,
(77-122)a small proportion of the population of the city,
(77-122)sufficiently indicating that the far greater majority
(77-122)of the inhabitants were lukewarm, and probably
(77-122)a great many positively disaffected to the cause of
(77-122)Government. Of those also who had taken arms,
(77-122)many had done so merely to show a zeal for the
(77-122)cause, which they never expected would be brought
(77-122)to a serious test; others had wives and families.
(77-122)houses and occupations, which they were, when it
(77-122)came to the push, loath to put in hazard for any
(77-122)political consideration. The citizens also entertained
(77-122)a high idea of the desperate courage of the
(77-122)Highlanders, and a dreadful presentiment of the
(77-122)outrages which a people so wild were likely to commit,
(77-122)if they should succeed, which appeared likely,
(77-122)in forcing their way into the town. Still, however,
(77-122)there were many young students, and others at
(77-122)that period of life when honour is more esteemed
(77-122)than life, who were willing, and even eager, to
(77-122)prosecute their intentions of resistance and defence.

[TG77-123]

(77-123)The corps of volunteers, being summoned together,
(77-123)were informed that Gardiner's dragoons,
(77-123)having continued to retreat before the enemy, were
(77-123)now at Corstorphine, a village within three miles
(77-123)of the city; and that the van of the rebels had
(77-123)reached Kirkliston, a little town about seven or
(77-123)eight miles farther to the west. In these critical
(77-123)circumstances, General Guest, lieutenant-governor
(77-123)of the castle of Edinburgh, submitted to the corps
(77-123)of volunteers, that instead of waiting to be attacked

(77-123)within a town, which their numbers were inadequate
(77-123)to defend, they should second an offensive
(77-123)movement which he designed to make in front of
(77-123)the city, in order to protect it, by an instant battle.
(77-123)For this purpose he proposed that the second regiment
(77-123)of dragoons, called Hamilton's, should march
(77-123)from Leith, where they were encamped, and form
(77-123)a junction with Gardiner's at Corstorphine; and
(77-123)that they should be supported by the volunteer
(77-123)corps of four hundred men. The Provost, having

[TG77-124]

(77-124)agreed to this proposal, offered, after some hesitation,
(77-124)that ninety of the City-guard, whom he reckoned
(77-124)the best troops at his disposal, should march
(77-124)out with the armed citizens. Mr Drummond, an
(77-124)active officer of the volunteers, and who displayed
(77-124)more than usual zeal, harangued the armed
(77-124)association. The most spirited shouted with sincere
(77-124)applause, and by far the greater part followed their
(77-124)example. Out of the whole volunteers, about
(77-124)two hundred and fifty were understood to pledge
(77-124)themselves to the execution of the proposed movement
(77-124)in advance of the city. The sound of the
(77-124)fire-bell was appointed as the signal for the volunteers
(77-124)to muster in the Lawnmarket. In the mean
(77-124)time, orders were sent to Hamilton's dragoons to
(77-124)march through the city on their way to Corstorphine.
(77-124)The parade and display of these disciplined
(77-124)troops would, it was thought, add spirit to the
(77-124)raw soldiers.

(77-124)The following day was Sunday, the 15th of
(77-124)September. The fire-bell, an ominous and ill-chosen
(77-124)signal, tolled for assembling the volunteers, and so
(77-124)alarming a sound, during the time of divine service,

(77-124)dispersed those assembled for worship, and brought
(77-124)out a large crowd of the inhabitants to the street.
(77-124)The dragoon regiment appeared, equipped for
(77-124)battle. They huzza'd and clashed their swords at
(77-124)sight of the volunteers, their companions in peril,
(77-124)of which neither party were destined that day to
(77-124)see much. But other sounds expelled these
(77-124)warlike greetings from the ears of the civic soldiers.
(77-124)The relatives of the volunteers crowded around

[TG77-125]

(77-125)them, weeping, protesting, and conjuring them not
(77-125)to expose lives so invaluable to their families to the
(77-125)broadwords of the savage Highlanders. There
(77-125)is nothing of which men, in general, are more easily
(77-125)persuaded, than of the extreme value of their own
(77-125)lives; nor are they apt to estimate them more
(77-125)lightly, when they see they are highly prized by
(77-125)others. A sudden change of opinion took place
(77-125)among the body. In some companies, the men
(77-125)said that their officers would not lead them on; in
(77-125)others, the officers said that the privates would not
(77-125)follow them. An attempt to march the corps
(77-125)towards the West Port, which was their destined
(77-125)route for the field of battle, failed. The regiment
(77-125)moved, indeed, but the files grew gradually thinner
(77-125)and thinner as they marched down the Bow and
(77-125)through the Grassmarket, and not above forty-five

[TG77-126]

(77-126)reached the West Port. A hundred more were
(77-126)collected with some difficulty, but it seems to have
(77-126)been under a tacit condition, that the march to
(77-126)Corstorphine should be abandoned; for out of the
(77-126)city not one of them issued.¹ The volunteers were
(77-126)led back to their alarm post, and dismissed for the

(77-126)evening, when a few of the most zealous left the
(77-126)town, the defence of which began no longer to be
(77-126)expected, and sought other fields in which to exercise
(77-126)their valour.

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

[TG77-127]

(77-127)with military execution; " and he concluded," said
(77-127)Alves, " by addressing a young man by the title
(77-127)of Royal Highness, and desiring to know if such
(77-127)was not his pleasure." This message, which was
(77-127)publicly delivered, struck additional terror into the
(77-127)inhabitants, who petitioned the Provost to call a
(77-127)general meeting of the citizens, the only purpose
(77-127)of which must have increased the confusion in their
(77-127)councils. Provost Stewart refused to convoke such
(77-127)a meeting. The town was still covered by two
(77-127)regiments of dragoons. Colonel Gardiner, celebrated
(77-127)for his private worth, his bravery, and his
(77-127)devotional character, was now in command of
(77-127)Hamilton's regiment, as well as his own, when he
(77-127)was suddenly superseded by General Fowkes, who
(77-127)had been sent from London by sea, and arrived on
(77-127)the night of the 15th of September.

(77-127)Early the next morning, the new general drew
(77-127)up the dragoons near the north end of the Colt
(77-127)Bridge, which crosses the Water of Leith, about
(77-127)two miles from Corstorphine, from which last
(77-127)village the Highlanders were now advancing. On
(77-127)their van coming in sight of the regulars, a few
(77-127)of the mounted gentlemen who had joined the
(77-127)insurgents were despatched to reconnoitre. As this
(77-127)party rode up, and fired their pistols at the
(77-127)dragoons, after the usual manner of skirmishers, a
(77-127)humiliating spectacle ensued. The soldiers, without
(77-127)returning a shot, fell into such disorder, that
(77-127)their officers were compelled to move them from
(77-127)the ground, with the purpose of restoring their
(77-127)ranks. But no sooner did the two regiments find

[TG77-128]

(77-128)themselves in retreat, than it became impossible to
(77-128)halt or form them. Their panic increased their
(77-128)speed from a trot to a gallop, and the farther they
(77-128)got even from the very appearance of danger, the
(77-128)more excessive seemed to be their terror. Galloping
(77-128)in the greatest confusion round the base of the
(77-128)Castle, by what were called the Lang Dykes, they
(77-128)pursued their disorderly course along the fields
(77-128)where the New Town is now built, in full view of
(77-128)the city and its inhabitants, whose fears were
(77-128)reasonably enough raised to extremity, at seeing the
(77-128)shameful flight of the regular soldiers, whose business
(77-128)it was to fight-a poor example to those who
(77-128)were only to take up the deadly trade as amateurs.
(77-128)Even at Leith, to which, as they had last encamped
(77-128)there, they returned by a kind of instinct, those
(77-128)recreant horsemen could only be halted for a few
(77-128)minutes. Ere their minds had recovered from

(77-128)their perturbation, some one raised a cry that the
(77-128)Highlanders were at hand; and the retreat was
(77-128)renewed. They halted a second time near Prestonpans,
(77-128)but, receiving a third alarm from one of their
(77-128)own men falling into a waste coal-pit, the race was
(77-128)again resumed in the darkness of the night, and
(77-128)the dragoons only stopped at Dunbar, North
(77-128)Berwick, and other towns on the coast; none of them,
(77-128)at the same time, able to render a reason why they
(77-128)fled, or to tell by whom they were pursued.

(77-128)In Edinburgh the citizens were driven to a kind
(77-128)of desperation of terror. Crowds gathered on the

[TG77-129]

(77-129)streets and surrounded the Provost, entreating him
(77-129)to give up all thoughts of defending the town,
(77-129)which would have been indeed an impossibility
(77-129)after the scandalous retreat of the dragoons. Whatever
(77-129)the Provost might think of the condition of
(77-129)the city, he maintained a good countenance; and
(77-129)convoking a meeting of the magistracy, sent for the
(77-129)Justice-Clerk, the Lord Advocate, and Solicitor-
(77-129)General, to come and partake their councils. But
(77-129)these functionaries had wisely left the city when
(77-129)the danger of its falling into the hands of the
(77-129)rebels became so very imminent. In the mean time,
(77-129)other citizens, uninvited, intruded themselves into
(77-129)the place where the council was held, which speedily
(77-129)assumed the appearance of a disorderly crowd,
(77-129)most part of whom were clamorous for surrender.
(77-129)Many of the loudest were Jacobites, who took
(77-129)that mode of serving the Prince's cause.

(77-129)While the council was in this state of confusion,
(77-129)a letter, subscribed Charles Stewart, P. R., was

(77-129)handed into the meeting, but the Provost would
(77-129)not permit it to be read, which gave rise to a furious
(77-129)debate. The volunteers, in the mean time,
(77-129)were drawn up on the street, amid the same
(77-129)clamour and consternation which filled the council.
(77-129)They received no orders from the Provost, nor
(77-129)from any one else. At this juncture, a man, who was
(77-129)never since discovered, mounted on a grey horse,
(77-129)rode along the front of their line, calling out, fro
(77-129)the great augmentation of the' general alarm, that
(77-129)the Highlanders were just at hand, and were
(77-129)sixteen thousand strong! The unlucky volunteers,

[TG77-130]

(77-130)disheartened, and in a great measure deserted,
(77-130)resolved at length to disembody themselves, and to
(77-130)return their arms to the King's magazine in the
(77-130)Castle. The muskets were received there accordingly,
(77-130)and the volunteers might be considered as
(77-130)disbanded as well as disarmed. If some wept at
(77-130)parting with their arms, we believe the greater
(77-130)part were glad to be fairly rid of the encumbrance.

(77-130)In the interim the letter with the alarming
(77-130)signature was at length read in the council, and was
(77-130)found to contain a summons to surrender the city,
(77-130)under a promise of safety to the immunities of the
(77-130)corporation, and the property of individuals. The
(77-130)conclusion declared, that the Prince would not be
(77-130)responsible for the consequences if he were
(77-130)reduced to enter the city by force, and that such of
(77-130)the inhabitants as he found in arms against him
(77-130)must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war.

(77-130)The perusal of this letter increased the cry
(77-130)against resistance, which, indeed, the flight of the

(77-130)dragoons, and dispersion of the volunteers, rendered
(77-130)altogether impossible, the armed force being
(77-130)reduced to the City-guard, and a few recruits of
(77-130)the newly-raised Edinburgh regiment. It was at
(77-130)length agreed on, by general consent, to send a
(77-130)deputation of the council to wait on the young Prince
(77-130)at Gray's Mill, within two miles of the city; they
(77-130)were instructed to require a suspension of hostilities
(77-130)until they should have time to deliberate on
(77-130)the letter which had been forwarded to them.

(77-130)The deputation had not long set forth on its
(77-130)destination, when one of those turns of fortune

[TG77-131]

(77-131)which so unexpectedly threaten to derange the
(77-131)most profound calculations of human prudence,
(77-131)induced many of the citizens to wish that the step of
(77-131)communicating with the rebels had been delayed.
(77-131)Intelligence arrived, acquainting the magistrates
(77-131)and council, that Sir John Cope's army had arrived
(77-131)in the transports from Aberdeen, and that the fleet
(77-131)was seen off Dunbar, where the General intended
(77-131)to land his troops, and move instantly to the relief
(77-131)of Edinburgh. A messenger was sent to recall
(77-131)the deputation, but he proved unable to overtake
(77-131)them. General Guest was resorted to with various
(77-131)proposals. He was asked to recall the dragoons;
(77-131)but replied, he considered it better for the service
(77-131)that they should join General Cope. The more
(77-131)zealous citizens then requested a new issue of arms
(77-131)to the volunteers; but General Guest seems to
(77-131)have been unwilling to place them again in
(77-131)irresolute hands; he said the magistrates might arm
(77-131)those whom they could trust from the city's
(77-131)magazine. Still, as it appeared that a day's time

(77-131)gained might save the city, there were proposals
(77-131)to resume the purpose of defence, at least for the
(77-131)time which Cope's march from Dunbar was likely
(77-131)to occupy. It was therefore proposed to beat to
(77-131)arms, ring the fire-bell, and reassemble the volunteers,
(77-131)schemes which were abandoned as soon as
(77-131)moved, for it was remembered that the deputation
(77-131)of the magistrates and counsellors were in the
(77-131)power of the Highlandmen, who, on the sound of
(77-131)an alarm in the town, were likely enough to hang
(77-131)them without ceremony.

[TG77-132]

(77-132)About ten o'clock at night the deputation
(77-132)returned, with an answer to the same purpose with
(77-132)the previous summons, demanding, at the same
(77-132)time, a positive reply before two in the morning'.
(77-132)The deliberations of the magistrates were farther
(77-132)embroiled by this peremptory demand of instant
(77-132)surrender, which made them aware that the insurgents
(77-132)were as sensible as they could be of the value
(77-132)of hours and minutes in a discussion so critical.
(77-132)They could think of nothing better than to send
(77-132)out a second deputation to Gray's Mill, with
(77-132)instructions to entreat for farther time. It is
(77-132)important to state, that this party went to the
(77-132)Highland headquarters in a hackney-coach. The
(77-132)Prince refused to see them, and dismissed them
(77-132)without an answer.

(77-132)In the mean time, the Chevalier and his
(77-132)counsellors agitated several plans for carrying the city
(77-132)by a sudden surprise. There was more than one
(77-132)point which gave facilities for such a coup-de-main.

[TG77-133]

(77-133)A house belonging to a gentleman of the name of
(77-133)Nicolson stood on the outside of the town-wall,
(77-133)only a few feet distant from it, and very near the
(77-133)Potterrow Port. It was proposed to take possession
(77-133)of this house, and, after clearing the wall by a
(77-133)fire of musketry from the upper windows, either to
(77-133)attempt an escalade, or to run a mine under the
(77-133)fortification. At the same time, the position of
(77-133)the hospital called Paul's Work was favourably
(77-133)situated to cover an attack on the main sluice of
(77-133)the North Loch. The College Church gave ready
(77-133)means of gaining the hospital; and an alarm on the
(77-133)northern termination of the wall would have afforded
(77-133)a point of diversion, while the main attack might
(77-133)be made by means of the row of houses in St
(77-133)Mary's Wynd, composing the western side of that
(77-133)lane, and actually built upon, and forming part of
(77-133)the wall, which in that place was merely a range
(77-133)of buildings. Such were the points of assault which
(77-133)might be stormed simultaneously, and with the
(77-133)greater prospect of success, that their defenders
(77-133)were deficient both in numbers and courage.

(77-133)With these and similar views, the Chevalier
(77-133)ordered Lochiel to get his men under arms, so as
(77-133)to be ready, if the magistrates did not surrender
(77-133)at the appointed hour of two in the morning, to
(77-133)make an attack on either of the points we have
(77-133)mentioned, or take any other opportunity that
(77-133)might occur of entering the city; Mr Murray of
(77-133)Broughton, who was familiar with all the localities
(77-133)of Edinburgh, acting as a guide to the Camerons.
(77-133)The party amounted to about nine hundred men.

[TG77-134]

(77-134)The strictest caution was recommended to them in

(77-134)marching, and they were enjoined to rigid abstinence
(77-134)from spirituous liquors. At the same time,
(77-134)each man was promised a reward of two shilling's,
(77-134)if the enterprise was successful. Colonel O'Sullivan
(77-134)was with the party as quarter-master. The
(77-134)detachment marched round by Merchiston and
(77-134)Hope's Park, without being observed from the
(77-134)Castle, though they could hear the watches call the
(77-134)rounds within that fortress. Approaching the
(77-134)Netherbow Port, Lochiel and Murray reconnoitred
(77-134)the city-wall more closely, and found it planted
(77-134)with cannon, but without sentinels. They could,
(77-134)therefore, have forced an entrance by any of the
(77-134)houses in St Mary's Wynd; but having strict
(77-134)orders to observe the utmost caution, Lochiel
(77-134)hesitated to resort to actual violence till they should
(77-134)have final commands to do so. In the mean time,
(77-134)Lochiel sent forward one of his people, disguised
(77-134)in a riding coat and hunting cap, with orders to
(77-134)request admission by the Netherbow Port. This
(77-134)man was to personate the servant of an English
(77-134)officer of dragoons, and in that character to call for
(77-134)admittance. An advanced guard of twenty Camerons
(77-134)were ordered to place themselves on each side
(77-134)of the gate; a support of sixty men were stationed
(77-134)in deep silence in St Mary's Wynd; and the rest
(77-134)of the detachment remained at some distance, near
(77-134)the foot of the lane. It was Lochiel's purpose that
(77-134)the gate, if opened, should have been instantly
(77-134)secured by the forlorn-hope of his party. The
(77-134)watch, however (for there were sentinels at the

[TG77-135]

(77-135)gate, though none on the city-wall), refused to open
(77-135)the gate, threatened to fire on the man who desired
(77-135)admittance, and thus compelled him to withdraw.

(77-135)It was now proposed by Murray, that as the
(77-135)morning was beginning to break, the detachment
(77-135)should retire to the craggy ground called Saint
(77-135)Leonard's hill, where they would be secure from
(77-135)the cannon of the Castle, and there await for
(77-135)further orders. Just when the detachment was about
(77-135)to retreat, an accident happened which gratified
(77-135)them with an unexpected opportunity of entrance.

(77-135)I have told you of a second deputation sent out
(77-135)by the magistrates, to entreat from the Chevalier
(77-135)additional time to deliberate upon his summons,
(77-135)which he refused to grant, declining even to see
(77-135)the messengers. These deputies returned into the
(77-135)city long after midnight, in the hackney-coach
(77-135)which had carried them to the rebel camp. They
(77-135)entered at the West Port, and left the coach after
(77-135)they had ascended the Bow and reached the High
(77-135)Street. The hackney-coachman, who had his own
(77-135)residence and his stables in the Canongate, was
(77-135)desirous to return to that suburb through the Netherbow
(77-135)Port, which then closed the head of the
(77-135)Canongate. The man was known to the waiters,
(77-135)or porters, as having been that night engaged in
(77-135)the service of the magistrates, and, as a matter of
(77-135)course, they opened the gate to let him go home.
(77-135)The leaves of the gate had no sooner unfolded
(77-135)themselves, than the Camerons rushed in, and
(77-135)secured and disarmed the few watchmen. With the

[TG77-136]

(77-136)same ease they seized on the city guard-house,
(77-136)disarming such soldiers as they found there.

(77-136)Colonel O'Sullivan despatched parties to the

(77-136)other military posts and gates about the city, two
(77-136)of which were occupied with the same ease, and
(77-136)without a drop of blood being spilt. The Camerons,
(77-136)in the dawn of morning', were marched up
(77-136)to the Cross, when the Castle, now alarmed with
(77-136)the news of what had happened, fired a shot or two
(77-136)expressive of defiance. These warlike sounds
(77-136)waked such of the citizens of Edinburgh as the
(77-136)tumult of the Highlanders' entrance had not yet
(77-136)roused, and many with deep anxiety, and others
(77-136)with internal exultation, found that the capital was
(77-136)in the hands of the insurgents.

(77-136)Much noisy wonder was expressed at the tame
(77-136)surrender of the metropolis of Scotland to the
(77-136)rebels; and, as if it had been necessary to find a scapegoat
(77-136)to bear the disgrace and blame of the transaction,
(77-136)a great proportion of both was imputed to the
(77-136)Lord Provost Stewart, who, after a long and severe
(77-136)imprisonment, was brought to trial for high treason,
(77-136)and although he was honourably acquitted, his
(77-136)name was often afterwards mentioned in a manner
(77-136)as if his judicial acquittal had not been sanctioned
(77-136)by the public voice. There is no room to enquire
(77-136)of what cast were Provost Stewards general politics,
(77-136)or how far, even from the mere circumstance
(77-136)of namesake, he was to be accounted a Jacobite.
(77-136)Neither is the chief magistrate of a corporation to
(77-136)be condemned to death as a traitor, because he does

[TG77-137]

(77-137)not possess those attributes of heroism, by means
(77-137)of which some gifted individuals have raised means
(77-137)of defence when hope seemed altogether lost, and,
(77-137)by their own energies and example, have saved
(77-137)communities and states, which were, in the estimation

(77-137)of all others, doomed to despair. The question
(77-137)is, whether Provost Stewart, as an upright and
(77-137)honourable man, sought the best advice in an
(77-137)exigency so singular, and exerted himself assiduously
(77-137)to carry it into execution when received? The
(77-137)flight of the dragoons, the disbanding of the volunteers,
(77-137)the discontinuance of the defence, received
(77-137)no encouragement from him; even the opening a
(77-137)communication with the enemy was none of his
(77-137)fault, since he was one of the last who either
(77-137)despaired of preserving the city, or used discouraging
(77-137)language to the citizens. But he could not inspire
(77-137)panic-struck soldiers with courage, or selfish burghers
(77-137)with patriotic devotion, and, like a man who fights
(77-137)with a broken weapon, was unequal to maintain the
(77-137)cause which to all appearance he seems to have been
(77-137)sincere in defending.

[TG77-138]

(77-138)The Highlanders, amid circumstances so new and
(77-138)stimulating to them as attended the capture of
(77-138)Edinburgh, behaved themselves with the utmost order
(77-138)and propriety. The inhabitants, desirous to conciliate
(77-138)their new masters, brought them provisions,
(77-138)and even whisky; but having been enjoined by
(77-138)Lochiel not to taste the latter spirits, they
(77-138)unanimously rejected a temptation which besets them
(77-138)strongly. They remained where they were posted,
(77-138)in the Parliament-Square, from five in the morning
(77-138)till eleven in the forenoon, without a man leaving
(77-138)his post, though in a city taken, it may be said, by
(77-138)storm, and surrounded with an hundred objects to
(77-138)excite their curiosity, or awaken their cupidity.

[TG77-139]

(77-139)They were then quartered in the Outer Parliament-

(77-139)House.

(77-139>About noon on this important day (the 17th of
(77-139)September), diaries Edward prepared to take
(77-139)possession of the palace and capital of his ancestors.

(77-139)It was at that time, when, winding his march
(77-139)round by the village of Duddingston, to avoid the
(77-139)fire of the Castle, he halted in the hollow between
(77-139)Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crag. As Charles
(77-139)approached the palace by the eastern access, called
(77-139)the Duke's Walk, he called for his horse, as if to
(77-139)show himself to the populace, who assembled in
(77-139)great numbers, and with loud acclamations. The
(77-139)young Adventurer had begun his march on foot,
(77-139)but the immense crowd with which he was
(77-139)surrounded, many of whom pressed to touch his
(77-139)clothes, or kiss his hand, almost threw him down.
(77-139)He again mounted his charger as he approached
(77-139)the palace, having on his right the Duke of Perth,
(77-139)on his left Lord Elcho, the eldest son of the Earl
(77-139)of Wemyss, who had joined him a few days
(77-139)before, and followed by a concourse of chiefs and
(77-139)gentlemen. The personal appearance of the
(77-139)Chevalier was as prepossessing, as the daring character
(77-139)and romantic circumstances of his enterprise were
(77-139)calculated to excite the imagination. His noble
(77-139)mien, graceful manners, and ready courtesy, seemed
(77-139)to mark him no unworthy competitor for a
(77-139)crown. His dress was national. A short tartan
(77-139)coat, a blue bonnet with a white rose, and the order
(77-139)and emblem of the thistle, seemed all chosen to
(77-139)identify himself with the ancient nation he

[TG77-140]

(77-140)summoned to arms; and, upon the whole, so far as

(77-140)acclamations and signs of joy could express it, he
(77-140)was so favourably received, that none of his
(77-140)followers doubted that he might levy a thousand men
(77-140)in the streets of Edinburgh, in half an hour, if he
(77-140)could but find arms to equip them.

(77-140)But they who were able to look beyond the
(77-140)mere show and clamour, discerned symptoms of
(77-140)inward weakness in the means by which the
(77-140)Chevalier was to execute his weighty undertaking.
(77-140)The duinhewassels, or gentlemen of the clans,
(77-140)were, indeed, martially attired in the full Highland
(77-140)dress, with the various arms which appertain to
(77-140)that garb, which, in full equipment, comprehends a
(77-140)firelock, a broadsword, dirk and target, a pair of
(77-140)pistols, and a short knife, used occasionally as a
(77-140)poniard. But such complete appointments fell to
(77-140)the lot of but few of the followers of the Prince.
(77-140)Most were glad to be satisfied with a single weapon,
(77-140)a sword, dirk, or pistol. Nay, in spite of all
(77-140)evasions of the Disarming Act, it had been so far

[TG77-141]

(77-141)effectual, that several Highlanders were only armed
(77-141)with scythe blades, set straight on the handle,
(77-141)and some with only clubs or cudgels. As arms
(77-141)were scarce among the Highlanders, so the scanty
(77-141)and ill-clothed appearance of the poorer amongst
(77-141)them gave them an appearance at once terrible and
(77-141)wretched. Indeed many were of the opinion of
(77-141)an old friend of your Grandfather's, who. as he
(77-141)looked on a set of haggard and fierce-looking men,
(77-141)some wanting coats, some lacking hose and shoes,
(77-141)some having their hair tied back with a leathern
(77-141)strap, without bonnet or covering of any kind,
(77-141)could not help observing, that they were a proper

(77-141)set of ragamuffins with which to propose to overturn
(77-141)an established government.¹ On the whole,
(77-141)they wanted that regularity and uniformity of
(77-141)appearance, which, in our eye, distinguishes regular
(77-141)soldiers from banditti; and their variety of weapons,
(77-141)fierceness of aspect, and sinewy limbs, combined
(77-141)with a martial look and air proper to a people
(77-141)whose occupation was arms, gave them a peculiarly
(77-141)wild and barbarous appearance.

(77-141)The Prince had been joined by many persons of
(77-141)consequence since he reached Lothian. Lord
(77-141)Elcho has already been mentioned. He was a man
(77-141)of high spirit and sound sense, but no Jacobite in
(77-141)the bigoted sense of the word; that is, no devoted
(77-141)slave to the doctrines of hereditary right or passive
(77-141)obedience. He brought with him five hundred

[TG77-142]

(77-142)pounds on the part of his father. Lord Wemyss,
(77-142)who was too old to take the field in person. This
(77-142)was an acceptable gift in the state of the Prince's
(77-142)finances. Sir Robert Threipland had also joined
(77-142)him as he approached Edinburgh; and by the private
(77-142)information which he brought from his friends
(77-142)in that city, had determined him to persevere in
(77-142)the attack which proved so successful.

(77-142)The Earl of Kelly, Lord Balmerino, Lockhart,
(77-142)the younger of Carnwath, Graham, younger of
(77-142)Airth, Rollo, younger of Powburn, Hamilton of
(77-142)Bangour, a poet of considerable merit, Sir David
(77-142)Murray, and other gentlemen of distinction, had
(77-142)also joined the standard.

(77-142)Amongst these, James Hepburn of Keith, son

(77-142)of that Robert Hepburn, respecting whose family
(77-142)a remarkable anecdote is mentioned at page 289 of
(77-142)the preceding volume, and whose escape from
(77-142)Newgate is narrated at page 387 of the same volume,
(77-142)distinguished himself by the manner in which he
(77-142)devoted himself to the cause of Charles Edward. As
(77-142)the Prince entered the door of the palace of Holyrood,
(77-142)this gentleman stepped from the crowd, bent
(77-142)his knee before him in testimony of homage, and,
(77-142)rising up, drew his sword, and, walking before him,
(77-142)marshalled him the way into the palace of his
(77-142)ancestors. Hepburn bore the highest character as
(77-142)the model of a true Scottish gentleman. He, like
(77-142)Lord Elcho, disclaimed the slavish principles of
(77-142)the violent Jacobites, but, conceiving his country
(77-142)wronged, and the gentry of Scotland degraded by
(77-142)the Union, he, in this romantic manner, dedicated

[TG77-143]

(77-143)his sword to the service of the Prince who offered
(77-143)to restore him to his rights. Mr John Home, whose
(77-143)heart sympathised with acts of generous devotion,
(77-143)from whatever source they flowed, feelingly
(77-143)observes, that " the best Whigs regretted that this
(77-143)accomplished gentleman-the model of ancient simplicity,
(77-143)manliness, and honour-should sacrifice
(77-143)himself to a visionary idea of the independence of
(77-143)Scotland." I am enabled to add, that, after
(77-143)having impaired his fortune, and endangered his life
(77-143)repeatedly, in this ill-fated cause, Mr Hepburn
(77-143)became convinced that, in the words of Scripture,
(77-143)he had laboured a vain thing. He repeatedly said
(77-143)in his family circle, that, had he known, as the after
(77-143)progress of the expedition showed him, that a very
(77-143)great majority of the nation were satisfied with the
(77-143)existing Government, he would never have drawn

(77-143)sword against his fellow-subjects, or aided to raise

[TG77-144]

(77-144)a civil war, merely to replace the Stewart
(77-144)dynasty.

[TG78-145]

(78-145)THE possession of Edinburgh threw a gleam of
(78-145)splendour upon Charles Edward's fortunes, but can
(78-145)scarcely be said to have produced very important
(78-145)consequences.

(78-145)King James VIII. was proclaimed at the Cross.
(78-145)At this ceremony the heralds and pursuivants were
(78-145)obliged to assist in their official dresses, and the
(78-145)magistrates in their robes. A great multitude
(78-145)attended on this occasion, and made the city ring
(78-145)with their acclamations. The gunners of the castle
(78-145)were disposed to give a different turn to this
(78-145)mirth, by throwing a bomb, so calculated as to
(78-145)alight near the Cross, and interrupt the ceremonial.
(78-145)Fortunately this act of violence, which might have
(78-145)endangered the lives of many of King George's
(78-145)good subjects, whom mere curiosity had drawn to
(78-145)the spot, was prohibited by General Guest.

(78-145)At night there was a splendid ball at Holyrood,
(78-145)where might be seen a great display both of

[TG78-146]

(78-146)rank and beauty, the relatives of the gentlemen
(78-146)who were in arms. But it was a remarkable and
(78-146)ominous circumstance, that of the common people,
(78-146)who by thousands crowded round the Prince's person
(78-146)when he went abroad, pressing to kiss his hands
(78-146)and touch his clothes, with every display of affection,

(78-146)scarcely one could be induced to enlist in his
(78-146)service. The reflection, that a battle must take
(78-146)place betwixt Prince Charles and General Cope in
(78-146)the course of a very few days, was to the populace
(78-146)of a large city, a sufficient check upon their party
(78-146)zeal.

(78-146)One of the most solid advantages which the
(78-146)Prince obtained by his possession of the city,
(78-146)besides the encouragement which his adherents
(78-146)received from such a signal proof of success, was the
(78-146)acquisition of about a thousand muskets, in indifferent
(78-146)condition, being the arms of the Trained
(78-146)Bands, which were lodged in the city magazine.
(78-146)These served to arm many of his followers, but
(78-146)still some remained unprovided with weapons.
(78-146)Charles also laid upon the city a military requisition
(78-146)for a thousand tents, two thousand targets,
(78-146)six thousand pairs of shoes, and six thousand
(78-146)canteens. The magistrates had no alternative but to
(78-146)acquiesce, and employ workmen to get ready the
(78-146)articles demanded.

(78-146)Upon the 18th of September, the day after the
(78-146)occupation of Edinburgh, Lord Nairne came up
(78-146)from the north, and joined the Highland camp
(78-146)with a thousand men, consisting of Highlanders
(78-146)from Athole, together with the chief of
(78-146)MacLauchlan and his followers. The Prince visited

[TG78-147]

(78-147)his camp, and passed in review, at the same time
(78-147)with the rest of his forces, these new associates of
(78-147)his enterprise.

(78-147)While these things were passing in Edinburgh,

(78-147)General Cope landed his troops at Dunbar, anxious
(78-147)to repair the false step which he had committed in
(78-147)leaving the Lowlands open to the young Adventurer,
(78-147)and desirous to rescue the capital of Scotland,
(78-147)since he had not been able to protect it. He
(78-147)began the disembarkation of his troops on the 17th,

[TG78-148]

(78-148)but it was not completed till the next day. The two
(78-148)regiments of cavalry, which had made such
(78-148)extraordinary speed to join him, were also united to his
(78-148)army, though their nerves had not yet recovered
(78-148)the rapid and disorderly retreat from Colt-Bridge
(78-148)to East Lothian. The number of infantry was
(78-148)about 2000, that of the two regiments of dragoons
(78-148)about 600; Sir John Cope was also joined by
(78-148)volunteers, among whom the Earl of Home was the
(78-148)most conspicuous, making his army up to near
(78-148)3000 men in all. They had six pieces of artillery,
(78-148)but, what seems strange, no gunners or artillery-
(78-148)men to work them. In other respects they formed
(78-148)a small, but very well-appointed force, and made
(78-148)an impressive appearance in a country so long
(78-148)disused to war, as had been the case with Scotland.
(78-148)At the head of this respectable body of men Sir
(78-148)John departed from Dunbar, and marched as far
(78-148)as Haddington, or its vicinity, on his proposed
(78-148)advance on Edinburgh.

(78-148)In the mean time, Charles Edward had taken a
(78-148)resolution corresponding with the character of his
(78-148)enterprise. It was that of moving eastward, to
(78-148)meet Sir John Cope upon his route, and give him
(78-148)battle. All his counsellors agreed in this courageous
(78-148)sentiment. The Prince then asked the
(78-148)Chiefs, what was to be expected from their

(78-148)followers. They answered by the mouth of Keppoch,
(78-148)who had served in the French army, that the
(78-148)gentlemen of every clan would lead the attack with
(78-148)determined gallantry, in which case, there was no
(78-148)doubt that the clansmen, who were much attached

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(78-149)to their chiefs and superiors, would follow them
(78-149)with fidelity and courage. The Prince declared he
(78-149)would himself lead the van, and set them an
(78-149)example how to conquer or die. The Chiefs
(78-149)unanimously remonstrated against his exposing a life on
(78-149)which the whole success of the expedition must
(78-149)depend, and declared, that if he persisted in that
(78-149)resolution, they would break up the army and
(78-149)return home. There can be little doubt that Charles
(78-149)was sincere in his resolution, and no doubt at all
(78-149)that he was very wise in withdrawing from it on
(78-149)the remonstrance of his faithful followers.

(78-149)Orders were given to prepare next morning for
(78-149)the evacuation of Edinburgh, in order that the
(78-149)whole Highland army might be collected for the
(78-149)battle, which was expected to ensue. For this
(78-149)purpose, the troops employed in mounting the several
(78-149)guards of the city, in number 1000 men, were
(78-149)withdrawn to the camp at Duddingston. It might have
(78-149)been expected, that a sally from the Castle would
(78-149)have taken place in consequence of their retreat, if
(78-149)not for any ulterior purpose, at least to seize on the
(78-149)different articles which had been got ready at the
(78-149)requisition of the Prince, and put a stop to their
(78-149)completion. The presence of mind of a common
(78-149)Highlander prevented this. The man being
(78-149)intoxicated when his countrymen were withdrawn,
(78-149)found himself, when he recovered his senses, the

(78-149)only one of his party left in the town. Being a
(78-149)ready-witted fellow, to those who enquired of him,
(78-149)why he had lingered behind his countrymen, he
(78-149)answered, " That he was neither alone, nor alarmed

[TG78-150]

(78-150)for his safety; five hundred Highlanders," he said,
(78-150)" had been left in cellars and secret places about
(78-150)town, for the purpose of cutting off any detachment
(78-150)that might sally from the Castle." These false
(78-150)tidings being transmitted to General Guest, were
(78-150)for the time received as genuine; nor was there
(78-150)time to discover the deceit, before the victory of
(78-150)Preston enabled Charles Edward to return in
(78-150)triumph to the capital. The man's presence of
(78-150)mind secured also his own safety.

(78-150)The men had lain on their arms the night of the
(78-150)19th, their Chiefs and the Chevalier occupying such
(78-150)houses as were in the neighbourhood. On the
(78-150)morning of the 20th, they were all on the march,
(78-150)in high spirits, determined for action, and eager to
(78-150)meet the enemy. They formed in one narrow
(78-150)column, keeping the high ground from Duddingston
(78-150)towards Musselburgh, where they crossed the
(78-150)Esk by the old bridge, and then advanced to the
(78-150)eminence of which Carberry hill is the termination
(78-150)to the south-west, near which, about Musselburgh
(78-150)or Inveresk, they expected to meet the enemy.
(78-150)On putting himself at the head of his army, the
(78-150)Prince drew his sword, and said to his followers,
(78-150)" Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard,"
(78-150)which was answered by shouts of acclamation.
(78-150)Their movements were the simplest imaginable.
(78-150)On their march they formed a column of three men
(78-150)in front. When about to halt, each individual

(78-150)faced to the right or left as directed, and the
(78-150)column became a line of three men deep, which, by
(78-150)filing off from either flank, might again become a

[TG78-151]

(78-151)column at the word of command. Their handful
(78-151)of cavalry, scarcely amounting to fifty men, were
(78-151)occupied on the march in reconnoitring. They
(78-151)obtained a tolerably accurate account of the strength
(78-151)of Cope's army, excepting as to the number of his
(78-151)guns, which one report augmented to twenty field-
(78-151)pieces, and none rated under twelve, though, as I
(78-151)have already said, there were only six in all.

(78-151)When the Highlanders had advanced as far as
(78-151)Falside hill, near Carberry, their scouts brought in
(78-151)notice that they had seen parties of dragoons about
(78-151)Tranent, and it was reported that Sir John Cope
(78-151)was in that quarter with his whole army. The
(78-151)Chevalier's army, which had hitherto marched in
(78-151)one column, now divided into two, being their
(78-151)intended line of battle, and keeping towards the
(78-151)right, so as to preserve the upper ground, which
(78-151)was a great point in Highland tactics, marched
(78-151)onward with steadiness and celerity.

(78-151)When they arrived where the hill immediately
(78-151)above Tranent slopes suddenly down upon a large
(78-151)cultivated plain, then in stubble, the harvest having
(78-151)been unusually early, the Highlanders beheld the
(78-151)enemy near the western extremity of this plain,
(78-151)with their front towards the ridge of high ground
(78-151)which they themselves occupied.

(78-151)It appears that Sir John Cope had directed his
(78-151)march under the idea, that because a road, passing

(78-151)from Seaton house to Preston, was the usual highway
(78-151)from Haddington, therefore the Highlanders
(78-151)would make use of that, and no other, for their
(78-151)advance. He either did not know, or forgot, that an

[TG78-152]

(78-152)irregular army of mountaineers, unencumbered
(78-152)with baggage and inured to marching, would not
(78-152)hesitate to prefer the rougher and less level road,
(78-152)if it possessed any advantages.

(78-152)Two mounted volunteers, Francis Garden, afterwards
(78-152)Lord Gardenstone, and a Mr Cunninghame,
(78-152)had been detached by the English general to
(78-152)collect intelligence; but unhappily, as they halted to
(78-152)refresh themselves beyond Musselburgh, they fell
(78-152)into the hands of John Roy Stewart, a more skilful
(78-152)partisan than themselves, by whom they were
(78-152)made prisoners, and led captive to the Chevalier's
(78-152)headquarters. Sir John Cope, deprived of the
(78-152)information he expected from his scouts, seems to
(78-152)have continued to expect the approach of the rebels
(78-152)from the west, until he suddenly saw them
(78-152)appear from the southward, on the ridge of the
(78-152)acclivity upon his left. He immediately changed
(78-152)his front, and drew up his troops with military
(78-152)precision in order of battle. His foot were placed in
(78-152)the centre, with a regiment of dragoons and three
(78-152)pieces of artillery upon each flank. The wall of

[TG78-153]

(78-153)Colonel Gardiner's park (for his mansion was in
(78-153)the vicinity of the plain which was destined to
(78-153)prove fatal to him), as well as that of Mr Erskine
(78-153)of Grange, covered the right flank of the regulars;
(78-153)Cope's baggage was stationed at Cockenzie, on the

(78-153)rear of his left, and a small reserve was stationed
(78-153)in front of the village of Prestonpans, which lay on
(78-153)the rear of the General's right.

(78-153)In front of both armies, and separating the
(78-153)higher ground on which the Highland army was
(78-153)drawn up from the firm and level plain on which
(78-153)the regulars were posted, lay a piece of steep and
(78-153)swampy ground, intersected with ditches and
(78-153)enclosures, and traversed near the bottom by a thick
(78-153)strong hedge running along a broad wet ditch, and
(78-153)covering the front of the royal army. It was the
(78-153)object of the Chevalier to indulge the impatience
(78-153)of his troops, by pressing forward to instant battle.
(78-153)For this purpose he employed an officer of
(78-153)experience, Mr Ker of Graden, who, mounted on a
(78-153)grey pony, coolly reconnoitred the seemingly
(78-153)impracticable ground which divided the armies,
(78-153)crossed it in several directions, deliberately alighted,
(78-153)pulled down gaps in one or two walls of dry
(78-153)stone, and led his horse over them, many balls
(78-153)being fired at him while performing this duty,
(78-153)This intrepid gentleman returned to the Chevalier,
(78-153)to inform him that the morass could not be passed
(78-153)so as to attack the front of General Cope's army,
(78-153)without sustaining a heavy and destructive fire of
(78-153)some continuance. A waggon-way for the conveyance
(78-153)of coal worked in the vicinity of Tranent,

[TG78-154]

(78-154)for the use of the salt-works at Cockenzie, did
(78-154)indeed cross the morass, but it would have been
(78-154)ruinous to have engaged troops in such a narrow
(78-154)road, which was exposed to be swept in every
(78-154)direction both by artillery and musketry.

(78-154)The position of General Cope might therefore
(78-154)be considered as unassailable; and that general,
(78-154)with a moderation which marked Ills mediocrity of
(78-154)talent, was happy in having found, as he thought,
(78-154)safety, when he ought to have looked for victory.

(78-154)Lieutenant-Colonel Gardiner, and other officers,
(78-154)pressed on the commander the necessity of a bolder
(78-154)line of tactics. They were of opinion that the
(78-154)regular soldiers should be led against the rebels
(78-154)while the former showed spirit for the encounter,
(78-154)and that remaining merely on the defensive was
(78-154)likely to sink the courage of the troops, as delay
(78-154)gave the infantry time to recollect that they had
(78-154)avoided an encounter with these Highlanders at
(78-154)Corryarrack, and the cavalry leisure to remember
(78-154)their recent and ignominious flight from the vicinity
(78-154)of Edinburgh, before this new description of
(78-154)enemy. The lieutenant-colonel pressed his advice
(78-154)with earnestness, dropped some expressions of the
(78-154)result, which was to be apprehended, and, finding
(78-154)his suggestions rejected, made the preparations of
(78-154)a good and brave man for doing his duty, and, if
(78-154)necessary, for dying in the discharge of it.

(78-154)Some movements now took place. The regular
(78-154)troops huzza'd, to show their willingness to come
(78-154)to action; the Highlanders replied in their manner,
(78-154)by wild shouts. A party of Highlanders were

[TG78-155]

(78-155)stationed in Tranent churchyard, as an advantageous
(78-155)post; but Sir John Cope, advancing two
(78-155)light field pieces, made that position too hot for
(78-155)them. Still the insurgents continued anxiously
(78-155)bent on battle, and expressed the most earnest

(78-155)desire to attack the enemy, who, they supposed,
(78-155)intended to escape from them, as at Corryarrack.
(78-155)They offered to make the attack through the morass,
(78-155)without regard to the difficulties of the ground, and
(78-155)to carry fascines with them, for the purpose of
(78-155)rendering the ditch passable. They were exhorted
(78-155)to patience by their Chiefs; and, to allay their fears
(78-155)of the escape of the enemy, the Chevalier detached
(78-155)Lord Nairne with five hundred men to the westward,
(78-155)that he might be in a situation to intercept
(78-155)Sir John Cope, in case he should attempt to move
(78-155)off towards Edinburgh without fighting.

(78-155)Satisfied with this precaution, the Highlanders
(78-155)lay down to rest in a field of pease, which was
(78-155)made up in ricks upon the ground. The minds of

[TG78-156]

(78-156)the Chiefs were still occupied with the means of
(78-156)discovering a path by which they might get clear
(78-156)of the morass, gain the open and firm ground, and
(78-156)rush down on Cope and his army, whom they
(78-156)regarded as their assured prey, if they could but meet
(78-156)them in a fair field.

(78-156)There was in the Chevalier's army a gentleman
(78-156)named Anderson, of Whitburgh, in East Lothian,
(78-156)to whom the ground in the vicinity was perfectly
(78-156)known, and who bethought him of a path leading
(78-156)from the height on which their army lay, sweeping
(78-156)through the morass, and round the left wing of
(78-156)General Cope's army, as it was now disposed,
(78-156)and which might, conduct them to the level and
(78-156)extensive flat, since called the field of battle. Mr
(78-156)Anderson communicated this important fact to Mr
(78-156)Hepburn of Keith. By Mr Hepburn he was conducted

(78-156)to Lord George Murray; who, highly
(78-156)pleased with the intelligence, introduced him to
(78-156)Prince Charles Edward.

(78-156)The candidate for a diadem was lying with a

[TG78-157]

(78-157)bunch of pease-straw beneath his head, and was
(78-157)awakened with news which assured him of battle,
(78-157)and promised him victory. He received the
(78-157)tidings with much cheerfulness, and immediately, for
(78-157)the night was well spent, prepared to put the scheme
(78-157)into execution.

(78-157)An aide-de-camp was instantly despatched to
(78-157)recall Lord Nairne from his demonstration to the
(78-157)westward, and cause him with his detachment to
(78-157)rejoin the army as speedily as possible. In the
(78-157)mean time, the whole of the Highland army got
(78-157)under arms, and moved forward with incredible
(78-157)silence and celerity, by the path proposed. A point
(78-157)of precedence was now to be settled, characteristic
(78-157)of the Highlanders. The tribe of MacDonalds,
(78-157)though divided into various families, and serving
(78-157)under various chiefs, still reckoned on their common
(78-157)descent from the great Lords of the Isles, in virtue
(78-157)of which, they claimed, as the post of honour, the
(78-157)right of the whole Highland army in the day of
(78-157)action. This was disputed by some of the other
(78-157)clans, and it was agreed they should cast lots about
(78-157)this point of precedence. Fortune gave it to the
(78-157)Camerons and Stewarts, which was murmured at
(78-157)by the numerous Clan-Colla, the generic name for
(78-157)the MacDonalds. The sagacity of Lochiel induced
(78-157)the other chiefs to resign for the day a point on
(78-157)which they were likely to be tenacious. The

(78-157)precedence was yielded to the MacDonalds accordingly,
(78-157)and the first line of the Highlanders moved off
(78-157)their ground by the left flank, in order that the
(78-157)favoured tribe might take the post of honour. They

[TG78-158]

(78-158)marched, as usual, in two columns of three men in
(78-158)front. The first of these was led by young
(78-158)Clanranald with about sixty men, under the guidance of
(78-158)Anderson of Whitburgh. The first line consisted
(78-158)of the following clan regiments:-Clanranald, 250
(78-158)strong; Glengarry, 350; Keppoch and Glencoe,
(78-158)450; Perth, with some MacGregors, 200; Appin,
(78-158)250; and Lochiel, 500. The second line consisted
(78-158)of three regiments,-Lord George Murray's Athole
(78-158)men, 350; Lord Nairne's regiment, 350; and
(78-158)Menzie's of Shian's, 300. Lord Strathallan, with
(78-158)his handful of cavalry, was appointed to keep the
(78-158)height above the morass, that they might do what
(78-158)their numbers permitted to improve the victory, in
(78-158)case it should be gained. This troop consisted of
(78-158)about thirty-six horsemen. From these details, it
(78-158)appears that the Highland army was about 3000 in
(78-158)number, being very nearly the same with Sir John
(78-158)Cope's.

(78-158)Anderson guided the first line. He found the
(78-158)pathway silent and deserted; it winded to the
(78-158)north-east, down a sort of hollow, which at length
(78-158)brought them to the eastern extremity of the plain,
(78-158)at the west end of which the regular army was
(78-158)stationed, with its left flank to the assailants. No
(78-158)guns had been placed to enfilade this important
(78-158)pass, though there was a deserted embrasure which
(78-158)showed that the measure had been in contemplation;
(78-158)neither was there a sentinel or patrol to

(78-158)observe the motions of the Highlanders in that direction.

(78-158)On reaching the firm ground, the column

(78-158)advanced due northward across the plain, in order

[TG78-159]

(78-159)to take ground for wheeling up and forming line

(78-159)of battle. The Prince marched at the head of the

(78-159)second column, and close in the rear of the first.

(78-159)The morass was now rendered difficult by the

(78-159)passage of so many men. Some of the Highlanders

(78-159)sunk knee-deep, and the Prince himself stumbled,

(78-159)and fell upon one knee. The morning- was now

(78-159)dawning, but a thick frosty mist still hid the

(78-159)motions of the Highlanders. The sound of their march

(78-159)could, however, no longer be concealed, and an

(78-159)alarm-gun was fired as a signal for Cope's army to

(78-159)get under arms.

(78-159)Aware that the Highlanders had completely

(78-159)turned his left flank, and were now advancing from

(78-159)the eastward along a level and open plain, without

(78-159)interruption of any kind, Sir John Cope hastened

(78-159)to dispose his troops to receive them. Though

(78-159)probably somewhat surprised, the English general

(78-159)altered the disposition which he had made along

(78-159)the morass, and formed anew, having the walls of

(78-159)Preston-park, and that of Bankton, the seat of

(78-159)Colonel Gardiner, close in the rear of his army; his

(78-159)left flank extended towards the sea, his right rested

(78-159)upon the morass which had lately been in his front.

[TG78-160]

(78-160)His order of battle was now extended from north

(78-160)to south, having the east in front. In other respects

(78-160)the disposition was the same as already mentioned,

(78-160)his infantry forming his centre, and on each wing

(78-160)a regiment of horse. By some crowding in of the
(78-160)piquets, room enough was not left for Gardiner's
(78-160)corps to make a full front upon the right wing, so
(78-160)that one squadron was drawn up in the rear of the
(78-160)other. The artillery was also placed before this
(78-160)regiment, a disposition which the colonel is said to
(78-160)have remonstrated against, having too much reason
(78-160)to doubt the steadiness of the horses, as well as of
(78-160)the men who composed the corps. There was no
(78-160)attention paid to his remonstrances, nor was there
(78-160)time to change the disposition.

(78-160)The Highlanders had no sooner advanced so far
(78-160)to the northward as to extricate the rear of the
(78-160)column from the passage across the morass, and
(78-160)place the whole on open ground, than they wheeled
(78-160)to the left, and formed a line of three men deep.
(78-160)This thin long line they quickly broke up into a
(78-160)number of small masses or phalanxes, each according
(78-160)to their peculiar tactics containing an individual
(78-160)clan, which disposed themselves for battle in the
(78-160)manner following. The best-born men of the tribe,
(78-160)who were also the best armed, and had almost all
(78-160)targets, threw themselves in front of the regiment.
(78-160)The followers closed on the rear, and forced the
(78-160)front forward by their weight. After a brief
(78-160)prayer, which was never omitted, the bonnets were
(78-160)pulled over the brows, the pipers blew the signal,

[TG78-161]

(78-161)and the line of clans rushed forward, each forming
(78-161)a separate wedge.

(78-161)These preparations were made with such despatch
(78-161)on both wings, that the respective aides-de-camp
(78-161)of the Duke of Perth and Lord George Murray

(78-161)met in the centre, each bringing news that his
(78-161)general was ready to charge. The whole front line
(78-161)accordingly moved forward, and, as they did so,
(78-161)the sun broke out, and the mist rose from the ground
(78-161)like the curtain of a theatre. It showed to the
(78-161)Highlanders the line of regular troops drawn up
(78-161)in glittering array like a complete hedge of steel,
(78-161)and at the same time displayed to Cope's soldiers
(78-161)the furious torrent, which, subdivided into such a
(78-161)number of columns, or rather small masses, advanced
(78-161)with a cry which gradually swelled into a hideous
(78-161)yell, and became intermingled with an irregular
(78-161)but well-directed fire, the mountaineers presenting
(78-161)their pieces as they ran, dropping them
(78-161)when discharged, and rushing on to close conflict
(78-161)sword in hand. The events of the preceding night
(78-161)had created among the regulars an apprehension
(78-161)of their opponents, not usual to English soldiers.
(78-161)General Cope's tactics displayed a fear of the enemy
(78-161)rather than a desire to engage him: and now
(78-161)this dreaded foe, having selected his own point of

[TG78-162]

(78-162)advantage, was coming down on them in all his
(78-162)terrors, with a mode of attack unusually furious,
(78-162)and unknown to modern war

(78-162)There was but an instant to think of these things,
(78-162)for this was almost the moment of battle. But
(78-162)such thoughts were of a nature which produce their
(78-162)effect in an instant, and they added to the ferocity
(78-162)of the Highlanders, while they struck dismay into
(78-162)their opponents. The old seamen and gunners,
(78-162)who had been employed to serve the artillery on
(78-162)the right wing, showed the first symptoms of panic,
(78-162)and fled from the guns they had undertaken to

(78-162)work, carrying with them the priming flasks. Colonel
(78-162)Whitefoord, who had joined Cope's army as a
(78-162)volunteer, fired five of the guns on the advancing
(78-162)Highlanders, and, keeping his ground while all fled
(78-162)around him, was with difficulty saved from the fury
(78-162)of the Camerons and Stewarts, who, running straight
(78-162)on the muzzles of the cannon, actually stormed the
(78-162)battery. The regiment of dragoons being drawn

[TG78-163]

(78-163)up, as has been said, in two lines, the foremost
(78-163)squadron, under Lieutenant-colonel Whitney, having
(78-163)received orders to advance, were, like the gunners,
(78-163)seized with a panic, dispersed under the fire
(78-163)of the Highlanders, and went off without even an
(78-163)attempt to charge, riding down the artillery guard
(78-163)in their flight. The rearmost squadron,
(78-163)commanded by Gardiner, might, if steady, have yet
(78-163)altered the fate of the day, by charging the
(78-163)Highlanders when disordered with attacking the guns.
(78-163)Gardiner, accordingly, commanded them to
(78-163)advance and charge, encouraging them by his voice
(78-163)and example to rush upon the confused masses
(78-163)before them. But those to whom he spoke were
(78-163)themselves disordered at the rapid advance of the
(78-163)enemy, and disturbed by the waving of plaids, the
(78-163)brandishing and gleaming of broadswords and
(78-163)battle-axes, the rattle of the dropping fire, and the
(78-163)ferocious cry of the combatants. They made a
(78-163)feint to advance, in obedience to the word of
(78-163)command, but almost instantly halted, when first the
(78-163)rear-rank went off by four or five files at a time,
(78-163)and then the front dispersed in like manner; none
(78-163)maintaining their ground, except about a score of
(78-163)determined men, who were resolved to stand or fall
(78-163)with their commander.

(78-163)On Cope's left, the cause of King George was
(78-163)not more prosperous. Hamilton's dragoons receiving
(78-163)a heavy rolling fire from the MacDonalds as
(78-163)they advanced, broke up in the same manner, and
(78-163)almost at the same moment, with Gardiner's, and
(78-163)scattering in every direction, left the field of blood

[TG78-164]

(78-164)galloping some from the enemy, some, in the
(78-164)recklessness of their terror, past the enemy, and some
(78-164)almost through them. The dispersion was complete,
(78-164)and the disorder irretrievable. They fled
(78-164)west, east, and south, and it was only the broad sea
(78-164)which prevented them from flying to the north
(78-164)also, and making every point of the compass
(78-164)witness to their rout.

(78-164)Mean time, the infantry, though both their flanks
(78-164)were uncovered by the flight of the dragoons,
(78-164)received the centre of the Highland line, with a steady
(78-164)and regular fire, which cost the insurgents several
(78-164)men,-among others, James MacGregor, a son of
(78-164)the famous Rob Roy, fell, having received five
(78-164)wounds, two of them from balls that pierced through
(78-164)his body. He commanded a company of the Duke
(78-164)of Perth's regiment, armed chiefly with the straightened
(78-164)scythes already mentioned, a weapon not
(78-164)unlike the old English bill. He was so little daunted
(78-164)by his wounds, as to raise himself on his elbow,
(78-164)calling to his men to advance bravely, and swearing
(78-164)he would see if any should misbehave.

(78-164)In fact, the first line of the Highlanders were
(78-164)not an instant checked by the fire of the musketry;
(78-164)for, charging with all the energy of victory, they

(78-164)parried the bayonets of the soldiers with their targets,
(78-164)and the deep clumps, or masses, into which
(78-164)the clans were formed, penetrated and broke, in
(78-164)several points, the extended and thin lines of the
(78-164)regulars. At the same moment, Lochiel attacking
(78-164)the infantry on the left, and Clanranald on the
(78-164)right flank, both exposed by the flight of the

[TG78-165]

(78-165)dragoons, they were unavoidably and irretrievably
(78-165)routed. It was now perceived that Sir John Cope
(78-165)had committed an important error in drawing up
(78-165)his forces in front of a high park-wall, which barred
(78-165)their escape from their light-heeled enemies.
(78-165)Fortunately there had been breaches made in the
(78-165)wall, which permitted some few soldiers to escape;
(78-165)but most of them had the melancholy choice of
(78-165)death or submission. A few fought, and fell bravely.
(78-165)Colonel Gardiner was in the act of encouraging
(78-165)a small platoon of infantry, which continued
(78-165)firing, when he was cut down by a Highlander,
(78-165)with one of those scythes which have been repeatedly
(78-165)mentioned. The greater part of the foot

[TG78-166]

(78-166)soldiers then laid down their arms, after a few
(78-166)minutes' resistance. The second line, led by Prince
(78-166)Charles himself, had, during the whole action, kept
(78-166)so near the first, that to most of Sir John Cope's
(78-166)army they appeared but as one body; and as this
(78-166)unfortunate Prince's courage has been impeached,
(78-166)it is necessary to say, that he was only fifty paces
(78-166)behind the vanguard in the very commencement of
(78-166)the battle, -- which was, in fact, a departure from
(78-166)his implicit paction with the Chiefs, that he should
(78-166)not put his person in imminent danger.

(78-166)Had there been any possibility of rallying the
(78-166)fugitives, the day might have been in some degree
(78-166)avenged, if not retrieved, for the first line of the
(78-166)Highlanders dispersed themselves almost wholly,
(78-166)in quest of spoil and prisoners. They were

[TG78-167]

(78-167)merciful to the vanquished after the first fury of the
(78-167)onset, but gave no quarter to the dragoon horses,
(78-167)which they considered as taught to bear a personal
(78-167)share in the battle.

(78-167)The second line were with difficulty restrained
(78-167)from disbanding in like manner, until a report was
(78-167)spread that the dragoons had rallied, and were
(78-167)returning to the field. Lochiel caused the pipes
(78-167)to play, which recalled many of his men. But the
(78-167)dragoons looked near them no more. It is true,
(78-167)that Sir John Cope himself, the Earl of Home,
(78-167)General Whitney, and other officers, had, with
(78-167)pistols at the men's heads, turned a number of the
(78-167)fugitives off the high-road to Edinburgh, into a
(78-167)field close to Preston on the west, where they
(78-167)endeavoured to form a squadron. But the sound of
(78-167)a pistol-shot, which was discharged by accident,
(78-167)renewed their panic, the main body followed Sir
(78-167)John Cope in his retreat, while a few stragglers
(78-167)went off at full gallop towards Edinburgh, entered
(78-167)by the Watergate, and rode up the High Street in
(78-167)the most disorderly manner.

(78-167)An old friend, whom I have already quoted,
(78-167)gave me a picturesque account of the flight of such
(78-167)fugitives as took this direction, which he had
(78-167)himself witnessed. Although the city was evacuated

(78-167)by the Highlanders, an old Jacobite of distinction
(78-167)was, nevertheless, left there with the title of
(78-167)Governor. This dignitary was quietly seated in a
(78-167)well-known tavern (afterwards Walker's, in
(78-167)Writers' Court), when a tremendous clatter on
(78-167)the street announced the arrival of the dragoons,

[TG78-168]

(78-168)or a part of them, in this disorderly condition.
(78-168)The stout old commander presented himself before
(78-168)them, with a pistol in his hand, and summoned
(78-168)them to surrender to his Royal Highness's mercy.
(78-168)The dragoons, seeing but one or two men, received
(78-168)the proposal with a volley of curses and pistol-
(78-168)balls, and having compelled the Jacobite commandant
(78-168)to retreat within the Thermopylae of Writers'
(78-168)Court, they continued their race up to the Castlehill,
(78-168)thinking that fortress the most secure place of
(78-168)refuge. Old General Preston, who had now
(78-168)thrown himself into the Castle, of which he was
(78-168)governor, and superseded General Guest in his
(78-168)office, had no idea of admitting these recreant
(78-168)cavaliers into a fortress which was probably on the
(78-168)eve of a siege. He therefore sent them word to
(78-168)begone from the Castle-hill, or he would open his
(78-168)guns on them, as cowards, who had deserted their
(78-168)officers and colours. Alarmed at this new danger,
(78-168)the runaways retreated, and scrambling down the
(78-168)steep declivity called the Castle-Wynd, rode out
(78-168)at the West-Port, and continued their flight to
(78-168)Stirling and the west country.

(78-168)The greater part of the dragoons were collected
(78-168)by Sir John Cope, with the assistance of the Earls
(78-168)of Home and Loudon, and conducted in a very
(78-168)disreputable condition by Lauder to Coldstream,

(78-168)and from thence to Berwick. At the latter place,
(78-168)Lord Mark Ker, of the family of Lothian, a house
(78-168)which has long had hereditary fame for wit as well
(78-168)as courage, received the unfortunate General with
(78-168)the well-known sarcasm," That he believed he was

[TG78-169]

(78-169)the first general in Europe who had brought the
(78-169)first tidings of his own defeat."

(78-169)But the presence of the general in person on
(78-169)the field, since there was not even the semblance
(78-169)of an army, could not have remedied the disaster.
(78-169)There was never a victory more complete. Of
(78-169)the infantry, two thousand five hundred men, or
(78-169)thereabout, scarce two hundred escaped; the rest
(78-169)were either slain or made prisoners. It has been
(78-169)generally computed that the slain amounted to four
(78-169)hundred, for the Highlanders gave little quarter in
(78-169)the first moments of excitation, though those did
(78-169)not last long. Five officers were killed, and eighty
(78-169)made prisoners. The number of prisoners amounted
(78-169)to upwards of two thousand. Many of them
(78-169)exhibited a frightful spectacle, being hideously cut
(78-169)with the broadsword. The field-artillery, with

[TG78-170]

(78-170)colours, standards, and other trophies, remained
(78-170)in the hands of the victors. The military-chest of
(78-170)the army was placed during the action in the house
(78-170)of Cockenzie, the baggage in a large field adjoining,
(78-170)originally in the rear of Cope's line of battle,
(78-170)but at the moment of action, upon the left. It was
(78-170)guarded by a few Highlanders of the regiment
(78-170)which the Earl of Loudon was raising for Government,
(78-170)and which was much reduced by desertion,

(78-170)many of the privates joining their clans so soon as
(78-170)the Rebellion broke out. The baggage-guard
(78-170)surrendered themselves prisoners on seeing the event
(78-170)of the battle, and the baggage and military-chest,
(78-170)with L.2500 in specie, became the booty of the

[TG78-171]

(78-171)conquerors. The Highlanders looked with
(78-171)surprise and amazement upon the luxuries of a civilized
(78-171)army. They could not understand the use of
(78-171)chocolate; and watches, wigs, and other ordinary
(78-171)appurtenances of the toilette, were equally the
(78-171)subject of wonder and curiosity.

(78-171)On the part of the victors, the battle, though
(78-171)brief, had not been bloodless. Four officers, and
(78-171)thirty privates of their army, were killed; six
(78-171)officers and seventy men wounded.

[TG78-172]

(78-172)Such were the results of the celebrated battle of
(78-172)Preston, or, as some have it, of Prestonpans, in
(78-172)which the pride of military discipline received an
(78-172)indelible disgrace at the hands of a wild militia.
(78-172)Sir John Cope, whom it would be easy to vindicate
(78-172)so far as personal courage goes, was nevertheless
(78-172)overwhelmed with a ridicule due to poltroonery,
(78-172)as well as to want of conduct; and was
(78-172)doomed to remain,

(78-172)" Sacred to ridicule his whole life long,
(78-172)And the sad burden of a merry song."

(78-172)[Among the numerous metrical effusions abounding in sly
(78-172)humour and sarcasm which the events of 1715 and 1745 called
(78-172)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 loosd 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,

(78-173)Such terror seized them a', man;
(78-173)Some wet their cheeks, some -----
(78-173)And some for fear did fa', man,

(78-173)" The volunteers prick'd up their ears,
(78-173)And vow gin they were crouse, man;
(78-173)But when the bairns sawt turn to earns't,
(78-173)They were na worth a louse, man.
(78-173)Maist feck gade hame, O fie for shame!
(78-173)They'd better staid awa', man,
(78-173)Than wi' cockade to make parade,
(78-173)And do nae gude at a', man.

(78-173)" Monteith the great, when ----
(78-173)Unwares did ding him owre, man;
(78-173)Yet wadna stand to bear a hand,
(78-173)But aff fu' fast did scour, man,
(78-173)O'er Soutra hill, ere he stood still,
(78-173)Before he tasted meat, man.
(78-173)Troth, he may brag of his swift nag,
(78-173)That bore him aff sae fleet, man.

(78-173)" And Simpson, keen to clear the een
(78-173)Of rebels far in wrang, man,

[TG78-174]

(78-174)Did never strive wi' pistol's five,
(78-174)But gallop'd wi' the thrang, man;
(78-174)He turn'd his back, and in a crack
(78-174)Was cleanly out o' sight, man.
(78-174)And thought it best, it was nae jest,
(78-174)Wi' Highlanders to fight, man.

(78-174)" Mangst a' the gang, nane bade the bang
(78-174)But twa, and ane was ta'en, man;
(78-174)For Campbell rade, but Myrie staid,

(78-174)And sair he paid the kane, man;
(78-174)Four skelps he got, was waur than shot,
(78-174)Frae the sharp-edged claymore, man;
(78-174)Frae many a spout came running out
(78-174)His reeking bet red gore man.

(78-174)" But Gard'ner brave did still behave
(78-174)Like to a hero bright, man;
(78-174)His courage true, like him were few
(78-174)That still despised flight, man.
(78-174)For king and laws, and country's cause,
(78-174)In honor's bed he lay, man,
(78-174)His life, but not his courage, fled,
(78-174)While he had breath to draw, man.

(78-174)" And Major Bowie, that worthy soul,
(78-174)Was brought down to the ground, man,
(78-174)His horse being shot, it was his lot,
(78-174)For to get mony a wound, man.
(78-174)Lieutenant Smith, of Irish birth,
(78-174)Frae whom he call'd for aid, man,
(78-174)But full of dread, lap o'er his head,
(78-174)And wadna be gainsaid, man.

(78-174)" He made sic haste, sae spurr'd his beast,
(78-174)"Twas little there he saw, man;

[TG78-175]

(78-175)To Berwick rade, and falsely said,
(78-175)The Scots were rebels, a', man.
(78-175)But let that end, for weel 'tis kend
(78-175)His use and wont's to lie, man.
(78-175)The Teague is naught; he never faught
(78-175)When he had room to flee. man.'

(78-175)" 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.

(78-176)"That afternoon, when a' was done,
(78-176)I gaed to see the fray, man;
(78-176)But had I wist what after past,
(78-176)I'd better staid away, man;
(78-176)On Seton sands, wi' numble hands,
(78-176)They pick'd my pockets bare, man,
(78-176)But I wish ne'er do dree sic fear,
(78-176)For a' the sum and mair, man."

[TG79-177]

(79-177)THE night after the battle of Preston, the
(79-177)Chevalier slept at Pinkie House, near Musselburgh;
(79-177)the next morning he returned to Duddingston, and
(79-177)entering the capital, was received with the
(79-177)acclamations of the populace,² and all the honours which

[TG79-178]

(79-178)the official authorities could render. Several
(79-178)proclamations were issued upon his arrival, all of them
(79-178)adapted to influence the popular mind.

(79-178)He prohibited all rejoicings for the victory,
(79-178)assigning for his reason the loss which had been
(79-178)sustained by Ills father's misguided subjects. The
(79-178)clergy of Edinburgh were, by another edict,
(79-178)exhorted to resume the exercise of their religious
(79-178)functions, and assured of the Prince's protection.
(79-178)This venerable body sent a deputation to know
(79-178)whether they would be permitted, in the course of
(79-178)divine service, to offer up their prayers for King
(79-178)George. It was answered, on the part of the
(79-178)Chevalier, that to grant the request would be in so far
(79-178)to give the lie to those family pretensions for the
(79-178)assertion of which he was in arms; but that,
(79-178)notwithstanding, he would give them his royal
(79-178)assurance that they should not be called to account for

(79-178)any imprudent language which they might use in
(79-178)the pulpit. The ministers of Edinburgh seem to
(79-178)have doubted the guarantee, as none of them
(79-178)resumed his charge excepting the Rev. Mr MacVicar,
(79-178)minister of the West Church, who regularly
(79-178)officiated there, under the protection of the

[TG79-179]

(79-179)guns of the Castle. A number of the Highland
(79-179)officers, as well as the citizens, attended on Mr
(79-179)MacVicar's ministry, in the course of which he not
(79-179)only prayed for King George, but stoutly asserted
(79-179)his right to the throne. This was represented to
(79-179)Charles Edward by some of his followers, as a
(79-179)piece of unjustifiable insolence, deserving of punishment;
(79-179)but the Prince wisely replied, that the man
(79-179)was an honest fool, and that he would not have him
(79-179)disturbed. I do not know if it was out of gratitude
(79-179)for this immunity, but Mr MacVicar, on the
(79-179)following Sunday, added to his prayers in behalf of
(79-179)King George, a petition in favour of the Chevalier,
(79-179)which was worded thus:-" As to this young
(79-179)person who has come among us seeking an earthly
(79-179)crown, do THOU, in thy merciful favour, give him a
(79-179)heavenly one."

(79-179)A good deal of inconvenience had arisen in
(79-179)consequence of the banking companies having retreated
(79-179)into the castle, carrying with them the specie which
(79-179)supplied the currency of the country. A third
(79-179)proclamation was issued, inviting these establishments
(79-179)to return to the town, and resume the ordinary
(79-179)course of their business; but, like the clergy, the
(79-179)bankers refused to listen to the invitation. They,
(79-179)as well as the clergy, did not probably place much
(79-179)confidence in the security offered.

[TG79-180]

(79-180)It is now time to take a more general view of
(79-180)the effects which the battle of Preston, or of Gladsmuir,
(79-180)as the Jacobites preferred calling it, had produced
(79-180)upon the affairs of the young Adventurer.

(79-180)Until that engagement, the Chevalier could not
(79-180)be said to possess a spot of Scotland, save the
(79-180)ground which was occupied by his Highland army.
(79-180)The victory had reversed this; and there was no
(79-180)place within the ancient kingdom of his ancestors,
(79-180)except the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and
(79-180)the four small garrisons on the Highland chain,
(79-180)which dared disavow his authority and abide by
(79-180)the consequences. It was therefore a question of

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(79-181)high Import to decide in what manner this splendid
(79-181)advantage could be best improved. It was the
(79-181)opinion of many at the time, and has been repeated
(79-181)since, and was, it is said, originally the predominant
(79-181)sentiment of Charles Edward himself, that the
(79-181)blow at Preston should be followed up as speedily
(79-181)as possible by an irruption into England. This,
(79-181)it was said, would rouse the spirits of the English
(79-181)Jacobites, surprise the Government while in a state
(79-181)of doubt and want of preparation, and, in short,
(79-181)give the readiest prospect of completing a counter
(79-181)revolution. On consideration, however, the Prince,
(79-181)from reasons of the most cogent nature, was compelled
(79-181)to renounce an enterprise, which was, perhaps,
(79-181)not uncongenial to his daring temper. He
(79-181)could not but be sensible that his army, after the
(79-181)battle, was reduced nearly one half, by the number
(79-181)of Highlanders who, according to their uniform

(79-181)custom, returned home to deposit with their families
(79-181)the booty which they had taken in she
(79-181)field. This was not all: he was as yet deprived
(79-181)of the assistance of Lovat, MacLeod, and
(79-181)Sir Alexander MacDonald, upon whom he had
(79-181)rested as main supports of his enterprise. These
(79-181)three chiefs might have augmented his forces to
(79-181)six or seven thousand men, with which strength he
(79-181)might have approached the English Borders, not
(79-181)without hopes of striking an important blow. But,
(79-181)besides the relics of Sir John Cope's dragoons,
(79-181)several British regiments, recalled from Flanders,
(79-181)had already reached England; and six thousand
(79-181)Dutch troops had, as in the insurrection in 1715.

[TG79-182]

(79-182)been supplied by the States of Holland, as an auxiliary
(79-182)contingent which they were bound to send
(79-182)over to England in case of invasion. These regiments,
(79-182)indeed, were chiefly Swiss and German
(79-182)troops in Dutch pay, who had been made prisoners
(79-182)by the French and enjoyed their liberty under
(79-182)parole that they should not bear arms against his
(79-182)Most Christian Majesty or his allies. There was,
(79-182)therefore, some doubt whether they could regularly
(79-182)have taken a part in the British civil war. It was
(79-182)understood that the French Government had made
(79-182)a remonstrance against their being employed,
(79-182)founded on the terms of the capitulation. But the
(79-182)laws of war, as well as others, have their points of
(79-182)casuistry; and since the troops were sent to Britain,
(79-182)it can be little doubted that, being there, it
(79-182)must have been with the resolution of fighting,
(79-182)although at a later period, when the Chevalier
(79-182)actually had in his camp a French force, they were
(79-182)withdrawn from the conflict.

(79-182)It must be also remembered that, in advancing
(79-182)into England, the Chevalier, without being certain
(79-182)or any friends in the South, must have abandoned
(79-182)all chance of supplies from France, which he could
(79-182)only hope to receive in small quantities, by means
(79-182)of Montrose, Dundee, and other ports on the
(79-182)northeastern coast; while at the same time, he must
(79-182)have withdrawn from a junction with all the recruits
(79-182)whom he expected from the Highlands, and
(79-182)from the great clans, which he still hoped might
(79-182)join him.

(79-182)To conclude, the British and Dutch forces were

[TG79-183]

(79-183)drawing to a head at Newcastle, under Field-Marshal
(79-183)Wade, to a number already superior to that
(79-183)of the Highland army.

(79-183)Having such a force in front, the advance of the
(79-183)Chevalier into England with 1800 or 2000 men,
(79-183)would have been an act of positive insanity. There
(79-183)remained only another course-that the Chevalier
(79-183)should endeavour to augment his army by every
(79-183)means in his power, and prepare himself for the
(79-183)prosecution of his adventure before he went farther.

(79-183)With this purpose, the public money was levied
(79-183)in every direction, and parties were despatched as
(79-183)far as Glasgow, which city was subjected to
(79-183)payment of L.5000 sterling. The utmost exertion
(79-183)was made to collect the arms which had been taken
(79-183)from the vanquished in the field of battle; and
(79-183)various gifts were received into the Prince's
(79-183)exchequer from individuals, who, too old or too timid

(79-183)to join him, took this mode of showing the interest
(79-183)which they felt in his cause.

(79-183)The news of the victory, in the mean time, animated
(79-183)the Jacobites in every quarter of the kingdom,
(79-183)and decided many who had hitherto stood
(79-183)neutral. Officers were appointed to beat up for
(79-183)volunteers, and did so with success;-many Lowland
(79-183)gentlemen joined the ranks of the rebels;-
(79-183)General Gordon of Glenbucket brought down 400
(79-183)men from the upper part of Aberdeenshire;-
(79-183)Lord Ogilvie led a body of 600 from Strathmore
(79-183)and the Mearns;-Lord Pitsligo, a nobleman of
(79-183)the most irreproachable character, and already in
(79-183)an advanced stage of life, took the field at the head

[TG79-184]

(79-184)of a squadron of north-country gentlemen, amounting
(79-184)to 120 in number;-Lord Lewis Gordon,
(79-184)brother of the Duke, undertook to levy considerable
(79-184)forces in his own country, though his brother,
(79-184)disgusted perhaps with the recollection of 1715,
(79-184)declined to join the Chevalier's standard.

(79-184)The new forces were organized in all possible
(79-184)haste. Two troops of cavalry were formed as
(79-184)guards, one of which was placed under the command
(79-184)of Lord Elcho; the other, first destined to
(79-184)the son of Lord Kenmure, who declined to join,
(79-184)was finally conferred on the unfortunate Lord
(79-184)Balmerino. A troop of horse-grenadiers was placed
(79-184)under the command of the equally unfortunate
(79-184)Earl of Kilmarnock. This nobleman, if his early
(79-184)education is considered, could scarcely have been
(79-184)expected to have enrolled himself as an adherent
(79-184)of the cause which cost him so dear. In the 1715,

(79-184)being then only twelve years old, he appeared in
(79-184)arms with his father in behalf of the Government,
(79-184)at the head of 1000 men, whom the influence of
(79-184)the family had raised in Ayrshire. He had also
(79-184)enjoyed a pension from George II.'s Government.

[TG79-185]

(79-185)But his wife, Lady Ann Livingston, daughter of
(79-185)James Earl of Linlithgow and Callander, was a
(79-185)zealous Jacobite, and it is supposed, converted her
(79-185)husband to that unhappy faith. Lord Kilmarnock
(79-185)was also in embarrassed circumstances, and his
(79-185)ambition was awakened by the gleam of success
(79-185)which shone on the Prince's standard at Preston,
(79-185)and which induced him to take the step which cost
(79-185)him his life. Mr Murray, the secretary, desirous
(79-185)of a military as well as a civil command, made
(79-185)some progress in levying a regiment of hussars,
(79-185)designed for the light-cavalry duties, which were
(79-185)commanded under him by an Irish officer in the
(79-185)French service, named Lieutenant-Colonel Bagot.

(79-185)While recruits of considerable rank were thus
(79-185)joining the standard, the camp at Duddington
(79-185)assumed a more regular and military appearance-
(79-185)the Highlanders being, with some difficulty,
(79-185)prevailed upon to occupy the tents which had fallen
(79-185)into their possession at Preston, declaring,
(79-185)however, that they did so only out of respect to the
(79-185)Prince's orders, as these hardy people preferred
(79-185)the open air, even in the end of a Scottish autumn.
(79-185)The tents were very indifferently pitched, and only
(79-185)half inhabited; so that the appearance of the camp
(79-185)was extremely irregular.

(79-185)It may be here noticed, that the behaviour of

(79-185)the Highlanders was upon the whole exemplary.
(79-185)Some robberies were indeed committed in the
(79-185)vicinity of Edinburgh, by persons in Highland
(79-185)dresses, and wearing white cockades, but they were
(79-185)considered as having been perpetrated by ordinary

[TG79-186]

(79-186)thieves, who had used the Prince's uniform as a
(79-186)disguise. On some occasions the Highlanders forgot
(79-186)themselves, and presented their pieces at the
(79-186)citizens to extort money; but the moderation of
(79-186)the demand bore a strange disproportion to the
(79-186)menacing manner in which it was enforced. It
(79-186)was generally limited to a penny, a circumstance
(79-186)strongly expressive of the simplicity of this singular
(79-186)people.

(79-186)The Court at Holyrood was in those halcyon
(79-186)days of Jacobitism so much frequented by persons
(79-186)of distinction, that it might almost have been
(79-186)supposed the restoration had already taken place. The
(79-186)fair sex, in particular, were dazzled with the gallant
(79-186)undertaking of a young and handsome Prince so
(79-186)unexpectedly successful, and the young men, of
(79-186)course, if in the least biassed in favour of the
(79-186)politics of the softer sex, found it difficult to differ from
(79-186)their opinions. In the eyes of the public, the young
(79-186)Chevalier, whether from policy or a natural good
(79-186)disposition, showed no sentiments but such as were
(79-186)honourable and generous; and many anecdotes were

[TG79-187]

(79-187)circulated tending to exalt his character in the
(79-187)general opinion. It was said, for example, as Charles
(79-187)rode through the field of battle at Preston, that an
(79-187)officer describing the bodies with which it was

(79-187)covered as being those of his enemies, he replied, (79-187)that he only beheld with regret the corpses of his (79-187)father's misguided subjects. It was more certain, (79-187)that when the Chevalier proposed to the Court of (79-187)London to settle a cartel for prisoners, and when (79-187)that proposal was refused, he was strongly advised (79-187)to consider those English captives who were in his (79-187)hands as hostages for the lives of such of his own (79-187)party as might become prisoners to the enemy. But (79-187)Charles Edward uniformly rejected this proposal, (79-187)declaring that it was beneath him as a prince to (79-187)make threats which e did not intend to execute, (79-187)and that he would never, on any account, or under (79-187)any provocation, take away the lives of unoffending (79-187)men in cold blood, after having spared them in the (79-187)heat of action.

(79-187)Another opportunity occurred in which Charles (79-187)had the means of exhibiting the same tone of (79-187)generosity after his return from Preston. He had (79-187)established a blockade around the Castle of (79-187)Edinburgh; this could, in fact, do little more than (79-187)occasion inconvenience to the garrison, by depriving (79-187)them of fresh provisions, for of salted stores (79-187)they had an abundant supply; there was no great (79-187)prospect, therefore, of reducing so strong a place (79-187)by the effects of famine, nor did the Governor take (79-187)much notice of a proclamation forbidding any one (79-187)to carry provisions to the Castle under pain of

[TG79-188]

(79-188)death. A few shots fired on the Highland guards (79-188)were the only acknowledgment of the insult; but (79-188)after this had lasted a few days, General Preston, (79-188)the Governor of the fortress, sent a message to the (79-188)Lord Provost and magistrates, declaring, that un-

(79-188)less the communication with the city was opened,
(79-188)he would cannonade the town, and lay it in ashes.
(79-188)When this threat was communicated to the Chevalier,
(79-188)to whom the affrighted citizens naturally
(79-188)carried their appeal, he observed, that nothing
(79-188)could be more unjust than to make the city
(79-188)responsible for the actions of an armed force which
(79-188)was not under their control; that he might, by a
(79-188)parity of reasoning, be summoned to evacuate the
(79-188)capital, or yield up any other advantage, by the
(79-188)same threat of destroying the city; and that there
(79-188)fore he would not permit his feelings, on the present
(79-188)occasion, to interrupt the plain course which his
(79-188)interest recommended. But to intimidate General
(79-188)Preston, the Chevalier caused him to be informed,
(79-188)that if he fired on the city of Edinburgh, he would,
(79-188)in retaliation, cause the General's house at Valley-
(79-188)field in Fife, to be burnt to the ground. The stout
(79-188)veteran received the threat with scorn, declaring
(79-188)that if Valleyfield were injured, the English
(79-188)vessels of war in the Frith should in revenge receive
(79-188)instructions to burn down Wemyss castle, which
(79-188)is built on a rock overhanging the sea. This castle
(79-188)was the property of the Earl of Wemyss, whose
(79-188)eldest son, Lord Elcho, was in the Prince's camp.
(79-188)Fortunately this exasperating species of warfare
(79-188)was practised on neither side. General Preston,

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(79-189)in pity to the entreaty of the inhabitants, consented
(79-189)to suspend the cannonade until he should receive
(79-189)orders from St James's.

(79-189)Some misapprehension, however, having taken
(79-189)place about the terms of this kind of armistice,
(79-189)General Preston, according to his threat, opened

(79-189)a fire upon the city. The confusion was great;
(79-189)the garrison made a sally to dislodge the rebels
(79-189)from some posts near the Castle; the streets were
(79-189)swept with cartridge-shot, and several of the
(79-189)inhabitants, as well as Highlanders, were slain. It
(79-189)is said that the Governor engaged in this sort of
(79-189)warfare, in order to induce the rebel army to remain
(79-189)before the fortress; and that he caused letters
(79-189)to fall into the hands of their council, expressing
(79-189)fears of a scarcity of provisions, so as to determine
(79-189)them to adopt the course of continuing the blockade.
(79-189)Charles, however, feeling, or affecting to
(79-189)feel, much interest for the distress of the inhabitants,
(79-189)gave orders to open the communication with
(79-189)the Castle, and the cannonade in consequence
(79-189)ceased.

(79-189)All this conduct on the part of the Adventurer
(79-189)was so far politic, as well as generous. But there
(79-189)were at the bottom of this apparent lenity and
(79-189)liberality private feuds, which rendered the
(79-189)Chevalier's opinions and doctrines less acceptable to
(79-189)some of those who immediately approached his
(79-189)person, than to the adherents who only beheld
(79-189)events at a distance. For this purpose I will
(79-189)transcribe the manner in which his councils were
(79-189)conducted, as it is given by Lord Elcho.

[TG79-190]

(79-190)" The Prince formed a council which met regularly
(79-190)every morning in his drawingroom. The
(79-190)gentlemen whom he called to it were the Duke of
(79-190)Perth, Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord George Murray,
(79-190)Lord Elcho, Lord Ogilvie, Lord Pitsligo,
(79-190)Lord Nairne, Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, Glencoe,
(79-190)Lochgarry, Ardshiel, Sir Thomas Sheridan,

(79-190)Colonel O'Sullivan, Glenbucket, and Secretary
(79-190)Murray. The Prince, in this council, used always
(79-190)first to declare what he himself was for, and then
(79-190)he asked every body's opinion in their turn. There
(79-190)was one-third of the council whose principles were,
(79-190)that kings and princes can never either act or think
(79-190)wrong; so, in consequence, they always confirmed
(79-190)whatever the Prince said. The other two-thirds,
(79-190)who thought that kings and princes thought sometimes
(79-190)like other men, and were not altogether infallible,
(79-190)and that this Prince was no more so than
(79-190)others, and therefore, begged leave to differ from
(79-190)him when they could give sufficient reasons for their
(79-190)difference of opinion. This very often was no hard
(79-190)matter to do; for as the Prince and his old governor,
(79-190)Sir Thomas Sheridan, were altogether ignorant
(79-190)of the ways and customs of Great Britain, and
(79-190)both much for the doctrine of absolute monarchy,
(79-190)they would very often, had. they not been prevented,
(79-190)have fallen into blunders which might have
(79-190)hurt the cause. The Prince could not bear to hear
(79-190)any body differ in sentiment from him, and took a
(79-190)dislike to every body that did; for he had a notion
(79-190)of commanding this, army as any general does a
(79-190)body of mercenaries, and so let them know only

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(79-191)what he pleased, and expected them to obey without
(79-191)enquiring further about the matter. This might
(79-191)have done better had his favourites been people of
(79-191)the country; but as they were Irish, and had nothing
(79-191)to risk, the people of fashion that had their
(79-191)all at stake, and consequently ought to be supposed
(79-191)prepared to give the best advice of which they were
(79-191)capable, thought they had a title to know and be
(79-191)consulted in what was for the good of the cause in

(79-191)which they had so much concern; and if it had not
(79-191)been for their insisting strongly upon it, the Prince,
(79-191)when he found that his sentiments were not always
(79-191)approved of, would have abolished this council long
(79-191)ere he did.

(79-191)" There was a very good paper sent one day by
(79-191)a gentleman in Edinburgh, to be perused by this
(79-191)council. The Prince, when he heard it read, said,
(79-191)that it was below his dignity to enter into such a
(79-191)reasoning with subjects, and ordered the paper to
(79-191)be laid aside. The paper afterwards was printed,
(79-191)under the title of The Prince's Declaration to the
(79-191)People of England, and is esteemed the best manifesto
(79-191)published in those times, for those that were
(79-191)printed at Rome and Paris were reckoned not well
(79-191)calculated for the present age.

(79-191)" The Prince created a committee for providing
(79-191)the army with forage. It was composed of Lord
(79-191)Elcho, President; Graham of Duntroon, whom they
(79-191)called Lord Dundee; Sir William Gordon of Park,
(79-191)Hunter of Burnside, Haldane of Lanark, and his
(79-191)son; Mr Smith, and Mr Hamilton. They issued
(79-191)out orders in the Prince's name to all the gentlemen's

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(79-192)houses who had employments under the Government,
(79-192)to send in certain quantities of hay, straw,
(79-192)and corn, upon such a day, under the penalty of
(79-192)military execution if not complied with, but their
(79-192)orders were very punctually obeyed.

(79-192)" There were courts-martial sat every day for
(79-192)the discipline of the army, and some delinquents
(79-192)were punished with death."

(79-192)Charles Edward, while he exercised at Holyrood
(79-192)the dignified hospitality of a Prince, and gave
(79-192)entertainments to his most distinguished followers,
(79-192)and balls and concerts to the ladies of the party, of
(79-192)whom the Duchess of Perth and Lady Ogilvy
(79-192)formed conspicuous persons, omitted not the attention
(79-192)that might become a prudent general. He
(79-192)visited the camp almost every day, exercised and
(79-192)reviewed his troops frequently, and often slept in
(79-192)the camp without throwing off his clothes.

(79-192)While the internal management of the Princess
(79-192)affairs, civil and military, was thus regulated, no
(79-192)time was lost in applying to every quarter from
(79-192)which the insurgents might expect assistance.
(79-192)Immediately after the battle of Preston, the Prince
(79-192)had despatched a confidential agent to France; the
(79-192)person intrusted with this mission was Mr Kelly,
(79-192)already mentioned as an accomplice in the Bishop
(79-192)of Rochester's plot. He had instructions to magnify
(79-192)the victory as much as possible in the eyes of
(79-192)the French King and Ministry, and to represent
(79-192)how fair the Prince's enterprise bade for success, if
(79-192)it should now receive the effective support of
(79-192)his Most Christian Majesty. This mission was

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(79-193)not entirely useless, though it may be doubted
(79-193)whether the French Ministers considered the
(79-193)opportunity as being so favourable as was represented.
(79-193)Vessels were despatched from time to time with
(79-193)money and supplies, although only in small quantities.
(79-193)One of these vessels arrived at Montrose
(79-193)with L.5000 in money, and two thousand five hundred
(79-193)stand of arms. There came over in this vessel,

(79-193)Monsieur de Boyer, called Marquis D'Eguilles,
(79-193)son of a president of the Parliament of Aix, with
(79-193)one or two officers connected with those already
(79-193)engaged in the undertaking.

(79-193)The Prince received the Marquis D'Eguilles
(79-193)with much studied ceremony, affecting to regard
(79-193)him as the accredited agent of the King his master.
(79-193)The Chevalier also gave out, that the Marquis had
(79-193)brought him letters from the King of France, in
(79-193)which he promised his assistance, and asserted
(79-193)more specifically, that his brother, Henry Benedict,
(79-193)calling himself the Duke of York, was to be
(79-193)despatched to Britain immediately, at the head of a
(79-193)French army. This news raised the spirits of the
(79-193)insurgents to a very high pitch; for an attempt at
(79-193)invasion was so obviously the policy of the French
(79-193)court at this period, that nobody had the least
(79-193)difficulty in believing it.

(79-193)Three more ships arrived from France at Montrose
(79-193)and Stonehaven. A train of six brass four-
(79-193)pounders, and in each vessel two thousand five
(79-193)hundred stand of arms, and L.1000 in money, were
(79-193)received on this occasion. Some Irish officers also
(79-193)came by these vessels. To intercept such
(79-193)communications, Rear-Admiral Byng entered the frith

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(79-194)of Forth with four or five ships of war, which
(79-194)obliged the cavalry of the insurgents to scour the
(79-194)coast by nightly patrols.

(79-194)Neither was the Prince remiss in endeavouring
(79-194)to extend the insurrection in Scotland. We have
(79-194)mentioned already that MacPherson of Cluny had

(79-194)been taken prisoner in his house by the Prince's
(79-194)soldiers, and carried to Perth as a captive. While
(79-194)in that city he had been released, upon coming
(79-194)under the same engagement as the clans already in
(79-194)arms. On returning, therefore, to his house in
(79-194)Badenoch, he had called his men together, and led
(79-194)three hundred MacPhersons to join the Chevalier's
(79-194)standard at Edinburgh.

(79-194)But though Cluny, the son-in-law of Lovat, had
(79-194)thus chosen his part, the crafty old chief himself
(79-194)continued to hesitate, and to retain the mask of
(79-194)pretended loyalty to George the Second. Charles
(79-194)Edward corresponded with him, both by means of
(79-194)his secretary Hugh Fraser, and by that of MacDonald
(79-194)of Barrisdale, a partisan, who affected in a
(79-194)peculiar manner the ancient Highland character,
(79-194)and was, therefore, supposed to be acceptable to
(79-194)Lord Lovat. Through the medium of these agents,
(79-194)Charles stimulated the chiefs ambition by every
(79-194)object which he could suggest; and while he
(79-194)pretended to receive as current coin, the apologies
(79-194)which the old man made for delaying his declaration,
(79-194)he eagerly urged him to redeem the time
(79-194)which had been lost, by instantly raising his clan.

(79-194)Lovat still hesitated. President Forbes possessed

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(79-195)over him that species of ascendancy which men of
(79-195)decided and honest principles usually have over
(79-195)such as are crafty and unconscientious. Lovat was
(79-195)driven, therefore, upon a course of doubtful politics,
(79-195)by which he endeavoured to give the Chevalier
(79-195)such underhand assistance as he could manage,
(79-195)without, as he hoped, incurring the guilt of rebellion.

(79-195)Whilst, therefore, he made to the President
(79-195)empty protestations of zeal and loyalty to the
(79-195)Government, he maintained a private correspondence,
(79-195)expressing equally inefficient devotion to the Prince;
(79-195)and without joining either party, endeavoured to
(79-195)keep fair terms with both, till he should make
(79-195)himself of such importance as to cast the balance
(79-195)between them by his own force.

(79-195)The vacillation and duplicity of Lord Lovat was
(79-195)the more unhappy for the cause which he finally
(79-195)adopted, because his example lost all the weight
(79-195)which a decisive resolution would have given it in
(79-195)the eyes of those who looked upon him as a model
(79-195)of cautious wisdom. It is generally allowed in the
(79-195)Highlands, that had Lovat taken arms in the
(79-195)beginning of the affair, the two great chiefs, Sir
(79-195)Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and MacLeod of
(79-195)MacLeod, would certainly have done the same.

[TG79-196]

(79-196)The power of these three chiefs would have nearly
(79-196)doubled the numbers which the Chevalier collected
(79-196)from other quarters; nor would it be too much to
(79-196)assert, that with so great a force, the Chevalier
(79-196)might have ventured upon an instant march to
(79-196)England after the battle of Preston, and made a
(79-196)fair experiment of what impression he could have
(79-196)effected in that country, while the full freshness
(79-196)of victory shone upon his arms. But Lovat had
(79-196)proposed to himself to exercise the influence which
(79-196)he possessed over these island chiefs in a very
(79-196)different manner. He had formed a plan of uniting
(79-196)their men from the island of Skye and elsewhere,
(79-196)with the MacPhersons, under the command of
(79-196)Cluny; the MacIntoshes, the Farquharsons, and

(79-196)other branches of the Clan Chattan, over whom he
(79-196)possessed considerable influence; with these he
(79-196)proposed to form a northern army at the pass of
(79-196)Corryarrack, which would, as he calculated,
(79-196)probably have amounted to five or six thousand men,
(79-196)and might, at his own option, have been employed
(79-196)in a decided manner, either for the purpose of
(79-196)effecting a restoration of the Stewarts, or for that
(79-196)of putting down the unnatural rebellion against
(79-196)King George, as might happen eventually best to
(79-196)suit the interests of Simon, Lord Lovat.

(79-196)This plan was too obviously selfish to succeed.
(79-196)The two chiefs of MacLeod and MacDonald of
(79-196)Sleat became aware of Lovat's desire to profit by
(79-196)their feudal power and following, and thought it
(79-196)as reasonable to. secure to themselves the price of
(79-196)their own services. The ambiguous conduct and

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(79-197)delays of Lord Lovat inclined the two chiefs to
(79-197)listen to the more sincere and profitable counsel of
(79-197)Lord President Forbes, who exhorted them by all
(79-197)means to keep their dependents from joining in the
(79-197)rebellion; and, finally, persuaded them to raise
(79-197)their vassals in behalf of the reigning sovereign.

(79-197)The President was furnished with means of conviction
(79-197)more powerful than mere words. Government
(79-197)having, as already noticed, placed a hundred
(79-197)commissions of companies at the disposal of this
(79-197)active and intelligent judge, he was enabled still
(79-197)farther to improve his influence among the
(79-197)Highlanders, by distributing them among such clans as
(79-197)were disposed to take arms in behalf of the Government.
(79-197)Both Sir Alexander MacDonald and MacLeod

(79-197)were prevailed upon to accept some of these
(79-197)commissions; and when Alexander MacLeod of
(79-197)Muiravonside, a sincere adherent of the Chevalier,
(79-197)went to Skye for the purpose of inducing them to
(79-197)join the Prince, he found that they had committed
(79-197)themselves to the opposite party, in a degree far
(79-197)more active than the political principles which they
(79-197)had hitherto professed gave the slightest reason to
(79-197)expect. The other chiefs among whom commissions
(79-197)were distributed, were the Lord Seaforth, the
(79-197)Earl of Sutherland, Lord Reay, Sir Robert Monro
(79-197)of Foulis, the Master of Ross, and the Laird of
(79-197)Grant. The companies which were raised under
(79-197)these commissions, were ordered to assemble at
(79-197)Inverness, and thus a northern army of loyalists
(79-197)was on foot about the end of October, in the rear
(79-197)of the rebels, while the increasing forces under

[TG79-198]

(79-198)Marshal Wade threatened to prevent the possibility
(79-198)of any attempt upon England.

(79-198)The defection of Mac Donald and MacLeod
(79-198)rendered altogether abortive Lovat's plan of a
(79-198)northern army of Highlanders assembling at
(79-198)Corryarrack, and it might have been expected that he
(79-198)would have been now forced openly to adopt either
(79-198)one side or the other. But, ingenious in over-
(79-198)reaching himself, the wily old man imagined he had
(79-198)invented a scheme by which he could render
(79-198)Charles Edward such assistance as would greatly
(79-198)forward his enterprise, while, at the same time, he
(79-198)might himself avoid all personal responsibility.

(79-198)This plan, which he finally adopted, was, that
(79-198)his eldest son, the Master of Lovat, should join the

(79-198)Adventurer with seven or eight hundred of his
(79-198)best-armed and most warlike followers, and take
(79-198)upon himself the whole guilt of the rebellion;
(79-198)while he, the father, should remain at home, affecting
(79-198)a neutrality between the contending parties,
(79-198)and avoiding all visible accession to the insurrection.
(79-198)Even when he adopted the unnatural scheme
(79-198)of saving himself from personal danger, by making

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(79-199)a cat's-paw of his eldest son, the old Lord interposed
(79-199)so many doubts and delays, that the Master of
(79-199)Lovat, who was a noble and gallant gentleman,
(79-199)shed tears of rage and indignation at the train of
(79-199)dark and treacherous intrigue in which he was
(79-199)involved, and flung into the fire the white cockade
(79-199)which his father had commanded him to assume,
(79-199)yet refused for a time to let him display in the
(79-199)field.

(79-199)When Lovat finally took the resolution of
(79-199)despatching his son, with the best part of his clan, to
(79-199)the assistance of Charles Edward, a resolution
(79-199)which was not adopted without much hesitation
(79-199)and many misgivings, he feigned, with characteristic
(79-199)finesse, an apology for his march. It was pretended
(79-199)that some of the rebel clans had driven a
(79-199)great prey of cattle from the country of Lovat, and
(79-199)that the Master was obliged to march with his
(79-199)clan for the purpose of recovering them. It was
(79-199)even averred, that, advancing too near the insurgent
(79-199)army, the Frasers were obliged to join them
(79-199)by actual compulsion.

[TG79-200]

(79-200)It is singular to remark how the craft of Lovat

(79-200)disappointed his own expectations. He had doubtless
(79-200)desired to give real assistance to the insurrection,
(79-200)for he could hardly suppose that his neighbour,
(79-200)the Lord President, was imposed on by his pretext
(79-200)of neutrality; and he must have feared being called
(79-200)to a severe account, if tranquillity was restored
(79-200)under the old government. And yet, notwithstanding

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(79-201)the interest he took in Charles's success, he
(79-201)delayed his son's junction with the rebel forces so
(79-201)late, as to deprive that Prince of the assistance of
(79-201)the Frasers in his march into England, which was
(79-201)begun before the Master of Lovat commenced his
(79-201)journey southward. This delay induced the young
(79-201)nobleman to halt at Perth, where he united his
(79-201)corps with other reinforcements designed for the
(79-201)Prince's army Thus, the indirect policy of Lord
(79-201)Lovat, while it led him to contribute aid to
(79-201)Charles's cause, in such a manner as to ruin himself
(79-201)with Government, induced him, at the same
(79-201)time, to delay and postpone his assistance, until the
(79-201)period was past when it might have been essentially
(79-201)useful.

(79-201)The Chevalier was aware of the difficulties of
(79-201)his situation, and, not inclining to remain at
(79-201)Edinburgh, like Mar at Perth, while they thickened
(79-201)around him, was disposed to supply by activity his
(79-201)want of numerical force. Having, therefore, received
(79-201)all such supplies as he seemed likely to bring
(79-201)together, he informed his council abruptly, that he

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(79-202)designed to march for Newcastle, and give battle
(79-202)to Marshal Wade, who, he was convinced, would

(79-202)fly before him. This proposal seems to have been
(79-202)exclusively the suggestion of the sanguine temper
(79-202)which originally dictated his enterprise. His
(79-202)father's courtiers, who endeavoured to outvie each
(79-202)other in professing doctrines of unlimited obedience,
(79-202)had impressed the young man with an early belief
(79-202)that his father's cause, as that of an injured and
(79-202)banished monarch, was that of Heaven itself, and
(79-202)that Heaven would not fail to befriend him, if he
(79-202)boldly asserted those rights with which Providence
(79-202)had invested him. He believed the opinions of his
(79-202)English subjects to be the same in which he himself
(79-202)had been brought up. The manner in which
(79-202)the populace of Edinburgh had received him, and
(79-202)the unexpected and decisive victory at Preston,
(79-202)both confirmed him in his sanguine confidence of
(79-202)success; and he was strongly persuaded, that even
(79-202)the paid soldiers of the English would hesitate to
(79-202)lift their weapons against their rightful Prince.

(79-202)These sentiments, though they might well suit
(79-202)a Prince born and educated like Charles Edward,
(79-202)were too vague and visionary to gain the approbation
(79-202)of his council.

(79-202)To his proposal of marching into England, it
(79-202)was replied, that the Scottish army which he now
(79-202)commanded, consisting only, after every augmentation,
(79-202)of upwards of 5500 men, was far beneath
(79-202)the number necessary to compel the English to
(79-202)accept him as their sovereign; that, therefore, it
(79-202)would be time enough for him to march into that

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(79-203)country when he should be invited by his friends
(79-203)there, either to join them, or to favour their rising

(79-203)in arms. 2dly, It was urged, that, as Marshal
(79-203)Wade had assembled most of the troops in England,
(79-203)or lately arrived from Flanders, at Newcastle,
(79-203)with a view to a march into Scotland, it
(79-203)would be better to let him advance, than to go
(79-203)forward to meet him, because, in the former case,
(79-203)he must of necessity leave England undefended,
(79-203)and exposed to any insurrection of the Jacobites,
(79-203)or to the landing of the French armament, which
(79-203)the Marquis D'Eguilles and the Prince himself
(79-203)seemed daily to expect.

(79-203)The council also observed, that it was the
(79-203)Prince's interest, as it was understood to be the
(79-203)King of France's advice and opinion, to postpone
(79-203)a decisive action as long as possible, because, in
(79-203)case of his sustaining a defeat, the French ministers
(79-203)would send no troops to support him, and the
(79-203)loss would be irretrievable; whereas the longer the
(79-203)insurgents remained unbroken and in force, the
(79-203)greater would be the interest and encouragement
(79-203)which their allies would have in affording them
(79-203)effectual assistance. To these, arguments the
(79-203)Prince only replied, by again asserting, that he
(79-203)was confident the French auxiliary force would
(79-203)be landed by, the time. he could cross the Border;
(79-203)and that he possessed a strong party in London
(79-203)and elsewhere, who would receive him as the
(79-203)people of Edinburgh had done. To which the
(79-203)members of his council could only answer, that

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(79-204)they hoped it might prove so. They then dispersed
(79-204)for the night.

(79-204)The next morning the debate was renewed, and

(79-204)the Prince again proposed to march into England,
(79-204)and fight Marshal Wade. As he found the council
(79-204)in no more complacent humour than they had
(79-204)been the day before, he was induced for the time
(79-204)to be silent upon the main proposition in debate,
(79-204)and limit his proposal to a march to the Borders,
(79-204)in order that the troops might be kept in activity,
(79-204)and make some progress in learning their duty
(79-204)This was agreed to, and orders were given out
(79-204)that the army should be ready to rendezvous at
(79-204)Dalkeith, and to march forward at the word of
(79-204)command.

(79-204)On the evening of that same day, the Chevalier,
(79-204)for the third time, laid before his officers, then
(79-204)assembled in his own apartment, the proposal for a
(79-204)march upon Newcastle. To the objections which
(79-204)had been formerly offered, he replied, by saying,
(79-204)in a positive manner, " I see, gentlemen, you are
(79-204)determined to stay in Scotland and defend your
(79-204)country; but I am not less resolved to try my fate
(79-204)in England, though I should go alone."

(79-204)It being at length clear that the Prince's
(79-204)determination was taken, and that they could not
(79-204)separate themselves from his project without
(79-204)endangering his person, and ruining the expedition
(79-204)irretrievably, Lord George Murray and the other
(79-204)counsellors thought of obtaining some middle
(79-204)conclusion betwixt their own plan of remaining in

[TG79-205]

(79-205)Scotland, and that of the Prince for marching
(79-205)directly to fight Marshal Wade. Lord George
(79-205)Murray, therefore, proposed, that since the army
(79-205)must needs enter England, it should be on the

(79-205)western frontier; they would thus" he calculated,
(79-205)avoid a hasty collision with the English army,
(79-205)which it was their obvious interest to defer, and
(79-205)would, at the same time, afford the English an
(79-205)opportunity to rise, or the French to land their
(79-205)troops, if either were disposed to act upon it. If,
(79-205)on the contrary, Marshal Wade should march
(79-205)across the country towards Carlisle, in order to
(79-205)give them battle, he would be compelled to do so
(79-205)at the expense of a fatiguing march over a mountainous
(79-205)country, while the Highlanders would fight
(79-205)to advantage among hills not dissimilar to their
(79-205)own. This plan of the western march was not
(79-205)instantly adopted, but the Chevalier at length came
(79-205)into it, rather than abandon his favourite scheme
(79-205)of moving southward.

(79-205)On the 31st of October, 1745, Charles Edward
(79-205)marched out of Edinburgh at the head of his
(79-205)guards, and of Lord Pitsligo's horse; they
(79-205)rendezvoused at Dalkeith, where they were joined by
(79-205)other corps of their army from the camp at Duddingston,
(79-205)and different quarters. Here the Adventurer's
(79-205)army was separated into two divisions.

(79-205)One of these consisted of the Athole Brigade,
(79-205)Perth's, Ogilvie's, Roy Stewart's, and Glenbucket's
(79-205)of foot regiments; Kilmarnock's and the
(79-205)hussars, of horse; with all the baggage and the
(79-205)artillery. This division was commanded by the

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(79-206)Duke of Perth, and took the western road towards
(79-206)Carlisle. At Ecclesfechan they were compelled,
(79-206)by the badness of the roads, to leave a part of
(79-206)their baggage, which, after they had marched on,

(79-206)was taken possession of by the people of
(79-206)Dumfries.

(79-206)The other column of the Highland army consisted
(79-206)chiefly of the three MacDonald regiments,
(79-206)Glengarry's, Clanranald's, and Keppoch's, with
(79-206)Elcho and Pitsligo's horse; this division was
(79-206)commanded by the Prince in person. On the 5th of
(79-206)November, after halting two days at Kelso, they
(79-206)marched to Jedburgh, thus taking a turn towards
(79-206)the west. Their original demonstration to the
(79-206)eastward, was designed to alarm Marshal Wade,
(79-206)and to prevent his taking any measures for moving
(79-206)towards Carlisle, their real object of attack. On

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(79-207)Monday the 8th, the Prince, marching by Hawick
(79-207)and Hagiehaugh, took post at the village of Brampton,
(79-207)in England, with the purpose of facing Wade,
(79-207)should he attempt to advance from Newcastle in
(79-207)the direction of Carlisle.

(79-207)In the mean time, the column under the Duke
(79-207)of Perth, consisting chiefly of Lowland regiments,
(79-207)horse, and artillery, advanced more to the westward,
(79-207)and reached Carlisle. This town had long
(79-207)been the principal garrison of England upon the
(79-207)western frontier, and many a Scottish army had, in
(79-207)former days, besieged it in vain. The walls by
(79-207)which it was surrounded were of the period of
(79-207)Henry VIII., improved by additional defences in
(79-207)the time of Queen Elizabeth. The castle, situated
(79-207)upon an abrupt and steep eminence, and surrounded
(79-207)by deep ditches on the only accessible point, was
(79-207)very ancient, but strong from its situation and the
(79-207)thickness of its walls. Upon the whole, although

(79-207)Carlisle was in no respect qualified to stand a
(79-207)regular siege, yet it might have defied the efforts of an
(79-207)enemy who possessed no cannon of larger calibre
(79-207)than four-pounders.

(79-207)It was a considerable discouragement to the
(79-207)Highland leaders, that their men had deserted in
(79-207)great numbers. The march into England was by
(79-207)no means popular among the common soldiers, who
(79-207)attached to the movement some superstitious ideas
(79-207)of misfortune, which must necessarily attend their

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(79-208)crossing the Border. When the army of the Prince
(79-208)marched off from Dalkeith, it was upwards of 5500
(79-208)strong, and they were computed to have lost by
(79-208)desertion at least 1000 men before the one column
(79-208)arrived at Brampton, and the other in the vicinity
(79-208)of Carlisle.

(79-208)The town of Carlisle showed a spirit of defence.
(79-208)The mayor, whose name was Pattison, was at the
(79-208)trouble to issue a proclamation to inform the citizens,
(79-208)that he was not Paterson, a Scottishman, but
(79-208)Pattison, a true-born native of England, determined
(79-208)to hold out the town to the last. The commandant
(79-208)of the castle, whose name was Durand"
(79-208)and who had lately been sent down to that important
(79-208)situation, was equally vehement in his
(79-208)protestations of defence.

(79-208)The Duke of Perth, who commanded the right
(79-208)column of the Prince's army, thought it necessary,
(79-208)notwithstanding these adverse circumstances, to
(79-208)attempt the reduction of this important place. He
(79-208)opened, therefore, a trench on the east side of the

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(79-209)town, and in two days afterwards began to
(79-209)construct a battery. On seeing these operations, the
(79-209)town of Carlisle, and its valiant Mayor, desired to
(79-209)capitulate. The Duke of Perth refused to accept
(79-209)of their submission, unless the castle surrendered,
(79-209)but allowed them a reasonable time for determination.
(79-209)The consequence was, that both town and
(79-209)citadel surrendered, on condition that the privileges
(79-209)of the community should be respected, and that the
(79-209)garrison, being chiefly militia, should be allowed to
(79-209)retire from the town, after delivering up their arms
(79-209)and horses, and engaging not to serve against the
(79-209)Chevalier for the space of twelve months. This
(79-209)capitulation was signed by the Duke of Perth and
(79-209)Colonel Durand, whose defence must have been
(79-209)but a sorry one, since during the short siege them
(79-209)was only one man killed and another wounded in
(79-209)the besieging army.

(79-209)On the 17th of November, the Prince himself
(79-209)made a triumphal entry into Carlisle. The
(79-209)inhabitants, who entertained no affection for his
(79-209)cause, received him coldly; yet they could not
(79-209)help expressing a sense of the gentleness with

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(79-210)which they had been treated by the Duke of Perth,
(79-210)whose conduct towards them had been generous
(79-210)and liberal. Their expressions of gratitude, and
(79-210)those of favour which the Prince thought himself
(79-210)obliged to bestow upon the Duke, were productive
(79-210)of great injury to the cause, by fostering the
(79-210)jealousy which subsisted between Lord George Murray
(79-210)and his Grace. We have already noticed that

(79-210)this discord had its origin as early as the time when
(79-210)the Duke and Lord George first joined the Prince
(79-210)at Perth, and that the Secretary Murray had sought
(79-210)to gratify his own ambition by encouraging the
(79-210)pretensions of the Duke of Perth (whom he found
(79-210)an easy practicable person, very willing to adopt
(79-210)his suggestions), in preference to those of Lord
(79-210)George Murray, who, though an officer of much
(79-210)higher military talents, was haughty, blunt, and not
(79-210)unwilling to combat the opinions of the Prince
(79-210)himself, far more those of his favourite secretary.

(79-210)There being thus a sort of jealousy betwixt these
(79-210)eminent persons, Lord George considered the
(79-210)preference given to the Duke of Perth, to command
(79-210)the proceedings of the siege of Carlisle, as an
(79-210)encroachment upon his own pretensions; he regarded
(79-210)also, or seemed to regard, the Duke's religion,
(79-210)being a Catholic, as a disqualification to his holding
(79-210)such an ostensible character in the expedition.
(79-210)Under the influence of these feelings, he wrote a
(79-210)letter to the Prince, during the time of the siege,
(79-210)in which he observed he was sorry to see that he
(79-210)did not possess his Royal Highnesses confidence,
(79-210)and that although a Lieutenant-General, others

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(79-211)were employed in preference to him ; for these
(79-211)reasons, he perceived he was likely to be of more
(79-211)service as a volunteer than as a general officer ; so
(79-211)that he begged his Royal Highness's acceptance of
(79-211)the resignation of his commission in the latter
(79-211)capacity. The Chevalier intimated to him,
(79-211)accordingly, that his resignation was accepted.

(79-211)But, however acceptable the preference given to

(79-211)the Duke of Perth over Lord George Murray
(79-211)might be to Secretary Murray, and to the immediate
(79-211)personal favourites of the Prince, the Duke's
(79-211)principles and tenets being more acceptable to
(79-211)them than those of an uncompromising soldier of
(79-211)high rank, there was a general feeling of anxiety
(79-211)and apprehension spread through the bulk of the
(79-211)army, who had a much higher opinion of the military
(79-211)capacity of Lord George than of that of the
(79-211)Duke, though partial to the extreme good-nature,
(79-211)personal valour, and gentlemanlike conduct of the
(79-211)latter. The principal persons, therefore, in the
(79-211)army, chiefs, commanders of corps, and men who
(79-211)held similar situations of importance, united in a
(79-211)petition, which was delivered to the Prince at
(79-211)Carlisle, praying that he would be pleased to
(79-211)discharge all Roman Catholics from his councils. This
(79-211)request was grounded upon an allegation which
(79-211)had appeared in the newspapers, stating that the
(79-211)Prince was altogether guided by the advice of
(79-211)Roman Catholics, and comparing Sir Thomas
(79-211)Sheridan to his grandfather, James the Second's
(79-211)father-confessor, the Jesuit Petre. In allusion to
(79-211)the surrender of Carlisle, the petition expressed an

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(79-212)affected alarm upon the subject of Papists assuming
(79-212)the discussion and decision of articles of capitulation,
(79-212)in which the Church of England was intimately
(79-212)concerned. To mark the application of
(79-212)the whole, the Prince was entreated to request
(79-212)Lord George Murray might resume his command.
(79-212)To this last article of the petition the Prince
(79-212)returned a favourable answer; to the rest he waved
(79-212)making any reply. Thus, the intrigue was for a
(79-212)period put a stop to, which, joined to his own rough

(79-212)and uncourtly style of remonstrance, had nearly
(79-212)deprived the insurgents of the invaluable services
(79-212)of Lord George Murray, who was undoubtedly
(79-212)the most able officer of their party.

(79-212)The Prince might not have found it easy to extricate
(79-212)himself from this difficulty, had the Duke of
(79-212)Perth remained tenacious of the advantage which
(79-212)he had gained. He could not, indeed, be supposed
(79-212)to admit the principle of a petition, which was
(79-212)founded on the idea that the religion which he
(79-212)professed was a bar to his holding high rank in the
(79-212)Prince's service, and accordingly repelled with
(79-212)spirit the objections to his precedence on this
(79-212)ground. But when it was pointed out to him that
(79-212)Charles could not at that moment adhere to his
(79-212)resolution in his favour, without losing, to the great
(79-212)disadvantage of his affairs, the benefit of Lord
(79-212)George Murray's services, he at once professed his
(79-212)willingness to serve in any capacity, and submit to
(79-212)any. thing, by which the interest of Charles and the
(79-212)expedition might be most readily promoted.

(79-212)While the Prince lay at Carlisle, he received

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(79-213)intelligence, which showed that his successes in
(79-213)Scotland had been but momentary, and of a kind which
(79-213)had not made any serious impression upon the
(79-213)minds of the people. The populace of the towns
(79-213)of Perth and Dundee had already intimated their
(79-213)dislike of the Stewart cause, and their adherence
(79-213)to the House of Hanover. Upon the birth-day of
(79-213)King George, the populace in both places assembled
(79-213)to celebrate the festival with the customary
(79-213)demonstrations of joy, notwithstanding their

(79-213)Jacobite commandants, and the new magistracy, which
(79-213)had been nominated in both towns by the prevailing party.
(79-213)At Perth, the mob had cooped up Mr
(79-213)Oliphant of Gask, with his friends, in the council-
(79-213)house, and shots and blows had been exchanged
(79-213)betwixt the parties. At Dundee, Fotheringham,
(79-213)the Jacobite governor, had been driven from the
(79-213)town, and although both he and Gask had been able
(79-213)to reassert their authority on the succeeding day,
(79-213)yet the temporary success of the citizens of both
(79-213)places, showed that the popular opinion was not on
(79-213)the side of Prince Charles.

(79-213)A more marked expression of public feeling was
(79-213)now exhibited in the metropolis. The force which
(79-213)had restrained the general sentiment in Edinburgh
(79-213)was removed by the march of the Highland army
(79-213)towards England. The troops from the castle had
(79-213)resumed possession of the deserted city. The
(79-213)Lord Justice Clerk, the Lords of Session, the
(79-213)Sheriffs of the three counties of Lothian, with many
(79-213)other Whig gentlemen who had left the town on
(79-213)the approach of the rebels, had re-entered

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(79-214)Edinburgh in a kind of solemn procession, and had
(79-214)given orders to prosecute the levy of 1000 men,
(79-214)formerly voted to Government. General Handyside
(79-214)also had marched into the capital on the 14th
(79-214)of November, with Price's and Ligonier's regiments,
(79-214)which had come from Newcastle; also the
(79-214)two regiments of dragoons, who had behaved so
(79-214)indifferently at Preston. The towns of Glasgow,
(79-214)Stirling, Paisley, and Dumfries, were also embodying
(79-214)their militia; and Colonel John Campbell, then
(79-214)heir of the Argyle family, had arrived at Inverary

(79-214)and was raising the feudal interest of that powerful
(79-214)house, as well as the militia of the county of
(79-214)Argyle.

(79-214)All these were symptoms that showed the frail
(79-214)tenure of the Chevalier's influence in Scotland, and
(79-214)that it was not, in the Lowlands at least likely to
(79-214)survive long the absence of the Highland army.

(79-214)Neither were the Highlands in a safe situation,
(79-214)so far as the Prince's interest was concerned. Lord
(79-214)Loudon was at Inverness, with the MacLeods and
(79-214)MacDonalds of Skye, and overawed the Jacobites
(79-214)north of Inverness, as well as those of Nairn and
(79-214)Moray. It is true, Lord Lewis Gordon, who commanded
(79-214)in Banff and Aberdeenshire, had raised
(79-214)three battalions for the Prince, commanded by
(79-214)Moir of Stonywood, Gordon of Abachie, and
(79-214)Farquharson of Monaltry. The rest of Charles's
(79-214)reinforcements lay at Perth; they consisted of the
(79-214)Frasers, as already mentioned, MacGillivray of
(79-214)Drumnaglas, who commanded the MacIntoshes;
(79-214)the Farquharsons, the Earl of Cromarty, the

[TG79-215]

(79-215)Master of Lovat, with several detachments of
(79-215)MacDonalds of various tribes, and one hundred and
(79-215)fifty of the Stewarts of Appin. A large body of
(79-215)MacGregors lay at Doune, under the command of
(79-215)MacGregor of Glengyle, and kept the country in
(79-215)great awe. All these troops made a considerable
(79-215)force; those at Perth, in particular, together with
(79-215)Glengyle's people, amounted to between three and
(79-215)four thousand men, as good as any the Prince had
(79-215)in his army, and Colonel MacLauchlan was
(79-215)despatched to order them immediately to march and

(79-215)join their countrymen in England.

(79-215)In those circumstances, several of the Prince's
(79-215)followers were much surprised, when, in a council
(79-215)at Carlisle, the sanguine young Adventurer proposed
(79-215)that they should, without delay, pursue their
(79-215)march to London, as if the kingdom of England
(79-215)had been wholly defenceless. It was objected,
(79-215)that the Scottish gentlemen had consented to the
(79-215)invasion of England, in the hope of being joined
(79-215)by the English friends of the Prince, or in
(79-215)expectation of a descent from France; without one or
(79-215)other of these events, they had never, it was stated,
(79-215)undertaken to effect the restoration of the Stewart
(79-215)family. To this the Prince answered, that he was
(79-215)confident in expecting the junction of a strong
(79-215)party in Lancashire, if the Scots would consent to
(79-215)march forward. D'Eguilles vehemently affirmed
(79-215)his immediate expectation of a French landing;
(79-215)and Mr Murray, who was treasurer as well as
(79-215)secretary, assured them that it was impossible to
(79-215)stay longer at Carlisle for want of money. All

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(79-216)these were urgent reasons for marching
(79-216)southward.

(79-216)Whether the Prince had any stronger reasons
(79-216)than he avowed for believing in the actual probability
(79-216)of a Jacobite rising which he averred, will
(79-216)probably never be exactly known. It is certain
(79-216)that many families of distinction were understood
(79-216)to be engaged to join the Prince in 1740, provided
(79-216)he appeared at the head of a French force, and
(79-216)with a certain quantity of money and arms; but

(79-216)the same difficulties occurred in England, which
(79-216)he had encountered on his first landing in Scotland.
(79-216)The persons who had come under an agreement
(79-216)to join, under certain conditions, in a perilous
(79-216)enterprise, considered themselves as under no
(79-216)obligation to do so, when these conditions were
(79-216)not complied with. It is probable, nevertheless,
(79-216)that many of those zealous and fanatical partisans,
(79-216)which belong to every undertaking of the kind,
(79-216)and are usually as desperate in their plans as in
(79-216)their fortunes, might, since his entering England,
(79-216)have opened a communication with the Prince, and
(79-216)excited his own sanguine temper by their
(79-216)representations. But, at the same time, it is pretty
(79-216)clear that the Prince had no information of such
(79-216)credit as to be laid before his council; at least, if
(79-216)it were so, it was never seen by them; nor were
(79-216)there any indications of a formed plan of insurrection
(79-216)in his favour, although there seemed a strong
(79-216)disposition on the part of the gentry in Lancashire,
(79-216)Cheshire, and Wales, to embrace his interest. As
(79-216)for Lord George Murray, and the counsellors who

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(79-217)differed in opinion from Charles, they assented to
(79-217)the advance into England, merely lest it might be
(79-217)said that, by their restiveness, the Prince had lost
(79-217)the chance of forming an union with his English
(79-217)friends, or profiting by a descent from France.

(79-217)The army was now reduced to about 4400 men,
(79-217)out of which a garrison of two or three hundred
(79-217)were to be left in Carlisle; with the remainder it
(79-217)was now resolved to march to London by the
(79-217)Lancashire road, although, including the militia

(79-217)and newly-raised regiments, there were upwards
(79-217)of 6000 men under arms upon the side of the
(79-217)Government, who lay directly in their road. It
(79-217)would, therefore, seem, that the better course
(79-217)would have been to have waited at Carlisle until
(79-217)the reinforcements arrived from Perth; but this
(79-217)proposal was made and overruled. On the 21st
(79-217)of November, the Prince marched from Carlisle,
(79-217)and arrived that night at Penrith, Lord George
(79-217)Murray commanding the army as general under
(79-217)him. He halted a day at Penrith, with the
(79-217)purpose of fighting Field-marshal Wade, who had
(79-217)made a demonstration towards Hexham, to raise
(79-217)the siege of Carlisle; but who had marched back,
(79-217)on account, as was alleged, of a heavy snow-storm.
(79-217)Wade was now an old man, and his military movements
(79-217)partook of the slowness and irresolution of
(79-217)advanced age. The Prince, neglecting the old
(79-217)Marshal, pushed southward, resumed his adventurous
(79-217)march, and advanced through Lancaster to
(79-217)Preston, where the whole army arrived on the 26th.
(79-217)They marched in two divisions, of which the first,

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(79-218)commanded by Lord George Murray, comprehended
(79-218)what were called the Lowland regiments,
(79-218)that is to say, the whole army except the clans;
(79-218)although the greater part so called Lowland, were
(79-218)Highlanders by language, and all of them by dress,
(79-218)the Highland garb being the uniform of all the
(79-218)infantry of the Jacobite army. The Prince himself,
(79-218)at the head of the clans properly so called, each of
(79-218)which formed a regiment, led the way on foot, with
(79-218)his target on his shoulder, sharing the fatigues of
(79-218)his hardy followers. The little army was compel-

(79-218)led, for convenience of quarters, to move, as we
(79-218)have said, in two divisions, which generally kept
(79-218)half a day's march separate from each other.

(79-218)These adventurous movements, from the very
(79-218)audacity of their character,--for who could have
(79-218)supposed them to be hazarded on vague expectations?
(79-218)--struck a terror into the English nation, at
(79-218)which those who witnessed and shared it were
(79-218)afterwards surprised and ashamed. It was concluded
(79-218)that an enterprise so desperate would not
(79-218)have been undertaken without some private assurances
(79-218)of internal assistance,¹ and every one expected

[Tg79-219]

(79-219)some dreadful and widely-spread conspiracy to
(79-219)explode. In the mean time, the people remained
(79-219)wonderfully passive. " London," says a contemporary,
(79-219)writing on the spur of the moment, " lies
(79-219)open as a prize to the first comers, whether Scotch
(79-219)or Dutch;" and a letter from the poet Gray to
(79-219)Horace Walpole, paints an indifference yet more
(79-219)ominous to the public cause than the general panic:
(79-219)" The common people in town at least know how
(79-219)to be afraid; but we are such uncommon people
(79-219)here" (at Cambridge) " as to have no more sense
(79-219)of danger than if the battle had been fought where
(79-219)and when the battle of Cannae was. I heard three
(79-219)sensible, middle-aged men, when the Scotch were
(79-219)said to be at Stamford, and actually were at Derby,
(79-219)talking of hiring a chaise to go to Caxton (a place
(79-219)in the high-road) to see the Pretender and
(79-219)Highlanders as they passed." A further evidence of
(79-219)the feelings under which the public laboured during
(79-219)this crisis, is to be found in a letter from the

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(79-220)well-known Sir Andrew Mitchell to the Lord President.¹
(79-220)" If I had not," says the writer, " lived long
(79-220)enough in England to know the natural bravery of
(79-220)the people, particularly of the better sort, I should,
(79-220)from their behaviour of late, have had a very false
(79-220)opinion of them; for the least scrap of good news
(79-220)exalts them most absurdly, and the smallest reverse
(79-220)of fortune depresses them meanly."

(79-220)In fact, the alarm was not groundless; not that
(79-220)the number of the Chevalier's individual followers
(79-220)ought to have been an object of serious, at least of
(79-220)permanent alarm, to so great a kingdom; but because,
(79-220)in many counties, a great proportion of the
(79-220)landed interest were Jacobitically disposed,
(79-220)although, with the prudence which distinguished the
(79-220)opposite party in 1688, they declined joining the
(79-220)invaders, until it should appear whether they could
(79-220)maintain their ground without them.

(79-220)In the mean time, the unfortunate Prince marched
(79-220)on in full confidence in his stars, his fortunes, and
(79-220)his strength, like a daring gambler, encouraged by
(79-220)a run of luck which was hitherto extraordinary;
(79-220)but his English friends remained as much palsied
(79-220)as his enemies, nor did anything appear to announce
(79-220)that general declaration in his favour which he had
(79-220)asserted with so much confidence.

(79-220)On arriving at Preston, in Lancashire, Lord
(79-220)George Murray had to combat the superstition of
(79-220)the soldiers whom he commanded. The defeat of
(79-220)the Duke of Hamilton in the great Civil War,

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(79-221)with the subsequent misfortune of Brigadier
(79-221)Macintosh in 1715, had given rise to a belief, that
(79-221)Preston was to a Scottish army the fatal point,
(79-221)beyond which they were not to pass. To counteract
(79-221)this superstition, Lord George led a part of his
(79-221)troops across the Ribble-bridge, a mile beyond
(79-221)Preston, at which town the Chevalier arrived in the
(79-221)evening. The spell which arrested the progress of
(79-221)the Scottish troops was thus supposed to be broken,
(79-221)and their road to London was considered as laid
(79-221)open.

(79-221)The people of Preston received Charles Edward
(79-221)with several cheers, which were the first he had
(79-221)heard since entering England; but on officers being
(79-221)appointed to beat up for recruits, no one would
(79-221)enlist. When this was stated to the Prince, he
(79-221)continued, in reply, to assure his followers with
(79-221)unabated confidence, that he would be joined by all
(79-221)his English friends when they advanced as far as
(79-221)Manchester; and Monsieur D'Eguilles, with similar
(79-221)confidence, offered to lay considerable wagers,
(79-221)that the French either had already landed, or would
(79-221)land within a week. Thus, the murmurers were
(79-221)once more reduced to silence.

(79-221)During this long and fatiguing march, Charles,
(79-221)as we have already said, shared with alacrity the
(79-221)fatigues of his soldiers.¹ He usually wore a Highland
(79-221)dress, and marched on foot at the head of one

[TG79-222]

(79-222)of the columns, insisting that the infirm and aged
(79-222)Lord Pitsligo should occupy his carriage. He
(79-222)never took dinner, but, making a hearty meal at
(79-222)supper, threw himself upon his bed about eleven
(79-222)o'clock, without undressing, and rose by four the
(79-222)next morning, and, as he had a very strong constitution,
(79-222)supported this severe labour day after day.
(79-222)In all the towns where the Highland army passed,
(79-222)they levied the public revenue with great accuracy;
(79-222)and where any subscriptions had been levied in
(79-222)behalf of Government, as was the case in most
(79-222)considerable places, they exacted an equivalent sum
(79-222)from each subscriber.

(79-222)On the march between Preston and Wigan, the
(79-222)road was thronged with people anxious to see the
(79-222)army pass by, who expressed their good wishes for
(79-222)the Prince's success; but when arms were offered
(79-222)to them, and they were invited to enrol themselves
(79-222)in his service, they unanimously declined, saying in
(79-222)excuse, they did not understand fighting. On the
(79-222)29th, when the Prince arrived at Manchester,
(79-222)there was a still stronger appearance of favour to
(79-222)his cause; bonfires, acclamations, the display of
(79-222)white cockades, solemnized his arrival, and a
(79-222)considerable number of persons came to kiss his hand,
(79-222)and to offer their services. About two hundred
(79-222)men of the populace were here enlisted, and being
(79-222)embodied with the few who had before joined his
(79-222)standard, composed what was termed the Manchester
(79-222)regiment. The officers were in general respectable
(79-222)men, enthusiasts in the Jacobite cause;
(79-222)and Mr Townley, a gentleman of good family, and

[TG79-223]

(79-223)considerable literary accomplishments, was named
(79-223)colonel of the regiment. But the common soldiers
(79-223)were the very lowest of the populace.¹ All this
(79-223)success was of a character very inferior to that
(79-223)which the Prince had promised, and which his
(79-223)followers expected; yet it was welcome, and was

[TG79-224]

(79-224)regarded as the commencement of a rising in their
(79-224)favour, so that even Lord George Murray, when
(79-224)consulted by a friend, whether they should not now
(79-224)renounce an expedition which promised so ill, gave
(79-224)it as his opinion, that, before doing so, they should
(79-224)advance as far as Derby, undertaking that, if they
(79-224)were not joined by the English Jacobites in
(79-224)considerable numbers at that place, he would then
(79-224)propose a retreat.

(79-224)The Highland army advanced accordingly to
(79-224)Derby; But in their road through Macclesfield,
(79-224)Leek, Congleton, and other places, were received
(79-224)with signs of greater aversion to their cause than
(79-224)they had yet experienced, so that all hopes founded
(79-224)on the encouragement they had received from the
(79-224)junction of the Manchester Regiment, were quite
(79-224)obscured and forgotten.

(79-224)They now also began to receive notice of the
(79-224)enemy. Colonel Ker of Gradon nearly surprised
(79-224)a party of English dragoons, and made prisoner
(79-224)one Weir, a principal spy, of the Duke of Cumberland,
(79-224)whom the Highland officers were desirous of
(79-224)sending to instant execution. Lord George Murray
(79-224)saved him from the gallows, and thus obtained,
(79-224)some valuable information concerning the numbers

(79-224)and position of the enemy. Accuracy in these
(79-224)particulars was of the last consequence, for having
(79-224)arrived at Derby, Charles might be said to be at the
(79-224)very crisis of his fate. He was within 127 miles
(79-224)of London, and, at the same time, less than a day's
(79-224)march of an army of 10,000 and upwards, which
(79-224)had been originally assembled under General Ligonier,

[TG79-225]

(79-225)and was now commanded by his Royal Highness
(79-225)the Duke of Cumberland, who had his headquarters
(79-225)at Litchfield, somewhat farther from the
(79-225)metropolis than those of Charles Edward.¹ On
(79-225)the other hand, another English army, equal in
(79-225)numbers to their own, was moving up along the
(79-225)west side of Yorkshire, being about this time near
(79-225)Ferrybridge, two or three marches in the rear of
(79-225)the Scottish invaders, who were thus in danger of
(79-225)being placed between two fires.

(79-225)Besides these two armies, George the Second
(79-225)was himself preparing to take the field at the head
(79-225)of his own Guards. For this purpose they were
(79-225)marched out of London, and encamped upon Finchley
(79-225)Common. Several regiments who had served
(79-225)abroad were destined to compose this third army,
(79-225)and form the defence of the capital, should its
(79-225)services be required.²

226 TALES OF A GRANDFATHER. [SCOTLAND.

(79-226)The Prince showed no abatement of the high
(79-226)confidence which he had hitherto entertained of
(79-226)success. It seems to have been his idea to push
(79-226)forward at the head of his active troops, and,

(79-226)eluding the Duke of Cumberland (which, from their
(79-226)mutual position with respect to London, he would
(79-226)not have found difficult, being the nearest to the
(79-226)capital by nearly a day's march), to press forward
(79-226)upon the metropolis, and dispute the pretensions
(79-226)of the reigning monarch beneath its very walls.
(79-226)He continued to entertain the belief that George
(79-226)the Second was a detested usurper, in whose favour
(79-226)no one would willingly draw his sword; that the
(79-226)people of England, as was their duty, still nourished
(79-226)that allegiance for the race of their native
(79-226)princes, which they were bound to hold sacred;
(79-226)and that, if he did but persevere in his daring
(79-226)attempt, Heaven itself would fight in his cause. His
(79-226)discourse, therefore, when at table, at Derby, was
(79-226)entirely about the manner in which he should enter
(79-226)London, whether on foot or horseback, or whether
(79-226)in Lowland or Highland garb; without hinting at
(79-226)the possibility of his having to retreat without

TG79-227]

(79-227)making the final experiment on the faith and
(79-227)fortitude of the English. He remained at Derby for
(79-227)nearly two days to refresh his forces.

(79-227)On the morning of the 5th of December, Lord
(79-227)George Murray, with all the commanders of
(79-227)battalions and squadrons, waited on the Prince, and
(79-227)informed him, that it was the opinion of all
(79-227)present, that the Scots had now done every thing that
(79-227)could be expected of them. They had marched
(79-227)into the heart of England, through the counties
(79-227)represented as most favourable to the cause, and
(79-227)had not been joined, except by a very insignificant
(79-227)number. They had been assured also of a descent

(79-227)from France, to act in conjunction with them; but
(79-227)of this there had not been the slightest appearance;
(79-227)nevertheless, Lord George stated, that if the Prince
(79-227)could produce a letter from any English person of
(79-227)distinction, containing an invitation to the Scottish
(79-227)army either to march to London or elsewhere,
(79-227)they were ready to obey. If, however, no one
(79-227)was disposed to intermeddle with their affairs, he
(79-227)stated they must be under the necessity of caring
(79-227)for themselves, in which point of view their
(79-227)situation must be considered as critical. The army of
(79-227)the Duke of Cumberland, ten thousand strong, lay
(79-227)within a day's march in front, or nearly so; that of
(79-227)Marshal Wade was only two or three marches in
(79-227)their rear. Supposing that, nevertheless, they
(79-227)could give both armies the slip, a battle under the
(79-227)walls of London with George the Second's army
(79-227)was inevitable. He urged, that with whomsoever
(79-227)they fought, they could not reckon even upon

[TG79-228]

(79-228)victory without such a loss as would make it impossible
(79-228)to gather in the fruits which ought to follow
(79-228)it; and that four or five thousand men were an
(79-228)army inadequate even to taking possession of the
(79-228)city of London, although undefended by regular
(79-228)troops, unless the populace were strongly in his
(79-228)favour, of which good disposition some friend would
(79-228)certainly have informed them, if any such had
(79-228)existed.

(79-228)Lord George Murray, to these causes for retreat
(79-228)added a plan for a Scottish campaign, which he
(79-228)thought might be prosecuted to advantage. In
(79-228)retreating to that country the Prince had the

(79-228)advantage of retiring upon his reinforcements, which
(79-228)included the body of Highlanders lying at Perth,
(79-228)as well as a detachment of French troops which
(79-228)had been landed at Montrose under Lord John
(79-228)Drummond. He, therefore, requested, in the name
(79-228)of the persons present, that they should go back
(79-228)and join their friends in Scotland, and live or die
(79-228)with them.

(79-228)After Lord George had spoken, many of the
(79-228)council expressed similar opinions. The Duke of
(79-228)Perth and Sir John Gordon only proposed penetrating
(79-228)into Wales, to give the people there an
(79-228)opportunity to join. To this was opposed the
(79-228)necessity of fighting with the Duke of Cumberland,
(79-228)with unequal numbers, and perhaps with Marshal
(79-228)Wade also, who was likely to strain every nerve
(79-228)To come up in their rear.

(79-228)Charles Edward heard these arguments with the
(79-228)utmost impatience, expressed his determination to

[TG79-229]

(79-229)advance to London, having gained a day's march
(79-229)on the Duke of Cumberland, and plainly, stigmatized
(79-229)as traitors all who should adhere to any other
(79-229)resolution. He broke up the council, and used
(79-229)much argument with the members in private to
(79-229)alter their way of thinking. The Irish officers
(79-229)alone seemed convinced by his reasoning, for they
(79-229)were little accustomed to dispute his opinions; and
(79-229)besides, if made prisoners, they could only be
(79-229)subjected to a few months' imprisonment as most of
(79-229)them had regular commissions in the French
(79-229)service. But at length the Chevalier, knowing that

(79-229)little weight would be given to their sanction, and
(79-229)finding that his own absolute commands were in
(79-229)danger of being disobeyed, was compelled to submit
(79-229)to the advice, or remonstrance, of the Scottish
(79-229)leaders.

(79-229)On the 5th, therefore, in the evening, the council
(79-229)of war was again convoked, and the Chevalier
(79-229)told them, with sullen resignation, that he consented
(79-229)to return to Scotland, but at the same time
(79-229)informed them, that in future he should call no
(79-229)more councils, since he was accountable to nobody
(79-229)for his actions excepting to Heaven and to his
(79-229)Father, and would, therefore, no longer either ask
(79-229)or accept their advice.

(79-229)Thus terminated the celebrated march to Derby,
(79-229)and with it every chance, however remote, of the
(79-229)Chevalier's success in his romantic expedition.
(79-229)Whether he ought ever to have entered England,
(79-229)at least without collecting all the forces which he
(79-229)could command, is a very disputable point; but it

[TG79-230]

(79-230)was clear, that whatever influence he might for a
(79-230)time possess, arose from the boldness of his advance.
(79-230)The charm, however, was broken the moment he
(79-230)showed, by a movement in retreat, that he had
(79-230)undertaken an enterprise too difficult for him to
(79-230)achieve.

[TG80-231]

(80-231)UPON the 6th of December, the Highland army
(80-231)began its retreat northward. As they marched in
(80-231)the grey of the morning, the men did not at first

(80-231)perceive in what direction they were moving; but
(80-231)so soon as the daylight gave them the means of
(80-231)perceiving that they were in retreat, an expression
(80-231)of deep regret and lamentation was heard among
(80-231)the ranks; with such confidence had these brave
(80-231)men looked forward to a successful issue, even in
(80-231)the precarious situation in which they were placed.

(80-231)It was also observed, that from the time the retreat
(80-231)commenced, the Highlanders became more
(80-231)reckless in their conduct. They had behaved with
(80-231)exemplary discipline while there remained any
(80-231)possibility of conciliating the inhabitants. The
(80-231)English might then stare with wonder on men
(80-231)speaking an unknown language, wearing a wild and
(80-231)unwonted dress, and bearing much of the external
(80-231)appearance of barbarians, but their behaviour was

[TG80-232]

(80-232)that of an orderly and civilized people. Now, when
(80-232)irritated by disappointment, they did not scruple
(80-232)to commit plunder in the towns and villages through
(80-232)which they passed; and several acts of violence
(80-232)induced the country people not only to fear them
(80-232)as outlandish strangers, but to hate them as robbers .
(80-232)In the advance, they showed the sentiments of
(80-232)brave men, come, in their opinion, to liberate their
(80-232)fellow-citizens;-in the retreat, they were as caterans
(80-232)returning from a creagh. They evinced no
(80-232)ferocity, however, and their rapine was combined
(80-232)with singular simplicity. Iron being a scarce
(80-232)commodity in their own country, some of them were
(80-232)observed, as they left Derby, to load themselves

[TG80-233]

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

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

(80-233)The people of the country, who had shown them
(80-233)little good-will upon their advance, appeared more
(80-233)actively malevolent when they beheld the Scots in
(80-233)retreat, and in the act of pillaging the places they

[TG80-234]

(80-234)passed through. At a village near Stockport, the
(80-234)inhabitants fired upon the patrols of the Highlanders,
(80-234)who, in retaliation, set fire to the place.
(80-234)Most of the country-people were in arms, and all
(80-234)stragglers were killed or made prisoners. The
(80-234)sick men also, of the Jacobite army, who were
(80-234)necessarily left behind the march, were killed or
(80-234)treated with violence. On the 9th of December
(80-234)the army approached Manchester; but in that city,
(80-234)which had lately appeared so friendly, they now
(80-234)encountered opposition. A violent mob was in
(80-234)possession of the town, and opposed the
(80-234)quartermasters of the Chevalier's army. Two battalions
(80-234)and two squadrons were detached to support the
(80-234)quartermasters, by whom the mob was dispersed.
(80-234)L.2500 was demanded from the town, in consequence
(80-234)of this riot. On leaving the place, the mob
(80-234)even pursued, and fired upon the rear of the
(80-234)Chevalier's army, although they uniformly retreated
(80-234)so soon as the rear-guard faced about. The temper
(80-234)of the people, however, served to show how little
(80-234)reliance could at any time have been placed upon
(80-234)their attachment.

(80-234)The Duke of Cumberland, who, as I already
(80-234)said, was lying at Litchfield, while Prince Charles
(80-234)was at Derby, did not learn for two days that the
(80-234)Highlanders had left Derby for Ashburn on the
(80-234)6th; and did not commence any pursuit until the
(80-234)8th, when the Duke marched northward with all
(80-234)his cavalry, and a number of infantry mounted
(80-234)upon horses furnished by the neighbouring gentry.
(80-234)The troops advanced with the utmost spirit. The

[TG80-235]

(80-235)retreat of the Scottish army, whose advance had

(80-235)been regarded with a vague apprehension of terror,
(80-235)was naturally considered as an avowal of their
(80-235)inability to execute their purpose; and it was
(80-235)concluded by the regular soldiery, that they were
(80-235)pressing upon the flight of a disappointed and
(80-235)disheartened body of adventurers, who had failed in
(80-235)an attempt to execute a desperate object. The
(80-235)English troops also felt in spirits, as being under
(80-235)the command of a Prince of the blood, of undoubted
(80-235)experience and courage, who had arrived in
(80-235)Britain in time to assert the cause of his father,
(80-235)and to fix upon his head the crown which had been
(80-235)so boldly struck at. They anticipated little opposition
(80-235)from an enemy in full retreat, and whom, it
(80-235)might be supposed, a brisk attack would throw
(80-235)into utter disorder; their cavalry, therefore, pressed
(80-235)forward, in spirits, and by forced marches.

(80-235)On their part, the Highlanders retreated with
(80-235)speed, regularity, and unabated courage. Lord
(80-235)George Murray, to vindicate the sincerity of his
(80-235)attachment to the cause he had embraced, undertook
(80-235)the charge of the rear-guard, the post of danger
(80-235)and of honour. This frequently detained him
(80-235)a considerable time beyond the march of the main
(80-235)body, more especially for the purpose of bringing
(80-235)up the baggage and artillery of the army, which,
(80-235)from the bad weather and bad state of the roads,
(80-235)was perpetually breaking down, and detained the
(80-235)rear-guard considerably.

(80-235)Towards the evening of the 17th of December,
(80-235)the Prince, with the main body of his army, had

[TG80-236]

(80-236)entered the town of Penrith, in the county of

(80-236)Cumberland. Lord George Murray had, in the
(80-236)mean while, been delayed so much by those various
(80-236)accidents, that he was forced to pass the night six
(80-236)miles in the rear, at the town of Shap. The Glengarry
(80-236)regiment of Highlanders were at that time
(80-236)in charge of the rear-guard; and at Shap, Lord
(80-236)George found Colonel Roy Stewart, with another
(80-236)small regiment of 200 men. In the mean time,
(80-236)the Chevalier had determined to halt at Penrith
(80-236)until he was joined by his rear-guard.

(80-236)Next day, being the 18th of December, Lord
(80-236)George Murray marched with both the corps which
(80-236)we have mentioned. The march began, as usual,
(80-236)before daybreak; but when it became broad
(80-236)daylight, he discovered the village of Clifton, which
(80-236)is within three or four miles south of Penrith, and
(80-236)the heights beyond it, crowned with several parties
(80-236)of cavalry, drawn up betwixt him and the village,
(80-236)The Highlanders, you must be reminded, had, in
(80-236)former times, an aversion to encounter the Lowland
(80-236)horse; but since their success at Preston,
(80-236)they had learned to despise the troops of whom
(80-236)they formerly stood in awe. They had been
(80-236)instructed, chiefly by the standing orders of Lord
(80-236)George Murray, that if they encountered the
(80-236)cavalry manfully, striking with their swords at the
(80-236)heads and limbs of the horses, they might be sure
(80-236)to throw them into disorder The MacDonalds,
(80-236)therefore, of Glengarry, on receiving the word of
(80-236)command to attack those horsemen who appeared
(80-236)disposed to interrupt their passage, stript off their

[TG80-237]

(80-237)plaids without hesitation, and rushed upon them
(80-237)sword in hand. The cavalry in question were not

(80-237)regulars, but volunteers of the country, who had
(80-237)assembled themselves for the purpose of harassing
(80-237)the rear of the Highland army, and giving time
(80-237)for the Duke of Cumberland, who was in full pursuit,
(80-237)to advance and overtake them. On the fierce
(80-237)attack of Glengarry's men they immediately
(80-237)galloped off, but not before several prisoners were
(80-237)made; among the rest a footman of the Duke of
(80-237)Cumberland, who told his captors that his Royal
(80-237)Highness was coining up in their rear with 4000
(80-237)horse.

(80-237)Lord George Murray despatched this Information
(80-237)to the Chevalier at Penrith, requesting some
(80-237)support, which he limited to 1000 men. Colonel
(80-237)Roy Stewart, who was charged with the message,
(80-237)returned with orders that the rear-guard should
(80-237)retreat upon Penrith.¹ At the same time,
(80-237)MacPherson of Cluny, with his clan, was sent back as
(80-237)far as Cliftonbridge, with the Appin regiment,
(80-237)under command of Stewart of Ardshiel. With

[TG80-238]

(80-238)the assistance of these reinforcements, Lord George
(80-238)Murray was still far inferior in number to the
(80-238)enemy, yet he determined to make good his
(80-238)retreat.

(80-238)The Duke of Cumberland's whole cavalry was
(80-238)now drawn up in the rear of the Highland army,
(80-238)upon the open moor of Clifton; beyond the moor,
(80-238)the rear-guard of the Highlanders must necessarily
(80-238)pursue their retreat through large plantations of
(80-238)fir-trees, part of Lord Lonsdale's enclosures. Lord
(80-238)George Murray foresaw an attack in this critical
(80-238)posture, and prepared to meet and repel it. He

(80-238)drew up the Glengarry regiment upon the highroad,
(80-238)within the fields, placed the Appin Stewarts
(80-238)in the enclosures on their left, and again the
(80-238)MacPherson regiment to the left of them. On the
(80-238)right he stationed Roy Stewart's men, covered by
(80-238)a wall.

(80-238)The night was dark, with occasional glimpses of
(80-238)the moon. The English advanced about 1000
(80-238)dismounted dragoons, with the intention of attacking
(80-238)the Highlanders on the flank, while the Duke
(80-238)of Cumberland and the rest of his cavalry kept
(80-238)their station on the moor, with the purpose of
(80-238)operating in the rear of their opponents. Lord
(80-238)George Murray perceived, by a glimpse of moonshine,
(80-238)this large body of men coming from the
(80-238)moor, and advancing to wards the Clifton enclosures.
(80-238)The MacPherson and Stewart regiments, which
(80-238)were under Lord George's immediate command,
(80-238)were stationed behind a hedge; but Lord George,
(80-238)observing a second hedge in front, protected by a

[TG80-239]

(80-239)deep ditch, ordered his men to advance and gain
(80-239)possession of it. It was already lined on the
(80-239)opposite side by the enemy, who, as was then the
(80-239)custom of dragoons, acted as infantry when occasion
(80-239)required. Lord George asked Cluny his opinion
(80-239)of what was to be done: " I will attack the enemy
(80-239)sword in hand," replied the undaunted chief,
(80-239)" provided you order me." As they advanced, the
(80-239)MacPhersons, who were nearest to the hedge of
(80-239)which they wished to take possession, received a
(80-239)fire from the soldiers who had lined it on the
(80-239)opposite side. Cluny, surprised at receiving a
(80-239)discharge of musketry, when he conceived he

(80-239)was marching against a body of horse, exclaimed,
(80-239)" What the devil is this! " Lord George Murray
(80-239)replied, " There is no time to be lost-we must
(80-239)instantly charge 1" and at the same time drawing
(80-239)his broadsword, exclaimed, " Claymore!" which
(80-239)was the word for attacking sword in hand. The
(80-239)MacPhersons rushed on, headed by their chief,
(80-239)with uncontrollable fury; they gave their fire, and
(80-239)then burst, sword in hand, through the hedge, and
(80-239)attacked the dragoons by whom it was lined. Lord
(80-239)George himself headed the assault, and in dashing
(80-239)through the hedge lost his bonnet and wig (the last
(80-239)of which was then universally worn), and fought
(80-239)bare-headed, the foremost in the skirmish. Colonel
(80-239)Honeywood, who commanded the dragoons, was
(80-239)left severely wounded on the spot, and his sword,
(80-239)of considerable value, fell into the hands of the
(80-239)chief of the MacPhersons. The dragoons on the
(80-239)right were compelled, with considerable loss, to

[TG80-240]

(80-240)retreat to their party on the moor. At the same
(80-240)moment, or nearly so, another body of dismounted
(80-240)dragoons pressed forward upon the high-road, and
(80-240)were repulsed by the Glengarry regiment, and that
(80-240)of John Roy Stewart. The Highlanders were
(80-240)with difficulty recalled from the pursuit, exclaiming,
(80-240)that it was a shame to see so many of the
(80-240)king's enemies standing fast upon the moor without
(80-240)attacking them. A very few of the MacPhersons,
(80-240)not exceeding twelve, who ventured too far,
(80-240)were either killed or taken. But the loss of the
(80-240)English was much more considerable, nor did they
(80-240)feel disposed to renew the attack upon the rear of
(80-240)the Highlanders. Lord George Murray sent a
(80-240)second message to the Prince, to propose that he

(80-240)should detach a reinforcement from the main body,
(80-240)with which he offered to engage and defeat the
(80-240)cavalry opposed to him. The Prince, doubtful of
(80-240)the event, or jealous of his general, declined to
(80-240)comply with this request.

(80-240)On receiving this answer, Lord George Murray
(80-240)retreated to Penrith, and united the rear-guard
(80-240)with the main body; and it seems that the Duke
(80-240)of Cumberland became satisfied that a good deal
(80-240)of risk might be incurred by a precipitate attack
(80-240)on the Highland army, since he did not again
(80-240)repeat the experiment. The next day, Charles

[TG80-241]

(80-241)retreated to Carlisle, and arrived there with his army
(80-241)on the morning of the 19th of December.

(80-241)It was thought desirable that the Highland
(80-241)garrison in that town should be reinforced, but it was
(80-241)not easy to find forces willing to be left behind in
(80-241)a place almost certain to be sacrificed. The men
(80-241)of the Manchester regiment, who were disheartened
(80-241)at the prospect of a retreat into Scotland, were
(80-241)pitched upon for this duty, together with a number
(80-241)of French and Irish. The last had little to fear.
(80-241)being generally engaged in the French service, and
(80-241)the English were probably of the mind of Captain
(80-241)Morgan, that hanging in England was preferable
(80-241)to starving in Scotland.

(80-241)The skirmish at Clifton seems to have abated
(80-241)the speed of the English pursuers, who no longer
(80-241)attempted to annoy the retreat of their active enemy.
(80-241)The Scottish army left Carlisle upon the 20th
(80-241)of December, and effected their retreat into Scotland

(80-241)by crossing the Esk at Langtoun; the river
(80-241)was swollen, but the men, wading in arm in arm,
(80-241)supported each other against the force of the current,
(80-241)and got safely through, though with some
(80-241)difficulty. It is said that the- Chevalier showed
(80-241)both dexterity and humanity on this occasion. He
(80-241)was crossing on horseback, beneath the place where

[TG80-242]

(80-242)some of his men were fording the river, one or two
(80-242)of whom drifted from the hold of their companions,
(80-242)and were carried down the stream in great danger
(80-242)of perishing. As one of them passed, the Chevalier
(80-242)caught him by the hair, called out in Gaelic,
(80-242)" Cohear, cohear!" that is, " Help, help! "
(80-242)supported the man till he was taken safely from the
(80-242)water, and thus gave himself an additional claim
(80-242)to the attachment of his followers.

(80-242)The Highland army, marching in two divisions,

[TG80-243]

(80-243)arrived at Annan and Ecclefechan on the same day,
(80-243)and pursued their road through the west of
(80-243)Scotland.

(80-243)While the Scottish rebels were advancing, the
(80-243)utmost alarm prevailed in London; there was a
(80-243)sharp run upon the Bank, which threatened the
(80-243)stability of that national establishment; the offers
(80-243)of support from public bodies showed the urgency
(80-243)of the crisis; the theatres, for example, proposed
(80-243)to raise armed corps of real not personated soldiers.
(80-243)There was the more alarm indicated in all this,
(80-243)because the Highlanders, who had not been at first
(80-243)sufficiently respected as soldiers, had acquired by

(80-243)their late actions credit for valour of a most
(80-243)romantic cast. There was something also in the
(80-243)audacity of the attempt, which inclined men to
(80-243)give Charles credit for secret resources, until his
(80-243)retreat showed that he was possessed of none except
(80-243)a firm belief in the justice of his own cause.
(80-243)and a confidence that it was universally regarded
(80-243)in the same light by the English nation. The apathy
(80-243)of the English had dissipated this vision, few
(80-243)or none, excepting Catholics, and a handful of

[TG80-244]

(80-244)Jacobites of Manchester, having shown themselves
(80-244)disposed to acknowledge his cause. The retreat,
(80-244)therefore, from Derby was considered throughout
(80-244)England as the close of the rebellion; as a physician
(80-244)regards a distemper to be nearly overcome,
(80-244)when he can drive it from the stomach and nobler
(80-244)parts into the extremities of the body.

[TG81-245]

(81-245)THE state of Scotland had materially changed
(81-245)during the absence of the Prince and his army
(81-245)upon the expedition to Derby; and the nation was
(81-245)now in the situation of one, who, having received
(81-245)a stunning blow, recovers at last from his stupor,
(81-245)and aims, though feebly and with uncertainty, at
(81-245)retaliating the injury which he has sustained.

(81-245)Inverness was in the hands of Lord Loudon,
(81-245)commanding an army composed of the MacLeods,
(81-245)MacDonalds of Skye, and other northern clans,
(81-245)who, to the number of two thousand men, had
(81-245)associated against the insurgents. The Earl of
(81-245)Loudon even felt himself strong enough to lay
(81-245)hands on Lord Lovat in his own castle, named

(81-245)Castle Downie, and brought him to Inverness,
(81-245)where he detained him in a sort of honourable

[TG81-246]

(81-246)captivity. Fraser of Gortuleg, one of his clansmen,
(81-246)relieved Lovat by a stratagem. The old chief,
(81-246)having made his escape, lurked in the Highlands,
(81-246)keeping up his correspondence with Charles Ed-
(81-246)ward. The house of Gortuleg was Lovat's chief
(81-246)residence. Matters in the North were, therefore,
(81-246)unfavourable to the Chevalier's cause.

(81-246)The capital of Scotland was again in possession
(81-246)of the constituted authorities, garrisoned by a part
(81-246)of Marshal Wade's army which had been sent
(81-246)down for the purpose, and preparing to redeem,
(81-246)by a more obstinate resistance to the Highlanders
(81-246)upon their return from England, the hononr which
(81-246)they might be supposed to have lost by their
(81-246)surrender in the September preceding.

(81-246)This spirit of resistance had reached the Western
(81-246)Border, where reports were generally disseminated
(81-246)that the Chevalier and his forces had been defeated
(81-246)in England, and were now flying across the Border
(81-246)in such extreme confusion, that the militia and
(81-246)volunteers of the country would have little trouble
(81-246)in totally destroying them. For this purpose,
(81-246)many of the peasants of Dumfriesshire had assumed
(81-246)arms, but- they showed little inclination to use

[TG81-247]

(81-247)them, when they saw the Chevalier's army return
(81-247)in complete order, and unbroken in strength or
(81-247)spirit.

(81-247)The Highland army, after crossing the river
(81-247)Esk, was divided into three bodies. The first,
(81-247)consisting of the clans, moved with the Chevalier
(81-247)to Annan. Lord George Murray was ordered to
(81-247)Ecclefechan with the Athole brigade and Lowland
(81-247)regiments. Lord Elcho, with the cavalry, received
(81-247)orders to go to Dumfries, and to disarm and punish
(81-247)that refractory town. The Prince himself shortly
(81-247)followed with the infantry, which he commanded
(81-247)in person.

(81-247)Dumfries's ancient contumacy to the Jacobite
(81-247)cause had been manifested, not only by their conduct
(81-247)in the year 1715, but by a recent attack upon
(81-247)the Chevalier's baggage, as he marched into England
(81-247)in the November preceding. The horse
(81-247)marched thither accordingly, with purposes of
(81-247)vengeance, and were speedily followed by the
(81-247)Prince's own division. He laid a fine of L.2000
(81-247)upon the town, and demanded, for the use of the
(81-247)army, 1000 pairs of shoes. Some of the money
(81-247)required was instantly paid down, and for the rest
(81-247)hostages were granted. No violence was committed

[TG81-248]

(81-248)on the town or inhabitants, for the Highlanders,
(81-248)though they threatened hard,1 did not, in fact, commit
(81-248)any violence or pillage.

(81-248)The magistrates and community of Glasgow
(81-248)were yet more guilty in the eyes of the Prince
(81-248)than those of the smaller town of Dumfries. That
(81-248)city had raised a body of 600 men, called the
(81-248)Glasgow regiment, many of them serving without
(81-248)pay, under the command of the Earls of Home and
(81-248)Glencairn. This corps had been sent to Stirling

(81-248)to assist General Blakeny, the governor of the castle,
(81-248)to defend the passes of the Forth. From Stirling,

[TG81-249]

(81-249)the Glasgow regiment fell back with the other
(81-249)troops which had assembled there, and took post at
(81-249)Edinburgh. This was with a view to the defence
(81-249)of the capital, since the Highlanders, having bent
(81-249)their march to the westward, were likely to pay
(81-249)Edinburgh the next visit.

(81-249)While the citizens of the capital were suffering
(81-249)from the apprehension of the neighbourhood of the
(81-249)rebels, those of Glasgow were paying the actual
(81-249)penalty attached to their presence. Clothing for
(81-249)the troops, and stores, were demanded from the
(81-249)town to the extent of more than L.10, 000 sterling,
(81-249)which they were compelled to pay, under the threat
(81-249)of military execution.

(81-249)At Glasgow, the Prince learned, for the first
(81-249)time with some accuracy, the extent of the interest
(81-249)which France had taken in his cause, and the
(81-249)supplies of every kind which she had sent to him;
(81-249)supplies which, in amount, remind us of those
(81-249)administered to a man perishing of famine, by a
(81-249)comrade, who dropt into his mouth, from time to
(81-249)time, a small shell-fish, affording nutriment enough
(81-249)to keep the sufferer from dying, but not sufficient
(81-249)to restore him to the power of active exertion.

(81-249)The principal part of these succours came under
(81-249)Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of

[TG81-250]

(81-250)Perth, and a general officer in the army of France.

(81-250)They consisted of his own regiment in the French
(81-250)service, called the Royal Scots; the picquets of six
(81-250)Irish regiments; and Fitz-James's light horse.
(81-250)Of the latter, not more than two squadrons ap-
(81-250)pear to have mustered. He also brought some
(81-250)money and military stores. Lord John Drummond
(81-250)had been intrusted with letters from France,
(81-250)giving an account how matters had been conducted
(81-250)there, and what was designed for the assistance
(81-250)of the Chevalier. Charles's brother, the titular
(81-250)Duke of York, had arrived at Paris in August,
(81-250)1745, and, on the news of the battle of Preston,
(81-250)there had originated a sincere desire on the part
(81-250)of the French to assist the attempt of the House
(81-250)of Stewart effectually.

(81-250)The original plan was, to put the Irish regiments
(81-250)in the French service under the command
(81-250)of the said Duke of York, and place them on board
(81-250)of fishing-boats, which should instantly transport
(81-250)them to England. This scheme was laid aside,
(81-250)and a much greater expedition projected, under
(81-250)the command of the Duke of Richelieu, which it
(81-250)was designed should amount to 9000 foot, and
(81-250)1350 horse. The troops were assembled for this
(81-250)purpose at Dunkirk, Boulogne, and Calais, and a
(81-250)number of small vessels were collected for the
(81-250)embarkation. The French, however, were so
(81-250)dilatory in their preparations, that the design took
(81-250)air, and the English Government, to whom the
(81-250)expedition, had it sailed during the time of Charles's
(81-250)irruption into the West frontier, must have been

[TG81-251]

(81-251)highly dangerous, instantly ordered Admiral Vernon,
(81-251)with a strong fleet, into the Channel, and assembled

(81-251)an army on the coast of Kent and Essex.
(81-251)Upon this, the French abandoned the expedition,
(81-251)the danger of which was greatly diminished by the
(81-251)retreat of the Highlanders from Derby.

(81-251)The Prince did not, for a long time, either hear
(81-251)or believe that this scheme, of a descent in favour
(81-251)of his family, was ultimately abandoned; and his
(81-251)confidence that the French continued to persevere
(81-251)in it, led him into more than one serious mistake.
(81-251)It was now agitated among the Prince and his
(81-251)adherents, in which way his small body of forces could
(81-251)be best employed. Some were of opinion, that they
(81-251)ought to direct their march upon the capital of
(81-251)Scotland. It is true, that part of the troops which
(81-251)had constituted Wade's army at Newcastle were
(81-251)now preparing to defend Edinburgh, and that the
(81-251)rest of those forces were advancing thither under
(81-251)the command of General Hawley. It was nevertheless
(81-251)alleged, that the Highlanders might, in this
(81-251)severe season, distress the English troops considerably,
(81-251)by preventing them from dividing in their
(81-251)winter march in quest of quarters, and by obliging
(81-251)them to keep the field in a body, and undergo hardships
(81-251)which would be destructive to them, though
(81-251)little heeded by the hardy mountaineers. But
(81-251)although this scheme promised considerable advantages,
(81-251)Charles preferred another, which engaged
(81-251)him in the siege of Stirling castle, although his best
(81-251)troops were very unequal to that species of service.
(81-251)The Prince was, no doubt, the rather inclined to

[TG81-252]

(81-252)this scheme, that Lord John Drummond had
(81-252)brought both battering guns and engineers from
(81-252)France; and, thus supplied, he probably imagined

(81-252)that his success in sieges would be equally
(81-252)distinguished with that which he had attained by open
(81-252)war.

(81-252)Before leaving the west country, the Highlanders
(81-252)burnt and plundered the village of Lesmahago, and
(81-252)particularly the clergyman's house, on account of
(81-252)the inhabitants having, under that reverend person's
(81-252)direction, attacked and made prisoner MacDonald
(81-252)of Kinloch-Moidart, who was traversing the country
(81-252)unattended, having been sent by the Prince on
(81-252)a mission to the Western Isles.

(81-252)On the 3d of January, Prince Charles Edward
(81-252)evacuated Glasgow,(81-245) and fixed his headquarters
(81-252)on the following day at the house of Bannockburn,
(81-252)while his troops occupied St Ninian's, and other
(81-252)villages in the neighbourhood of Stirling. The
(81-252)town was summoned, and not being effectually
(81-252)fortified, was surrendered by the magistrates, although
(81-252)there were about six hundred militia within it.

[TG81-253]

(81-253)Some of these left the place, and others retired to
(81-253)the castle, where there lay a good garrison under
(81-253)General Blakney, a brave and steady officer.
(81-253)Having summoned this fortress, and received a
(81-253)resolute refusal to surrender, the Chevalier resolved to
(81-253)open trenches without delay; and having brought
(81-253)him to this resolution, we will resume the narrative
(81-253)of what had happened in the north of Scotland, and
(81-253)also in England, that you may understand what
(81-253)new actors had now come upon this eventful stage.

(81-253)The arrival of Lord John Drummond at Montrose,
(81-253)already noticed, with his French forces, gave

(81-253)additional courage to Lord Lewis Gordon, who was
(81-253)levying men and money in Aberdeenshire in behalf
(81-253)of Prince Charles. He was brother of the Duke
(81-253)of Gordon, a brave and active young man, but had
(81-253)in the beginning seemed uncertain which side to
(81-253)take in the civil turmoil. At first he is said to have
(81-253)offered his service to Sir John Cope on his way
(81-253)northward. But Lord Lewis received little
(81-253)encouragement; and affronted, it was supposed, with
(81-253)the neglect shown him by the commander-in-chief,
(81-253)he finally embraced the cause of the Chevalier, and
(81-253)acted for him in Aberdeenshire, where his family
(81-253)interest, and the Jacobite propensity of the country
(81-253)gentlemen, gave him much influence. Thus strengthened,
(81-253)Lord Lewis was now joined by one part of
(81-253)Lord John Drummond's auxiliaries, while the rest
(81-253)were sent to Perth to unite with Lord Strathallan,
(81-253)who, as we have seen, commanded in that city a
(81-253)considerable Highland reinforcement, destined to

[TG81-254]

(81-254)follow their countrymen into England had the
(81-254)Prince's command been obeyed.

(81-254)Lord Loudon, who, on the part of the Government,
(81-254)commanded at Inverness, was desirous to
(81-254)put a stop to the progress of Lord Lewis Gordon.
(81-254)For this purpose he despatched MacLeod, with
(81-254)450 of his own men, and 200 Monros, and other
(81-254)volunteers, commanded by Monro of Culcairn.
(81-254)With these he advanced as far as Inverury, about
(81-254)ten miles from Aberdeen, to dispute with the Jacobite
(81-254)leader the command of the north or Scotland.
(81-254)On receiving intelligence of their approach, Lord
(81-254)Lewis Gordon got 750 under arms, chiefly Lowland
(81-254)men of Aberdeen shire, under Moir of Stonywood,

(81-254)and Farquharson of Monaltry, with a
(81-254)proportion of the Royal Scots regiment, and hastened
(81-254)against the enemy. MacLeod was nearly surprised,
(81-254)having sent many of his men to billet at a
(81-254)distance from the little town of Inverury. He
(81-254)had, however, time to get those who remained with
(81-254)him under arms, and to take possession of the most
(81-254)defensible parts of the town, when Lord Lewis
(81-254)Gordon marched in at the other end of the place,
(81-254)and a sharp action of musketry commenced. It
(81-254)was remarkable on, this occasion, that the Islesmen,
(81-254)who appeared on the part of Government, were all
(81-254)Highlanders, in their proper garb and that the
(81-254)greater part of those who fought for the Stewarts
(81-254)wore the Lowland dress, being the reverse of what
(81-254)was usually the case in the civil war. Lord Lewis
(81-254)Gordon, however, made his attack with much spirit
(81-254)-- the firing continued severe on both sides -- at

[TG81-255]

(81-255)length the Aberdeenshire men made a show of
(81-255)rushing to close combat, and the MacLeods gave
(81-255)way, and retreated or fled. As the battle was
(81-255)fought at night, the pursuit did not continue far,
(81-255)or cost much bloodshed. The MacLeods fled as
(81-255)far as Forres, having lost about forty of their men.

(81-255)It was generally believed of that martial clan,
(81-255)that they would have behaved with more steadiness
(81-255)if they had been fighting on the other side.
(81-255)Lord Lewis Gordon after this success, which he
(81-255)obtained on the 23d of December, marched his men to
(81-255)join the general rendezvous of Charles Edward's
(81-255)reinforcements, which was held at Perth.

(81-255)There were thus assembled at Perth, the Frasers,

(81-255)the MacKenzies, the MacIntoshes, and the
(81-255)Farquharsons, all which clans had joined the cause
(81-255)since the Prince left Edinburgh; there were also
(81-255)the various forces raised by Lord Lewis Gordon,
(81-255)together with the regiments of Royal Scots and

[TG81-256]

(81-256)French picquets, which had come over with Lord
(81-256)John Drummond: their number, taken altogether,
(81-256)might amount to 4000 men and upwards-of whom
(81-256)more than one-half were as good Highlanders as
(81-256)any in the Prince's service. These reinforcements
(81-256)had, you may remember, received an order from
(81-256)Prince Charles, by the hand of Colonel
(81-256)MacLachlan, to follow the army up to England. The
(81-256)Highlanders lying at Perth were unanimously
(81-256)disposed to follow their Prince and countrymen,
(81-256)and to share their fate. Lord Strathallan, on the
(81-256)other hand, supported by the Lowland and French
(81-256)officers, demurred to obeying this order. The
(81-256)parties were considerably irritated against each
(81-256)other on this occasion, and the dispute was not
(81-256)ended until the return of the Prince from England,
(81-256)when an order was transmitted from Dumfries,
(81-256)summoning the body of men in Perth to join the
(81-256)Prince at Stirling.

(81-256)By this junction, the adventurer's force was
(81-256)augmented to about 9000 men, being the largest
(81-256)number which he ever united under his command.
(81-256)With this, as we have already said" Charles formed
(81-256)the siege of the castle of Stirling. He opened
(81-256)trenches before the fortress on the 10th of January,
(81-256)1746, but was soon interrupted in his operations by
(81-256)the approach of a formidable enemy.

(81-256)We must now turn our eyes to a different quarter,
(81-256)and remark what measures the English
(81-256)Government were taking for putting an end to the
(81-256)present disturbances.

(81-256)The Duke of Cumberland, whom we left after

[TG81-257]

(81-257)the skirmish at Clifton, did not renew his attempt
(81-257)upon the rear of the Highland army. But they
(81-257)had no sooner crossed the Esk than he formed the
(81-257)investment of Carlisle, in which the Highlanders
(81-257)had left a garrison of about 300 men. They refused
(81-257)to surrender to the Duke's summons, conceiving,
(81-257)probably, which seems to have been the
(81-257)idea of Charles himself, that the Duke of
(81-257)Cumberland had no battering cannon at his command;
(81-257)there were such, however, at Whitehaven, and he
(81-257)sent to obtain the use of them. They were placed
(81-257)on two batteries, the one commanding the English
(81-257)and the other the Scottish, or North gate. The
(81-257)governor of the place, upon a breach being made,
(81-257)although not yet practicable, sent out a white flag,
(81-257)demanding what terms would be allowed to the
(81-257)garrison. They were informed, in reply, that if
(81-257)they surrendered at discretion, they should not be
(81-257)put to the sword. These were the only conditions
(81-257)of the surrender, the garrison being understood to
(81-257)be reserved for the king's pleasure. Colonel Townley,
(81-257)the commander of the Manchester Regiment,
(81-257)was here made prisoner, with about twenty of his
(81-257)officers, and one Mr Cappoch, a clergyman, who
(81-257)was designed by the Prince to be Bishop of
(81-257)Carlisle. Governor Hamilton, with about 100 Scottish
(81-257)men, also surrendered, as did Geohagan and other
(81-257)Irish officers in the French service. The

(81-257)melancholy fate of the gentlemen included in this
(81-257)surrender might have been so easily foreseen, that
(81-257)the Chevalier was severely censured for leaving so
(81-257)many faithful adherents in a situation which

[TG81-258]

(81-258)necessarily exposed them to fall into the power of the
(81-258)government which they had offended in his behalf.
(81-258)The defence of the measure is, that, conceiving he
(81-258)might be presently recalled to England to aid a
(81-258)descent of the French, he deemed it essential to
(81-258)hold Carlisle as a gate into that country. But to
(81-258)this it may be replied, that, by blowing up the
(81-258)fortifications of Carlisle, and dismantling the Castle,
(81-258)he might have kept that entrance at all times open
(81-258)without leaving a garrison in so precarious a
(81-258)situation.

(81-258)On December the 31st, the Duke of Cumberland
(81-258)entered Carlisle on horseback, and presently
(81-258)after received the congratulations of deputies, not
(81-258)only from every place in the neighbourhood, but
(81-258)from Edinburgh itself, to congratulate him upon
(81-258)the advantages which he had obtained over the
(81-258)rebels.

(81-258)In the mean time, the Duke's pursuit of the
(81-258)Highlanders in person was interrupted by despatches
(81-258)which called him to London, to be ready
(81-258)to take the command against the projected invasion
(81-258)from France. The greater part of the infantry,
(81-258)which had been lately under his command, when
(81-258)his headquarters were at Litchfield, was now
(81-258)marched to the coasts of Kent and Sussex, being
(81-258)the readiest force at hand in case the descent should
(81-258)actually take place. It was at the same time, however,

(81-258)resolved, that such part of the Duke's army
(81-258)(being chiefly cavalry) as had followed him to the
(81-258)neighbourhood of Carlisle, should continue their
(81-258)march northward, and. unite themselves with the

[TG81-259]

(81-259)troops which had long lain at Newcastle under the
(81-259)command of Field-marshal Wade. This aged
(81-259)officer had not been alert in his movements during
(81-259)the winter campaign, particularly in his march for
(81-259)the relief of Carlisle, and was therefore removed
(81-259)from his command.

(81-259)General Henry Hawley was in the mean time
(81-259)named by the Duke of Cumberland to the command
(81-259)of the forces destined to follow the Highland army.
(81-259)Hawley was an officer of military experience, but
(81-259)dreaded and disliked by the soldiers, as a man of a
(81-259)severe and even savage disposition; and, although
(81-259)personally brave, yet of a temper more fitted to
(81-259)obey than to command. This general had been a
(81-259)lieutenant in Evans's dragoons at the battle of
(81-259)Sheriffmuir, and as he fought in the right wing of
(81-259)the Duke of Argyle's army, he had seen the success
(81-259)of the cavalry when engaged with Highlanders.
(81-259)This experience had given him a poor opinion of
(81-259)the latter force, and he had frequently been heard
(81-259)to impute the miscarriage of General Cope to that
(81-259)officer's cowardice and want of conduct, and to
(81-259)affirm that a very different result might be expected
(81-259)from an encounter betwixt Highlanders and dragoons,
(81-259)when the last were properly led on to
(81-259)action.

(81-259)With these feelings of confidence in himself, and
(81-259)with that experience of the Highland mode of

(81-259)fighting which his campaign in 1715 was supposed

[TG81-260]

(81-260)to have given him, General Hawley marched into
(81-260)Scotland at the head of a force which, when joined
(81-260)by the troops already at Edinburgh, amounted to
(81-260)8000 men, two-thirds of whom were veterans. The
(81-260)rest consisted of upwards of a thousand Argyleshire
(81-260)men, commanded by Colonel Campbell (afterwards
(81-260)Duke of Argyle), and of the Glasgow regiment,
(81-260)to the amount of 600 men. There also
(81-260)joined, from Yorkshire, a body of volunteer light
(81-260)horse, called the Yorkshire Hunters, who were in
(81-260)arms for the House of Hanover and the established
(81-260)government.

(81-260)Hawley, on arriving in Edinburgh, gave a specimen
(81-260)of his disposition, by directing gibbets to be
(81-260)erected, as an indication of the fate of the rebels
(81-260)who should fall into his hands; a preparation
(81-260)designed to strike terror, but which rather inspired
(81-260)aversion and hatred. The time was speedily
(81-260)approaching when such vaunts were to be made good
(81-260)by action. General Hawley, at the head of such
(81-260)a gallant force as he now commanded, conceived
(81-260)himself fully able to march towards Stirling, and
(81-260)attack the rebels, who were engaged in the siege
(81-260)of the castle. Having, accordingly, directed his
(81-260)forces to move in two divisions, the first marched
(81-260)from Edinburgh on the 13th of January, under the
(81-260)orders of General Huske, Hawley's second in
(81-260)command. This gentleman was of sounder judgment
(81-260)and better temper than his superior officer; he had
(81-260)formerly been quartered in Scotland, and was well
(81-260)known and esteemed by many of the inhabitants.

(81-260)The Highland army, lying before Stirling, were

[TG81-261]

(81-261)regularly apprised of the movements of the enemy.

(81-261)Upon the 13th of January, Lord George Murray,

(81-261)who lay at Falkirk, obtained intelligence that the

(81-261)people of the neighbouring town of Linlithgow had

(81-261)received orders from Edinburgh to prepare

(81-261)provisions and forage for a body of troops who were

(81-261)instantly to advance in that direction. Lord George,

(81-261)made aware of Hawley's intention, resolved to move

(81-261)with a sufficient force and disappoint these

(81-261)measures, by destroying or carrying off the provisions

(81-261)which should be collected in obedience to the

(81-261)requisition.

(81-261)The Jacobite general marched to Linlithgow,

(81-261)accordingly, with the three MacDonald regiments,

(81-261)those of Appin and of Cluny, and the horse,

(81-261)commanded by Elcho and Pitsligo. Parties of the

(81-261)cavalry were despatched to patrol on the road to

(81-261)Edinburgh for intelligence. About noon, the

(81-261)patrolling party sent back information that they perceived

(81-261)a small body of dragoons, being the advance of

(81-261)General Huske's division, which, as I have stated,

(81-261)marched from Edinburgh that morning. Lord

(81-261)George sent orders to the patrol to drive the

(81-261)dragoons who had shown themselves back upon the

(81-261)main body, if they had one, and not to retire until

(81-261)they saw themselves in danger of being overpowered.

(81-261)In the mean time, he drew up the infantry in

(81-261)line of battle in front of the town of Linlithgow.

(81-261)Lord Elcho, according to his orders, drove back

(81-261)the advanced party of horse upon a detachment of

(81-261)sixty dragoons, and then forced the whole to retire

(81-261)upon a village in which there were masses both of

[TG81-262]

(81-262)horse and foot. Having thus reconnoitred close
(81-262)up to the main body of the enemy, Lord Elcho sent
(81-262)to acquaint Lord George Murray what force he had
(81-262)in his front, so far as he could discern, and received
(81-262)orders to retreat, leaving a small corps of observation.
(81-262)It was not Lord George's purpose to engage
(81-262)an enemy whose strength, obviously considerable,
(81-262)was unknown to him; he therefore determined to
(81-262)remain in Linlithgow until the enemy arrived very
(81-262)near the town, and then to make his retreat in
(81-262)good order. This object he accomplished accordingly;
(81-262)and, on his repassing the bridge, there was
(81-262)so little distance betwixt the advanced guard of
(81-262)general Huske's division and the rear-guard of
(81-262)Lord George Murray's, that abusive language was
(81-262)exchanged between them, though without any actual
(81-262)violence. Lord George continued his retreat
(81-262)to Falkirk, where he halted for that night. On
(81-262)the next day, he again retreated to the villages in
(81-262)the vicinity of Bannockburn, where he learned that
(81-262)general Huske, with half the Government army,
(81-262)had arrived at Falkirk, and that general Hawley
(81-262)had also arrived there on the 16th, with the second
(81-262)division; that besides his regular troops, he was
(81-262)joined by 1000 Highlanders, followers of the Argyle
(81-262)family, and that they seemed determined upon
(81-262)battle.

(81-262)Upon the 15th and 16th of January, the Chevalier,
(81-262)leaving 1000 or 1200 men under Gordon of
(81-262)Glenbucket, to protect the trenches and continue
(81-262)the blockade of Stirling castle, drew up his men in
(81-262)a plain about a mile to the east of Bannockburn,

[TG81-263]

(81-263)expecting an attack. His horse reconnoitred close
(81-263)to the enemy's camp, but saw no appearance of
(81-263)advance. On the 17th, the same manoeuvre was
(81-263)repeated, the Highland army being drawn up on the
(81-263)same open ground near Bannockburn, while that
(81-263)of the Government remained in Falkirk, totally
(81-263)inactive.

(81-263)The cause of this inactivity is stated to have
(81-263)been the contempt which General Hawley entertained
(81-263)for the enemy, and his unhesitating belief,
(81-263)that, far from venturing on any offensive movement,
(81-263)the insurgents were upon the point of dispersing
(81-263)themselves, from the dread of his approach.
(81-263)It is moreover said, that General Hawley, having
(81-263)felt the influence of the wit and gaiety of the
(81-263)Countess of Kilmarnock (whose husband was in the
(81-263)Prince's army), had been unable to resist her
(81-263)ladyship's invitation to Callander house, and that he
(81-263)had resided there from the time of his arrival in
(81-263)Falkirk on the 16th until the afternoon of the 17th
(81-263)of January, old style, with less attention to the
(81-263)army which he commanded than became an old
(81-263)soldier. In the mean time, rougher cheer was
(81-263)preparing for him than he probably experienced at
(81-263)Callander.

(81-263)The Highlanders, holding a council of war on
(81-263)the field where they rendezvoused, had determined,
(81-263)since the English General did not move forward
(81-263)to fight them, that they would save him the trouble
(81-263)by an immediate advance on their side. There
(81-263)were only about seven miles between the two

[TG81-264]

(81-264)armies; and General Hawley, with a carelessness
(81-264)very unbecoming a veteran officer, appears to have
(81-264)sent out no patrols from his camp. This gave the
(81-264)insurgents an opportunity of trying a stratagem,
(81-264)which proved eminently successful. It was
(81-264)determined that Lord John Drummond, with his own
(81-264)regiment, the Irish picquets, and all the cavalry of
(81-264)the rebel army, should advance upon the straight
(81-264)road leading from Stirling and Bannockburn
(81-264)towards Falkirk. They were also to carry with
(81-264)them the royal standard, and other colours, of
(81-264)which they were to make a display in front of the
(81-264)decayed forest called the Torwood. This march
(81-264)and position of Lord John Drummond was,
(81-264)however, only designed as a feint, to persuade the
(81-264)King's army that the whole rebel force was
(81-264)advancing in that quarter.

(81-264)Mean while, Lord George Murray, making a
(81-264)circuit by the south side of the Torwood, had
(81-264)crossed the river Carron near Dunnipace, and was
(81-264)advancing to the southward of the high ground
(81-264)called Falkirk Moor, then an open and unenclosed
(81-264)common, swelling into a considerable ridge or
(81-264)eminence, which lay on the westward, and to the
(81-264)left of the royal camp. General Huske, who, as
(81-264)we have said, was second in command, was first
(81-264)aware of the approach of the enemy. About
(81-264)eleven o'clock Lord John Drummond's division
(81-264)was visible from the camp, and, as had been designed,
(81-264)attracted exclusive attention, till about
(81-264)two hours later, when General Huske, by information,

[TG81-265]

(81-265)and by the aid of spy-glasses, descried the
(81-265)approach of Lord George Murray's division, from

(81-265)which the real attack was to be apprehended.

(81-265)But though Huske saw the danger, General
(81-265)Hawley, whose task it peculiarly was to apply the
(81-265)remedy, was still at Callander-house. In this
(81-265)dilemma, the second in command formed the line
(81-265)of battle in front of the camp, but, in the absence
(81-265)of his superior officer, he had it not in his power
(81-265)to direct any movement either towards the division
(81-265)of Highlanders which kept the road, under Lord
(81-265)John Drummond, or against that which was
(81-265)ascending the heights to the left, under the command
(81-265)of Lord George Murray. The regiments remained
(81-265)on their ground in wonder, impatience, and
(81-265)anxiety, waiting for orders, and receiving none.

(81-265)Hawley, however, at length caught the alarm.
(81-265)He suddenly appeared in front of the camp, and,
(81-265)ordering the whole line to advance, placed himself
(81-265)at the head of three regiments of dragoons, drew
(81-265)his sword, and led them at a rapid pace up the hill
(81-265)called Falkirk moor, trusting, by a rapid movement,
(81-265)to anticipate the Highlanders, who were
(81-265)pressing on towards the same point from the
(81-265)opposite side of the eminence.

(81-265)In the mean time, that part of the Highland
(81-265)army which was designed to possess themselves of
(81-265)the heights, marched on in three divisions, keeping
(81-265)along the moor in such a manner, that first the
(81-265)thickets of the Torwood, and afterwards the
(81-265)acclivity of the ground, hid them in some measure
(81-265)from Hawley's camp. In this movement they kept

(81-266)their columns parallel to the ridge; and when they
(81-266)had proceeded as far in this direction as was
(81-266)necessary to gain room for their formation, each
(81-266)column wheeled up and formed in line of battle, in
(81-266)which they proceeded to ascend the eminence.

(81-266)The first line consisted of the clans,- the
(81-266)MacDonalds having the right and the Camerons the
(81-266)left; in the second line, the Athole brigade had
(81-266)the right, Lord Lewis Gordon's Aberdeenshire-
(81-266)men the left, and Lord Ogilvie's regiment the
(81-266)centre; the third line, or reserve, was weak in
(81-266)numbers, chiefly consisting of cavalry, and the
(81-266)Irish picquets. It may be remarked, that Lord
(81-266)John Drummond, who made the feint, remained
(81-266)with his troops on the high-road until the whole of
(81-266)the other division had passed the Carron, and then
(81-266)fell into the rear, and joined the cavalry who were
(81-266)with the Prince, thus reinforcing the third line of
(81-266)the army.

(81-266)When Hawley set off with his three regiments
(81-266)of dragoons, the infantry of the King's army
(81-266)followed in line of battle, having six battalions in the
(81-266)first line, and the same number in the second.
(81-266)Howard's regiment marched in the rear, and formed
(81-266)a small body of reserve.

(81-266)At the moment that the Highlanders were pressing
(81-266)up Falkirk moor on the one side, the dragoons,
(81-266)who had advanced briskly, had gained the eminence,
(81-266)and displayed a line of horse occupying about as
(81-266)much ground as one half of the first line of the
(81-266)Chevalier's army. The Highlanders, however,
(81-266)were in high spirits, and their natural ardour was

[TG81-267]

(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 MacDonalds, 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.

[TG81-268]

(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

(81-268)nearly paid dear for their success. At the
(81-268)instant when the attack commenced, a violent storm
(81-268)of wind and rain came on, which blew straight in
(81-268)the faces of the King's troops, and greatly
(81-268)disconcerted them. Lord George Murray called to the
(81-268)MacDonalds to stand fast, and not to regard the
(81-268)flying horsemen, but keep their ranks, and reload.
(81-268)It was in vain. The Highlanders, in their usual
(81-268)manner, rushed on sword in hand, and dropt their
(81-268)muskets. Their left wing, at the same moment, fell
(81-268)furiously sword in hand upon the right and centre
(81-268)of Hawley's foot, broke them, and put them to
(81-268)flight; but the lines of the contending armies not

[TG81-269]

(81-269)being exactly parallel, the extreme right of
(81-269)Hawley's first line stretched considerably beyond the
(81-269)left of the Highlanders. Three regiments, Price's,
(81-269)Ligonier's, and Burrell's, on the extreme flank,
(81-269)stood fast, with the greater advantage, that they
(81-269)had a ravine in front which prevented the
(81-269)Highlanders from attacking them sword in hand,
(81-269)according to their favourite mode of fighting. These
(81-269)corps gallantly maintained this natural fortification,
(81-269)and by repeated and steady firing repulsed
(81-269)the Highlanders from the opposite side of the ravine.
(81-269)One of the three routed regiments of dragoons,
(81-269)called Cobham's, rallied in the rear of this
(81-269)body of infantry who stood firm; the other two,
(81-269)being the same which had been at Preston, did not
(81-269)behave better, and could not well behave worse,
(81-269)than they had done on that memorable occasion.

(81-269)The battle was now in a singular state; " both
(81-269)armies," says Mr Home, " were in flight at the
(81-269)same time." Hawley's cavalry, and most of his

(81-269)infantry, excepting those on his extreme right, had
(81-269)been completely thrown into confusion and routed,

[TG81-270]

(81-270)but the three regiments which continued fighting
(81-270)had a decided advantage over the Prince's left, and
(81-270)many Highlanders fled under the impression that
(81-270)the day was lost.

(81-270)The advantage, upon the whole, was undeniably
(81-270)with Charles Edward; but from the want of
(81-270)discipline among the troops he commanded, and the
(81-270)extreme severity of the tempest, it became difficult
(81-270)even to learn the extent of the victory, and
(81-270)impossible to follow it up. The Highlanders were
(81-270)in great disorder. Almost all the second line were
(81-270)mixed and in confusion,-the victorious right had
(81-270)no idea, from the darkness of the weather, what
(81-270)had befallen the left,-nor were there any mounted
(81-270)generals or aides-de-camp, who might have
(81-270)discovered with certainty what was the position of

[TG81-271]

(81-271)affairs. In the mean time, the English regiments
(81-271)which had been routed fled down the hill in great
(81-271)confusion, both cavalry and infantry, towards the
(81-271)camp and town of Falkirk.¹ General Huske
(81-271)brought up the rear of a very disorderly retreat, or
(81-271)flight, with the regiments who had behaved so well
(81-271)on the right; this he effected in good order, with
(81-271)drums beating and colours flying. Cobham's dragoons,
(81-271)such at least who had rallied, also retreated
(81-271)in tolerable order. General Hawley felt no
(81-271)inclination to remain in the camp which he had
(81-271)taken possession of with such an affectation of
(81-271)anticipated triumph. He caused the tents to be set

(81-271)on fire, and withdrew his confused and dismayed
(81-271)followers to Linlithgow,² and from thence the next

[TG81-272]

(81-272)day retreated to Edinburgh, with his forces in a
(81-272)pitiable state of disarray and perturbation. The
(81-272)Glasgow regiment of volunteers fell into the power
(81-272)of the rebels upon this occasion, and were treated
(81-272)with considerable rigour; for the Highlanders were
(81-272)observed to be uniformly disposed to severity
(81-272)against those voluntary opponents, who, in their
(81-272)opinion, were not like the regular soldiers, called
(81-272)upon by duty to take part in the contention.

(81-272)Many valuable lives were lost in this battle;

[TG81-273]

(81-273)about twenty officers and four or five hundred
(81-273)privates were slain, on the part of General Hawley;
(81-273)and several prisoners were made, of whom the
(81-273)greater part were sent to Doune castle.

[TG81-274]

(81-274)The loss of the rebels was not considerable; and
(81-274)they had only one made prisoner, but in a manner
(81-274)rather remarkable. A Highland officer, a brother
(81-274)of MacDonald of Keppoch, had seized upon a
(81-274)trooper's horse and mounted him, without accurately
(81-274)considering his own incapacity to manage the
(81-274)animal. When the horse heard the kettle-drums
(81-274)beat to rally the dragoons, the instinct of discipline
(81-274)prevailed, and in spite of the efforts of his rider,
(81-274)he galloped with all speed to his own regiment.
(81-274)The Highlander, finding himself in this predicament,
(81-274)endeavoured to pass himself for an officer of
(81-274)the Campbell regiment, but being detected was

(81-274)secured; and although the ludicrous manner in
(81-274)which he was taken might have pleaded for some
(81-274)compassion, he was afterwards executed as a
(81-274)traitor.

(81-274)The defeat at Falkirk struck consternation and

[TG81-275]

(81-275)terror into all parts of Britain. The rebellion had
(81-275)been regarded as ended when the Highlanders left
(81-275)England, and Hawley's own assertions had prepared
(81-275)all the nation to expect tidings very different from
(81-275)those which were to be gathered from the disastrous
(81-275)appearance of his army, and the humiliating
(81-275)confession of his own looks and demeanour.

(81-275)There were more visages rendered blank and
(81-275)dismayed by the unexpected event of the battle of
(81-275)Falkirk, than that of the unfortunate general.
(81-275)Throughout the whole civil war, those of the better
(81-275)ranks in England had shown themselves more easily
(81-275)exalted and depressed, than consisted with their
(81-275)usual reputation for steadiness. In the march upon
(81-275)Derby, they might have been said to be more
(81-275)afraid than the nature of the danger warranted,
(81-275)were it not that the peril chiefly consisted in the
(81-275)very stupor which it inspired. After the retreat
(81-275)had commenced, the hopes and spirit of the nation
(81-275)rose again to spring-tide, as if nothing farther were
(81-275)to be apprehended from a band of men so desperately
(81-275)brave, who had already done so much with
(81-275)such little means. The news of the defeat at

[TG81-276]

(81-276)Falkirk, therefore, were received with general
(81-276)alarm; and at court, during a levee held immediately

(81-276)after the battle, only two persons appeared
(81-276)with countenances unmarked by signs of perturbation.
(81-276)These were, George the Second himself,
(81-276)who, whatever may have been his other foibles, had
(81-276)too much of the lion about him to be afraid; and
(81-276)Sir John Cope, who was radiant with joy at the
(81-276)idea that Hawley's misfortune or misconduct was
(81-276)likely to efface his own from the public
(81-276)recollection.

[TG81-277]

(81-277)No person was now thought of sufficient consequence
(81-277)to be placed at the head of the army, but
(81-277)the Duke of Cumberland, who was, therefore,
(81-277)appointed to the chief command. His Royal Highness
(81-277)set off from St James's on the 25th of January,
(81-277)1746, attended by Lord Cathcart, Lord Bury,
(81-277)Colonel Conway, and Colonel York, his aides-de-
(81-277)camp. His arrival at Holyrood House restored
(81-277)the drooping" spirits of the members of the government.
(81-277)To the army, also, the arrival of the commander-
(81-277)in-chief was very acceptable, not only from
(81-277)a reliance on his talents, but as his presence put a
(81-277)stop to a course of cruel punishments instituted by
(81-277)General Hawley, who had invoked the assistance of
(81-277)the gibbet and the scourge to rectify a disaster,
(81-277)which had its principal source, perhaps, in his own
(81-277)want of military skill. The Duke's timely arrival
(81-277)at Edinburgh saved the lives of two dragoons who
(81-277)were under sentence of death, and rescued others
(81-277)who were destined to inferior punishments, many
(81-277)of which had already taken place.

[TG81-278]

(81-278)The army which the Duke commanded consisted
(81-278)of twelve squadrons of horse and fourteen battalions

(81-278)of infantry; but several of them had suffered much
(81-278)in the late action, and the whole were far from being
(81-278)complete. Every effort had, however, been
(81-278)made, to repair the losses which had taken place
(81-278)on Falkirk moor; and it may be said, the Duke of
(81-278)Cumberland was at the head of as gallant and well-
(81-278)furnished an army as ever took the field. Hawley,
(81-278)who was a personal favourite with the King,
(81-278)continued to act as lieutenant-general under the Duke;
(81-278)and Lord Albemarle held the same situation. The
(81-278)major-generals were Bland, Huske, Lord Semple,
(81-278)and Brigadier Mordaunt.

(81-278)In a council of war held at Edinburgh, it was
(81-278)resolved that the troops should march the next
(81-278)morning towards Stirling, in order to raise the
(81-278)siege of the castle, and give battle to the rebels, if
(81-278)they should dare to accept of it, under better
(81-278)auspices than that of Falkirk. Great pains had been
(81-278)taken, in previous general orders, to explain to the
(81-278)common soldiers the mode in which the Highlanders
(81-278)fought,- a passage so curious, that I shall extract
(81-278)it from the orderly-book for your amusement.

[TG81-279]

(81-279)Perhaps the most comfortable part of the instructions
(81-279)might be the assurance, that there were but
(81-279)few true Highlanders in the Prince's army.

[TG82-280]

(82-280)THE insurgents did not reap such advantages
(82-280)from the battle of Falkirk as might have been
(82-280)expected. The extreme confusion of their own
(82-280)forces, and their consequent ignorance respecting
(82-280)the condition of the enemy, prevented their
(82-280)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

[TG82-281]

(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.

(82-281)On the other hand, the Highland army had
(82-281)suffered great diminution since the battle of Falkirk,

[TG82-282]

(82-282)less from loss in the action, than from the effects of
(82-282)the victory, which, as usual, occasioned a great
(82-282)desertion among the privates of the clans, who,
(82-282)according to their invariable practice, went home to
(82-282)store up their plunder.¹ An accident also, which
(82-282)happened the day after the battle of Falkirk, cost
(82-282)the Chevalier the loss of a clan regiment of no
(82-282)small distinction. A private soldier, one of
(82-282)Clanranald's followers, was tampering with a loaded
(82-282)musket, when the piece went off, and by mishap
(82-282)killed a younger son of Glengarry, major of that
(82-282)chiefs regiment. To prevent a quarrel between
(82-282)two powerful tribes, the unlucky fellow who had
(82-282)caused the mischief was condemned to death,
(82-282)though innocent of all intentional guilt, and was
(82-282)shot accordingly.² This sacrifice did not, however,
(82-282)propitiate the tribe of Glengarry; they became
(82-282)disgusted with the service on the loss of their
(82-282)major, and most of them returned to their mountains

[TG82-283]

(82-283)without obtaining any leave, a desertion
(82-283)severely felt at this critical moment.

(82-283)The chiefs of clans, and men of quality in the
(82-283)army, observing the diminution of their numbers,
(82-283)and disgusted at not being consulted upon the
(82-283)motions of the army, held a council, by their own
(82-283)authority, in the town of Falkirk, and drew up a
(82-283)paper addressed to the Prince, which was signed

[TG82-284]

(82-284)by them all, advising a retreat to the north.
(82-284)The purport of this document expressed, that so
(82-284)many of their men had gone home since the last
(82-284)battle, that they were in no condition to prosecute
(82-284)the siege of Stirling, or to repel the army of the
(82-284)Duke of Cumberland, which was advancing to raise
(82-284)it. They concluded by advising the Prince to
(82-284)retreat with his army to Inverness, there to
(82-284)annihilate the forces of Lord Loudon, with his other
(82-284)enemies in that country, and to take or demolish
(82-284)the Highland forts, thus making himself complete
(82-284)master of the north. This being effected, they
(82-284)assured him they would be ready to take the field
(82-284)next spring, with eight or ten thousand
(82-284)Highlanders, to follow him wherever he pleased.

(82-284)This advice, which had, in the circumstances in
(82-284)which it was given, the effect of a command, came
(82-284)upon Charles like a clap of thunder. He had
(82-284)concluded that a battle was to be fought; and the sick
(82-284)and wounded, with the followers of the camp, had
(82-284)been sent to Dunblane with that view. Lord
(82-284)George Murray had also been at headquarters,
(82-284)and showed to Charles a plan which he had drawn
(82-284)of the proposed battle, which the Prince had
(82-284)approved of, and corrected with his own hand.
(82-284)When, therefore, this proposition for a retreat was
(82-284)presented to him, he was at first struck with a
(82-284)feeling of despair, exclaiming, " Good God! have
(82-284)I lived to see this?" He dashed his head with
(82-284)such violence against the wall, that he staggered,
(82-284)and then sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Falkirk, to
(82-284)reason against the resolution which the chiefs had

[TG82-285]

(82-285)adopted. But it was found unalterable, and their

(82-285)number and importance were too great for Charles
(82-285)to contend with.

(82-285)The Prince, after yielding to the measure of
(82-285)retreating, concerted with Lord George Murray,
(82-285)that, on the 1st of February, all the army should
(82-285)be ordered to cross the Forth at the fords of Frew,
(82-285)very early in the morning; that the heavy cannon
(82-285)should be spiked; that the ammunition which
(82-285)could not be carried along with the army, should
(82-285)be destroyed; and, finally, that a strong rearguard,
(82-285)composed of 1200 picked Highlanders, and Lord
(82-285)Elcho's body of horse, should protect the retreat
(82-285)of the army.

(82-285)None of these precautions were, however,
(82-285)resorted to; and the retreat, attended with every
(82-285)species of haste and disorder, resembled a flight so
(82-285)much, that there was nowhere one thousand men
(82-285)together. The army passed the river in small
(82-285)bodies, and in great confusion, leaving carts and
(82-285)cannon upon the road behind them. There was
(82-285)no rearguard, and Lord Elcho's troop, which had
(82-285)been commanded to wait at the bridge of Carron
(82-285)till farther orders, was totally forgotten, and had
(82-285)nearly been intercepted by a body of troops from
(82-285)the town and castle of Stirling, ere they received
(82-285)orders to retreat. This confusion was supposed

[TG82-286]

(82-286)to have arisen from the recklessness with which
(82-286)the Prince altered the order of retreat, after it had
(82-286)been adjusted betwixt himself and Lord George
(82-286)Murray; a recklessness which seemed to show
(82-286)that he was so much vexed at the measure, as to
(82-286)be indifferent with what degree of order or

(82-286)confusion it was carried into execution.

(82-286)Accident added to the damage which attended
(82-286)this hasty movement. In destroying their magazine
(82-286)at St Ninians, the Highlanders managed so
(82-286)awkwardly as to blow up at the same time the
(82-286)church itself, by which several lives were lost.
(82-286)This was represented, by the malice of party spirit,
(82-286)as having been an intentional act on the part of
(82-286)the Prince's army; a thing scarcely to be supposed,
(82-286)since some of themselves, and particularly the man
(82-286)who fired the train, were killed by the explosion.
(82-286)The retreat from Stirling was, nevertheless,
(82-286)conducted without much loss, except from temporary
(82-286)dispersion. The march of the Highland army was
(82-286)by Dunblane and Crieff. On the 3d of February,
(82-286)a council of war was held at a place called Fairnton,
(82-286)near the latter town. Here the argument
(82-286)concerning the necessity of the retreat from Stirling
(82-286)was renewed, and those officers who were hostile
(82-286)to Lord George Murrav, took care to throw on him

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(82-287)the blame of a measure, which, however necessary,
(82-287)was most unpalatable to the Prince, and had been
(82-287)in a great degree forced upon him. It was now
(82-287)said that the desertion was not half so great as
(82-287)apprehended, and did not exceed a thousand men;
(82-287)and that the Prince need not, on account of such
(82-287)a deficiency, have been forced into a measure
(82-287)resembling flight, which, in a contest where so much
(82-287)depended on opinion, must, it was said, lower his
(82-287)character both with friends and foes. But the
(82-287)resolution had been finally adopted, and it was now
(82-287)necessary to follow it out.

(82-287)At Crieff, the army of Charles separated. One
(82-287)division, chiefly consisting of west Highlanders,
(82-287)marched northward by the Highland road. Another,
(82-287)under Lord George Murray, took the coast
(82-287)road, by Montrose and Aberdeen, to Inverness.
(82-287)It consisted chiefly of the Lowland regiments and
(82-287)cavalry, the latter of whom suffered much, having
(82-287)lost many of their horses by forced marches at that
(82-287)inclement season of the year. The troopers, being
(82-287)chiefly gentlemen, continued to adhere with fidelity
(82-287)to their ill-omened standards. A small part of
(82-287)the army, belonging to that part of the Highlands,
(82-287)went by Braemar.

(82-287)The Duke of Cumberland followed the Highlanders
(82-287)as far as Perth, and found that, moving
(82-287)with rapidity and precision amid their disorder,
(82-287)they had accomplished their purpose of retreating
(82-287)to the Highlands, and carrying off their garrisons
(82-287)from Montrose and elsewhere. The presence of
(82-287)Charles in Inverness-shire, was likely to be attended
(82-287)with advantages which might protract the war.

[TG82-288]

(82-288)It is a mountainous province, giving access to those
(82-288)more western Highlands of which the Jacobite
(82-288)clans were chiefly inhabitants, and itself containing
(82-288)several tribes devoted to his cause. It was also
(82-288)thought the Prince would obtain recruits both in
(82-288)Caithness and Sutherland.

(82-288)The Chevalier's only enemy in the north was
(82-288)the small army which Lord Loudon had raised by
(82-288)means of the Grants, Monros, Rosses, and other
(82-288)northern clans, with whom he had united the
(82-288)MacDonalds of Skye and the MacLeods. Their number,

(82-288)however, was not such as to prevent the Prince's
(82-288)troops from spreading through the country; and, to
(82-288)indulge the humour of the Highlanders, as well as
(82-288)for their more easy subsistence, they were suffered
(82-288)to stroll up and down at pleasure. Prince Charles
(82-288)retaining only a few hundreds about his person.
(82-288)He appeared, indeed, to be everywhere master in
(82-288)the open country; and the little army of Lord
(82-288)Loudon, amounting at the utmost to 2000 men,
(82-288)remained cooped up in Inverness, which they had
(82-288)in some degree fortified with a ditch and palisade.
(82-288)In these circumstances, Charles found it easy to
(82-288)attack and take the barracks at Ruthven of Badenoch,
(82-288)which had resisted him on his descent from
(82-288)the Highlands; and after this success, he went to
(82-288)reside for two or three days at the castle of Moy,
(82-288)the chief seat of the Laird of MacIntosh, a distinction
(82-288)which was well deserved by the zealous
(82-288)attachment of the Lady MacIntosh to his cause. The
(82-288)husband of this Lady, Aeneas, or Angus MacIntosh
(82-288)of that Ilk, appears to have had no steady political
(82-288)attachments of his own; for at one time he seems to

[TG82-289]

(82-289)have nourished the purpose of raising his clan in
(82-289)behalf of the Chevalier,¹ notwithstanding which, he
(82-289)continued to hold a commission in Lord Loudon's
(82-289)army. Not so his lady, who, observing the
(82-289)indecision, perhaps we ought to say the imbecility, of
(82-289)her husband, gave vent to her own Jacobite feelings,
(82-289)and those of the clan of MacIntosh, by levying
(82-289)the fighting men of that ancient tribe, to the
(82-289)amount of three hundred men, at whose head she
(82-289)rode, with a man's bonnet on her head, a tartan
(82-289)riding-habit richly laced, and pistols at her saddle-
(82-289)bow. MacGillivray of Drumnaglass commanded

[TG82-290]

(82-290)this body in the field as colonel. The spirit
(82-290)excited by this gallant Amazon called at least for
(82-290)every civility which, could be shown her by the
(82-290)Prince, and that of a visit at her castle was
(82-290)considered as the most flattering.

(82-290)Charles Edward was living there in perfect
(82-290)security, and had not more than three hundred
(82-290)men about his person, when Lord Loudon made a
(82-290)bold attempt to end the civil war, by making the
(82-290)Adventurer prisoner. For this purpose, he proposed
(82-290)to employ chiefly the Highlanders of MacLeod's
(82-290)clan, as well qualified to execute a swift
(82-290)and secret enterprise. They were accompanied
(82-290)by several volunteers. It is said that Lady
(82-290)MacIntosh had private intelligence of this intention;
(82-290)at any rate, she had employed the blacksmith of
(82-290)the clan, a person always of some importance in a
(82-290)Highland tribe, with a few followers, to patrol
(82-290)betwixt Inverness and Moy castle. On the night of
(82-290)the 16th of February, this able and intelligent
(82-290)partisan fell in with the vanguard of the MacLeods,
(82-290)bending their course in secrecy and silence

[TG82-291]

(82-291)towards Moy. The party thus advancing consisted
(82-291)of one thousand five hundred men. The smith
(82-291)and his followers, not above six or seven in all,
(82-291)divided into different parts of the wood, and fired
(82-291)upon the advancing columns, who could not discover
(82-291)the numbers by which they were opposed.
(82-291)The MacIntoshes, at the same time, cried the war-
(82-291)cries of Lochiel, Keppoch, and other well-known
(82-291)sounds of the most distinguished clans; and two or

(82-291)three bagpipers played most furiously the gathering
(82-291)tunes of the same tribes.

(82-291)Those who are engaged in an attempt to surprise
(82-291)others, are generally themselves most accessible to
(82-291)surprise. The sudden attack astonished the MacLeods,
(82-291)who conceived that they had fallen into an
(82-291)ambush consisting of the Chevalier's whole army.
(82-291)The consequence was, that they turned their backs,
(82-291)and fled back to Inverness in extreme confusion,
(82-291)incurring much danger and some loss, not from the
(82-291)fire of the enemy, but from throwing down and
(82-291)treading upon each other. The confusion was so
(82-291)great, that the Master of Ross, a gallant officer,
(82-291)who was afterwards in many perils, informed Mr
(82-291)Home, that he had never been in a condition so
(82-291)grievous as what was called the Rout of Moy.

(82-291)Some accounts state, that the Prince was never
(82-291)disturbed from sleep during all the confusion
(82-291)attending this attack, which, but for the presence of
(82-291)mind of the lady so admirably seconded by her

[TG82-292]

(82-292)retainer, might have put an end to his enterprise
(82-292)and to his life. It is at any rate certain, that early
(82-292)on the following day Charles assembled his army,
(82-292)or such part of it as could be immediately got
(82-292)together, and advanced upon Inverness, with the
(82-292)purpose of repaying to Lord Loudon the unfriendly
(82-292)visit of the preceding night. Neither the
(82-292)strength of the place, nor the number of Lord
(82-292)Loudon's forces, entitled him to make any stand
(82-292)against an army so superior to his own. He was
(82-292)therefore compelled to retreat by the Kessoch
(82-292)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

(82-293)prisoners of war had availed themselves, under the
(82-293)idea that they were thus liberated from their parole.

[TG82-294]

(82-294)The Highlanders were of a different opinion,
(82-294)and expressed their sentiments in a singular
(82-294)manner, after the battle of Falkirk. General
(82-294)Hawley had, previous to that action, been pleased to
(82-294)foresee occasion for an extraordinary number of
(82-294)executioners in his camp. As some of these
(82-294)functionaries became prisoners to the insurgent army
(82-294)after the battle, they endeavoured to express their
(82-294)scorn of the behaviour of the regular officers who
(82-294)had, as they alleged, eluded their parole, by liberating
(82-294)these hangmen on their word of honour, as
(82-294)if equally worthy of trust with those who bore
(82-294)King George's commission. The scheme of sending
(82-294)the captive officers to France might have
(82-294)operated as some check on the Government's judicial
(82-294)proceedings after the close of the rebellion,
(82-294)had it been adopted in the early part of the
(82-294)insurrection. As it was, the current of the insurgents'

[TG82-295]

(82-295)success had begun to turn, and there was no further
(82-295)prospect of succeeding by this method, which was
(82-295)adopted too late to be of service.

(82-295)While the Highlanders were pushing their petty
(82-295)and unimportant advantages against the forts in the
(82-295)north, the Duke of Cumberland, advancing on their
(82-295)rear, and occupying successively the districts which
(82-295)they abandoned, was already bringing up important
(82-295)succours, by which he hoped to narrow their
(82-295)quarters, and, finally, to destroy their army.
(82-295)Following the track of the Highlanders; he had arrived

(82-295)at Perth on the 6th of February, and detached
(82-295)Sir Andrew Agnew, with 500 men, and 100 of
(82-295)the Campbells, to take possession of the castle of
(82-295)Blair-in-Athole, while Lieutenant-colonel Leighton,
(82-295)with a similar force, occupied castle Menzies.
(82-295)These garrisons were designed to straiten the
(82-295)Highland army, and to prevent their drawing
(82-295)reinforcements from the countries in which their
(82-295)cause had most favour.

(82-295)About the same time, the Duke of Cumberland
(82-295)learned that a body of auxiliaries, consisting of
(82-295)6000 Hessians, had disembarked at Leith, under the
(82-295)command of Prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel.
(82-295)These troops had been sent for, because a dilemma
(82-295)had occurred, which occasioned the withdrawing
(82-295)of the 6000 Dutch troops originally destined
(82-295)to assist the King of England. So soon as Lord
(82-295)John Drummond had arrived with the French
(82-295)auxiliaries, a message had been despatched to the
(82-295)Dutch commandant, formally acquainting him, that
(82-295)the colours of France were displayed in the

[TG82-296]

(82-296)Chevalier's camp, and that as troops upon their parole
(82-296)not to serve against that country, the Dutch were
(82-296)cited to withdraw themselves from the civil war
(82-296)of Britain. They recognised the summons, and
(82-296)withdrew their forces from Britain accordingly.

(82-296)In order to replace these auxiliaries, the King
(82-296)of Great Britain concluded a subsidiary treaty with
(82-296)the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, which was confirmed in
(82-296)Parliament, and it was in consequence of this
(82-296)engagement that the Hessian troops had now arrived
(82-296)at Leith. The Duke of Cumberland made a hasty

(82-296)visit to Edinburgh, where he held a council with
(82-296)the Prince of Hesse and the principal officers. A
(82-296)general opinion was entertained and expressed,
(82-296)that the Highlanders would break up and disperse,
(82-296)and never venture a battle against the Duke of
(82-296)Cumberland and his army. Lord Milton, a Scottish
(82-296)judge, being asked to deliver his sentiments,
(82-296)was of a different opinion. He declared himself
(82-296)persuaded, that the Highlanders would, according
(82-296)to their ready habits, again unite in a large body
(82-296)and make another struggle for the accomplishment
(82-296)of their enterprise.

(82-296)This opinion of Lord Milton made a deep
(82-296)impression upon the Duke of Cumberland's mind,
(82-296)who resolved to proceed upon the probability that
(82-296)a battle would be necessary, and to move northwards
(82-296)slowly, but with an overpowering force.
(82-296)For this purpose he returned to Perth, and sending
(82-296)three regiments of infantry to Dundee,
(82-296)proceeded with the main body of his army to the
(82-296)north, and reached Aberdeen on the 27th of

[TG82-297]

(82-297)February. The Hessian troops, with their Prince,
(82-297)arrived at Perth after the Duke of Cumberland's
(82-297)departure. Their mustaches and blue dress
(82-297)occasioned some surprise to the Scottish people, who
(82-297)were greatly edified, however, by their quiet and
(82-297)civil behaviour, which formed a strong contrast to
(82-297)the profligate language and demeanour of the
(82-297)English soldiery. The country between Perth and
(82-297)Aberdeen, including Blair-in-Athole, and some
(82-297)posts still farther north, were occupied by parties,
(82-297)both of the Campbells and of the regular troops.
(82-297)The Duke of Cumberland's headquarters were at

(82-297)Aberdeen, where it was generally believed by the
(82-297)rebels he intended to remain till summer.

(82-297)In the mean time, the clans resolved to proceed
(82-297)in subjecting the forts upon the chain, of which

[TG82-298]

(82-298)Fort-William still remained in possession of the
(82-298)regular troops. General Campbell had taken care
(82-298)that it should be provided with every thing necessary
(82-298)for a siege, and had reinforced the garrison
(82-298)with some companies of his own followers, so that
(82-298)it amounted to about six hundred men, under a
(82-298)commandant named Campbell. Lochiel and Keppoch
(82-298)formed the blockade, but could not cut off
(82-298)the garrison's communications by sea, as two sloops
(82-298)of war supported them with their guns. General
(82-298)Stapleton soon after came up with the French picquets,
(82-298)and formed a regular battery against the fort;
(82-298)but, as we shall hereafter see, to little good purpose.

(82-298)About this time Charles heard news of the succours
(82-298)from France, which he had expected so
(82-298)anxiously. On the 23d of February, he received a
(82-298)letter from Captain Shee of Fitz-James's dragoons,
(82-298)acquainting him that he made part of an armament
(82-298)commanded by the Marquis de Fimarion; that
(82-298)he had landed with a part of the above regiment;
(82-298)that the rest of the squadron conveyed about eight
(82-298)hundred men, and that each of the ships brought
(82-298)a certain sum of money.

(82-298)In confirmation of this news, the Prince was
(82-298)informed that one of the squadron announced by
(82-298)Captain Shee, having appeared off Peterhead, had
(82-298)landed two thousand louis-d'or for his service, but

(82-298)had declined to land the soldiers who were on
(82-298)board, without an order from the Marquis
(82-298)D'Eguilles, called the ambassador of France. Prince
(82-298)Charles despatched Lord John Drummond and the
(82-298)Marquis D'Eguilles, with a strong body of troops

[TG82-299]

(82-299)to superintend the landing of this important
(82-299)reinforcement; but they came too late. The Duke
(82-299)of Cumberland, moving with all his forces, had
(82-299)arrived at Aberdeen on the 27th; and Moir of
(82-299)Stonywood, who commanded there for the Prince,
(82-299)was compelled to retreat to Fochabers, where he,
(82-299)and Captain Shee who accompanied him, met with
(82-299)Lord John Drummond, who had advanced so far
(82-299)to protect the disembarkation. A picquet of
(82-299)Berwick's regiment was also safely landed at Portsoy,
(82-299)but no other troops of the embarkation afterwards
(82-299)reached the Prince's army. The remainder of
(82-299)Fitz-James's cavalry were taken by Commodore
(82-299)Knowles, and sent to the Thames. The Marquis
(82-299)de Fimarion, having held a council of war, thought
(82-299)it most prudent to return to France.

(82-299)Thus unpitiously rigorous was fortune, from
(82-299)beginning to end, in all that might be considered as
(82-299)the chances from which Prince Charles might
(82-299)receive advantage. The miscarriage of the
(82-299)reinforcements was the greater, as the supplies of
(82-299)treasure were become almost indispensable. His
(82-299)money now began to run short, so that he was
(82-299)compelled to pay his soldiers partly in meal, which
(82-299)caused great discontent. Many threatened to
(82-299)abandon the enterprise; some actually deserted;
(82-299)and the army, under these adverse circumstances,
(82-299)became more refractory and unmanageable than

(82-299)heretofore.

(82-299)Yet their spirit of military adventure was still
(82-299)shown, in the instinctive ingenuity with which they
(82-299)carried on enterprises of irregular warfare. This

[TG82-300]

(82-300)was particularly evident, from a series of attacks
(82-300)planned and executed by Lord George Murrav,
(82-300)for delivering his native country of Athole from
(82-300)the small forts and military stations which had
(82-300)been established there by the Duke of Cumberland.
(82-300)This expedition was undertaken in the
(82-300)middle of March, and Lord George Murray
(82-300)himself commanded the detachment destined for the
(82-300)service, which amounted to 700 men; one half of
(82-300)these were natives of Athole, the other half were
(82-300)MacPhersons, under the command of Cluny, their
(82-300)chief. They marched from Dalwhinny when
(82-300)daylight began to fail, and halted at Dalspiddel about
(82-300)midnight, when it was explained to them, that the
(82-300)purpose of the expedition was to surprise and cut
(82-300)off all the military posts in Athole, which were
(82-300)occupied either by the regular troops or by the
(82-300)Campbells.

(82-300)These posts were very numerous, and it was
(82-300)necessary they should be all attacked about the
(82-300)same time. The most important were gentlemen's
(82-300)houses, such as Kinnachin, Blairfettie, Lude,
(82-300)Faskallie, and the like, which, in the Highlands,
(82-300)and indeed throughout Scotland generally, were of

[TG82-301]

(82-301)a castellated form, and capable of defence. Other
(82-301)small posts were slightly fortified, and commanded

(82-301)by non-commissioned officers. Lord George
(82-301)Murray's force of 700 men was divided into as
(82-301)many small parties as there were posts to be carried;
(82-301)and in each were included an equal number
(82-301)of Athole-men and MacPhersons. Each party was
(82-301)expected to perform the duty assigned to it before
(82-301)daybreak, and all were then to repair to the bridge
(82-301)of Bruar, within two miles of the castle of Blair-
(82-301)in-Athole. The various detachments set out with
(82-301)eagerness upon an enterprise which promised to
(82-301)relieve their country or neighbourhood from invasion
(82-301)and military occupation; and Lord George
(82-301)and Cluny, with only 25 men, and a few elderly
(82-301)gentlemen, proceeded to the bridge of Bruar, being
(82-301)the rendezvous, there to await the success of
(82-301)their undertaking and the return of their
(82-301)companions.

(82-301)It had nearly chanced, that, in an expedition
(82-301)designed to surprise others, they had been surprised
(82-301)themselves. For, in the grey of the morning, a
(82-301)man from the village of Blair came to inform Lord

[TG82-302]

(82-302)George Murray, that Sir Andrew Agnew, who
(82-302)commanded at Blair castle, had caught the alarm,
(82-302)from an attack on a neighbouring post; had got a
(82-302)great proportion of his garrison of 500 men under
(82-302)arms, and was advancing to the bridge of Bruar,
(82-302)to see what enemies were in the neighbourhood.
(82-302)Lord George Murray and Cluny were in no
(82-302)condition to engage the veteran; and it was proposed,
(82-302)as the only mode of escape, to betake themselves
(82-302)to the neighbouring mountains. Lord George
(82-302)Murray rejected the proposition. " If," he said,
(82-302)" we leave the place of rendezvous, our parties, as

(82-302)they return in detail from discharging the duty
(82-302)intrusted to them, will be liable to be surprised by
(82-302)the enemy. This must not be. I will rather try
(82-302)what can be done to impose upon Sir Andrew
(82-302)Agnew's caution, by a fictitious display of strength."
(82-302)With this resolution Lord George took possession
(82-302)of a turf-dyke, or wall, which stretched along a
(82-302)neighbouring field, and disposed his followers
(82-302)behind it, at distant intervals from each other, so as
(82-302)to convey the idea of a very extended front. The
(82-302)colours of both regiments were placed in the centre
(82-302)of the pretended line, and every precaution used
(82-302)to give the appearance of a continued line of soldiers,
(82-302)to what was in reality only a few men placed at a
(82-302)distance from each other. The bagpipers were not
(82-302)forgotten; they had orders to blow up a clamorous
(82-302)pibroch, so soon as the advance of the regulars
(82-302)should be observed, upon the road from Blair. The
(82-302)sun just arose when Sir Andrew's troops came in
(82-302)sight; the pipers struck up, and the men behind

[TG82-303]

(82-303)the turf-wall brandished their broadswords, like
(82-303)officers at the head of their troops preparing to
(82-303)charge. Sir Andrew was deceived into the idea
(82-303)that he had before him a large body of Highlanders
(82-303)drawn up to attack him, and anxious for the safety
(82-303)of his post, he marched back his garrison to the
(82-303)castle of Blair-in-Athole.

(82-303)Lord George Murray remained at the bridge to
(82-303)receive his detachments, who came in soon after
(82-303)sunrise; they had all succeeded more or less
(82-303)completely, and brought in upwards of 300 prisoners,
(82-303)taken at the various posts, which, great and small,
(82-303)amounted to thirty in number. Only one or two of

(82-303)the clansmen were killed, and but five or six of the
(82-303)King's troops; for the Highlanders, though in
(82-303)some respects a wild and fierce people, were seldom
(82-303)guilty of unnecessary bloodshed. Encouraged by
(82-303)this success. Lord George Murray was tempted
(82-303)to make an effort to possess himself of the castle
(82-303)of Blair, notwithstanding its natural strength,
(82-303)and that of its garrison.¹ With this view he

[TG82-304]

(82-304)invested the place, which was a very large, strong
(82-304)old tower, long a principal residence of the Athole
(82-304)family. There was little hope from battering
(82-304)with two light field-pieces a castle whose walls
(82-304)were seven feet thick; the situation was so rocky
(82-304)as to put mining out of the question; but Lord
(82-304)George, as the garrison was numerous, and supposed
(82-304)to be indifferently provided for a siege, conceived
(82-304)the possibility of reducing the place by
(82-304)famine. For this purpose he formed a close
(82-304)blockade of the place, and fired with his Highland
(82-304)marksmen upon all who showed themselves
(82-304)at the windows of the tower, or upon the battlements.
(82-304)And here, as in this motley world that
(82-304)which is ridiculous is often intermixed with what
(82-304)is deeply serious, I may tell you an anecdote of a
(82-304)ludicrous nature.

[TG82-305]

(82-305)Sir Andrew Agnew, famous in Scottish tradition,
(82-305)was a soldier of the old military school, severe in
(82-305)discipline, stiff and formal in manners, brave to
(82-305)the last degree, but somewhat of an humourist,
(82-305)upon whom his young officers were occasionally
(82-305)tempted to play tricks, not entirely consistent with
(82-305)the respect due to their commandant. At the

(82-305)siege of Blair, some of the young wags had
(82-305)obtained an old uniform coat of the excellent Sir
(82-305)Andrew, which, having stuffed with straw, they
(82-305)placed in a small window of a turret, with a spy-
(82-305)glass in the hand, as if in the act of reconnoitring
(82-305)the besiegers. This apparition did not escape the
(82-305)hawk's eyes of the Highlanders, who continued to
(82-305)pour their fire upon the turret window, without
(82-305)producing any adequate effect. The best deer-
(82-305)stalkers of Athole and Badenoch persevered,
(82-305)nevertheless, and wasted, as will easily be believed,
(82-305)their ammunition in vain on this impassible
(82-305)commander. At length Sir Andrew himself became
(82-305)curious to know what could possibly induce so
(82-305)constant a fire upon that particular point of the castle.
(82-305)He made some enquiry, and discovered the trick
(82-305)which had been played. His own head being as
(82-305)insensible to a jest of any kind as his peruke had
(82-305)proved to the balls of the Highlanders, he placed
(82-305)the contumacious wags under arrest, and threatened
(82-305)to proceed against them still more seriously;
(82-305)and would certainly have done so, but by good
(82-305)fortune for them, the blockade was raised after the
(82-305)garrison had suffered the extremity of famine.

(82-305)The raising of the blockade was chiefly owing

[TG82-306]

(82-306)to the advance of a body of Hessians from Perth,
(82-306)together with the Earl of Crawford. Lord George

[TG82-307]

(82-307)Murray on this occasion sent an express to the
(82-307)Prince, that if he could spare him 1200 men, he
(82-307)would undertake to engage the Prince of Hesse
(82-307)and Lord Crawford. Charles returned for answer

(82-307)that he could not spare the men, being in the act
(82-307)of concentrating his army. Lord George Murray
(82-307)was therefore obliged to relinquish the blockade
(82-307)of Blair, and withdraw his forces into Strathspey,
(82-307)and from thence to Speyside. He himself went
(82-307)to the Chevalier's headquarters, where he found
(82-307)that his exploits in the field had not been able to
(82-307)save him from enemies, who had made a bad use of
(82-307)their master's ear.

(82-307)We have seen that, from the very first meeting at
(82-307)Perth, Mr Murray, the secretary, had filled the
(82-307)Prince's mind with suspicions of Lord George, as
(82-307)a person who, if disposed to serve him, was not
(82-307)inclined to do so upon the pure principles of unlimited
(82-307)monarchy. The self-will and obstinacy of
(82-307)this nobleman, a brave soldier, but an unskilful
(82-307)courtier, gave all the advantage which his enemies
(82-307)could desire; and in despite of his gallant achievements,
(82-307)the Prince was almost made to believe that
(82-307)the best officer in his army was capable of betraying
(82-307)him at least, if not actually engaged in a conspiracy
(82-307)to do so. Thus prepossessed, though
(82-307)usually eager for fighting, the Chevalier, both at
(82-307)Clifton and on the present occasion, declined
(82-307)intrusting Lord George with a separate command of

[TG82-308]

(82-308)troops, to avail himself of a favourable opportunity
(82-308)for action.

(82-308)On the present occasion, Charles entertained the
(82-308)opinion that Lord George might have taken the
(82-308)castle of Blair, had he been so disposed; but that
(82-308)he abstained, least by doing so he might injure the
(82-308)house of his brother, the Duke of Athole. Lord

(82-308)George was altogether undeserving of such a
(82-308)suspicion, there being perhaps no man in the Prince's
(82-308)army who had fewer indirect motives to decide his
(82-308)political creed than this nobleman. If the Prince
(82-308)succeeded in his enterprise, his eldest brother would
(82-308)recover the dukedom, now held by the second.
(82-308)But it does not appear that Lord George Murray
(82-308)could be thus personally benefited. It is no small
(82-308)merit to him, that, faithful while suspected, and
(82-308)honest though calumniated, he adhered to the tenor
(82-308)of his principles, and continued to serve with zeal
(82-308)and fidelity a master by whom he knew he was not
(82-308)beloved, nor fully trusted. It is even said by Lord
(82-308)Elcho, that the Prince told some of the French and
(82-308)Irish officers that he suspected Lord George; and
(82-308)it is added, that being requested to watch whether
(82-308)his conduct in battle authorized such a suspicion,
(82-308)they undertook to put him to death if such should
(82-308)appear to be the case.

[TG83-309]

(83-309)THE final act of this great domestic tragedy was
(83-309)now about to begin, yet there remain some other
(83-309)incidents to notice ere we approach that catastrophe.
(83-309)The outposts of the principal armies were
(83-309)extended along the river Spey, and the Highlanders
(83-309)appeared disposed for a time to preserve the line
(83-309)of that river, although a defensive war is not that
(83-309)which Highlanders could be expected to wage with
(83-309)most success. It is probable they did not expect
(83-309)the Duke of Cumberland to make a serious advance
(83-309)from his headquarters at Aberdeen, until the summer
(83-309)was fairly commenced, when their own army
(83-309)would be reassembled. Several affairs of posts
(83-309)took place betwixt General Bland, who commanded
(83-309)the advance of the Duke's army, and Lord John

[TG83-310]

(83-310)Drummond, who was opposed to him on the side
(83-310)of the Chevalier. The Highlanders had rather the
(83-310)advantage in this irregular sort of warfare, and in
(83-310)particular, a party of a hundred regulars were
(83-310)surprised at the village of Keith, and entirely slain or
(83-310)made prisoners by John Roy Stewart.

(83-310)About the same time, Prince Charles sustained
(83-310)a heavy loss in the Hazard sloop of war, which
(83-310)made her appearance in the North Seas, having on
(83-310)board 150 troops for his service, and, what he needed
(83-310)still more, a sum of gold equal to L.10,000 or
(83-310)L.12,000. This vessel, with a cargo of so much
(83-310)importance, being chased by an English frigate,
(83-310)was run ashore by her crew in the bay of Tongue,
(83-310)and the sailors and soldiers escaping ashore, carried
(83-310)the treasure along with them. They were, however,
(83-310)in a hostile, as well as a desolate country.
(83-310)The tribe of the MacKays assembled in arms, and,
(83-310)with some bands of Lord Loudon's army, pursued
(83-310)the strangers so closely as to oblige them to
(83-310)surrender themselves and the specie. It is said only
(83-310)L.8000 of gold was found upon them, the rest having
(83-310)been embezzled, either by their captors or by
(83-310)others, after they came ashore. This loss of the
(83-310)Hazard, which was productive of injurious
(83-310)consequences to the Highland army, was connected with
(83-310)a series of transactions in Sutherland, which I will
(83-310)here briefly tell you of.

(83-310)Lord Loudon, you will recollect, had retreated
(83-310)from Inverness into Ross-shire, at the head of about
(83-310)2000 men, composed of the Whig clans. In the
(83-310)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)this 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 MacDonalds,
(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.

[TG83-312]

(83-312) Lord Cromarty was now in full possession of
(83-312) the coast of Sutherland and of the castle of
(83-312) Dunrobin, which the Earl of Sutherland had found it
(83-312) impossible to defend. The Jacobite general could
(83-312) not, however, exercise much influence in that
(83-312) country; the vassalage and tenantry not only
(83-312) declined to join the rebels, but kept possession of
(83-312) their arms, and refused the most favourable terms
(83-312) of submission. The Earl of Cromarty, indeed,
(83-312) collected some money, emptied the Earl of Sutherland's
(83-312) stables of nineteen or twenty good horses,
(83-312) and cut his carriages to pieces in order to convert
(83-312) the leather and brass mounting into targets; but
(83-312) the country itself being hostile to the Jacobite
(83-312) cause, obliged the Earl, though a mild good-natured
(83-312) man, to use some severity on this occasion. The
(83-312) houses and property of two of the captains of the
(83-312) militia were plundered and burnt, in order to strike
(83-312) terror into other recreants. This was alien to the
(83-312) inclinations of some of the Highlanders, the gentleness
(83-312) of whose conduct had hitherto been the subject
(83-312) of surprise and panegyric. " I like not this
(83-312) raising of fire," said an old Highlander, who looked
(83-312) on during the devastation; " hitherto five of us
(83-312) have put twenty to flight, but if we follow this
(83-312) inhuman course, we may look for twenty of us to fly
(83-312) before five of our enemies." In fact, the prophecy
(83-312) was not far from its accomplishment. The Earl of
(83-312) Cromarty extended his operations even into the
(83-312) islands of Orkney, but received as little encouragement
(83-312) from the inhabitants of that archipelago as
(83-312) from the people of Sutherland. In Caithness a few

[TG83-313]

(83-313) gentlemen of the name of Sinclair adopted their

(83-313)cause; but it is said that not above forty-three men
(83-313)in all from that country joined the Chevalier's
(83-313)standard. The beginning of April was now come,
(83-313)and the indications of the Duke of Cumberland's
(83-313)advance in person made it plain that the insurgents
(83-313)would be no longer permitted to protract the
(83-313)campaign by a war of posts, but must either fight,
(83-313)or retire into the Highlands. The last measure, it
(83-313)was foreseen, must totally break up Prince Charles's
(83-313)Lowland cavalry, many of whom had already lost
(83-313)their horses in the retreat; it was necessary, therefore,
(83-313)to form them into a body of foot-guards.

(83-313)The Prince did not hesitate a moment which
(83-313)course to pursue. He entertained, like others who
(83-313)play for deep stakes, a tendency to fatalism, which
(83-313)had been fostered by his success at Preston and
(83-313)Falkirk, and he was determined, like a desperate
(83-313)gamester, to push his luck to extremity. The kind
(83-313)of warfare which he had been waging for some
(83-313)weeks past, had necessarily led to a great dispersion
(83-313)of his forces, and, intent upon the impending
(83-313)contest, he now summoned his detachments from
(83-313)every side, to join his own standard at Inverness.

(83-313)The powerful body of men under the Earl of
(83-313)Cromarty received similar orders. MacDonald of
(83-313)Barrisdale, in great haste to obey, set out on his
(83-313)march upon the 14th of April. On the 15th he
(83-313)was to have been followed by the Earl of Cromarty
(83-313)and his regiment. This projected evacuation of
(83-313)Sutherland, which ought to have been kept secret,
(83-313)was imprudently suffered to transpire; and the

[TG83-314]

(83-314)Sutherland men resolved to annoy the rear of their

(83-314)unwelcome visitants as they left the country.
(83-314)With this view, a great many of the armed militia
(83-314)collected from the hills, in which they had taken
(83-314)shelter, and prepared to take such advantage of the
(83-314)retreating insurgents as opportunity should permit.
(83-314)About two hundred men assembled for this purpose,
(83-314)and approached the coast. One John MacKay,
(83-314)a vintner in Golspie, had a division of about
(83-314)twenty to act under his own separate command.
(83-314)The Earl of Cromarty, for whom the militia were
(83-314)lying in ambush, was far from suspecting the danger
(83-314)he was in. He remained, with his son Lord
(83-314)MacLeod, and several other officers, at the castle
(83-314)of Dunrobin, witnessing, it is said, the tricks of
(83-314)a juggler, while his men, three hundred and fifty
(83-314)in number, were marched, under the command of
(83-314)subaltern officers, and with little precaution, to
(83-314)the ferry where they were to embark. The
(83-314)consequences were fatal. John MacKay with his
(83-314)twenty men, threw himself between the rear of the
(83-314)main body and Lord Cromarty and his officers,
(83-314)who were following in imagined security, and
(83-314)suddenly firing, with considerable execution, upon
(83-314)the Earl and his attendants, forced them back to
(83-314)Dunrobin castle, which they had just left. The
(83-314)same active partisan contrived to gain admittance
(83-314)into the castle without a single follower, and
(83-314)boldly summoned the Earl and his officers to

[TG83-315]

(83-315)surrender, which at length, under a false apprehension
(83-315)of the amount of force by which they were
(83-315)surrounded, they were induced to do. The Earl
(83-315)of Cromarty, Lord MacLeod, and the other officers
(83-315)of Lord Cromarty's regiment, who had not marched
(83-315)with their men, were thus made prisoners, and

(83-315)put on board the Hound, a British sloop of war.
(83-315)The rebellion, therefore, was thus extinguished in
(83-315)Sutherland on the 16th of April, the very day on
(83-315)which it was put an end to throughout Scotland,
(83-315)by the great battle of Culloden.

(83-315)Having given a short account of these distant
(83-315)operations, we must return to the motions of the
(83-315)main armies.

(83-315)The Duke of Cumberland, with the last division
(83-315)of his army, left Aberdeen on the 8th of April,
(83-315)with the intention of moving upon Inverness, being
(83-315)Charles's headquarters, in the neighbourhood of
(83-315)which it was understood that the Prince designed
(83-315)to make a stand. As he advanced northward, the
(83-315)Duke of Cumberland was joined by Generals
(83-315)Bland and Mordaunt, who commanded his advanced
(83-315)divisions, and the whole army assembled at the
(83-315)town of Cullen, about ten miles from the banks of
(83-315)the Spey.

(83-315)An opinion had been entertained, to which we
(83-315)have already alluded, that the Highlanders intended
(83-315)to defend the passage of this deep and rapid
(83-315)river. A trench and some remains of works seemed
(83-315)to show that such had been their original purpose,
(83-315)and a considerable division of the Lowland
(83-315)troops were drawn up under Lord John Drummond,

[TG83-316]

(83-316)with the apparent purpose of maintaining
(83-316)these defences. The Prince's ultimate orders,
(83-316)however, were, that Lord John should retreat to
(83-316)Elgin as soon as the enemy should approach in
(83-316)force the south-eastern bank of the river. He did

(83-316)so, and the Duke of Cumberland forded the Spey
(83-316)with his army in three divisions, his music playing
(83-316)a tune calculated to insult his antagonists. Several
(83-316)lives were lost, owing to the strength of the
(83-316)stream; they were chiefly females, followers of
(83-316)the camp.

(83-316)On the 13th of April, the Duke of Cumberland's
(83-316)army marched to the moor of Alves, and
(83-316)on the 14th advanced to Nairne, where there was
(83-316)a slight skirmish between their advance and the
(83-316)rearguard of the Highlanders, who were just leaving
(83-316)the town. The last were unexpectedly supported
(83-316)in their retreat, about five miles from
(83-316)Nairne, by the Chevalier himself, who arrived
(83-316)suddenly at the head of his guards and the MacIntosh

[TG83-317]

(83-317)Regiment, at a place called the Loch of the
(83-317)Clans. On the appearance of this additional force,
(83-317)the vanguard of the Duke's army retreated upon
(83-317)their main body, which was encamped near Nairne.

(83-317)It is now necessary to examine the state of the
(83-317)contending armies, who were soon to be called upon
(83-317)to decide the fate of the contest by a bloody
(83-317)battle.

(83-317)The Duke of Cumberland was at the head of an
(83-317)army of disciplined troops, completely organized,
(83-317)and supported by a fleet, which, advancing along
(83-317)the coast, could supply them with provisions,
(83-317)artillery, and every other material requisite for the
(83-317)carrying on of the campaign. They were under
(83-317)the command of a Prince, whose authority was
(83-317)absolute, whose courage was undoubted, whose

(83-317)high birth was the boast of his troops, and whose
(83-317)military skill and experience were, in the opinion
(83-317)of his followers, completely adequate to the
(83-317)successful termination of the war.

(83-317)On the other hand, the army of Prince Charles
(83-317)lay widely dispersed, on account of the difficulty
(83-317)of procuring subsistence; so that there was great
(83-317)doubt of the possibility of assembling them in an
(83-317)united body within the short space afforded them
(83-317)for that purpose. The councils also of the adventurous
(83-317)Prince were unhappily divided; and those
(83-317)dissensions which had existed even in their days
(83-317)of prosperity, were increased in the present critical
(83-317)moment, even by the pressure of the emergency.
(83-317)The first difficulty might be in some degree
(83-317)surmounted, but the last was of a fatal

[TG83-318]

(83-318)character; and I must once more remind you of
(83-318)the causes in which it originated.

(83-318)The aversion of the Prince to Lord George Murray
(83-318)has been already stated; and although the fact
(83-318)may seem surprising, the unwarranted suspicion
(83-318)with which this individual was regarded by the
(83-318)Chevalier, is pretty well understood to have
(83-318)extended itself about this period to a great part of his
(83-318)other Scottish followers, more especially as the
(83-318)present state of the contest, joined to the private
(83-318)disaffection, or rather discontent, among the clans,
(83-318)tended to weaken the confidence of the commander.
(83-318)Such sparks of disagreement assume more importance
(83-318)in the time of adversity, as lights, little
(83-318)distinguished of themselves, are more visible on the
(83-318)approach of darkness. Since the council at Derby,

(83-318)the Prince had convoked or advised with no public
(83-318)assembly of his chiefs and followers of rank, as he
(83-318)had formerly been wont to do, if we except the
(83-318)council of war held near Crieff, which was in a
(83-318)manner forced on him by the retreat from Stirling.
(83-318)During all that time he had, in the fullest sense,
(83-318)commanded the army by his own authority. His
(83-318)trust and confidence had been chiefly reposed in
(83-318)Secretary Murray, in Sir Thomas Sheridan, his
(83-318)former tutor, and in the Irish officers, who made
(83-318)their way to his favour by assenting to all he
(83-318)proposed, and by subscribing, without hesitation, to
(83-318)the most unlimited doctrine of the monarch's
(83-318)absolute power. On the other hand, the Scottish
(83-318)nobility and gentry, who had engaged their lives
(83-318)and fortunes in the quarrel, naturally thought

[TG83-319]

(83-319)themselves entitled to be consulted concerning the
(83-319)manner in which the war was to be conducted, and
(83-319)were indignant at being excluded from offering
(83-319)their advice, where they themselves were not only
(83-319)principally interested, but best acquainted with the
(83-319)localities and manners of the country in which the
(83-319)war was waged.

(83-319)They were also displeased that in his communication
(83-319)with the court of France, announcing his
(83-319)successes at Preston, and at Falkirk, the Prince
(83-319)had intrusted his negotiations with the court of
(83-319)France to Irishmen in the French service. They
(83-319)suspected, unjustly, perhaps, that instead of pleading
(83-319)the cause of the insurgents fairly, and describing
(83-319)and insisting upon the amount and nature of the
(83-319)succours which were requisite, these gentlemen
(83-319)would be satisfied to make such representations as

(83-319)might give satisfaction to the French ministers, and
(83-319)insure to the messengers their own advancement
(83-319)in the French service. Accordingly, all the officers
(83-319)sent to France by Charles received promotion.
(83-319)The Scots also suspected that the Irish and French
(83-319)officers, willing to maintain themselves in exclusive
(83-319)favour, endeavoured to impress the Prince with
(83-319)suspensions of the fidelity of the Scottish people, and
(83-319)invidiously recalled to his memory the conduct of
(83-319)the nation to Charles I. It is said that Charles
(83-319)was not entirely convinced of the falsehood of these
(83-319)suspensions till the faithful services of so many of
(83-319)that nation, during the various perils of his escape,
(83-319>would have rendered it base ingratitude to harbour
(83-319)them longer.

[TG83-320]

(83-320)There was another subject of discontent in the
(83-320)Prince's army, arising, perhaps, from too high
(83-320)pretensions on the part of one class of his followers,
(83-320)and too little consideration on that of Charles.
(83-320)Many of the gentlemen who served as privates in
(83-320)the Prince's cavalry, conceived that they were
(83-320)entitled to more personal notice than they received,
(83-320)and complained that they were regarded more in
(83-320)the light of ordinary troopers than as men of estate
(83-320)and birth, who were performing, at their own
(83-320)expense, the duty of private soldiers, to evince their
(83-320)loyalty to the cause of the Stewarts.

(83-320)Notwithstanding these secret jealousies, Charles
(83-320)remained unaltered in the system which he had
(83-320)adopted. Neither did the discontent of his followers
(83-320)proceed further than murmurs, or in any case
(83-320)break out, as in Mar's insurrection, into mutiny, or
(83-320)even a desire on the part of the gentlemen engaged

(83-320)to make, by submission or otherwise, their separate
(83-320)peace with Government. Notwithstanding, however,
(83-320)what has been said, the gallant bravery and
(83-320)general deportment of the Prince secured him
(83-320)popularity with the common soldiers of his army,
(83-320)though those with higher pretensions were less
(83-320)easily satisfied, when mere civility was rendered
(83-320)instead of confidence.

(83-320)The Chevalier had been unwell of a feverish
(83-320)complaint during several days of his residence at
(83-320)Elgin in the month of March. On his retreat to
(83-320)Inverness, he seemed perfectly recovered, and
(83-320)employed himself by hunting in the forenoon, and
(83-320)in the evening with balls, concerts, and parties of

[TG83-321]

(83-321)pleasure, in which he appeared in as good spirits,
(83-321)and as confident, as after the battle of Preston.
(83-321)This exterior show of confidence would have been
(83-321)well had there been good grounds for its foundation;
(83-321)but those alleged by Charles rested upon a
(83-321)firm conviction that the army of the Duke of
(83-321)Cumberland would not seriously venture to oppose in
(83-321)battle their lawful prince; an idea which he found
(83-321)it impossible to impress upon such of his followers,
(83-321)as were in the least acquainted with the genius and
(83-321)temper of the English soldiery.

(83-321)While the Prince was at Inverness, two gentlemen
(83-321)of the name of Haliburton arrived from France,
(83-321)with tidings of a cold description. They informed
(83-321)him that the court of that country had entirely laid
(83-321)aside the thoughts of an invasion upon a large scale,
(83-321)and that his brother, the Duke of York, who had
(83-321)been destined to be placed at the head of it, had

(83-321)left the coast, being recalled to Paris. This put a
(83-321)final end to the most reasonable hopes of the
(83-321)unfortunate Adventurer, which had always rested
(83-321)upon a grand exertion of France in his favour;
(83-321)although, indeed, he might have been convinced,
(83-321)that since they had made no such effort during the
(83-321)time of his inroad into England, when his affairs
(83-321)bore an aspect unexpectedly favourable, they would
(83-321)not undertake any considerable risk to redeem him
(83-321)from the destruction which seemed now to be
(83-321)impending.

(83-321)Besides the discords in the Prince's camp, which,
(83-321)like a mutiny among the crew of a sinking vessel,
(83-321)prevented an unanimous exertion to secure the

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(83-322)common safety, the separation of his forces, and
(83-322)the pecuniary difficulties which now pressed hard
(83-322)upon him, were material obstacles to any probability
(83-322)of success in an action with the Duke of
(83-322)Cumberland. Charles endeavoured, indeed, to
(83-322)concentrate all his army near Inverness, but without
(83-322)entire success. General Stapleton, who had been
(83-322)engaged in attempting to reduce Fort William,
(83-322)abandoned that enterprise and returned to the
(83-322)Prince's camp, together with Lochiel and the other
(83-322)Highlanders by whom that irregular siege had been
(83-322)supported. But the Master of Fraser, who was
(83-322)employed in levying the full strength of his clan,
(83-322)together with Barrisdale and Cromarty, engaged
(83-322)as we have seen in Sutherland, were absent from
(83-322)the main army. Cluny, and his MacPhersons, had
(83-322)been despatched into Badenoch, with a view to their
(83-322)more easy subsistence in their own country, and
(83-322)were wanting in the hour when their services were

(83-322)most absolutely necessary. There were besides
(83-322)800 or 1000 men of different Highland clans, who
(83-322)were dispersed in visiting their own several glens,
(83-322)and would certainly have returned to the army, if
(83-322)space had been allowed them for so doing.

(83-322)It is also proper to mention, that, as already
(83-322)hinted, the cavalry of the Prince had suffered
(83-322)greatly. That of Lord Pitsligo might be said to
(83-322)have been entirely destroyed by their hard duty on
(83-322)the retreat from Stirling, and was in fact converted
(83-322)into a company of foot-guards. Now, although
(83-322)these horsemen, consisting of gentlemen and their
(83-322)servants, might have been unable to stand the shock

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(83-323)of heavy and regular regiments of horse, yet from
(83-323)their spirit and intelligence, they had been of the
(83-323)greatest service as light cavalry, and their loss to
(83-323)Charles Edward's army was a great misfortune.

(83-323)The force which remained with the Prince was
(83-323)discontented from want of pay, and in a state of
(83-323)considerable disorganization. The troops were not
(83-323)duly supplied with provisions, and, like more
(83-323)regular soldiers under such circumstances, were
(83-323)guilty of repeated mutiny and disobedience of
(83-323)orders. For all these evils Charles Edward saw
(83-323)no remedy but in a general action, to which he was
(83-323)the more disposed, that hitherto, by a variety of
(83-323)chances in his favour, as well as by the native
(83-323)courage of his followers, he had come off victorious,
(83-323)though against all ordinary expectation, in every
(83-323)action in which he had been engaged. On such
(83-323)an alternative then, and with troops mutinous for
(83-323)want of pay, half starved for want of provisions,

(83-323)and diminished in numbers from the absence of
(83-323)3000 or 4000 men, he determined to risk an action
(83-323)with the Duke of Cumberland, at the head of an

[TG83-324]

(83-324)army considerably outnumbering his own, and
(83-324)possessed of all those advantages of which he himself
(83-324)at the moment was so completely deprived.

(83-324)The preparations for the engagement were not
(83-324)made with more prudence than that which was
(83-324)shown in the resolution to give instant battle.
(83-324)Charles drew out his forces upon an extensive moor,
(83-324)about five miles distant from Inverness, called
(83-324)Drummossie, but more frequently known by the
(83-324)name of Culloden, to which it is adjacent. The
(83-324)Highlanders lay upon their arms all the night of
(83-324)the 1,4th; on the next morning they were drawn
(83-324)up in order of battle, in the position which the
(83-324)Chevalier proposed they should maintain during the
(83-324)action. On their right there were some park walls,
(83-324)on their left a descent which slopes down upon
(83-324)Culloden house; their front was directly east.
(83-324)They were drawn up in two lines, of which the
(83-324)Athole brigade held the right of the whole, next
(83-324)to them Lochiel. The clans of Appin, Fraser, and
(83-324)Macintosh, with those of MacLauchlan, MacLean,
(83-324)and Farquharson, composed the centre ; and on the
(83-324)left were the three regiments of MacDonalds,
(83-324)styled, from their chiefs, Clanranald, Keppoch, and
(83-324)Glengarry.

(83-324)As if a fate had hung over the councils of Charles,
(83-324)the disposition of this order of battle involved the
(83-324)decision of a point of honour, esteemed of the
(83-324)utmost importance in this singular army, though in

(83-324)any other a mere question of idle precedence. The
(83-324)MacDonalds, as the most powerful and numerous
(83-324)of the clans, had claimed from the beginning of the

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(83-325)expedition the privilege of holding the right of the
(83-325)whole army. Lochiel and Appin had waived any
(83-325)dispute of this claim at the battle of Preston; the
(83-325)MacDonalds had also led the right at Falkirk;
(83-325)and now the left was assigned to this proud
(83-325)surname, which they regarded not only as an affront,
(83-325)but as an evil omen.¹ The Prince's second line,
(83-325)or reserve, was divided into three bodies, with an
(83-325)interval between each. On the right were Elcho's,
(83-325)FitzJames's and Lord Strathallan's horse, with
(83-325)Abbachie's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments of infantry.
(83-325)The centre division was formed of the Irish picquets,
(83-325)Lord John Drummond's regiment, and that
(83-325)of the Earl of Kilmarnock. The left wing of the
(83-325)second line consisted of the hussars, with Sir
(83-325)Alexander Bannerman's and Moir of Stonywood's
(83-325)Lowland battalions. The number of the whole
(83-325)first line might be about 4700 men; that of the
(83-325)second line 2300, of which 250 were cavalry; but,
(83-325)as I will presently show you, the numbers which

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(83-326)appeared at the review were very considerably
(83-326)diminished before the action.

(83-326)A great error on the part of the commissaries,
(83-326)or such as acted in that capacity, in the Highland
(83-326)army, was exhibited in the almost total want of
(83-326)provisions; a deficiency the more inexcusable, as it
(83-326)was said there was plenty of meal at Inverness.
(83-326)The soldiers, however, received no victuals, except

(83-326)a single biscuit per man during the whole day of
(83-326)the 15th, and this dearth of provisions was such,
(83-326)that whether the army had been victorious or
(83-326)vanquished, upon the day of the 16th, they must have
(83-326)dispersed to distant quarters for the mere purpose
(83-326)of obtaining subsistence.

(83-326)Early on the 15th of April, Lord Elcho was
(83-326)despatched to reconnoitre the camp of the Duke
(83-326)of Cumberland, situated near the little town of
(83-326)Nairne. It was the anniversary of the royal Duke's
(83-326)birth-day, which was apparently dedicated to
(83-326)festivity and indulgence on the part of the soldiers
(83-326)whom he commanded. Lord Elcho remained within
(83-326)view of the enemy until high noon, and then retired
(83-326)to announce that to all appearance the English army
(83-326)did not mean to move that day.

(83-326)Upon this report the Prince assembled the chief
(83-326)officers of his army, being the first council of war
(83-326)which he had held since that in which the retreat
(83-326)from Derby was resolved upon, excepting the meeting
(83-326)at Fairnton, near Crieff. Charles opened the
(83-326)business by asking the opinion of the council what
(83-326)was best to be done. There was a diversity of
(83-326)opinions. The want of provisions alone rendered

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(83-327)a battle inevitable, but the place and mode of giving
(83-327)that battle were matter of discussion. Lord
(83-327)George Murray, as usual, was the first to give his
(83-327)opinion, and enlarged much on the advantage which
(83-327)a Highland army was sure to possess in taking the
(83-327)enemy by surprise, and in darkness rather than in
(83-327)daylight. Regular soldiers, he said, depend
(83-327)entirely on their discipline, an advantage of which

(83-327)they are deprived by darkness and confusion.
(83-327)Highlanders, on the contrary, had, he observed,
(83-327)little discipline but what was of an intuitive nature,
(83-327)independent either of light or regularity. He
(83-327)concluded by giving his opinion, that the first line,
(83-327)should march in two divisions at the dusk of the
(83-327)evening; he himself offered to lead that composed
(83-327)of the right wing of the first line, with which he
(83-327)designed to march round the town of Nairne, and
(83-327)attack the Duke of Cumberland's camp in the
(83-327)rear; at the same time he proposed that the Duke
(83-327)of Perth, with the left division of the first line,
(83-327)should attack the camp in front, when he did not
(83-327)doubt that the confusion occasioned by the sudden
(83-327)onset on two points, joined to the effects of the past
(83-327)day's festivity, would throw the regulars into total
(83-327)confusion, and afford the Prince a complete victory.
(83-327)This plan also included a march of the whole
(83-327)second line, or body of reserve, under the command
(83-327)of the Prince himself, to support the front attack.
(83-327)To this proposal several objections were made;
(83-327)one was, that it was a pity to hazard any thing
(83-327)until the MacPhersons, a great part of the Frasers,
(83-327)MacDonald of Barrisdale, Glengyle, with his

[TG83-328]

(83-328)MacGregors, the Earl of Cromarty, whose misfortune
(83-328)was not known, and other reinforcements at present
(83-328)absent, should have joined the army. It was also
(83-328)stated, that in all probability the Duke would
(83-328)receive notice of the intended movement, either by
(83-328)his spies or his patrols; that in either case it would
(83-328)be difficult to provide against the necessary
(83-328)consequences of such discovery; and that, if the
(83-328)Highlanders were once thrown into confusion in a night
(83-328)attack, there would be no possibility of rallying

(83-328)them. The principal answer to these objections
(83-328)was founded on the exigency of the moment, which
(83-328)required a considerable hazard to be incurred in
(83-328)one shape or other, and that the plan of the night
(83-328)attack was as feasible as any which could be
(83-328)proposed.

(83-328)Another objection strongly urged, was the
(83-328)impossibility of marching twelve miles, being the
(83-328)distance between Culloden and the enemy's camp,
(83-328)between nightfall and dawn. To this Lord George
(83-328)Murray returned for answer, that he would pledge
(83-328)himself for the success of the project, provided
(83-328)secrecy was observed. Other plans were proposed,
(83-328)but the night march was finally resolved upon.

(83-328)Between seven and eight o'clock, the Chevalier
(83-328)ordered the heath to be set on fire, that the light
(83-328)might convey the idea of his troops being still in
(83-328)the same position there, and got all his men under
(83-328)arms, as had been agreed upon.

(83-328)It was explained by the Prince's aide-de-camp,
(83-328)Colonel Ker of Gradon, that during the attack on
(83-328)the camp the Highlanders were not to employ their

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(83-329)fire-arms, but only broadswords, dirks, and Lochaber
(83-329)axes, with which they were instructed to beat
(83-329)down the tent poles, and to cut the ropes, taking
(83-329)care at the same moment to strike or stab with force
(83-329)wherever they observed any swelling or bulge in
(83-329)the fallen canvass of the tent. They were also
(83-329)instructed to observe the profoundest silence during
(83-329)the time of the march, and the watchword assigned
(83-329)to them was " King James the VIII."

(83-329)Thus far all was well; and for resolute men, an
(83-329)attempt so desperate presented, from its very
(83-329)desperation, a considerable chance of success. But
(83-329)an inconvenience occurred on the march, for which,
(83-329)and the confusion which it was sure to occasion,
(83-329)due allowance seems scarcely to have been made
(83-329)in the original project. It had been proposed
(83-329)by Lord George Murray that the army should
(83-329)march in three columns, consisting of the first
(83-329)line in two divisions, and the whole reserve, or
(83-329)second line, under the Prince himself. But from
(83-329)the necessity of the three columns keeping the
(83-329)same road as far as the house of Kilravock, where
(83-329)the first division was to diverge from the others,
(83-329)and cross the river Nairne, in order to get in
(83-329)the rear of the enemy's camp, it followed that the
(83-329)army, instead of forming three distinct columns
(83-329)of march, each on its own ground, composed only
(83-329)one long one, the second line following the first,
(83-329)and the third the second, upon the same track,
(83-329)which greatly diminished the power of moving
(83-329)with rapidity. The night, besides, was very dark,
(83-329)which made the progress of the whole column

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(83-330)extremely slow, especially as there was a frequent
(83-330)necessity for turning out of the straight road, in
(83-330)order to avoid all inhabited places, from which
(83-330)news of their motions might have been sent to the
(83-330)Duke of Cumberland.

(83-330)Slow as the march was, the van considerably
(83-330)outmarched the rear. A gap, or interval, was left
(83-330)in the centre of the whole, and messages were sent
(83-330)repeatedly to Lochiel, who was in front, and to

(83-330) Lord George Murray, who commanded the head
(83-330) of the line, requesting them to halt until the rear
(83-330) of the columns should come up. Fifty of these
(83-330) messages were brought to the van of the column
(83-330) before they had marched above eight miles, by
(83-330) which time they had reached Kilravock, or
(83-330) Kilraick House, within four miles of the Duke of
(83-330) Cumberland's camp.

(83-330) Hitherto Lord George Murray had not halted
(83-330) upon his line of march; but had only obeyed the
(83-330) aides-de-camp by marching more slowly, in the
(83-330) hope that the rear might come up. But at this
(83-330) place the Duke of Perth himself, who commanded
(83-330) the second division, came up to Lord George Murray,
(83-330) and putting his horse across the road, insisted
(83-330) that the rear could not advance unless the van was
(83-330) halted. Lord George Murray halted accordingly,
(83-330) and many of the principal officers came to the head
(83-330) of the column to consult what was to be done.
(83-330) They reported that many of the Highlanders had
(83-330) straggled from the ranks, and lain down to sleep
(83-330) in the wood of Kilravock; which must have been
(83-330) owing to faintness, or want of food, since an eight

[TG83-331]

(83-331) miles' march could not be supposed to have fatigued
(83-331) these hardy mountaineers to such an excess. It
(83-331) was also said, that more gaps were left in the line
(83-331) than one, and that there was no possibility of the
(83-331) rear keeping pace with the head of the column.
(83-331) Watches were next consulted. It had been proposed
(83-331) to make the attack before two o'clock in the
(83-331) morning; but that hour was now come, and the
(83-331) head of the column was still four miles distant from
(83-331) the English camp. The object of the expedition,

(83-331)therefore, was frustrated. Some of the gentlemen
(83-331)volunteers were of opinion that they ought to
(83-331)proceed at all risks; but, as they must have marched
(83-331)for at least two miles in broad light, all hopes of a
(83-331)surprise must have been ended. In these doubtful
(83-331)circumstances Mr O'Sullivan found the officers
(83-331)at the head of the column, when he came to Lord
(83-331)George Murray with orders from the Prince, expressing
(83-331)it to be his desire, if possible, that the attack
(83-331)should proceed; yet referring to Lord George,
(83-331)as nearest to the head of the column, to form his
(83-331)own judgment whether the attempt could be made
(83-331)with advantage or not. At this moment the distant
(83-331)roll of the drums from the Duke of Cumberland's
(83-331)camp announced that his army was upon the
(83-331>alert, and that the moment was gone by when the
(83-331)camp might have been taken by surprise. " They
(83-331)are awake," said Lord George.-" I never expected
(83-331)to have found them otherwise," said Mr Hepburn
(83-331)of Keith, who had joined the van as a volunteer;
(83-331)" but we may yet find them unprepared." Lord
(83-331)George applauded Hepburn's courage, but

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(83-332)considered that, from the lateness of the hour, and
(83-332)the great diminution of the strength of the attacking
(83-332)column, the plan could not be persevered
(83-332)in with any hope of success. He therefore ordered
(83-332)the troops to march back with as much expedition
(83-332)as possible.

(83-332)As this retreat, though apparently unavoidable,
(83-332)was executed by Lord George Murray without the
(83-332)express orders of the Prince, though in execution
(83-332)of an optional power reposed in Lord George himself,
(83-332)it was at the time, and has been since, used as

(83-332)a handle by those who were inclined to accuse that
(83-332)nobleman of treachery to a cause, which he had
(83-332)served with so much valour and talent.

[TG83-333]

(83-333)It may be here remarked that the Duke or
(83-333)Cumberland's army took no alarm either from the
(83-333)march or countermarch of the enemy, and that but
(83-333)for the inauspicious circumstances which delayed the
(83-333)movement, the attacking column had a great chance
(83-333)of success.

(83-333)The retreat was executed with much more
(83-333)rapidity than the advance, it being unnecessary to
(83-333)take any precautions for concealing their motions;
(83-333)so that the whole army had regained the heights
(83-333)of Culloden moor before five o'clock in the morning.
(83-333)The disadvantages of the night march, and
(83-333)of the preceding day's abstinence, became now
(83-333)visible. The men went off from their colours in
(83-333)great numbers, to seek food at Inverness and the
(83-333)neighbouring villages. They were unpaid, unfed,
(83-333)exhausted with famine and want of sleep, and replied
(83-333)with indifference to the officers who endeavoured
(83-333)to force them to return to their colours, that
(83-333)they might shoot them if they chose but that they
(83-333)would not return till they had procured some food.
(83-333)The principal officers themselves were exhausted
(83-333)from want of rest and sustenance. They went as

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(83-334)if instinctively, to the house of Culloden, where
(83-334)they had previously assembled, but were so worn
(83-334)out, that, instead of holding a council of war, each
(83-334)laid himself down to sleep, on beds or tables, or on the
(83-334)floor where such conveniences were not to be had.

(83-334)The time was now arrived for putting into execution
(83-334)the alternative proposed in the council of
(83-334)war of the preceding day, which was only postponed
(83-334)to the proposed march to Nairne. This was, that
(83-334)the Highland army should retire, and take up a
(83-334)strong position beyond the river Nairne, inaccessible
(83-334)to cavalry. Such a movement would have
(83-334)been no difficult matter, had the confused state of
(83-334)the Chevalier's army, and the total want of provisions,

[TG83-335]

(83-335)permitted them to take any steps for their
(83-335)preservation. All, however, which looked either
(83-335)like foresight or common" sense, seemed to be
(83-335)abandoned on this occasion, under the physical
(83-335)exhaustion of fatigue and famine. The army remained
(83-335)on the upper part of the open moor, having their
(83-335)flank covered on the right by the park-walls which
(83-335)we have mentioned, their only protection from
(83-335)cavalry, and, as it proved, a very slight one.

(83-335)About two hours after the Prince had again
(83-335)reached Culloden, that is, about seven or eight
(83-335)o'clock, a patrol of horse brought in notice that a
(83-335)party of the Duke of Cumberland's cavalry was
(83-335)within two miles, and the whole of his army not
(83-335)above four miles distant. Upon this alarm, the
(83-335)Prince and the Duke of Perth, Lord George
(83-335)Murray and Lord John Drummond, mounted their
(83-335)horses, and ordered the drums to beat, and the
(83-335)pipes to play their respective gatherings. This
(83-335)sudden summons to arms caused much hurry and
(83-335)confusion amongst men half dead with fatigue, and
(83-335)roused from the sleep of which they had so much
(83-335)need. The chiefs and officers did what was

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(83-336)possible to get them together; but, as they were
(83-336)dispersed in every direction, as far as Inverness itself,
(83-336)nearly two thousand of the Highlanders who were
(83-336)at the review of the preceding day, were absent
(83-336)from the battle of the 16th.

(83-336)It would have been yet time to retreat by the
(83-336)right of their line, to cross the water of Nairne, and
(83-336)to draw up upon ground inaccessible to the Duke
(83-336)of Cumberland's army, when they might, after sunset,
(83-336)have renewed, if it was thought advisable, the
(83-336)attempt to surprise his camp; for it is believed that
(83-336)the Duke was not, till some time afterwards, made
(83-336)aware of their purpose of the previous night. No
(83-336)motion, however, was made to this effect. The
(83-336)Chevalier talked confidently of a battle and a victory;
(83-336)and those who did not share his hopes were
(83-336)prepared to die, if they did not expect to conquer.

[TG83-337]

(83-337)The Duke of Cumberland's army now appeared
(83-337)about two miles off, advancing straight in front of
(83-337)the Prince's line of battle. His Royal Highnesses
(83-337)force consisted of fifteen battalions of foot, viz.
(83-337)Pulteney's, 500; The Royals, 500; Cholmondely's,
(83-337)500; Price's, 500; Scots Fusileers, 500; Dejean's,
(83-337)500; Burrel's, 500; Battereau's, 500; Blakeny's,
(83-337)500; Howard's, 500; Fleming's, 500; Sackville's,
(83-337)500; Sempill's, 500; Conway's, 500; Wolfe's, 500;
(83-337)and 600 Campbells; which, with Lord Mark Ker's
(83-337)dragoons, 300, Cobham's, 300, and Kingston's horse,
(83-337)300, made 8100 foot, and 900 horse. The day of
(83-337)the battle they were drawn up in two lines, seven
(83-337)battalions in the first, and eight in the second line,

(83-337)supported by the two squadrons of horse on the
(83-337)right, and four squadrons of dragoons on the left.
(83-337)The Campbells were on the left with the dragoons.
(83-337)There were two pieces of cannon betwixt every
(83-337)battalion in the first line, three on the right, and
(83-337)three on the left of the second. The army was
(83-337)commanded in chief by the Duke of Cumberland,
(83-337)and under him by lieutenant-generals Earl of
(83-337)Albemarle, Hawley, and Bland, major-general
(83-337)Huske, brigadiers Lord Sempill, Cholmondely, and
(83-337)Mordaunt.

[TG83-338]

(83-338)Had the whole Highland army been collected,
(83-338)there would have been very little, if any difference
(83-338)in numbers between the contending parties, each of
(83-338)which amounted to about 9000 men; but we have
(83-338)already shown that the Prince was deprived of
(83-338)about 2000 of his troops, who had never come up,
(83-338)and the stragglers who left his standard between
(83-338)the time of the review and the battle amounted to
(83-338)at least 2000 more; so that, upon the great and
(83-338)decisive battle of Culloden, only 5000 of the insurgent
(83-338)army were opposed to 9000 of the King's
(83-338)troops. The men who were absent, also, were
(83-338)chiefly Highlanders, who formed the peculiar
(83-338)strength of the Chevalier's army.

(83-338)There was no appearance of discouragement on
(83-338)either side; the troops on both sides huzza'd
(83-338)repeatedly as they came within sight of each other,
(83-338)and it seemed as if the Highlanders had lost all
(83-338)sense of fatigue at sight of the enemy. The
(83-338)MacDonalds alone had a sullen and discontented
(83-338)look, arising from their having taken offence at the
(83-338)post which had been assigned them.

(83-338)As the lines approached each other, the artillery
(83-338)opened their fire, by which the Duke of Cumberland's
(83-338)army suffered very little, and that of the
(83-338)Highlanders a great deal; for the English guns,
(83-338)being well served, made lanes through the ranks of
(83-338)the enemy, while the French artillery scarcely
(83-338)killed a man. To remain steady and inactive under
(83-338)this galling fire, would have been a trial to the best
(83-338)disciplined troops, and it is no wonder that the
(83-338)Highlanders showed great impatience under an

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(83-339)annoyance peculiarly irksome to their character.
(83-339)Some threw themselves down to escape the artillery,
(83-339)some called out to advance, and a very few
(83-339)broke their ranks and fled. The cannonade lasted
(83-339)for about an hour; at length the clans became so
(83-339)impatient, that Lord George Murray was about to
(83-339)give the order to advance, when the Highlanders
(83-339)from the centre and right wing, rushed without
(83-339)orders furiously down, after their usual manner of
(83-339)attacking sword in hand. Being received with a
(83-339)heavy fire, both of cannonade and grape-shot, they
(83-339)became so much confused, that they got huddled
(83-339)together in their onset, without any interval or
(83-339)distinction of clans or regiments. Notwithstanding this
(83-339)disorder, the fury of their charge broke through
(83-339)Monro's and Burrel's regiments, which formed the
(83-339)left of the Duke of Cumberland's line. But that
(83-339)General had anticipated the possibility of such an
(83-339)event, and had strengthened his second line, so as
(83-339)to form a steady support in case any part of his
(83-339)first should give way. The Highlanders, partially
(83-339)victorious, continued to advance with fury, and
(83-339)although much disordered by their own success, and

(83-339)partly disarmed by having thrown away their guns
(83-339)on the very first charge, they rushed on Sempill's
(83-339)regiment in the second line with unabated fury.
(83-339)That steady corps was drawn up three deep, the
(83-339)first rank kneeling, and the third standing upright,
(83-339)They reserved their fire until the fugitives of
(83-339)Burrel's and Monro's broken regiments had escaped
(83-339)round the flanks, and through the intervals of the
(83-339)second line. By this time the Highlanders were

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(83-340)within a yard of the bayonet point, when Sempill's
(83-340)battalion poured in their fire with so much accuracy,
(83-340)that it brought down a great many of the assailants,
(83-340)and forced the rest to turn back. A few pressed
(83-340)on, but, unable to break through Sempill's regiment,
(83-340)were bayoneted by the first rank. The attack of
(83-340)the Highlanders was the less efficient, that on this
(83-340)occasion most of them had laid aside their targets,
(83-340)expecting a march rather than a battle. While
(83-340)the right of the Highland line sustained their
(83-340)national character, though not with their usual success,
(83-340)the MacDonalds on the left seemed uncertain
(83-340)whether they would attack or not.¹ It was in vain
(83-340)the Duke of Perth called out to them, " Claymore!"
(83-340)telling the murmurers of this haughty tribe, " That
(83-340)if they behaved with their usual valour, they would
(83-340)convert the left into the right, and that he would
(83-340)in future call himself MacDonald." It was equally
(83-340)in vain that the gallant Keppoch charged with a
(83-340)few of his near relations, while his clan, a thing
(83-340)before unheard of, remained stationary. The chief
(83-340)was near the front of the enemy, and was exclaiming
(83-340)with feelings which cannot be appreciated, " My
(83-340)God! have the children of my tribe forsaken me!"
(83-340)At this instant, he received several shots, which

(83-340)closed his earthly account, leaving him only time

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(83-341)to advise his favourite nephew to shift for himself.

(83-341)The three regiments of MacDonalds were

(83-341)by this time aware of the rout of their right wing,

(83-341)and retreated in good order upon the second

(83-341)line. A body of cavalry, from the right of the

(83-341)King's army, was commanded to attack them on

(83-341)their retreat, but was checked by a fire from the

(83-341)French picquets, who advanced to support the

(83-341)MacDonalds. But at the same moment another

(83-341)decisive advantage was gained by the Duke's

(83-341)army over the Highland right wing. A body of

(83-341)horse, making 600 cavalry, with three companies

(83-341)of Argyleshire Highlanders, had been detached to

(83-341)take possession of the park walls, repeatedly

(83-341)mentioned as covering the right of the Highlanders.

(83-341)The three companies of infantry had pulled down

(83-341)the east wall of the enclosure, and put to the sword

(83-341)about a hundred of the insurgents, to whom the

(83-341)defence had been assigned; they then demolished

(83-341)the western wall, which permitted the dragoons, by

(83-341)whom they were accompanied, to ride through the

(83-341)enclosure, and get out upon the open moor, to the

(83-341)westward, and form, so as to threaten the rear and

(83-341)flank of the Prince's second line. Gordon of Abbachie,

(83-341)with his Lowland Aberdeenshire regiment,

(83-341)was ordered to fire upon these cavalry, which he

(83-341)did with some effect. The Campbells then lined

(83-341)the north wall of the enclosure so often mentioned,

(83-341)and commenced a fire upon the right flank of the

(83-341)Highlanders' second line. That line, increased by

(83-341)the MacDonalds, who retired upon it, still showed

(83-341)a great number of men keeping their ground, many

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(83-342)of whom had not fired a shot. Lord Elcho rode up
(83-342)to the Prince, and eagerly exhorted him to put
(83-342)himself at the head of those troops who yet remained,
(83-342)make a last exertion to recover the day,
(83-342)and at least die like one worthy of having" contended
(83-342)for a crown. Receiving a doubtful or hesitating
(83-342)answer, Lord Elcho turned from him with a bitter
(83-342)execration, and declared he would never see his face
(83-342)again. On the other hand, more than one of the
(83-342)Princess officers declared, and attested Heaven and
(83-342)their own eyes as witnesses, that the unfortunate
(83-342)Adventurer was forced from the field by Sir Thomas
(83-342)Sheridan, and others of the Irish officers who
(83-342)were about his person.

(83-342)That Lord Elcho and others, who lost rank and
(83-342)fortune in this disastrous adventure, were desirous
(83-342)that the Chevalier should have fought it out to the
(83-342)very last, can easily be imagined; nor is it difficult
(83-342)to conceive why many of the public were of the
(83-342)same opinion, since a fatal tragedy can hardly conclude
(83-342)so effectively as with the death of the hero.
(83-342)But there are many reasons besides a selfish desire

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(83-343)of safety, which may dictate to a defeated chieftain
(83-343)the task of preserving himself for a better day.
(83-343)This is particularly the case with those in the rank
(83-343)of Kings and Princes, who, assured by the unanimous
(83-343)opinion of those around them that their safety
(83-343)is of the last importance to the world, cannot easily
(83-343)resist the flattering and peculiar reasons which may
(83-343)be assigned in support of the natural principle of
(83-343)self-preservation, common to them with all
(83-343)mankind.

(83-343) Besides, although the Chevalier, if determined
(83-343) on seeking it, might certainly have found death on
(83-343) the field where he lost all hopes of empire, there
(83-343) does not appear a possibility that his most desperate
(83-343) exertions could have altered the fortune of
(83-343) the day. The second line, united with a part of
(83-343) the first, stood, it is true, for some short time after
(83-343) the disaster of the left wing, but they were
(83-343) surrounded with enemies. In their front was the
(83-343) Duke of Cumberland, dressing and renewing the
(83-343) ranks of his first line, which had been engaged,
(83-343) bringing up to their support his second, which was
(83-343) yet entire, and on the point of leading both to a
(83-343) new attack in front. On the flank of the second
(83-343) line of the Chevalier's army were the Campbells,
(83-343) lining the northern wall of the enclosure. In the
(83-343) rear of the whole Highland army, was a body of
(83-343) horse, which could be greatly increased in number
(83-343) by the same access through the park wall which
(83-343) had been opened by the Campbells. The Highlanders
(83-343) of the Prince's army, in fact, were sullen,
(83-343) dejected, and dispirited, dissatisfied with their

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(83-344) officers and generals, and not in perfect good humour
(83-344) with themselves. It was no wonder that, after
(83-344) remaining a few minutes in this situation, they
(83-344) should at last leave the field to the enemy, and go
(83-344) off in quest of safety wherever it was to be found.
(83-344) A part of the second line left the field with tolerable
(83-344) regularity, with their pipes playing and banners
(83-344) displayed. General Stapleton also, and the French
(83-344) auxiliaries, when they saw the day lost, retreated
(83-344) in a soldier-like manner to Inverness, where they
(83-344) surrendered to the Duke of Cumberland on honourable

(83-344)terms. Many of the Highland army fled in the
(83-344)direction of Inverness, but the greater part towards
(83-344)Badenoch and the Highlands. Some of these never
(83-344)stopped till they had reached their own distant
(83-344)homes; and the alarm was so great, that one very
(83-344)gallant gentleman told your Grandfather, that he
(83-344)himself had partaken in the night march, and that,
(83-344)though he had tasted nothing for twenty-four hours,
(83-344)he ran near twenty miles ere he took leisure to sit
(83-344)down and eat a biscuit which had been served out
(83-344)to him at the moment the battle was to begin, and
(83-344)which he had put into his sporran, or purse, to eat
(83-344)when it should be ended.

(83-344)The Duke of Cumberland proceeded with caution.
(83-344)He did not permit his first line to advance
(83-344)on the repulsed Highlanders till he had restored
(83-344)their ranks to perfect order, nor to pursue till the
(83-344)dispersion of the Highland army seemed complete.
(83-344)When that was certain, Kingston's horse, and the
(83-344)dragoons from each wing of the Duke's army, were
(83-344)detached in pursuit, and did great execution. Kingstone's

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(83-345)horse followed the chase along the Inverness
(83-345)road. They did not charge such of the enemy,
(83-345)whether French or Highlanders, as kept in a body,
(83-345)but dogged and watched them closely on their retreat,
(83-345)moving more or less speedily as they moved,
(83-345)and halting once or twice when they halted. On
(83-345)the stragglers they made great havoc, till within a
(83-345)mile of Inverness.

(83-345)It was in general remarked, that the English
(83-345)horse, whose reputation had been blemished in
(83-345)previous actions with the Highlanders, took a cruel

(83-345)pleasure in slaughtering the fugitives, giving quarter
(83-345)to none, except a few who were reserved for public
(83-345)execution, and treating those who were disabled,
(83-345)with cruelty unknown in modern war. Even the
(83-345)day after the battle, there were instances of parties
(83-345)of wounded men being dragged from the thickets
(83-345)and huts in which they had found refuge, for the
(83-345)purpose of being drawn up and despatched by platoon-
(83-345)firing; while those who did not die under
(83-345)this fusilade, were knocked on the head by the
(83-345)soldiers with the stocks of their muskets. In a
(83-345)word, the savageness of the regulars on this
(83-345)occasion formed such a contrast to the more gentle
(83-345)conduct of the insurgents, as to remind men of the
(83-345)old Latin proverb, that the most cruel enemy is a
(83-345)coward who has obtained success.¹ It was early
(83-345)found necessary to make some averment which

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(83-346)might seem to justify this unheard-of cruelty; and,
(83-346)accordingly, a story was circulated, concerning an
(83-346)order said to have been issued by Lord George
(83-346)Murray, commanding the Highlanders to give no
(83-346)quarter if victorious. But not one of the insurgent
(83-346)party ever saw such an order; nor did any of them
(83-346)hear of it, till after the battle.

(83-346)In this decisive action, the victors did not lose
(83-346)much above 300 men, in killed and wounded. Lord
(83-346)Robert Ker, captain of grenadiers, was slain at the
(83-346)head of his company.

(83-346)The loss of the vanquished army was upwards
(83-346)of 1000 men. The Highlanders on the right wing,
(83-346)who charged sword in hand, suffered most severely.
(83-346)These were the MacLeans, and MacLauchlans,

(83-346)the MacIntoshes, the Frasers, the Stewarts, and
(83-346)the Camerons. The chief of MacLauchlan was
(83-346)slain in the action, together with MacLean of
(83-346)Drimnin, MacGillivray of Drumnaglass, several of

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(83-347)the Erasers, and other persons of distinction.
(83-347)Lochiel was wounded, but borne from the field by
(83-347)his two henchmen. In short, the blow was equally
(83-347)severe and decisive, and the more so, that the
(83-347)heaviest of the loss fell on the high chiefs and
(83-347)gentlemen, who were the soul of the Highland army.

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(84-348)IT was not to be expected that the defeat of Culloden
(84-348)should pass over, without fatal consequences
(84-348)to those who had been principally concerned in the
(84-348)insurrection. A handful of men had disturbed the
(84-348)tranquillity of a peaceful people, who were demanding
(84-348)no change of their condition, had inflicted a deep
(84-348)wound upon the national strength, and what is seldom
(84-348)forgotten in the moment when revenge becomes
(84-348)possible, had inspired universal terror. It
(84-348)was to be expected, therefore, that those who had
(84-348)been most active in such rebellious and violent
(84-348)proceedings, should be called to answer with their lives
(84-348)for the bloodshed and disorder to which they had
(84-348)given occasion. They themselves well knew at
(84-348)what bloody risk they had played the deadly game
(84-348)of insurrection, and expected no less forfeit than

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(84-349)their lives. But as all concerned in the rebellion
(84-349)had, in strictness, forfeited their lives to the law,
(84-349)it became fitting that Justice should so select her
(84-349)victims, as might, if possible, reconcile her claims

(84-349)with the feelings of humanity, instead of outraging
(84-349)them by a general and undistinguishing effusion of
(84-349)blood. Treason upon political accounts, though one
(84-349)of the highest crimes that can be committed against
(84-349)a state, does not necessarily infer any thing like the
(84-349)detestation which attends offences of much less
(84-349)general guilt and danger. He who engages in conspiracy
(84-349)or rebellion, is very often, as an individual,
(84-349)not only free from reproach, but highly estimable,
(84-349)in his private character; such men, for example,
(84-349)as Lord Pitsligo, or Cameron of Lochiel, might be
(84-349)said to commit the crime for which they were obnoxious
(84-349)to the law, from the purest, though, at the
(84-349)same time, the most mistaken motives - motives
(84-349)which they had sucked in with their mother's milk,
(84-349)and which urged them to take up arms by all the
(84-349)ties of duty and allegiance. The sense of such
(84-349)men's purity of principles and intention, though
(84-349)not to be admitted in defence, ought, both morally
(84-349)and politically, to have limited the proceedings
(84-349)against them within the narrowest bounds consistent
(84-349)with the ends of public justice, and the purpose
(84-349)of intimidating others from such desperate courses.

(84-349)If so much could be said in favour of extending
(84-349)clemency even to several of the leaders of the
(84-349)insurrection, how much more might have been added
(84-349)in behalf of their simple and ignorant followers,
(84-349)who came out in ignorance of the laws of the

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(84-350)civilized part of the nation, but in compliance with
(84-350)the unalienable tie by which they and their fathers
(84-350)had esteemed themselves bound to obey their chief.
(84-350)It might have been thought, that generosity would
(84-350)have overlooked such poor prey, and that justice

(84-350)would not have considered them as proper objects
(84-350)of punishment. Or, if a victorious general of
(84-350)subordinate rank had been desirous to display his own
(84-350)zeal in behalf of the reigning family at the expense
(84-350)of humanity, by an indiscriminate chastisement of
(84-350)the vanquished foe, of whatever degree of intellect
(84-350)and fortune, better things might have been expected
(84-350)from a Son of Britain-a Royal Prince, who,
(84-350)most of all, might have remembered, that the objects
(84-350)whom the fate of war had placed at his disposal,
(84-350)were the misguided subjects of his own royal
(84-350)house, and who might gracefully have pleaded their
(84-350)cause at the foot of a fathers throne which his own
(84-350)victory had secured.

(84-350)Unfortunately for the Duke of Cumberland's
(84-350)fame, he saw his duty in a different light. This
(84-350)Prince bore deservedly the character of a blunt,
(84-350)upright, sensible man, friendly and good-humoured
(84-350)in the ordinary intercourse of life. He was a brave

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(84-351)soldier, and acquainted with the duties of war;
(84-351)but, both before and after the battle of Culloden,
(84-351)his campaigns were unfortunate; nor does it appear
(84-351)from his proceedings upon that occasion, that he
(84-351)merited better success. He had learned war in the
(84-351)rough school of Germany, where the severest infliction
(84-351)upon the inhabitants was never withheld, if
(84-351)it was supposed necessary, either to obtain an
(84-351)advantage, or to preserve one already gained.

(84-351)His Royal Highness understood, as well as any
(84-351)commander in Europe, the necessity, in the general
(84-351)case, of restraining that military license, which, to
(84-351)use the words of a revered veteran, renders an

(84-351)army formidable to its friends alone. In the march
(84-351)from Perth, an officer was brought to a court-
(84-351)martial, and lost his commission, by the Duke's
(84-351)perfect approbation, because he had suffered a
(84-351)party under his command to plunder the house of
(84-351)Gask, belonging to Mr Oliphant, then in arms, and
(84-351)with the Prince's army. This strict exercise of
(84-351)discipline renders us less prepared to expect the
(84-351)violences which followed the battle of Culloden.
(84-351)But unhappily the license which it was thought fit
(84-351)to check while the contest lasted, was freely
(84-351)indulged in when resistance was no more. The
(84-351)fugitives and wounded were necessarily the first to
(84-351)experience the consequences of this departure from
(84-351)the ordinary rules of war.

(84-351)We have mentioned the merciless execution
(84-351)which was done upon the fugitives and on the
(84-351)wounded who remained on the field of battle.
(84-351)The first might be necessary to strike terror into

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(84-352)an enemy so resolute and so capable of rallying as
(84-352)the Highlanders; the second might be the effect of
(84-352)the brutal rage of common soldiers flushed by
(84-352)victory, to which they had not been of late
(84-352)accustomed, and triumphant over an enemy before
(84-352)whom many of them had fled; but the excesses
(84-352)which followed, must, we fear, be imputed to the
(84-352)callous disposition of the Commander-in-chief himself,
(84-352)under whose eye, and by whose command, a
(84-352)fearful train of ravages and executions took place.

(84-352)The Duke proceeded, in military phrase, to improve
(84-352)his victory, by it laying waste " what was
(84-352)termed " the country of the enemy;" and his

(84-352)measures were taken slowly, that they might be
(84-352)attended with more certain success. Proclamations
(84-352)had been sent forth for the insurgent Highlanders
(84-352)to come in and surrender their arms, with which
(84-352)very few complied. Several of the chiefs, indeed,
(84-352)had made an agreement among themselves to meet
(84-352)together and defend their country; but although a
(84-352)considerable sum of money, designed for the
(84-352)Chevalier's use, reached Lochiel, and others his stanch
(84-352)adherents, the list of the slain and disabled chiefs
(84-352)had been so extensive, and the terror and dismay
(84-352)attending the dispersion so great, as to render the
(84-352)adoption of any general measures of defence altogether
(84-352)impossible.

(84-352)The Duke of Cumberland-so much maybe said
(84-352)in his justification-entered what was certainly
(84-352)still a hostile, but an unresisting country, and,

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(84-353)fixing his own headquarters in a camp near Fort
(84-353)Augustus, extended his military ravages, by strong
(84-353)parties of soldiery, into the various glens which
(84-353)had been for ages the abode of the disaffected clans.
(84-353)The soldiers had orders to exercise towards the
(84-353)unfortunate natives the utmost extremities of war.

(84-353)They shot, therefore, the male inhabitants who
(84-353)fled at their approach; they plundered the houses
(84-353)of the chieftains; they burnt the cabins of the
(84-353)peasants; they were guilty of every kind of outrage
(84-353)towards women, old age, and infancy; and
(84-353)where the soldier fell short of these extremities,
(84-353)it was his own mildness of temper, or that of some
(84-353)officer of gentler mood, which restrained the
(84-353)license of his hand. There can be no pleasure in

(84-353)narrating more particularly such scenes as this
(84-353)devastation gave rise to. When the men were slain,
(84-353)the houses burnt, and the herds and flocks driven
(84-353)off, the women and children perished from famine
(84-353)in many instances, or followed the track of the
(84-353)plunderers, begging for the blood and offal of their
(84-353)own cattle, slain for the soldier's use, as the
(84-353)miserable means of supporting a wretched life.

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(84-354)Certainly; such instances lead us to join in the
(84-354)observation of Monluc, that those engaged in war
(84-354)have much occasion for the mercy of the Deity,
(84-354)since they are, in the exercise of their profession,
(84-354)led to become guilty of so much violence towards
(84-354)their fellow-creatures. One remarkable narrative
(84-354)of this melancholy time is worth telling you; and
(84-354)I willingly consign to silence many others, which
(84-354)could only tend to recall hostile feelings better left
(84-354)to slumber.

(84-354)A gamekeeper of MacDonald of Glengarry, returning
(84-354)from the forest to his home, found it had
(84-354)been visited by a party of the English troops, who
(84-354)had laid waste and burnt his house, and subjected
(84-354)his wife to the most infamous usage. The unfortunate
(84-354)husband vowed revenge. The principal
(84-354)author of the injury, who commanded the party,
(84-354)was described to him by the circumstance of his
(84-354)riding upon a grey horse. The detachment had
(84-354)to pass by the side of Loch Arkaig, through the
(84-354)wild rocks of Lochaber; lurking in a thicket, the
(84-354)MacDonald, a marksman by profession, took aim
(84-354)at the person whom he saw mounted on the grey
(84-354)horse, and shot him dead. His revenge, however,
(84-354)was disappointed; the person who had perpetrated

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(84-355)the crime happened to have committed his horse
(84-355)to the charge of a groom, or individual of inferior
(84-355)rank, who suffered the penalty of the officer's outrage.
(84-355)The avenger, having learned his mistake,
(84-355)again waylaid the line of march, and once more
(84-355)seeing an officer ride upon the fatal grey horse,
(84-355)between the advanced guard and the main body of
(84-355)the troops, he again took aim, and his bullet again
(84-355)proved fatal-but he had a second time mistaken
(84-355)his victim. The person whom he shot was not
(84-355)the author of the injury, but a gentleman generally
(84-355)esteemed in the Highlands, Captain George Monro
(84-355)of Culcairn (the same who escaped so remarkably
(84-355)at Glenshiel, by the fidelity of his foster
(84-355)brother). Upon learning this second mistake, the
(84-355)MacDonald broke his gun, and renounced further
(84-355)prosecution of his revenge. " It was not the
(84-355)will of Heaven," he said, " that the man who
(84-355)had injured him should perish by his hands; and
(84-355)he would spill no more innocent blood in the
(84-355)attempt."

(84-355)During the prosecution of these severities, no
(84-355)man experienced more keen regret than President
(84-355)Forbes, whose active zeal had made such an
(84-355)important stand in favour of Government, and who,
(84-355)by determining the wavering purpose of Sir
(84-355)Alexander MacDonald of Sleat, and the Laird of
(84-355)MacLeod, must be considered as having contributed so
(84-355)materially to the suppression of the rebellion. It
(84-355)is said, that in venturing to quote to the Commander-
(84-355)in-chief the law of the country, he was repulsed,
(84-355)with the reply, " That a brigade should give

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(84-356)laws." He was deeply affected by the miseries
(84-356)which civil war had brought upon his country; nor
(84-356)had he any reason to congratulate himself individually,
(84-356)on having obtained personal favour by the
(84-356)part he had acted. It is certain that at his death
(84-356)his estate was embarrassed by debts contracted in
(84-356)behalf of Government, during 1745-6. All we
(84-356)can say on the subject is, that justice was not so
(84-356)profuse in its rewards on this remarkable occasion
(84-356)as in its punishments.

(84-356)Other persons, who had given sufficient proof of
(84-356)their loyalty in the course of the rebellion, fell,
(84-356)nevertheless, into disgrace with the Commander-in-
(84-356)chief, for expressing the slightest sympathy with
(84-356)the distress of the vanquished, or uttering any
(84-356)censure of the severities inflicted on them. The
(84-356)late Lord Forbes, than whom a man more loyal
(84-356)to the King's government was not to be found, had
(84-356)served in the field of Preston, and done all that an
(84-356)officer could do to prevent the flight of the cavalry;
(84-356)notwithstanding this, he found that his preferment
(84-356)in the military profession was so much impeded as
(84-356)to render his retirement advisable. The only reason
(84-356)which could be assigned was, that this nobleman,
(84-356)the Premier Baron of Scotland, had ventured
(84-356)to interfere with the course of ravage practised
(84-356)upon the offending districts.

(84-356)A story is told, that after the battle of Culloden,
(84-356)the Grants of Glenmoriston, who had been in the

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(84-357)rebellion, came into Inverness to surrender
(84-357)themselves to the chief of their own name. They were

(84-357)armed cap-a-pee. " Who are these men? " said the
(84-357)Duke of Cumberland. He was informed by the
(84-357)Laird of Grant that they were the Grants of
(84-357)Glenmoriston. " And to whom have they surrendered? "
(84-357)- "To me," answered their chief; "and to
(84-357)no man in Britain, but me, would they have submitted."
(84-357)- " No?" replied the Duke, after a pause;
(84-357)" I will let them know that they are the King's
(84-357)subjects, and must likewise submit to me." He
(84-357)ordered the Grants of Glenmoriston to be instantly
(84-357)surrounded and disarmed; which might be a very
(84-357)proper check to the spirit of clanship. But when
(84-357)we learn that they were shipped off for the colonies
(84-357)we cannot wonder that the example of submission
(84-357)afforded small encouragement to such surrenders
(84-357)as this.

(84-357)On most occasions these proceedings by martial
(84-357)law would have attracted animadversion in England,
(84-357)whoever were the sufferers. But the truth
(84-357)is, that the English nourished a very false idea
(84-357)respecting the political opinions of the Scots, and
(84-357)were much disposed to conceive that the whole
(84-357)inhabitants of that kingdom were at heart their
(84-357)enemies; or at least to entertain violent suspicions
(84-357)against such as expressed the least sympathy with
(84-357)the sufferings of a Jacobite, or supposed that his
(84-357)punishment might, by possibility, be more severe
(84-357)than the crime deserved. There was something
(84-357)of consolation in such an opinion, in so far as it
(84-357)seemed a justification for the extent of the alarm
(84-357)of which, by this time, the English people had

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(84-358)become ashamed, since it sounded more respectable
(84-358)to have feared the whole force of Scotland, than

(84-358)that of a few Highland clans, much inferior in
(84-358)number to those of their own nation who embraced
(84-358)the side of the Government. Nor would it be just
(84-358)to blame the English alone for these severities. It
(84-358)must be confessed, that Scottish officers were found
(84-358)willing to escape from the suspicion of Jacobitism,
(84-358)so fatal to preferment, at the expense of becoming
(84-358)the agents of the cruelties practised on their
(84-358)unfortunate countrymen. At length, and slowly, the
(84-358)military operations began to be relaxed. After
(84-358)residing at Fort Augustus from the 24th of May
(84-358)till the 18th of July, the Duke of Cumberland
(84-358)returned towards Edinburgh.

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

(84-358)After this period the military executions, slaughters,

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(84-359)and ravages, were in a great measure put an
(84-359)end to. The license of the soldiery was curbed;

(84-359)courts of civil justice asserted the wholesome
(84-359)superiority of the law over violence; the aggressions
(84-359)of the parties of soldiery were punished with
(84-359)damages in the usual course of justice; and the
(84-359)ordinary rules of civilized society were in a great
(84-359)measure replaced. We now dismiss the consideration
(84-359)of the calamitous consequences brought on
(84-359)the country by general military execution, and
(84-359)proceed to consider the fate of those chiefs whose
(84-359)insurrection had been the cause of so much evil.

(84-359)The first in rank, in misfortune, and in the
(84-359)temerity which led to the civil war, was, unquestionably,
(84-359)Charles Edward himself. A reward of L.30, 000
(84-359)was offered for the discovery and seizure of this
(84-359)last scion of a royal line. It was imagined, that
(84-359)in a country so poor as the Highlands, lawless in
(84-359)a sense, so far as the law of property was concerned,
(84-359)and where the people were supposed to be almost
(84-359)proverbially rapacious, a much smaller reward
(84-359)would have insured the capture of the Pretender
(84-359)to the throne. His escape, however, so long
(84-359)delayed, and effected through so many difficulties,
(84-359)has been often commemorated as a brilliant instance
(84-359)of fidelity. I shall only here touch upon
(84-359)its general outlines, leaving you to acquire farther
(84-359)details from other authors.

[TG84-360]

(84-360)During the battle of Culloden, Charles had his
(84-360)share of the dangers of the field. The cannon,
(84-360)specially directed against his standard, made some
(84-360)havoc among his guards, and killed one of his
(84-360)servants who held a led horse near to his person. The
(84-360)Prince himself was covered with the earth thrown
(84-360)up by the balls. He repeatedly endeavoured to

(84-360)rally his troops, and in the opinion of most who
(84-360)saw him, did the duties of a brave and good
(84-360)commander. When he retreated from the field, he was
(84-360)attended by a large body of horse, from whom,
(84-360)being perhaps under some doubt of their fidelity,
(84-360)he disengaged himself, by dismissing them on
(84-360)various errands, but particularly with instructions
(84-360)to warn the fugitives that they were to rendezvous
(84-360)at Ruthven, in Badenoch; for such had been
(84-360)the reckless resolution to fight, and such perhaps
(84-360)the confidence in victory, that no place of
(84-360)rendezvous had been announced to the army in case
(84-360)of defeat. Having dismissed the greater part of
(84-360)his horsemen, Charles retained around his person
(84-360)only a few of the Irish officers, who had been his
(84-360)constant followers, and whose faith he considered
(84-360)as less doubtful than that of the Scots, perhaps
(84-360)because they were themselves more loud in asserting
(84-360)it. He directed his flight to Gortuleg, where he
(84-360)understood Lord Lovat was residing. Perhaps he
(84-360)expected to find counsel in the renowned sagacity
(84-360)of this celebrated nobleman; perhaps he expected

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(84-361)assistance from his power; for the Master of Lovat,
(84-361)and Cluny Macpherson, Lovat's son-in-law, were
(84-361)neither of them in the action of Culloden, but both
(84-361)in the act of bringing up strong reinforcements to
(84-361)the Prince's army, and on the march thither when
(84-361)the battle was lost.

(84-361)Charles and Lovat met, for the first and last
(84-361)time, in mutual terror and embarrassments The
(84-361)Prince exclaimed upon the distresses of Scotland;
(84-361)Lord Lovat had a more immediate sense of his own
(84-361)downfall. Having speedily found that neither

(84-361)counsel nor aid was to be obtained at Lovat's
(84-361)hands, the Prince only partook of some slight
(84-361)refreshment, and rode on. He thought Gortuleg
(84-361)dangerous, as too near the victorious army; perhaps
(84-361)also he suspected the faith of its principal
(84-361)inmate. Invergarry, the castle of the Laird of
(84-361)Glengarry, was the next halt, where the chance
(84-361)success of a fisherman who had caught a brace of
(84-361)salmon, afforded him a repast. The mansion-house
(84-361)suffered severely for the temporary reception of
(84-361)the Prince, being wasted and destroyed by the

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(84-362)English soldiery with unusual rigour. From
(84-362)Invergarry the fugitive Prince penetrated into the
(84-362)West Highlands, and took up his abode in a village
(84-362)called Glenbeisdale, very near the place where
(84-362)he had first landed. By this time he had totally
(84-362)renounced the further prosecution of his enterprise,
(84-362)his sanguine hopes being totally extinguished in
(84-362)the despair which attended his defeat. Charles
(84-362)despatched a message to those chiefs and soldiers
(84-362)who should rendezvous at Ruthven in obedience to
(84-362)his order, to acquaint them that, entertaining deep
(84-362)gratitude for their faithful attention and gallant
(84-362)conduct on all occasions, he was now under the
(84-362)necessity of recommending to them to look after
(84-362)their own safety, as he was compelled by
(84-362)circumstances to retire to France, from whence he hoped
(84-362)soon to return with succours.

(84-362)Although not above one thousand men had attended
(84-362)at the appointed rendezvous, a great many
(84-362)of these thought that there was still hopes of
(84-362)continuing the enterprise, and were disposed to
(84-362)remonstrate with the Prince on his resolution of

(84-362)abandoning it. Lord George Murray was of this opinion,
(84-362)and declared that, as for provisions, if he was
(84-362)intrusted with any direction, they should not want
(84-362)as long as there were cattle in the Highlands, or

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(84-363)meal in the Lowlands. John Hay was despatched
(84-363)to wait upon the Prince, and entreat him even yet
(84-363)to resume his post at the head of his army.

(84-363)It must be owned that these were the thoughts
(84-363)of desperate men; the enterprise had been despaired
(84-363)of by all sensible persons ever since the retreat
(84-363)from Stirling, if not since that from Derby. It
(84-363)was not to be supposed that an army with little
(84-363)hope of supplies or reinforcement, and composed of
(84-363)clans each independent of the others, and deprived
(84-363)of a great many of the best and boldest chiefs, while
(84-363)others, like Lochiel, were disabled by wounds,
(84-363)should adhere to an alliance in which there was no
(84-363)common object; and it is much more likely, that,
(84-363)divided as they were by jealousies, they would
(84-363)have broken up as on former occasions, by each
(84-363)clan endeavouring to make its separate peace.

(84-363)When John Hay, therefore, came to Charles at
(84-363)Glenbeisdale, to convey Lord George Murray's
(84-363)expostulation and request, he received from the
(84-363)Prince a letter in answer, declaring^ in stronger and
(84-363)plainer words, his determined intention to depart
(84-363)for France, from which he hoped soon to return
(84-363)with a powerful reinforcement. Each behaved
(84-363)according to his character. The stubborn resolution
(84-363)of Lord George Murray demonstrated the
(84-363)haughty obstinacy of his rough and indomitable
(84-363)character, which had long looked on the worst as

(84-363)an event likely to arrive, and was now ready to
(84-363)brave it; while the Prince, whose sanguine hopes
(84-363)could not be taught to anticipate a defeat, now
(84-363)regarded it with justice as an irretrievable evil.

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(84-364)From this time Charles must be regarded as
(84-364)providing for his own escape, and totally detached
(84-364)from the army which he lately commanded. With
(84-364)this view he embarked for the Long Island, on the
(84-364)coast of which he hoped to find a French vessel.
(84-364)Contrary winds, storms, disappointments of several
(84-364)sorts, attended with hardships to which he could be
(84-364)little accustomed, drove him from place to place in
(84-364)that island and its vicinity, till he gained South
(84-364)Uist, where he was received by Clanranald, who,
(84-364)one of the first who joined the unfortunate Prince,
(84-364)was faithful to him in his distresses. Here, for
(84-364)security^ sake, Charles was lodged in a forester's
(84-364)hut of the most miserable kind, called Corradale
(84-364)about the centre of the wild mountain so named.

(84-364)But every lurking place was now closely sought
(84-364)after, and the islands in particular were strictly
(84-364)searched, for the purpose of securing the fugitive
(84-364)Prince, suspected of being concealed in their
(84-364)recesses. General Campbell sailed as far as the island
(84-364)of St Kilda, which might well pass for the extremity
(84-364)of the habitable world. The simple inhabitants
(84-364)had but a very general idea of the war which had
(84-364)disturbed all Britain, except that it had arisen from

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(84-365)some difference between their master, the Laird of
(84-365)MacLeod, and a female on the continent - probably
(84-365)some vague idea about the Queen of Hungary's

(84-365)concern in the war.

(84-365)General Campbell, returning from Kilda, landed
(84-365)upon South Uist, with the purpose of searching the
(84-365)Long Island from south to north, and he found the
(84-365)MacDonalds of Skye, and MacLeod of MacLeod,
(84-365)as also a strong detachment of regular troops,
(84-365)engaged in the same service. While these forces, in
(84-365)number two thousand men, searched with eagerness
(84-365)the interior of the island, its shores were
(84-365)surrounded with small vessels of war, cutters, armed
(84-365)boats, and the like. It seemed as if the Prince's
(84-365)escape from a search so vigorously prosecuted was
(84-365)altogether impossible; but the high spirit of a
(84-365)noble-minded female rescued him, when probably
(84-365)every other means must have failed.

(84-365)This person was the celebrated Flora MacDonald;
(84-365)she was related to the Clanranald family,
(84-365)and was on a visit to that chiefs house at Ormaclade,
(84-365)in South Uist, during the emergency we
(84-365)speak of. Her stepfather was one of Sir Alexander
(84-365)MacDonald's clan, an enemy to the Prince
(84-365)of course, and in the immediate command of the
(84-365)militia of the name of MacDonald, who were then
(84-365)in South Uist.

(84-365)Notwithstanding her stepfather's hostility, Flora
(84-365)MacDonald readily engaged in a plan for rescuing
(84-365)the unfortunate Wanderer. With this purpose she
(84-365)procured from her stepfather a passport for herself,
(84-365)a man servant, and a female servant, who was

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(84-366)termed Betty Burke - the part of Betty Burke
(84-366)being to be acted by the Chevalier in woman's attire.

(84-366)In this disguise, after being repeatedly in
(84-366)danger of being taken, Charles at length reached
(84-366)Kilbride, in the Isle of Skye; but they were still
(84-366)in the country of Sir Alexander MacDonald, and,
(84-366)devoted as that chief was to the service of the
(84-366)Government, the Prince was as much in danger as
(84-366)ever. Here the spirit and presence of mind of
(84-366)Miss Flora MacDonald were again displayed in
(84-366)the behalf of the object, so strangely thrown under
(84-366)the protection of one of her sex and age. She resolved
(84-366)to confide the secret to Lady Margaret
(84-366)MacDonald, the wife of Sir Alexander, and trust
(84-366)to female compassion, and the secret reserve of
(84-366)Jacobitism which lurked in the heart of most
(84-366)Highland women.

(84-366)The resolution to confide in Lady Margaret was
(84-366)particularly hardy, for Sir Alexander MacDonald,
(84-366)the husband of the lady to be trusted with the
(84-366)important secret, was, as you will recollect, originally
(84-366)believed to be engaged to join the Prince on his
(84-366)arrival, but had declined doing so, under the plea,
(84-366)that the stipulated support from France was not
(84-366)forthcoming; he was afterwards induced to levy his

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(84-367)clan on the side of Government. His men had
(84-367)been at first added to Lord Loudon's army, in
(84-367)Inverness-shire, and now formed part of those
(84-367)troops from which the Chevalier had with difficulty
(84-367)just made his escape.

(84-367)Flora MacDonald found herself under the
(84-367)necessity of communicating the fatal secret of her
(84-367)disguised attendant to the lady of a person thus
(84-367)situated. Lady Margaret MacDonald was much

(84-367)alarmed. Her husband was absent, and as the best
(84-367)mode for the unfortunate Prince's preservation, her
(84-367)house being filled with officers of the militia, she
(84-367)committed him to the charge of MacDonald of
(84-367)Kingsburgh, a man of courage and intelligence,
(84-367)who acted as factor or steward for her husband.
(84-367)Flora MacDonald accordingly conducted Charles
(84-367)to MacDonald of Kingsburgh's house; and he was
(84-367)fortunate enough to escape detection on the road,
(84-367)though the ungainly and awkward appearance of a
(84-367)man dressed in female apparel attracted suspicion
(84-367)on more than one occasion.

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(84-368)From Kingsburgh the Wanderer retired to
(84-368)Rasa, where he suffered great distress, that island
(84-368)having been plundered on account of the laird's
(84-368)accession to the rebellion. During this period of
(84-368)his wanderings he personated the servant of his
(84-368)guide, and the country of the Laird of MacKinnon
(84-368)became his temporary refuge; but notwithstanding
(84-368)the efforts of the chief in his favour, that portion of
(84-368)Skye could afford him neither a place of repose or
(84-368)safety, so that he was compelled once more to take
(84-368)refuge on the mainland, and was by his own desire
(84-368)put ashore on Loch Nevis.

(84-368)Here also he encountered imminent danger, and
(84-368)narrowly escaped being taken. There were a
(84-368)number of troops engaged in traversing this
(84-368)district, which being the country of Lochiel, Keppoch,
(84-368)Glengarry, and other Jacobite chiefs, was the very
(84-368)cradle of the rebellion. Thus the Wanderer and
(84-368)his guides soon found themselves included within
(84-368)a line of sentinels, who, crossing each other upon
(84-368)their posts, cut them off from proceeding into the

(84-368)interior of the province. After remaining two
(84-368)days cooped up within this hostile circle, without
(84-368)daring to light a fire, or to dress any provisions,
(84-368)they at length escaped the impending danger by
(84-368)creeping down a narrow and dark defile, which
(84-368)divided the posts of two sentinels.

(84-368)Proceeding in this precarious manner, his clothes

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(84-369)reduced to tatters, often without food, fire, or
(84-369)shelter, the unfortunate Prince, upheld only by the
(84-369)hope of hearing of a French vessel on the coast, at
(84-369)length reached the mountains of Strathglass, and
(84-369)with Glenaladale, who was then in attendance
(84-369)upon him, was compelled to seek refuge in a cavern
(84-369)where seven robbers had taken up their abode -
(84-369)(by robbers you are not in the present case to
(84-369)understand thieves, but rather outlaws, who dared
(84-369)not show themselves, on account of their accession
(84-369)to the rebellion) - and lived upon such sheep and
(84-369)cattle as fell into their hands. These men readily
(84-369)afforded refuge to the Wanderer, and recognising
(84-369)the Prince, for whom they had repeatedly ventured
(84-369)their lives, in the miserable suppliant before
(84-369)them, they vowed unalterable devotion to his cause:
(84-369)Among the flower of obedient and attached subjects,
(84-369)never did a Prince receive more ready,
(84-369)faithful, and effectual assistance, than he did from
(84-369)those who were foes to the world and its laws.
(84-369)Desirous of rendering him all the assistance in their
(84-369)power, the hardy freebooters undertook to procure
(84-369)him a change of dress, clean linen, refreshments,
(84-369)and intelligence. They proceeded in a manner

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(84-370)which exhibited a mingled character of ferocity and
(84-370)simplicity. Two of the gang way-laid and killed
(84-370)the servant of an officer, who was going to Fort
(84-370)Augustus with his masters baggage. The portmanteau
(84-370)which he carried fell into the robbery
(84-370)hands, and supplied the articles of dress which they
(84-370)wanted for the Chevalier's use. One of them,
(84-370)suitably disguised, ventured into Fort Augustus,
(84-370)and obtained valuable information concerning the
(84-370)movements of the troops; and desirous to fulfil his
(84-370)purpose in every particular, he brought back, in
(84-370)the singleness of his heart, as a choice regale to the
(84-370)unhappy Prince, a pennyworth of gingerbread!

(84-370)With these men Charles Edward remained for
(84-370)about three weeks, and it was with the utmost
(84-370)difficulty they would permit him to leave them.
(84-370)"Stay with us," said the generous robbers; " the
(84-370)mountains of gold which the Government have set
(84-370)upon your head may induce some gentleman to
(84-370)betray you, for he can go to a distant country and
(84-370)live on the price of his dishonour; but to us there
(84-370)exists no such temptation. We can speak no language
(84-370)but our own--we can live nowhere but in
(84-370)this country, where, were we to injure a hair of
(84-370)your head, the very mountains would fall down to
(84-370)crush us to death."

(84-370)A singular instance of enthusiastic devotion
(84-370)happened about this time (August 2d), which
(84-370)served to aid the Prince's escape. A son of a
(84-370)goldsmith in Edinburgh, one Roderick MacKenzie,
(84-370)late an officer in the Prince's army, happened
(84-370)to be lurking in the braes of Glenmoriston. He

(84-371)was about the same size as the Prince, and was
(84-371)reckoned like him both in person and features. A
(84-371)party of soldiers set upon the young man in his
(84-371)hiding-place; he defended himself gallantly; and,
(84-371)anxious to render his death useful to the cause
(84-371)which he must no longer serve in life, he said in
(84-371)his mortal agony, " Ah, villains! you have slain
(84-371)your Prince!" His generous design succeeded.
(84-371)MacKenzie's head was cut off, passed for that of
(84-371)Charles Edward, and was sent as such up to London.
(84-371)It was some time ere the mistake was discovered,
(84-371)during which the rumour prevailed that
(84-371)Charles was slain; in consequence of which the
(84-371)search after him was very much relaxed. Owing
(84-371)to this favourable circumstance, Charles became
(84-371)anxious to see his adherents, Lochiel and Cluny

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(84-372)MacPherson, who were understood to be lurking
(84-372)in Badenoch with some other fugitives; and in
(84-372)order to join these companions of his councils and
(84-372)dangers, he took leave of the faithful outlaws,
(84-372)retaining, however, two of them, to be his guard
(84-372)and guides.

[TG84-373]

(84-373)After many difficulties he effected a junction
(84-373)with his faithful adherents, Cluny and Lochiel,
(84-373)though not without great risk and danger on both
(84-373)sides. They took up for a time their residence in
(84-373)a hut called the cage, curiously constructed in a
(84-373)deep thicket on the side of a mountain called Benalder,
(84-373)under which name is included a great forest
(84-373)or chase, the property of Cluny. Here they lived in
(84-373)tolerable security, and enjoyed a rude plenty, which
(84-373)the Prince had not hitherto known during his

(84-373)wandering.

(84-373)About the 18th of September, Charles received
(84-373)intelligence that two French frigates had arrived
(84-373)at Lochnanuagh, to carry him and other fugitives
(84-373)of his party to France. Lochiel embarked along
(84-373)with him on the 20th, as did near one hundred
(84-373)others of the relics of his party, whom the tidings
(84-373)had brought to the spot where the vessel lay.
(84-373)Cluny MacPherson remained behind, and continued
(84-373)to skulk in his own country for several years,
(84-373)being the agent by means of whom Charles Edward
(84-373)long endeavoured to keep up a correspondence
(84-373)with his faithful Highlanders. A letter is
(84-373)in my possession, by which the Prince expressed

[TG84-374]

(84-374)his senses of the many services which he had
(84-374)received from this gentleman and his clan. I give it
(84-374)as a curiosity in the note below.

(84-374)The Prince landed near Morlaix, in Brittany, on
(84-374)the 29th of September. His short but brilliant
(84-374)expedition had attracted the attention and admiration
(84-374)of Europe, from his debarkation in Boradale,
(84-374)about the 26th of August, 1745, until the day of
(84-374)his landing in France, a period of thirteen months
(84-374)and a few days, five months of which had been
(84-374)engaged in the most precarious, perilous, and fatiguing
(84-374)series of flight, concealment, and escape, that
(84-374)has ever been narrated in history or romance.
(84-374)During his wanderings, the secret of the Adventurer's
(84-374)concealment was intrusted to hundreds of every
(84-374)sex, age, and condition; but no individual was
(84-374)found, in a high or low situation, or robbers even
(84-374)who procured their food at the risk of their lives,

(84-374)who thought for an instant of obtaining opulence
(84-374)at the expense of treachery to the proscribed and
(84-374)miserable fugitive. Such disinterested conduct

[TG84-375]

(84-375)will reflect honour on the Highlands of Scotland
(84-375)while their mountains shall continue to exist.

[TG85-376]

(85-376)WE must now detail the consequences of the civil
(85-376)war to the Prince's most important adherents.
(85-376)Several had been taken prisoners on the field of
(85-376)battle, and many more had been seized in the
(85-376)various excursions made through the country of the
(85-376)rebels by the parties of soldiery. The gaols both
(85-376)in England and Scotland had been filled with these
(85-376)unfortunate persons, upon whom a severe doom was
(85-376)now to be inflicted. That such was legally incurred,
(85-376)cannot be denied; and, on the other hand, it
(85-376)will hardly be now contradicted, that it was
(85-376)administered with an indiscriminate severity, which
(85-376)counteracted the effects intended, by inspiring
(85-376)horror instead of awe.

(85-376)The distinguished persons of the party were with

[TG85-377]

(85-377)good reason considered as most accountable for its
(85-377)proceedings. It was they who must have obtained
(85-377)power and wealth had the attempt succeeded, and
(85-377)they were justly held most responsible when they
(85-377)failed in their attempt at accomplishing a
(85-377)revolution.

(85-377)Lord George Murray, who acted so prominent
(85-377)a part in the insurrection, effected his escape to the

(85-377)continent, and died at Medenblinck in Holland, in
(85-377)1760.

(85-377)The Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, and
(85-377)Lords Balmerino and Lovat, in Scotland, with Mr
(85-377)Charles Ratcliffe, in England (brother of the Earl
(85-377)of Derwentwater, attainted and executed in 1715),
(85-377)were the persons most distinguished by birth and
(85-377)title whom the Government had within their power.
(85-377)The Marquis of Tullibardine had also been made
(85-377)prisoner, but death, by a disease under which he
(85-377)had long languished, relieved his captivity in the
(85-377)Tower, and removed him from all earthly trial or
(85-377)punishment. There could have been no difficulty
(85-377)in obtaining evidence against Kilmarnock, Cromarty,

[TG85-378]

(85-378)and Balmerino, all three of whom had acted
(85-378)openly in the rebellion at the head of an armed
(85-378)force; but in Lovat's case, who had not been
(85-378)personally in arms, it was absolutely necessary that
(85-378)evidence should be brought of his accession to the
(85-378)secret councils of the conspiracy, which it was also
(85-378)desirable should be made. known to the British,
(85-378)public.

(85-378)The Government were therefore desirous to get
(85-378)at the grounds, if possible, on which the conspiracy,
(85-378)had been originally formed, and to obtain knowledge
(85-378)of such Jacobites of power and consequence
(85-378)in England, as had been participant of the councils
(85-378)which had occasioned such an explosion in North
(85-378)Britain.

(85-378)A disclosure so complete could only be attained
(85-378)by means of an accomplice deep in the secret

(85-378)intrigues of the insurgents. It was, therefore, necessary
(85-378)to discover among the late counsellors of the
(85-378)Chevalier, some individual who loved life better
(85-378)than honour and fidelity to a ruined cause and
(85-378)such a person was unhappily found in John Murray
(85-378)of Broughton, secretary to Charles Edward. This
(85-378)unfortunate gentleman, as we have already seen,
(85-378)was intimately acquainted with the circumstances
(85-378)in which the rebellion had originated, had been
(85-378)most active in advancing the Chevalier's interest,
(85-378)both in civil and military affairs; and though he
(85-378)considerably embroiled his master's affairs, by
(85-378)fanning the discord between the Duke of Perth and
(85-378)Lord George Murray, and stimulating the Chevalier's
(85-378)dislike to the latter nobleman; yet it would

[TG85-379]

(85-379)be overloading the memory of the unfortunate, to
(85-379)suppose that his conduct arose from any other
(85-379)motive than a desire to advance the objects of his
(85-379)own ambition, without a thought of betraying his
(85-379)master's interest. After the battle of Culloden,
(85-379)Murray fled to the Highlands, but, unable to endure
(85-379)the hardships which he incurred in these regions,
(85-379)he returned to his native country, and took refuge
(85-379)with a relation, whose seat is in the mountains at
(85-379)the head of Tweeddale. He was here discovered
(85-379)and made prisoner.

(85-379)Being assailed by threats and promises, this
(85-379)unhappy gentleman was induced, by promise of a
(85-379)free pardon, to confess to Ministers the full detail
(85-379)of the original conspiracy in 1740, and the various
(85-379)modifications which it underwent subsequent to
(85-379)that period, until the landing of Prince Charles in
(85-379)the Hebrides. It has never been doubted that

(85-379)his details must have involved the names of many
(85-379)persons, both in England and Scotland, who did
(85-379)not take up arms in the insurrection of 1745,
(85-379)although, as the law of England requires two
(85-379)witnesses to every act of high treason, none such
(85-379)could have been brought to trial upon Murray's
(85-379)single evidence. He himself urged, in extenuation
(85-379)of his conduct, that although he preserved his
(85-379)own life, by bringing forward his evidence against
(85-379)such men as Government could have convicted
(85-379)without his assistance, yet he carefully concealed
(85-379)many facts, which, if disclosed, would either have
(85-379)borne more hard upon such complotters before the

[TG85-380]

(85-380)fact, or would have implicated others, against whom
(85-380)Government had no other information. It is not
(85-380)necessary to examine this species of logic; as, on
(85-380)the one hand, it is unlikely that Government would
(85-380)have been trifled with in this manner by a person
(85-380)in Murray's situation; and, on the other, it does
(85-380)not appear that the moral guilt of an approver, or
(85-380)King's evidence, is diminished, because he discharges
(85-380)with infidelity the base bargain he has entered
(85-380)into.

(85-380)The Government, thus made fully acquainted,
(85-380)by Mr Murray's means, with the original plan and
(85-380)extent of the conspiracy, proceeded to bring to
(85-380)trial those leading culprits by whom it had been
(85-380)carried on in arms.

(85-380)The two Earls, of Kilmarnock and Cromarty,
(85-380)with Lord Balmerino, were brought to the bar of
(85-380)the House of Lords, towards the end of July,
(85-380)1746, upon a charge of high treason, to which the

(85-380)two Earls pleaded guilty, and adhered to that plea.
(85-380)Lord Balmerino, when asked to plead, declared,
(85-380)that he had been indicted as the Lord Balmerino
(85-380)" of the city of Carlisle," a title which did not belong
(85-380)to him, and that he even had not been at Carlisle
(85-380)on the day when he was charged by the indictment.
(85-380)He was answered, that the words, " late of
(85-380)Carlisle," were not made part of his title, but only an

[TG85-381]

(85-381)addition of place, which law required by way of
(85-381)description, of a person indicted like his lordship.
(85-381)Lord Balmerino then pleaded not guilty. Several
(85-381)witnesses appeared, who proved that the accused
(85-381)party had been seen clothed in the uniform of the
(85-381)rebel guards, heading and commanding them, and
(85-381)acting in every respect as a chief of the rebellion.
(85-381)Lord Balmerino only alleged, that he had not been
(85-381)at the taking of Carlisle on the day mentioned in
(85-381)the indictment. This, he said, was an idea of his
(85-381)own adoption, and as he was now satisfied that it
(85-381)was not founded on law, he was sorry that he had
(85-381)given their lordships the trouble of hearing it.
(85-381)The three peers were then pronounced guilty, by
(85-381)the voice of the House of Lords.

(85-381)On the noblemen being brought up for sentence,
(85-381)on the 30th July, Lord Kilmarnock again confessed
(85-381)his offence, and pleaded guilty, urging that his
(85-381)father had bred him up in the strictest revolution
(85-381)principles, and pleading that he himself had
(85-381)imprinted the same so effectually on the mind of
(85-381)his own eldest son, that Lord Boyd bore, at the
(85-381)very time, a commission in the royal service, and
(85-381)had been in arms for King George at the battle of
(85-381)Culloden, when he himself fought on the other

(85-381)side. He pleaded likewise, that he had, in the
(85-381)course of the insurrection, protected the persons
(85-381)and property of loyal subjects; and that he had
(85-381)surrendered after the battle of Culloden of his own
(85-381)accord, although he might have made his escape.
(85-381)Although this confession of offences was made at a
(85-381)time when its sincerity might be doubted, the grace

[TG85-382]

(85-382)and dignity of Lord Kilmarnock's appearance,
(85-382)together with the resignation and mildness of his
(85-382)address, melted all the spectators to tears; and so
(85-382)fantastic are human feelings, that a lady of fashion
(85-382)present, who had never seen his lordship before,
(85-382)contracted an extravagant passion for his person,
(85-382)which, in a less serious affair, would have been little
(85-382)less than a ludicrous frenzy.

(85-382)Lord Cromarty also implored his Majesty's
(85-382)clemency, and declined to justify his crime. He threw
(85-382)his life and fortune on the compassion of the high
(85-382)court, and pleaded for mercy in the name of his
(85-382)innocent wife,-his eldest son, who was a mere
(85-382)boy,--and eight helpless children, who must feel
(85-382)their parent's punishment before they knew his
(85-382)guilt.

(85-382)Lord Balmerino being called upon to speak,
(85-382)why judgment of death should not pass upon him,
(85-382)at first objected to the act of Parliament under
(85-382)which he was tried; but withdrew his plea in
(85-382)arrest of judgment upon further consideration.
(85-382)Sentence of death was pronounced according to the
(85-382)terrible behest of the law, in cases of high treason.

(85-382)The conduct of Balmerino was a striking and

(85-382)admirable contrast to that of the other two noblemen
(85-382)He never either disowned or concealed his
(85-382)political principles. He stated, that he had, indeed,

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(85-383)held an independent company of foot from Queen
(85-383)Anne, which he accounted an act of treason against
(85-383)his lawful Prince; but that he had atoned for this
(85-383)by joining in the insurrection in 1715; and
(85-383)willingly, and with Ins full heart, drew his sword in
(85-383)1745, though his age might have excused him from
(85-383)taking arms. He, therefore, neither asked, nor
(85-383)seems to have wished, for either acquittal or pardon,
(85-383)and the bold and gallant manner in which he
(85-383)prepared for death, attracted the admiration of all
(85-383)who witnessed it.

(85-383)It was understood that one of the two Earls who
(85-383)had submitted themselves to the clemency of the
(85-383)sovereign, was about to be spared. The friends of

[TG85-384]

(85-384)both solicited anxiously which should obtain
(85-384)preference on the occasion. The circumstance of his
(85-384)large family, and the situation of his lady, it is
(85-384)believed, influenced the decision which was made in
(85-384)Lord Cromarty's favour. When the Countess of
(85-384)Cromarty was delivered of the child which she had
(85-384)borne in her womb, while the horrible doubt of her
(85-384)husband's fate was impending, it was found to be
(85-384)marked on the neck with an impression resembling"
(85-384)a broad axe; a striking instance of one of those
(85-384)mysteries of nature which are beyond the knowledge
(85-384)of philosophy.

(85-384)While King George the Second was perplexed

(85-384)and overwhelmed with personal applications for
(85-384)mercy, in behalf of Lords Cromarty and Kilmarnock,
(85-384)he is said to have exclaimed, with natural
(85-384)feeling, " Heaven help me, will no one say a word
(85-384)in behalf of Lord Balmerino? he, though a rebel, is
(85-384)at least an honest one!" The spirit of the time

[TG85-385]

(85-385)was, however, adverse to this generous sentiment;
(85-385)nor would it have been consistent to have spared a
(85-385)criminal, who boldly avowed and vindicated his
(85-385)political offences, while exercising the severity of
(85-385)the law towards others, who expressed penitence
(85-385)for their guilt. The Earl of Cromarty being, as
(85-385)we have said, reprieved, the Earl of Kilmarnock
(85-385)and Lord Balmerino remained under sentence, with
(85-385)an intimation that they must prepare for death.
(85-385)The King, however, commuted the mode of
(85-385)execution into decapitation.

(85-385)The behaviour of both noblemen, during the
(85-385)short interval they had now to live, was of a piece
(85-385)with their conduct on the trial. Lord Kilmarnock
(85-385)was composed, though penitent, and prepared
(85-385)himself with decency for the terrible exit. Balmerino,
(85-385)on the contrary, with a bold military frankness,
(85-385)seemed disposed to meet death on the scaffold with
(85-385)the same defiance as in a field of battle. His lady
(85-385)was with him at the moment the death-warrant
(85-385)arrived. They were at dinner: Lady Balmerino
(85-385)fainted at the awful tidings. " Do you not see,"
(85-385)said her husband to the officer who had intimated
(85-385)the news, " you have spoiled my lady's dinner with
(85-385)your foolish warrant?"

(85-385)On the 18th of August, 1746, the prisoners were

[TG85-386]

(85-386)delivered over by the Governor of the Tower to
(85-386)the custody of the Sheriffs; on which occasion, the
(85-386)officers closed the words of form by the emphatic
(85-386)prayer, " God save King George!" Kilmarnock
(85-386)answered with a deep " Amen." Lord Balmerino
(85-386)replied, in a loud and firm tone, " God save King
(85-386)James!"

(85-386)Having been transported in a carriage to an
(85-386)apartment on Tower-hill provided for the purpose,
(85-386)the companions in suffering were allowed a
(85-386)momentary interview, in which Balmerino seemed
(85-386)chiefly anxious to vindicate the Prince from the
(85-386)report, that there had been orders issued at the
(85-386)battle of Culloden to give no quarter. Kilmarnock
(85-386)confessed he had heard of such an order,
(85-386)signed George Murray, but it was only after he
(85-386)was made prisoner. They parted with mutual
(85-386)affection. " I would," said Lord Balmerino, " that
(85-386)I could pay this debt for us both." Lord Kilmarnock
(85-386)acknowledged his kindness. The Earl had
(85-386)the sad precedence in the execution. When he
(85-386)reached the spot, and beheld the fatal scaffold
(85-386)covered with black cloth; the executioner with
(85-386)his axe and his assistants; the sawdust which was
(85-386)soon to be drenched with his blood; the coffin
(85-386)prepared to receive the limbs which were yet warm
(85-386)with life; above all, the immense display of human
(85-386)countenances which surrounded the scaffold like a

[TG85-387]

(85-387)sea, all eyes being bent on the sad object of the
(85-387)preparation, his natural feelings broke forth in a
(85-387)whisper to the friend on whose arm he leaned,

(85-387)" Home, this is terrible!" No sign of indecent
(85-387)timidity, however, affected his behaviour; he
(85-387)prayed for the reigning King and family; knelt
(85-387)calmly to the block, and submitted to the fatal blow.

(85-387)Lord Balmerino was next summoned to enter
(85-387)on the fatal scene. "I suppose," he said, "my
(85-387)Lord Kilmarnock is now no more; I will not
(85-387)detain you longer, for I desire not to protract my
(85-387)life." His Lordship then, taking a glass of wine,
(85-387)desired the bystanders to drink "ain de grae ta haiven,"
(85-387)that is, an ascent to Heaven. He took the
(85-387)axe out of the hand of the executioner, and run his
(85-387)finger along the edge, while a momentary thrill
(85-387)went through the spectators, at seeing so daring a
(85-387)man in the possession of such a weapon. Balmerino
(85-387)did not, however, meditate such desperate
(85-387)folly as would have been implied in an attempt
(85-387)at resistance; he returned the axe to the executioner,
(85-387)and bid him strike boldly, " for in that,"
(85-387)he said, " my friend, will consist thy mercy."

[TG85-388]

(85-388)"There may be some," he said, " who think my
(85-388)behaviour bold. Remember what I tell you,"
(85-388)addressing a bystander, " it arises from a confidence
(85-388)in God and a clear conscience."

(85-388)With the same intrepid countenance, Balmerino
(85-388)knelt to the block, prayed for King James and his
(85-388)family, entreated forgiveness of his own sins,
(85-388)petitioned for the welfare of his friends, and pardon
(85-388)to his enemies. These brief prayers finished, he
(85-388)gave the signal to the executioner; but the man
(85-388)was so surprised at the undaunted intrepidity of his
(85-388)victim, that he struck the first blow irresolutely,

(85-388)and it required two to despatch the bloody work.

(85-388)The conclusion of Lord Lovat's eventful and
(85-388)mysterious career was the next important act of
(85-388)this eventful tragedy. That old conspirator, after

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(85-389)making his escape from his vassal's house of
(85-389)Gortuleg, had fled to the Highlands, where he was
(85-389)afterwards taken in one of the Western Islands,
(85-389)by a detachment from the garrison of Fort
(85-389)William, who had disembarked from on board a bomb
(85-389)vessel, called the Furnace.¹ The old man was
(85-389)brought to the Tower of London. On this occasion,
(85-389)using the words of the Latin poet,² he expressed
(85-389)himself prepared either to resort to his old stratagems,
(85-389)or to meet death like a man, if he should find
(85-389)it inevitable. Lovat's trial, which came on before
(85-389)the House of Lords on the 9th, and was finished
(85-389)on the 19th day of March, was very long and
(85-389)extremely curious. On the former occasions it
(85-389)had not been necessary to produce the evidence of
(85-389)Secretary Murray; but on the present, as Lovat
(85-389)had not been personally engaged in the insurrection,
(85-389)it was indispensable to prove his accession to
(85-389)the previous conspiracy. This was accomplished
(85-389)in the fullest manner; indeed he said of himself,
(85-389)probably with great truth, that he had been
(85-389)engaged in every insurrection in favour of the family
(85-389)of James the Seventh, since he was fifteen years
(85-389)old; and he might have added, he had betrayed
(85-389)some of them to the opposite party. His guilt,
(85-389)thinly covered by a long train of fraud, evasion,
(85-389)and deceit, was clearly manifested, though he

[TG85-390]

(85-390)displayed very considerable skill and legal knowledge
(85-390)in his defence. Being found guilty by the House
(85-390)of Lords, the sentence of high treason was pronounced
(85-390)upon the old man in the usual horrible terms.
(85-390)He heard it with indifference, and replied, " I bid
(85-390)your Lordships an everlasting farewell! Sure I am,
(85-390)we shall never all meet again in the same place."

(85-390)During the interval between the sentence and
(85-390)its execution, this singular personage employed
(85-390)himself at first in solicitations for life, expressed
(85-390)pretty much in the style of a fawning letter, which,
(85-390)when he was first taken prisoner, he had written
(85-390)to the Duke of Cumberland, pleading his high
(85-390)favour with George the First, and how he had
(85-390)carried his royal highness about when a child, in
(85-390)the parks of Kensington and Hampton-Court.
(85-390)Finding these meannesses were in vain, he resolved
(85-390)to imitate in his death the animal he most resembled
(85-390)in his life, and die like the Fox, without
(85-390)indulging his enemies by the utterance of a sigh
(85-390)or groan. It is remarkable, my dear boy, how the
(85-390)audacity of this daring man rendered him an object
(85-390)of wonder and awe at his death, although the whole
(85-390)course of his life had been spent in a manner
(85-390)calculated to excite very different feelings. Lovat
(85-390)had also, indeed, the advantage of the compassion
(85-390)due to extreme old age, still nourishing a daunt-
(85-390)less spirit, even when a life beyond the usual date
(85-390)of humanity was about to be cut short by a public
(85-390)execution. Many circumstances are told of him
(85-390)in prison, from which we may infer, that the careless
(85-390)spirit of levity was indulged by him to the last

[TG85-391]

(85-391)moment. On the evening before his execution, his

(85-391)warder expressed himself sorry that the morrow
(85-391)should be such a bad day with his Lordship. " Bad!"
(85-391)replied his lordship; " for what? do you think I
(85-391)am afraid of an axe? It is a debt we must all
(85-391)pay, and better in this way than by a lingering
(85-391)disease."

(85-391)When ascending the scaffold (in which he
(85-391)requested the assistance of two warders), he looked
(85-391)round on the multitude, and seeing so many people,
(85-391)said with a sneer, " God save us, why should there
(85-391)be such a bustle about taking off an old grey head
(85-391)from a man who cannot get up three steps without'
(85-391)two assistants?" On the scaffold he repeated the
(85-391)line of Horace-

(85-391)" Dulce et decorum eat pro patria mori."

(85-391)It was more in his true character, that when a
(85-391)scaffold fell, and he was informed that many
(85-391)persons had been killed and maimed, he replied in the
(85-391)words of the Scottish adage - "The more mischief
(85-391)the better sport!" He submitted to the fatal blow
(85-391)with unabated courage, and left a strong example
(85-391)of the truth of the observation, that it is easier to
(85-391)die well than to live well. The British government
(85-391)did not escape blame, for having selected as an
(85-391)example of punishment, an old man on the very
(85-391)verge of life. Yet, of all the victims to justice, no
(85-391)one either deserved or received less compassion
(85-391)than Lovat,

(85-391)While the blood of the nobility concerned in
(85-391)the insurrection of 1745 was flowing thus
(85-391)plentifully, the criminals of minor importance had no

[TG85-392]

(85-392)cause to think that justice was aristocratic in her
(85-392)selection of victims. The persons who earliest
(85-392)fell into the hands of the Government, were the
(85-392)officers of the Manchester regiment, left, as we
(85-392)have seen, in Carlisle after the retreat from Derby.
(85-392)Of these the colonel and eight other persons who
(85-392)had held commissions, were tried and condemned
(85-392)in London. Eight others were found guilty at
(85-392)the same time, but were reprieved. Those who
(85-392)were destined for execution, underwent the doom
(85-392)of law in its most horrible shape, upon Kennington
(85-392)Common; where they avowed their political
(85-392)principles, and died firmly.

(85-392)A melancholy and romantic incident took place
(85-392)amid the terrors of the executions. A young lady,
(85-392)of good family and handsome fortune, who had
(85-392)been contracted in marriage to James Dawson, one
(85-392)of the sufferers, had taken the desperate resolution
(85-392)of attending on the horrid ceremonial. She
(85-392)beheld her lover, after having been suspended for a
(85-392)few minutes, but not till death (for such was the
(85-392)barbarous sentence), cut down, embowelled, and
(85-392)mangled by the knife of the executioner. All this
(85-392)she supported with apparent fortitude; but when
(85-392)she saw the last scene finished, by throwing Dawson's
(85-392)heart into the fire, she drew her head within
(85-392)the carriage, repeated his name, and expired on the
(85-392)spot. This melancholy circumstance was made by
(85-392)Mr Shenstone the theme of a tragic ballad.

[TG85-393]

(85-393)The mob of London had hooted these unfortunate
(85-393)gentlemen as they passed to and from their
(85-393)trial, but they witnessed their last sufferings with

(85-393)decency. Three Scottish officers of the party taken
(85-393)at Carlisle, were next condemned and executed in
(85-393)the same manner as the former; others were tried
(85-393)in the like manner, and five were ordered for
(85-393)execution; among these. Sir John Wedderburn,
(85-393)Baronet, was the most distinguished.

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

(85-393)At York and Carlisle seventy persons upon the
(85-393)whole received sentence of death; some were
(85-393)acquitted on the plea of having been forced into
(85-393)the rebellion by their chiefs. This recognises a
(85-393)principle which might have been carried much

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(85-394)farther; when it is considered how much by
(85-394)education and principle these wretched kerne were at
(85-394)the disposal of their leaders, a similar apology
(85-394)ought, in justice, to have been admitted as an
(85-394)excuse to a much larger extent. The law, which
(85-394)makes allowance for the influence of a husband over
(85-394)a wife, or a father over a son, even when it
(85-394)involves them in guilt, ought unquestionably to have
(85-394)had the same consideration for the clansmen, who

(85-394)were trained up in the most absolute ideas of
(85-394)obedience to their chief, and politically exerted no
(85-394)judgment of their own.

(85-394)Nine persons were executed at Carlisle on
(85-394)the 18th of October. The list contained one or
(85-394)two names of distinction; as Buchanan of
(85-394)Arnprior, the chief of his name; MacDonald of Kin-
(85-394)loch-Moidart, one of the first who received the
(85-394)Prince on his landing; MacDonald of Teindreich,
(85-394)who began the war by attacking Captain Scott's
(85-394)detachment when marching to Fort Augustus, and
(85-394)John MacNaughton, a person of little note, unless
(85-394)in so far as he was said, but it is believed erroneously,
(85-394)to have been the individual by whose hand
(85-394)Colonel Gardiner fell at Preston. Six criminals
(85-394)suffered at Brampton; seven were executed at
(85-394)Penrith, and twenty-two at the city of York;
(85-394)eleven more were afterwards executed at Carlisle;
(85-394)nearly eighty in all were sacrificed to the terrors
(85-394)which the insurrection had inspired.

(85-394)These unfortunate sufferers were of different
(85-394)ages, rank, and habits, both of body and mind;
(85-394)they agreed, however, in their behaviour upon the

[TG85-395]

(85-395)scaffold. They prayed for the exiled family, ex-
(85-395)pressed their devotion to the cause in which they
(85-395)died, and particularly their admiration of the
(85-395)princely leader whom they had followed, till their
(85-395)attachment conducted them to this dreadful fate.
(85-395)It may be justly questioned, whether the lives of
(85-395)these men, supposing every one of them to have
(85-395)been an apostle of Jacobitism, could have done so
(85-395)much to prolong their doctrines, as the horror and

(85-395)loathing inspired by so many bloody punishments.
(85-395)And when to these are added the merciless slaughter
(85-395)upon the fugitives at Culloden, and the
(85-395)devastation committed in the Highland districts, it might
(85-395)have been expected that the sword of justice would
(85-395)have been weary with executions.

(85-395)There were still, however, some individuals,
(85-395)upon whom, for personal reasons, vengeance was
(85-395)still desired. One of these was Charles Ratcliffe,
(85-395)brother to the Earl of Derwentwater. This
(85-395)gentleman had been partaker in the Earl's treason of
(85-395)1715, and had been condemned for that crime, But
(85-395)escaped from Newgate. In the latter end of the
(85-395)year 1745 or beginning of 1746, he was taken on
(85-395)board a French ship of war, with other officers.
(85-395)The vessel was loaded with arms and warlike
(85-395)stores, bound for the coast of Scotland, for the use
(85-395)of the insurgents. Ratcliffe's case was, therefore,
(85-395)a simple one. He was brought before the King's
(85-395)Bench, where evidence was adduced to show that
(85-395)he was the same Charles Ratcliffe who had been
(85-395)condemned for the earlier rebellion, and who had
(85-395)then made his escape. Upon this being found

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(85-396)proved by a jury, he was condemned to die,
(85-396)although, appealing to his French commission, he
(85-396)pleaded that he was not a subject of Britain, and
(85-396)denied himself to be the Charles Ratcliffe to whom
(85-396)the indictment and conviction referred, alleging" he
(85-396)was Charles Earl of Derwentwater.

(85-396)On the 8th of December, Ratcliffe appeared on
(85-396)the scaffold, where he was admitted, in respect of
(85-396)his birth, to the sad honours of the axe and block.

(85-396)He was richly dressed, and behaved with a mixture
(85-396)of grace and firmness which procured him universal
(85-396)sympathy. Lovat, whose tragedy I have already
(85-396)given, was, in point of time, the last person who
(85-396)suffered death for political causes in 1747.

(85-396)An act of Indemnity was passed in June 1747,
(85-396)granting a pardon to all persons who had committed
(85-396)treason, but with an awful list of exceptions,
(85-396)amounting to about eighty names. I may here
(85-396)mention the fate of some of those persons who had
(85-396)displayed so much fidelity to Charles during the

[TG85-397]

(85-397)time of his escape. The Laird of MacKinnon,
(85-397)MacDonald of Kingsburgh, and others, ascertained
(85-397)to have been active in aiding the Prince's escape,
(85-397)were brought to London, and imprisoned for some
(85-397)time. Flora MacDonald, the heroine of this
(85-397)extraordinary drama, was also, for a time, detained
(85-397)in the Tower. As I have recorded several of the
(85-397)severities of Government, I ought to add, that
(85-397)nothing save a short imprisonment attended the
(85-397)generous interference of those individuals in behalf
(85-397)of the unfortunate Adventurer, during his dangers
(85-397)and distresses. After being liberated from the
(85-397)Tower, Flora MacDonald found refuge, or rather
(85-397)a scene of triumph, in the house of Lady Primrose,
(85-397)a determined Jacobite, where the Prince's High-
(85-397)land guardian was visited by all persons of rank
(85-397)who entertained any bias to that unhappy cause.
(85-397)Neither did the English Jacobites limit their
(85-397)expressions of respect and admiration to empty
(85-397)compliments. Many who, perhaps, secretly regretted
(85-397)they had not given more effectual instances of their
(85-397)faith to the exiled family, were desirous to make

(85-397)some amends, by loading with kind attentions and
(85-397)valuable presents, the heroine who had played such
(85-397)a dauntless part in the drama. These donations
(85-397)supplied to the gallant Highlandwoman a fortune
(85-397)of nearly L.1500. She bestowed this dowery,
(85-397)together with her hand, upon MacDonald of Kingsburgh,
(85-397)who had been her assistant in the action
(85-397)which procured her so much fame. The applause
(85-397)due to her noble conduct, was not rendered by
(85-397)Jacobites alone; many of the Royal Family, and

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(85-398)particularly the good-natured and generous Prince
(85-398)Frederick of Wales, felt and expressed what was
(85-398)due to the worth of Flora MacDonald, though
(85-398)exerted for the safety of so dangerous a rival. The
(85-398)simplicity and dignity of her character was expressed
(85-398)in her remark, that she never thought she had
(85-398)done any thing wonderful till she heard the world
(85-398)wondering at it. She afterwards went to America
(85-398)with her husband Kingsburgh, but both returned,
(85-398)in consequence of the civil war, and died in their
(85-398)native isle of Skye.

[TG85-399]

(85-399)I should make these volumes thrice as long as
(85-399)they ought to be, were I to tell you the stories
(85-399)which I have heard (sometimes from the lips of
(85-399)those who were themselves the sufferers) concerning
(85-399)the strange concealments and escapes which the
(85-399)Jacobites were reduced to for the safety of their
(85-399)lives after their cause was ruined. The severity
(85-399)of legal prosecution was not speedily relaxed,
(85-399)although the proceedings under martial law were put
(85-399)a stop to. Lord Pitsligo, who lurked on his own
(85-399)estate, and displayed a model of patience under

(85-399)unusual sufferings, continued to be an object of
(85-399)occasional search long after the 1746; and was in
(85-399)some degree under concealment till his death in
(85-399)1762, at the age of eighty-five. Some other
(85-399)criminals peculiarly obnoxious to Government were
(85-399)not liberated from prison until the accession of
(85-399)George the Third.

[TG86-400]

(86-400)WE have hitherto only detailed the penal
(86-400)procedure taken against the principal actors in the
(86-400)rebellion 1745. Before proceeding to narrate the
(86-400)legislative measures which Parliament thought
(86-400)proper to adopt to prevent the recurrence of such
(86-400)a calamity, it may be necessary, in this place, to
(86-400)take a review of the character of the insurrection,
(86-400)and the result which it actually did or might have
(86-400)produced.

(86-400)Looking at the whole in a general point of view,
(86-400)there can be no doubt that it presents a dazzling
(86-400)picture to the imagination, being a romance of real
(86-400)life equal in splendour and interest to any which
(86-400)could be devised by fiction. A primitive people,
(86-400)residing in a remote quarter of the empire, and
(86-400)themselves but a small portion of the Scottish
(86-400)Highlanders, fearlessly attempted to place the
(86-400)British Crown on the head of the last scion of those

[TG86-401]

(86-401)ancient kings, whose descent was traced to their
(86-401)own mountains. This gigantic task they undertook
(86-401)in favour of a youth of twenty-five, who landed
(86-401)on their shore without support of any kind, and
(86-401)threw himself on their generosity -- they assembled
(86-401)an army in his behalf -- their speech, their tactics,

(86-401)their arms, were alike unknown to their countrymen
(86-401)and to the English, -- holding themselves free
(86-401)from the obligations imposed by common law or
(86-401)positive statute, they were yet governed by rules
(86-401)of their own, derived from a general sense of honour,
(86-401)extending from the chief to the lowest of his
(86-401)tribe. With men unaccustomed to arms, the
(86-401)amount of the most efficient part of which never
(86-401)exceeded 2000, they defeated two disciplined armies

[TG86-402]

(86-402)commanded by officers of experience and reputation,
(86-402)penetrated deep into England, approached within
(86-402)a hundred miles of the capital, and made the crown
(86-402)tremble on the king's head; retreated with the
(86-402)like success, when they appeared on the point of
(86-402)being intercepted between three hostile armies;
(86-402)checked effectually the attack of a superior body
(86-402)detached in pursuit of them; reached the North in
(86-402)safety, and were only suppressed by a concurrence
(86-402)of disadvantages which it was impossible for human
(86-402)nature to surmount. All this has much that is
(86-402)splendid to the imagination, nor is it possible to
(86-402)regard without admiration, the little band of
(86-402)determined men by whom such actions were achieved,
(86-402)or the interesting young Prince by whom their
(86-402)energies were directed. It is therefore natural
(86-402)that the civil strife of 1745 should have been long
(86-402)the chosen theme of the poet, the musician, and
(86-402)the novelist, and each has in turn found it possessed
(86-402)of an interest highly suitable to his purpose.

(86-402)In a work founded on history, we must look
(86-402)more closely into the circumstances of the rebellion,
(86-402)and deprive it of some part of the show which
(86-402)pleases the fancy, in order to judge of it by the

(86-402) sound rules of reason. The best mode of doing
(86-402) this, is to suppose that Charles had accomplished
(86-402) his romantic adventure, and seated himself in
(86-402) temporary security in the palace of St James's; when
(86-402) common sense must admit that nothing could have
(86-402) been expected from such a counter-revolution,
(86-402) excepting new strife and fiercer civil wars. The
(86-402) opinion and conduct of the whole British empire,

[TG86-403]

(86-403) with very few exceptions, had shown their
(86-403) disinclination to have this man to rule over them; nor
(86-403) were all the clans in his army numerous enough to
(86-403) furnish more than two battalions of guards to have
(86-403) defended his throne, had they been able to place
(86-403) him upon it. It was not to be supposed that England,
(86-403) so opulent, so populous, so high-spirited, could
(86-403) be held under a galling yoke by a few men of
(86-403) unknown language and manners, who could only be
(86-403) regarded as a sort of strelitzes or janissaries, and
(86-403) detested in that capacity. By far the greater part
(86-403) of Scotland itself was attached to the House of
(86-403) Hanover, and the principles which placed them on
(86-403) the throne; and its inhabitants were votaries of the
(86-403) Presbyterian religion, a form of church government
(86-403) which it had been long the object of the
(86-403) Stewart family to destroy. From that quarter,
(86-403) therefore, Charles, in his supposed state of perilous
(86-403) exaltation, could have drawn no support, but must
(86-403) have looked for opposition. The interference of a
(86-403) French force, had such taken place, could only have
(86-403) increased the danger of the restored dynasty, by
(86-403) rousing against them the ancient feelings of
(86-403) national hatred and emulation; nor is it likely that
(86-403) they could have offered successful resistance to the
(86-403) general opposition which such unpopular aid would

(86-403)have accumulated around them.

(86-403)Neither is it probable that Charles Edward, educated
(86-403)as he had been in foreign courts, and in the
(86-403)antiquated principles of passive obedience and
(86-403)arbitrary power, would have endeavoured to conciliate
(86-403)the affections of the great mass of his subjects, by

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(86-404)disavowing those sentiments of despotic government
(86-404)which had cost his grandfather so dear. Even
(86-404)while his enterprise was in progress, there existed
(86-404)a great schism in his camp, between Lord George
(86-404)Murray, Lord Elcho, and others, who, though engaged
(86-404)with the Prince and favouring his pretensions
(86-404)to the throne, conceived themselves entitled,
(86-404)as their lives and fortunes were depending on the
(86-404)issue, to remonstrate against measures of which
(86-404)they did not always approve. Charles Edward naturally,
(86-404)but fatally for himself and his family, preferred
(86-404)and followed the counsels of those who made
(86-404)it a point to coincide with him in opinion; so that
(86-404)had the strength of this army been adequate to
(86-404)place him upon the throne, he must nevertheless
(86-404)have speedily been precipitated into civil war, the
(86-404)seeds of which existed even among his own followers,
(86-404)since they did not agree among themselves
(86-404)on what principles he was to govern, whether as a
(86-404)despotic or constitutional monarch.

(86-404)From all this it would appear, that however severe
(86-404)upon the Highlanders and their country at the
(86-404)moment when it happened, the defeat of Prince
(86-404)Charles at Culloden could alone have ended the
(86-404)internal divisions of Great Britain; and that any
(86-404)victory which he might have obtained, would

(86-404)only have added to the protraction of civil strife,
(86-404)and the continuance and increase of national
(86-404)calamity.

(86-404)Neither were the actions of the Highlanders
(86-404)under Prince Charles, though sufficiently glorious
(86-404)for their arms, altogether so wonderful as to be

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(86-405)regarded as miraculous. Without detracting from
(86-405)their undoubted bravery, it must be said that the
(86-405)Chevalier was fortunate in meeting with two such
(86-405)antagonists as Cope and Hawley, neither of whom
(86-405)appears to have dreamed of maintaining a second
(86-405)line or effectual reserve, though rendered so necessary
(86-405)by the violence and precipitance of the Highland
(86-405)attack, which must always have thrown a certain
(86-405)degree of disorder into those troops who were
(86-405)first exposed to its fury, but at the same time have
(86-405)brought confusion among the assailants themselves.
(86-405)The two regiments of dragoons who fought, or
(86-405)rather fled, at Preston, having previously lost their
(86-405)character by a succession of panics, must be also
(86-405)looked upon as affording to the Highlanders an
(86-405)advantage unusual to those who encounter an
(86-405)English army. Of the general plan of insurrection,
(86-405)it may be safely said to have been a rash
(86-405)scheme, devised by a very young man, who felt
(86-405)his hopes from France to be rendered absolutely
(86-405)desperate; and by piqueing the honour of Lochiel
(86-405)and his friends, wrought them to such a height of
(86-405)feeling as to induce them to engage in what their
(86-405)common sense assured them was positive ruin.

(86-405)We may also observe, that though the small
(86-405)number of this Prince's forces was in a great measure

(86-405)the cause of his ultimate defeat, yet the same
(86-405)circumstance contributed to his partial success.

(86-405)This may appear paradoxical, but you are to re-
(86-405)member, that the imperfections of an undisciplined
(86-405)army increase in proportion to its numbers, as an
(86-405)ill-constructed machine becomes more unmanageable

[TG86-406]

(86-406)in proportion to its size. The powerful army
(86-406)of clans commanded by Mar in the year 1715,
(86-406)could not have acted with the same speed and
(86-406)decision as the comparatively small body which was
(86-406)arrayed under Charles. And if, on the latter occasion,
(86-406)the Prince wanted the aid of such large forces
(86-406)as were brought to Perth in 1715 by the Marquis of
(86-406)Huntly and the Earls of Breadalbane and Seaforth,
(86-406)his councils were also unembarrassed by the respect
(86-406)and deference claimed by these dignitaries,
(86-406)and by the discords which often arose between
(86-406)them, either amongst themselves, or with the Commander-
(86-406)in-chief. It is also worthy of remark,
(86-406)that without derogating from the desire to maintain
(86-406)discipline, which was certainly entertained by
(86-406)the Highland chiefs during the enterprise, the small
(86-406)number of the Prince's army must also have occasioned
(86-406)among themselves a consciousness of weakness,
(86-406)and they were perhaps the more disposed to
(86-406)attend to orders and abstain from all unnecessary
(86-406)violence, because they saw from the beginning that
(86-406)their safety depended on mutual concord, and on
(86-406)preserving or acquiring the good opinion of the
(86-406)country.

(86-406)Upon the whole, it was perhaps fortunate for
(86-406)the history of Highland clanship, that in point of

(86-406)effective and recognised influence, the system may
(86-406)be considered as having closed with the gallant and
(86-406)generous display of its character which took place
(86-406)in 1745. We have said already that the patriarchal
(86-406)spirit was gradually decaying, and that the system
(86-406)had been insensibly innovated upon in each successive

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(86-407)generation. In the beginning of the eighteenth
(86-407)century, it probably would not have existed, if the
(86-407)chiefs had not sedulously nursed and kept it alive,
(86-407)to maintain in their persons that peculiar military
(86-407)power, which most of them expected to render the
(86-407)means of distinguishing themselves in the civil war
(86-407)that was yearly expected. If the country had
(86-407)remained in profound peace, the chiefs, like the
(86-407)Lowland barons, would have been induced to exchange
(86-407)the command of their clansmen, whose services
(86-407)they had no prospect of requiring, for other advantages,
(86-407)which increased rents, and improved possessions,
(86-407)would have procured them. The slow but
(86-407)certain operation of those changes would have
(86-407)finally dissolved, though perhaps at a later period,
(86-407)the connexion between the clan and the chief, and
(86-407)under circumstances, perhaps, less creditable to the
(86-407)latter. It is therefore better, even for the fame of
(86-407)the Highlands, that the spirit of the patriarchal system,
(86-407)like the light of a dying lamp, should have
(86-407)collected itself into one bright flash before its final
(86-407)extinction; and in the short period of a few months,
(86-407)should have exhibited itself in a purer and more
(86-407)brilliant character than it had displayed during the
(86-407)course of ages.

(86-407)It must also be remarked, that the period at
(86-407)which the patriarchal system was totally broken

(86-407)up, was that at which it presented the most
(86-407)interesting appearance. The Highland chiefs of the
(86-407)eighteenth century, at least those who were
(86-407)persons of consideration, were so much influenced by
(86-407)the general civilisation of Britain, as to be not

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(86-408)only averse to the abuse of power over their clansmen,
(86-408)but disposed, as well as from policy as from
(86-408)higher motives, to restrain their followers from
(86-408)predatory habits, and, discouraging what was rude
(86-408)and fierce, to cultivate what was honourable and
(86-408)noble in their character. It is probable the patriarchal
(86-408)system was never exercised, generally speaking,
(86-408)in a mode so beneficial to humanity, as at the
(86-408)time when it was remotely affected by the causes,
(86-408)which must ultimately have dissolved it. In this
(86-408)respect, it resembled the wood of certain trees,
(86-408)which never afford such beautiful materials for the
(86-408)cabinet-maker, as when they have felt the touch
(86-408)of decay.

(86-408)For these and other reasons, the view which we
(86-408)cast upon the system of clanship, as it existed in
(86-408)the time of the last generation, is like looking back
(86-408)upon a Highland prospect, enlivened by the tints
(86-408)of a beautiful summer evening. On such an occasion,
(86-408)the distant hills, lakes, woods, and precipices,
(86-408)are touched by the brilliancy of the atmosphere with
(86-408)a glow of beauty, which is not properly their own,
(86-408)and it requires an exertion to recall to our mind
(86-408)the desolate, barren, and wild character, which
(86-408)properly belong to the objects we look upon. For
(86-408)the same reason, it requires an effort of the
(86-408)understanding to remind us, that the system of society
(86-408)under which the Highland clans were governed,

(86-408)although having much in it which awakens both
(86-408)the heart and the fancy, was hostile to liberty, and
(86-408)to the progress both of religious and moral improvement,
(86-408)by placing the happiness, and indeed the

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(86-409)whole existence, of tribes at the disposal of
(86-409)individuals, whose power of administration was
(86-409)influenced by no restraint saving their own pleasure.
(86-409)Like other men, the heads of the clans were liable
(86-409)to be seduced into the misuse of unlimited authority;
(86-409)and you have only to recall what I have said
(86-409)in these pages of Lovat and others, to be aware
(86-409)what a curse and a plague a violent or crafty chief
(86-409)might prove to his own clan, to the general government,
(86-409)to the peace of his neighbours, and indeed
(86-409)to the whole country in which he lived. The
(86-409)possession of such power by a few men made it
(86-409)always possible for them to erect the standard of
(86-409)civil war in a country otherwise disposed to peace;
(86-409)and their own bravery and that of their retainers,
(86-409)only rendered the case more dangerous, the
(86-409)provocation more easily taken, and their powers of
(86-409)attack or resistance more bloody and desperate.
(86-409)Even in peace, the power of ravaging the estates
(86-409)of a neighbour or of the Lowlands, by letting
(86-409)loose upon them troops of banditti, kennelled like
(86-409)blood-hounds in some obscure valley, till their
(86-409)services were required, was giving to every petty
(86-409)chieftain the means of spreading robbery and
(86-409)desolation through the country at his pleasure.

(86-409)With whatever sympathy, therefore, we may
(86-409)regard the immediate sufferers, with whatever
(86-409)general regret we may look upon the extinction,
(86-409)by violence, of a state of society which was so

(86-409)much connected with honour, fidelity, and the
(86-409)tenets of romantic chivalry, it is impossible, in

[TG86-410]

(86-410)sober sense, to wish that it should have continued,
(86-410)or to say that, in political wisdom, the government
(86-410)of Great Britain ought to have tolerated its longer
(86-410)existence.

(86-410)The motives, however, of the legislature, in
(86-410)destroying the character of the patriarchal system
(86-410)adopted in the Highlands, were more pressing than
(86-410)those arising out of general expedience and utility.
(86-410)The measures struck less at what was inexpedient
(86-410)in general principles, than at the constant source
(86-410)of repeated rebellions against the Royal Family;
(86-410)and we cannot wonder, that being now completely
(86-410)masters of the disaffected districts by the fate of
(86-410)war, they aimed at totally eradicating all marks of
(86-410)distinction between the Highlander and Lowlander,
(86-410)and reducing the mountains to the quiet and peaceful
(86-410)state which the Lowlands of Scotland had
(86-410)presented for many years.

(86-410)The system of disarming the Highlands had been
(86-410)repeatedly resorted to upon former occasions but the
(86-410)object had been only partially attained. It was now
(86-410)resolved, not only to deprive the Highlanders of
(86-410)their arms, but of the ancient garb of their country;
(86-410)a picturesque habit, the custom of wearing which
(86-410)was peculiarly associated with the use of warlike
(86-410)weapons. The sword, the dirk, the pistol, were all
(86-410)as complete parts of the Highland dress as the
(86-410)plaid and the bonnet, and the habit of using the
(86-410)latter was sure to remind the wearer of the want
(86-410)of the former. It was proposed to destroy this

(86-410)association of ideas, by rendering the use of the

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(86-411)Highland garb, in any of its peculiar forms, highly
(86-411)penal.

(86-411)Many objections, indeed some which appealed
(86-411)to compassion, and others founded upon utility,
(86-411)were urged against this interdiction of an ancient
(86-411)national costume. It was represented that the
(86-411)form of the dress, light, warm, and convenient for
(86-411)the use of those who were accustomed to it, was
(86-411)essentially necessary to men who had to perform
(86-411)long journeys through a wild and desolate country;
(86-411)or discharge the labours of the shepherd or herds-
(86-411)men among extensive mountains and deserts, which
(86-411)must necessarily be applied to pasture. The
(86-411)proscription also of a national garb, to which the people
(86-411)had been long accustomed, and were necessarily
(86-411)much attached, was complained of as a stretch of
(86-411)arbitrary power, especially as the law was declared
(86-411)to extend to large districts and tracts of country,
(86-411)the inhabitants of which had not only refrained
(86-411)from aiding the rebellion, but had given ready and
(86-411)effectual assistance in its suppression.

(86-411)Notwithstanding these reasons, and notwithstanding
(86-411)the representation of the loyal chiefs that
(86-411)it was unjust to deprive them of the swords which

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(86-412)they had used in the Government's defence, it was
(86-412)judged necessary to proceed with the proposed
(86-412)measure, as one which, rigidly enforced by the
(86-412)proposed severity of Government, promised completely
(86-412)to break the martial spirit of the Highlanders, so

(86-412)far as it had been found inconsistent with the peace
(86-412)and safety of the country at large. A law was
(86-412)accordingly passed, forbidding the use of what is
(86-412)called tartan, in all its various checkers and
(86-412)modifications, under penalties which, at that time, might
(86-412)be necessary to overcome the reluctance of the
(86-412)Highlanders to part with their national dress, but
(86-412)which certainly now appear disproportioned to the
(86-412)offence. The wearing any part of what is called
(86-412)the Highland garb, that is, the plaid, philabeg,
(86-412)trews, shoulder-belt, or any other distinctive part
(86-412)of the dress, or the use of any garment composed
(86-412)of tartan, or parti-coloured cloth, made the offender
(86-412)liable, for the first offence, to six months' imprisonment;
(86-412)and for the second, to transportation to the
(86-412)colonies. At the same time, the wearing or even
(86-412)possession of arms subjected a Highlander to serve
(86-412)as a common soldier, if he should prove unable to
(86-412)pay a fine of fifteen pounds. A second offence was
(86-412)to be punished with transportation for seven years.
(86-412)The statute is 20th George II. chap 51.

(86-412)Whatever may be thought of these two statutes,
(86-412)not only restraining the use of arms under the
(86-412)highest penalties, but proscribing the dress of a
(86-412)whole nation, no objection can be made to another
(86-412)Act of Parliament, passed in the year 1748, for
(86-412)abolishing the last effectual remnant of the feudal

[TG86-413]

(86-413)system, viz., the hereditary jurisdictions throughout
(86-413)Scotland. These last remains of the feudal system
(86-413)I have repeatedly alluded to, as contrary alike to
(86-413)common sense, and to the free and impartial
(86-413)administration of justice. In fact, they vested the power
(86-413)of deciding all ordinary actions at law in the

(86-413)persons of great landholders, neither educated to the
(86-413)legal profession, nor in the habit of separating
(86-413)their own interests and passions from the causes
(86-413)which they were to decide as judges. The statute
(86-413)appointed sums of money to be paid as a compensation
(86-413)to the possessors of those judicial rights,
(86-413)whose existence was inimical to the progress of a
(86-413)free country. The administration of justice was
(86-413)vested in professional persons, called Sheriffs-
(86-413)depute (so called as deputed by the Crown, in
(86-413)contradistinction to the Sheriffs principal, formerly
(86-413)enjoying jurisdiction as attached to their patrimony).
(86-413)Such a Sheriff-depute was named for each
(86-413)county, to discharge the judicial duties formerly
(86-413)exercised by hereditary judges.

(86-413)This last Act was not intended for the Highlands
(86-413)alone, its influence being extended throughout Scotland.
(86-413)By the Act of 20th King Geo. II. cap. 5,
(86-413)all tenures by wardholding, that is, where the vassal
(86-413)held lands for the performance of military
(86-413)service, were declared unlawful, and those which
(86-413)existed were changed into holdings for feu, or for
(86-413)blanch tenures, -- that is to say, either for payment
(86-413)of an annual sum of money, or some honorary
(86-413)acknowledgment of vassalage, -- so that it became
(86-413)impossible for any superior or overlord, in future,

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(86-414)to impose upon his vassals the fatal service of
(86-414)following him to battle, or to discharge the oppressive
(86-414)duties of what were called hunting, hosting, watching,
(86-414)and warding. Thus, although the feudal forms
(86-414)of investiture were retained, all the essential influence
(86-414)of the superior or overlord over the vassal or
(86-414)tenant, and especially the right which he had to

(86-414)bring him into the field of battle, in consequence of
(86-414)his own quarrels, was in future abrogated and
(86-414)disallowed. The consequence of these great
(86-414)alterations we reserve for the next chapter.

[TG87-415]

(87-415)BEFORE giving a farther account of the effect
(87-415)produced on Scotland and its inhabitants by the
(87-415)Disarming Act, the Jurisdiction Act, and other
(87-415)alterations adopted into the law of Scotland, in
(87-415)consequence of the insurrection of 1745, we may
(87-415)take some notice of the melancholy conclusion of
(87-415)Charles Edward's career, which had commenced
(87-415)with so much brilliancy. There are many persons
(87-415)like this unfortunate Prince, who, having failed in
(87-415)an effort boldly made and prosecuted with vigour,
(87-415)seem afterwards to have been dogged by misfortune,
(87-415)and deprived, by the premature decay of the
(87-415)faculties they once exhibited, of the power of keeping
(87-415)up the reputation gained at the beginning of
(87-415)their career.

[TG87-416]

(87-416)On his first arrival in France, with all the eclat
(87-416)of his victories and his sufferings, the Chevalier
(87-416)was very favourably received at Court, and
(87-416)obtained considerable advantages for some of his
(87-416)followers. Lochiel and Lord Ogilvie were made
(87-416)lieutenant-colonels in the French service, with
(87-416)means of appointing to commissions some of the
(87-416)most distinguished of the exiles who had participated
(87-416)in their fate. The Court of France also
(87-416)granted 40,000 livres a-year for the support of such
(87-416)Scottish fugitives as were not provided for in their
(87-416)military service.

(87-416)This allowance, however liberal on the part of
(87-416)France, was totally insufficient for the maintenance
(87-416)of so many persons, accustomed not only to the
(87-416)necessaries but comforts of life; and it is not to be
(87-416)wondered at, that many, reduced to exile and
(87-416)indigence in his cause, murmured, though perhaps with
(87-416)injustice, against the Prince, whose power of
(87-416)alleviating their distresses they might conclude to be
(87-416)greater than it really was.

(87-416)An incident which followed, evinced the same
(87-416)intractability of temper which seems to have
(87-416)characterised this young man in his attempt to regain
(87-416)the throne of his ancestors. When the French
(87-416)Government, in the winter of 1748, were disposed
(87-416)to accede to a peace with England, it was an
(87-416)indispensable stipulation, that the young Pretender, as
(87-416)he was styled, should not be permitted to reside
(87-416)within the French territories. The King and
(87-416)ministers of France felt the necessity of acceding to
(87-416)this condition if they would obtain peace; but they

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(87-417)were desirous to do so with all the attention
(87-417)possible to the interest and feelings of Charles Edward.
(87-417)With this purpose, they suggested to him that he
(87-417)should retreat to Friburg, in Switzerland, where
(87-417)they proposed to assure him an asylum, with a
(87-417)company of guards, a large pension, and the nominal
(87-417)rank and title of Prince of Wales.

(87-417)It is not easy to say with what possible views
(87-417)Charles rejected these offers, or from what motive,
(87-417)saving the impulse of momentary spleen, he
(87-417)positively refused to leave France. He was in a
(87-417)kingdom, however, where little ceremony was then

(87-417)used upon such occasions. One evening as he went
(87-417)to the opera, he was seized by a party of the French
(87-417)guards, bound hand and foot, and conveyed first to
(87-417)the state prison of Vincennes, and from thence to
(87-417)the town of Avignon, which belonged to the Pope,
(87-417)where he was set at liberty, never to enter France
(87-417)again.

(87-417)To this unnecessary disgrace Charles appears to
(87-417)have subjected himself from feelings of obstinacy
(87-417)alone; and of course a line of conduct so irrational
(87-417)was little qualified to recommend him as a pleasant
(87-417)guest to other states.

(87-417)He went first to Venice with a single attendant;
(87-417)but upon a warning from the Senate, he returned
(87-417)to Flanders.

(87-417)Here, about the year 1751, he admitted into his
(87-417)family a female, called Miss Walkinshaw. The

[TG87-418]

(87-418)person whom he thus received into his intimacy had
(87-418)connexions, of which his friends and adherents in
(87-418)Britain were extremely jealous. It was said that
(87-418)her sister was a housekeeper at Leicester House,
(87-418)then inhabited by the Prince of Wales; and such
(87-418)was the general suspicion of her betraying her lover,
(87-418)that the persons of distinction in England who
(87-418)continued to adhere to the Jacobite interest, sent a
(87-418)special deputy, called Macnamara, to request, in the
(87-418)name of the whole party, that this lady might be
(87-418)removed from the Chevalier's residence, and sent
(87-418)into a convent, at least for a season. The Prince
(87-418)decidedly put a negative upon this proposal,"--
(87-418)" Not," he said, " that he entertained any particular

(87-418)affection or even regard for Miss Walkinshaw,
(87-418)but because he would not be dictated to by his
(87-418)subjects in matters respecting his own habits or
(87-418)family." When Macnamara was finally repulsed,
(87-418)he took his leave with concern and indignation,
(87-418)saying, as he retired,--" By what crime, sir, can
(87-418)your family have drawn down the vengeance of
(87-418)Heaven, since it has visited every branch of them
(87-418)through so many ages?"

(87-418)This haughty reply to a request, reasonable and
(87-418)respectful in itself, was the signal for almost all the
(87-418)Jacobite party in England to break up and dissolve
(87-418)itself; they were probably by this time only watching
(87-418)for an opportunity of deserting with honour a
(87-418)cause which was become hopeless.

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(87-419)Before this general defection, some intrigues
(87-419)had been set on foot in behalf of Charles, but
(87-419)always without much consideration, and by persons
(87-419)of incompetent judgment. Thus the Duchess of
(87-419)Buckingham, a woman of an ambitious but flighty
(87-419)disposition, took it upon her at one time to figure
(87-419)as a patroness of the House of Stewart, and made
(87-419)several journeys from England to Paris and also to
(87-419)Rome, with the affectation of making herself the
(87-419)heroine of a Jacobite revolution. This intrigue,
(87-419)it is needless to say, could have no serious object
(87-419)or termination.

(87-419)In 1750, the Jacobite intrigues continued to go
(87-419)on, and the Prince himself visited London in that
(87-419)year. Dr King, then at the head of the Church of
(87-419)England Jacobites, received him in his house. He
(87-419)assures us, that the scheme which Charles had

(87-419)formed was impracticable, and that he was soon
(87-419)prevailed upon to return to the continent. Dr

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(87-420)King at this time draws a harsh picture of the
(87-420)unfortunate Prince; he represents him as cold,
(87-420)interested, and avaricious, which is one frequent
(87-420)indication of a selfish character. This author's
(87-420)evidence, however, must be taken with some
(87-420)modification, since the Doctor wrote his anecdotes at a
(87-420)time when, after having long professed to be at
(87-420)the head of the nonjuring party, he had finally
(87-420)withdrawn from it, joined the Government, and
(87-420)paid his duty at court. He is therefore not likely
(87-420)to have formed an impartial judgment, or to have
(87-420)drawn a faithful picture, of the Prince whose cause
(87-420)he had deserted. In 1752, the embers of Jacobitism
(87-420)threw out one or two sparks. Patrick, Lord
(87-420)Elbank, conducted at this time what remained of

[TG87-421]

(87-421)a Jacobite interest in Scotland; he was a man of
(87-421)great wit, shrewdness, and sagacity; but like others
(87-421)who are conscious of great talent, often both in his
(87-421)conduct and conversation chose the most disadvantageous
(87-421)side of the question, in order to make a
(87-421)more marked display of his abilities.

(87-421)The Honourable Alexander Murray, one of
(87-421)Lord Elbank's brothers, a very daring man, had
(87-421)devised a desperate scheme for seizing upon the
(87-421)Palace of St James's and the person of the King,
(87-421)by means of sixty determined men. There was a
(87-421)second branch of the conspiracy which should have
(87-421)exploded in Scotland, where there were no longer
(87-421)either men or means to accomplish an insurrection.

(87-421)MacDonell of Lochgarry, and Dr Archibald
(87-421)Cameron, brother to Lochiel, were the agents
(87-421)employed in this northern part of the plot. The latter
(87-421)fell into the hands of the Government, being taken
(87-421)upon the banks of Loch Katrine, and sent prisoner
(87-421)to London. Dr Cameron was brought to trial upon
(87-421)the Bill of Attainder, passed against him on account
(87-421)of his concern in the Rebellion 1745, and upon
(87-421)that charge he was arraigned, condemned, and put
(87-421)to death at Tyburn, June 1753. His execution for
(87-421)this old offence, after the date of hostilities had been
(87-421)so long past, threw much reproach upon the
(87-421)Government, and even upon the personal character of
(87-421)George the Second, as sullen, relentless, and
(87-421)unforgiving. These aspersions were the more credited,
(87-421)that Dr Cameron was a man of a mild and
(87-421)gentle disposition, had taken no military share in
(87-421)the Rebellion, and had uniformly exercised his skill

[TG87-422]

(87-422)as a medical man in behalf of the wounded of both
(87-422)armies. Yet since, as is now well known, he
(87-422)returned to Scotland with the purpose of again
(87-422)awakening the names of rebellion, it must be owned,
(87-422)that whatever his private character might be,
(87-422)he only encountered the fate which his enterprise
(87-422)merited and justified.

(87-422)The Honourable Alexander Murray ventured
(87-422)to London about the same period, where a proclamation
(87-422)was speedily issued for his arrest. Having
(87-422)discovered that the persons on whose assistance he
(87-422)had relied for the execution of his scheme had lost
(87-422)courage, he renounced the enterprise. Other wild
(87-422)or inefficient intrigues were carried on in behalf of
(87-422)Charles down to about 1760; but they have all the

(87-422)character of being formed by mere projectors,
(87-422)desirous of obtaining money from the exiled Prince,
(87-422)without any reasonable prospect, perhaps without
(87-422)any serious purpose, of rendering him effectual
(87-422)service.

(87-422)A few years later than the period last
(87-422)mentioned, a person seems to have been desirous to
(87-422)obtain Charles's commission to form some interest
(87-422)for him among the North American colonists, who
(87-422)had then commenced their quarrels with the mother
(87-422)country. It was proposed by the adventurer
(87-422)alluded to, to make a party for the Prince among the
(87-422)insurgents in a country which contained many
(87-422)Highlanders. But that scheme also was entirely

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(87-423)without solid foundation, for the Scottish colonists
(87-423)in general joined the party of King George.

(87-423)Amidst these vain intrigues, excited by new
(87-423)hopes, which were always succeeded by fresh
(87-423)disappointment, Charles, who had supported so much
(87-423)real distress and fatigue with fortitude and firmness,
(87-423)gave way both in mind and body. His
(87-423)domestic uneasiness was increased by an unhappy
(87-423)union with Louisa of Stohlberg, a German princess,
(87-423)which produced happiness to neither party,
(87-423)and some discredit to both. Latterly, after long
(87-423)retaining the title of Prince of Wales, he laid it
(87-423)aside, because, after his father's death in 1766, the
(87-423)courts of Europe would not recognise him as King
(87-423)of Great Britain. He afterwards lived incognito,
(87-423)under the title of Count D'Albany. Finally, he

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(87-424)died at Rome upon the 31st of January, 1788, in
(87-424)his 68th year, and was royally interred in the
(87-424)cathedral church of Frescati, of which his brother
(87-424)was bishop.

(87-424)The merits of this unhappy Prince appear to
(87-424)have consisted in a degree of dauntless resolution
(87-424)and enterprise, bordering upon temerity; the
(87-424)power of supporting fatigues and misfortunes, and
(87-424)extremity of every kind, with firmness and magnanimity;
(87-424)and a natural courtesy of manner highly
(87-424)gratifying to his followers, which he could exchange
(87-424)for reserve at his pleasure. Nor, when his
(87-424)campaign in Scotland is considered, can he be denied
(87-424)respectable talents in military affairs. Some of his
(87-424)partisans of higher rank conceived he evinced less
(87-424)gratitude for their services than he ought to have
(87-424)rendered them; but by far the greater part of
(87-424)those who approached his person were unable to
(87-424)mention him without tears of sorrow, to which your
(87-424)Grandfather has been frequently a witness.

(87-424)His faults or errors arose from a course of
(87-424)tuition totally unfit for the situation to which he
(87-424)conceived himself born. His education, intrusted to
(87-424)narrow-minded priests and soldiers of fortune, had
(87-424)been singularly limited and imperfect; so that,
(87-424)instead of being taught to disown or greatly
(87-424)modify the tenets which had made his fathers exiles
(87-424)from their throne and country, he was instructed
(87-424)to cling to those errors as sacred maxims, to which
(87-424)he was bound in honour and conscience to adhere.
(87-424)He left a natural daughter, called Countess of
(87-424)Albany, who died only a few years since.

[TG87-425]

(87-425)The last direct male heir of the line of Stewart,
(87-425)on the death of Charles, was his younger brother,
(87-425)Henry Benedict, whom the Pope had created a
(87-425)cardinal. This Prince took no other step for
(87-425)asserting his claim to the British kingdoms, than by
(87-425)striking a beautiful medal, in which he is represented
(87-425)in his cardinal's robes, with the crown,
(87-425)sceptre, and regalia, in the background, bearing
(87-425)the motto, *Voluntate dei non desiderio populi*,
(87-425)implying a tacit relinquishment of the claims to which,
(87-425)by birth, he might have pretended. He was a
(87-425)Prince of a mild and beneficent character, and
(87-425)generally beloved. After the innovations of the
(87-425)French Revolution had destroyed, or greatly
(87-425)diminished, the revenues he derived from the church,
(87-425)he subsisted, singular to tell, on an annuity of
(87-425)L.4000 a-year assigned to him by the generosity
(87-425)of the late King George the Third, and continued
(87-425)by that of his royal successor. In requital of their
(87-425)bounty, and as if acknowledging the House of
(87-425)Hanover to be the legitimate successors of his claims
(87-425)to the crown of Britain, this, the last of the
(87-425)Stewarts, bequeathed to his present Majesty all
(87-425)the crown jewels, some of them of great value,
(87-425)which King James the Second had carried along
(87-425)with him on his retreat to the Continent in 1688,
(87-425)together with a mass of papers, tending to throw
(87-425)much light on British history. He died at Rome,
(87-425)June 1807, in the 83d year of his age.

(87-425)Having now finished my account of the House
(87-425)of Stewart, extinguished in the person of its last
(87-425)direct male heir, I return to notice the general effects

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(87-426)produced in Scotland, by the laws adopted for the

(87-426)abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions, and prohibition
(87-426)of the Highland dress and arms. On the
(87-426)first point, no dissatisfaction was expressed, and
(87-426)little was probably felt, excepting by a few landed
(87-426)proprietors, who might conceive their dignity
(87-426)diminished by their power over their tenants being
(87-426)abridged and limited. But it was different with
(87-426)the Disarming Act, which was resented by the
(87-426)Highlanders as a deadly insult, and which seemed
(87-426)for a considerable time rather to increase than
(87-426)allay the discontent, which it was the desire of the
(87-426)Government to appease.

(87-426)Indeed, when the state of the Highlands is
(87-426)considered, we cannot be surprised, that for the space
(87-426)of ten years at least, it should have been wilder
(87-426)than it was before the insurrection. The country
(87-426)was filled with desperate men, whom their education

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(87-427)to the use of arms, as well as the recent scenes
(87-427)of civil war, had familiarized to rapine and violence,
(87-427)and the check, such as it was, which the authority
(87-427)of the chiefs extended over malefactors, was entirely
(87-427)dissolved by the downfall of their power.
(87-427)Accordingly, the criminal records of that period are
(87-427)full of atrocities of various kinds, perpetrated in
(87-427)the Highlands, which give a strange idea of the
(87-427)disorderly state of the country.

(87-427)Tradition also delights to enumerate, among the
(87-427)sons of vulgar rapine, the names of Sergeant Mor
(87-427)Cameron and others, depredators of milder mood,

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(87-428)and whose fame might rank with that of Robin

(87-428)Hood and his merry archers, as friends and
(87-428)benefactors to the poor, though plunderers of the rich.
(87-428)The sword of justice was employed in weeding
(87-428)them out; and if frequent examples of punishment
(87-428)did not correct the old depredators, it warned
(87-428)the young from following their footsteps. But
(87-428)the race of Forty-five men, as they were called,
(87-428)who supplied this generation of heroes, became in
(87-428)time old, and accustomed to peaceful habits.

(87-428)Government also had, by the Act of Attainder,
(87-428)which forfeited the lands of those engaged in the
(87-428)rebellion, acquired very large estates in the
(87-428)Highlands, which had previously belonged to. the Jacobite
(87-428)chiefs. More wise than their predecessors in
(87-428)1715, instead of bringing this property to sale, they
(87-428)retained it under the management of a Board of
(87-428)Commissioners, by whom, after the necessary
(87-428)expenses were defrayed, the surplus revenue was
(87-428)applied to the improvement of Scottish arts and
(87-428)manufactures, and especially to the amelioration of the
(87-428)Highlands. The example of agriculture and

[TG87-429]

(87-429)successful industry, which was set on foot under the
(87-429)patronage of these commissioners, was imitated by
(87-429)those Highlanders, who, excluded from the rough
(87-429)trade of arms, began to turn a late and unwilling
(87-429)eye to such pursuits. The character of the natives,
(87-429)as well as the face of the country, underwent a
(87-429)gradual change; the ideas of clanship, which long
(87-429)clung to the heart of a Scottish Highlander,
(87-429)gradually gave way under the absence of many chiefs,
(87-429)and the impoverishment of others. The genius of
(87-429)the Earl of Chatham, about the same time also,
(87-429)opened a fresh career to the martial spirit of the

(87-429)Highlanders, by levying regiments for the service
(87-429)of Government in Canada, where they behaved
(87-429)themselves in a distinguished manner; while, in
(87-429)the mean time, the absence of the most inflammable
(87-429)part of a superabundant population greatly
(87-429)diminished the risk of fresh disturbances. Many
(87-429)persons also, who had served in their youth in the
(87-429)campaigns of Prince Charles, now entered this new
(87-429)levy, and drew the sword for the reigning monarch,
(87-429)whose generosity readily opened every rank of
(87-429)military service to his ancient enemies. I will give
(87-429)you one instance among many:

(87-429)The commission of a field officer, in one of these
(87-429)new regiments, being about to be bestowed on a
(87-429)gentleman of Athole, a courtier who had some
(87-429)desire to change the destination of the appointment,
(87-429)told his late Majesty [George III.] of some bold
(87-429)and desperate actions which the candidate for military
(87-429)preferment had performed on the side of
(87-429)Charles Edward, during the insurrection of 1745.

[TG87-430]

(87-430)" Has this gentleman really fought so well against
(87-430)me?" said the good-natured and well-judging
(87-430)monarch; " then, believe me, he will fight as well in
(87-430)my cause." So the commission kept its original
(87-430)destination.

(87-430)Such instances of generosity, on the part of the
(87-430)Sovereign, could not hut make proselytes among a
(87-430)warm-hearted people like the Jacobites, with whom
(87-430)George the Third became personally popular at
(87-430)an early period of his reign. With an amiable
(87-430)inconsistency, many of those who had fought against
(87-430)the grandfather would have spent the last drop of

(87-430)their blood for the grandchild, and those who even
(87-430)yet refused to abjure the right of the Pretender,
(87-430)showed themselves ready to lay down their lives
(87-430)for the reigning monarch.

(87-430)While a good understanding was gradually
(87-430)increasing between the Highlanders and the Government,
(87-430)which they had opposed so long and with so
(87-430)much obstinacy, the management of the forfeited
(87-430)estates in the Highlands was so conducted as to
(87-430)afford the cultivators a happy and easy existence;
(87-430)and though old men might turn back with fondness
(87-430)to the recollection of their younger days, when every
(87-430)Highlander walked the heath with his weapons
(87-430)rattling around him, the preference must, upon the
(87-430)whole, have been given to a period, in which a
(87-430)man's right needed nothing else to secure it than
(87-430)the equal defence of the law. In process of time,
(87-430)it was conceived by Government that the period of
(87-430)punishment by forfeiture ought, in equity as well
(87-430)as policy, to be brought to a close, and that the

[TG87-431]

(87-431)descendants of the original insurgents of the year
(87-431)1745, holding different tenets from their unfortunate
(87-431)ancestors, might be safely restored to the
(87-431)enjoyment of their patrimonial fortunes. By an
(87-431)Act of Grace accordingly, dated 24th George III.
(87-431)chap. 37, the estates forfeited for treason, in the
(87-431)year 1745, were restored to the descendants of
(87-431)those by whom they had been forfeited. A long
(87-431)train of honourable names was thus restored to
(87-431)Scottish history, and a debt of gratitude imposed
(87-431)upon their representatives to the memory of the
(87-431)then reigning monarch. To complete this Act of
(87-431)Grace, the present King [George IV.] has, in

(87-431)addition to the forfeited property returned by his
(87-431)father, restored, in blood, such persons descended
(87-431)of attainted individuals as would have been heirs
(87-431)to Peerages, had it not been for the attainder; -- a
(87-431)step well chosen to mark the favour entertained by
(87-431)his Majesty for his Scottish subjects, and his desire
(87-431)to obliterate all recollection that discord had ever
(87-431)existed between his royal house and any of their
(87-431)ancestors.

[TG87-432]

(87-432)Another feature of the same lenient and healing
(87-432)measures, was the restoring the complete liberty of
(87-432)wearing the Highland dress, without incurring
(87-432)penalty or prosecution, by 22d George III. chap.
(87-432)63. This boon was accepted with great apparent
(87-432)joy by the natives of the Highlands; but an effectual
(87-432)change of customs having been introduced during
(87-432)the years in which it was proscribed, and the
(87-432)existing generation having become accustomed to the
(87-432)Lowland dress, the ancient garb is seldom to be
(87-432)seen, excepting when assumed upon festive
(87-432)occasions.

(87-432)A change of a different kind is very deeply
(87-432)connected with the principles of political economy, but
(87-432)I can here do little more than name it. Clanship,
(87-432)I have said, was abolished, or subsisted only as the
(87-432)shadow of a shade; the generality of Highland
(87-432)proprietors, therefore, were unwilling to support,
(87-432)upon their own estates, in the capacity of poor
(87-432)kindred, a number of men whom they no longer
(87-432)had the means of employing in military service.
(87-432)They were desirous, like a nation in profound
(87-432)peace, to discharge the soldiers for whom they had
(87-432)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

[TG87-433]

(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.

(87-433)The author can well recollect the indignation
(87-433)with which these agricultural innovations were
(87-433)regarded by the ancient Highlanders. He remembers
(87-433)hearing a chief of the old school say, in sorrow

[TG87-434]

(87-434)and indignation, the words following: "When I
(87-434)was a young man, the point upon which every
(87-434)Highland gentleman rested his importance, was
(87-434)the number of MEN whom his estate could support;
(87-434)the question next rested on the amount of his
(87-434)stock of BLACK CATTLE; it is now come to respect
(87-434)the number of sheep; and I suppose our posterity
(87-434)will enquire how many rats or mice an estate will
(87-434)produce."

(87-434)It must be allowed that, in a general point of
(87-434)view, this change was a necessary consequence of
(87-434)the great alteration in the system of manners, and
(87-434)that therefore it was an inevitable evil. It is no
(87-434)less true, that the humanity of individual
(87-434)proprietors bestowed much trouble and expense in
(87-434)providing means to enable those inhabitants who
(87-434)were necessarily ejected from their ancient pastures
(87-434)and possessions, to obtain new occupation in the fisheries,
(87-434)and other modes of employment, to which
(87-434)their energies might be profitably turned. Upon
(87-434)the great estate of Sutherland in particular, the
(87-434)Marquis of Stafford incurred an outlay of more
(87-434)than L.100, 000 in providing various modes of
(87-434)employment for Highland tenants, who might be
(87-434)unfit to engage in the new system of improved farming,
(87-434)while two years' free possession of their old
(87-434)farms without rent, in order to furnish funds for
(87-434)their voyage, was allowed to those who might
(87-434)prefer emigration.

(87-434)But many other Highland proprietors neither
(87-434)possessed the means nor the disposition to await
(87-434)with patience the result of such experiments, and

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(87-435)the necessary emigration of their followers was
(87-435)attended with circumstances of great hardship.

(87-435)It is, however, a change which has taken place,
(87-435)and has had its crisis. The modern Highlanders,
(87-435)trained from their youth to the improved mode of
(87-435)agriculture, may be expected to maintain their
(87-435)place in their native country, without experiencing
(87-435)the oppressive rivalry of the south country farmers,
(87-435)which a change of times has done much to put a
(87-435)stop to. The late introduction of steam navigation,
(87-435)by facilitating the communications with the best
(87-435)markets, presents an important stimulus to the
(87-435)encouragement of industry, in a country almost every
(87-435)where indented by creeks and salt water lakes,
(87-435)suitable to the access of steam vessels. We may
(87-435)therefore hope, in terms of the Highland Society's
(87-435)motto, that a race, always renowned in arms,

[TG87-436]

(87-436)will henceforward be equally distinguished by
(87-436)industry.

(87-436)With the Highlands we have now done, nor are
(87-436)their inhabitants now much distinguished from
(87-436)those of the rest of Scotland, except in the use of
(87-436)the Gaelic language, and that they still retain some
(87-436)vestiges of their ancient feelings and manners.

(87-436)Neither has any thing occurred in Scotland at

(87-436)large to furnish matter for the continuation of these
(87-436)narratives. She has, since 1746, regularly felt her
(87-436)share in the elevation or abasement of the rest of
(87-436)the empire. The civil war, a cruelly severe, yet a
(87-436)most effectual remedy, had destroyed the seeds of
(87-436)disunion which existed in the bosom of Scotland;
(87-436)her commerce gradually increased, and, though
(87-436)checked for a time by the American war, revived
(87-436)after the peace of 1780, with a brilliancy of success
(87-436)hitherto unexampled. The useful arts, agriculture,
(87-436)navigation, and all the aids which natural philosophy
(87-436)affords to industry, came in the train of commerce.
(87-436)The shocks which the country has sustained
(87-436)since the peace of 1815, have arisen out of
(87-436)causes general to the imperial kingdoms, and not
(87-436)peculiar to Scotland. It may be added also, that
(87-436)she has not borne more than her own share of the
(87-436)burden, and may look forward with confidence to
(87-436)be relieved from it as early as any of the sister
(87-436)kingdoms.