

## THE INVASION OF ENGLAND BY THE JACOBITE ARMY OF 1715.

ON Saturday, 22d October, 1715, the three great bodies of armed Jacobite insurgents—the Highlanders under Brigadier Mackintosh, the Northumbrians under Mr. Forster, and the

men of Nithsdale and Galloway under Viscount Kenmure—rendezvoused at the town of Kelso. The Highlanders amounted to only 1,400 foot and 600 horse; and the united army looked for their main strength, neither to their present numbers nor discipline, but to great accessions which they expected to make. They devoted the following day principally to repose and religious duties. Patten, the historian of this insurrection, an Episcopalian minister, and one of their chaplains, in terms of instructions from Lord Kenmure, who had the command of the troops while in Scotland, preached in the morning in the Great church of Kelso, formerly the abbey of David the First, to a mixed congregation of Catholics, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians, from Deut. xxi. 17. "The right of the first-born is his." In the afternoon Mr. William Irvine, an old Scottish Episcopalian minister, chaplain to the Earl of Carnwath, delivered a sermon full of exhortations to his hearers to be zealous and steady in the cause of the Chevalier. Next morning the Highlanders were drawn up in the churchyard, and thence marched to the market-cross with colours flying, drums beating, and bagpipes playing. They there formed a circle round the lords and gentlemen. Within this circle another was formed of the gentlemen volunteers. Silence being enjoined, and a trumpet sounded, Seaton of Barnes, who claimed the vacant title of Earl of Dunfermline, read a proclamation, declaring the Chevalier, as James VIII., lawful King over Scotland, England, and Ireland.

The insurgents remained three days in Kelso, which were chiefly occupied in searching for arms and plundering the houses of some of the loyalists in the neighbourhood. They took possession of some pieces of cannon which had been brought by Sir William Bennet from Hume Castle for the defence of the town, and which had formerly been employed to protect that ancient stronghold against the attacks of the English. They also seized some broadswords which they

found in the church, and a small quantity of gunpowder. Whilst at Kelso, Mackintosh seized the public revenue, as was his uniform custom in every town through which he passed.

During their stay at Kelso, the insurgents seem to have come to no determination as to future operations; but the arrival of General Carpenter with three regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of foot, at Wooler, forced them to resolve upon something decisive. Lord Kenmore, thereupon, called a council of war to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. According to the opinions of the principal officers, there were three ways of proceeding. The first, which was strongly urged by the Earl of Wintoun, was to march into the west of Scotland, to reduce Dumfries and Glasgow, and thereafter to form a junction with the western clans, under General Gordon, to open a communication with the Earl of Mar, and threaten the Duke of Argyle's rear. The second was to give battle immediately to General Carpenter, who had scarcely a thousand men under him, the greater part of whom consisted of newly raised levies, who had never seen any service. This plan was supported by Mackintosh, who was so intent upon it, that, sticking his pike in the ground, he declared that he would not stir, but would wait for General Carpenter and fight him, as he was sure there would be no difficulty in beating him. The last plan, which was that of the Northumberland gentlemen, was to march directly through Cumberland and Westmoreland into Lancashire, where the Jacobite interest was very powerful, and where they expected to be joined by great numbers of the people. Mackintosh was strongly opposed to this view, and pointed out the risk which they would run, if met by an opposing force, which they might calculate upon, while General Carpenter was left in their rear. He contended, that if they succeeded in defeating Carpenter, they would soon be able to fight any other troops,—that if Carpenter should beat them, they had already

advanced far enough, and that they would be better able, in the event of a reverse, to shift for themselves in Scotland than in England.

Amidst the confusion and perplexity occasioned by these differences of opinion, a sort of medium course was in the meantime resolved upon, till the chiefs of the army should reconcile their divisions. The plan agreed upon was, that they should, to avoid an immediate rencounter with General Carpenter, decamp from Kelso, and proceed along the border in a south-westerly direction towards Jedburgh; and, accordingly, on Thursday the 27th day of October, the insurgents proceeded on their march. The disagreement which had taken place had cooled their military fervour, and a feeling of dread, at the idea of being attacked by Carpenter's force, soon began to display itself. Twice, on the march to Jedburgh, were they thrown into a state of alarm, by mistaking a party of their own men for the troops of General Carpenter. The mistake being soon discovered, in the first instance, little disorder ensued; but the last created much confusion, and strikingly exhibited the effects of fear, even upon resolute minds, when labouring under a temporary depression. The horse preceded the foot, and arrived at Jedburgh when the latter were yet distant two miles from the town. A party of the foot, which had been sent up Tweed-side, was observed by their main body, when on the high road between Kelso and Jedburgh, crossing a moor on their right, which being again taken for Carpenter's troops, they sent an express to Jedburgh, requiring the support of the horse. Lord Kenmure, Brigadier Mackintosh, and the other principal officers, were standing together when this message was delivered; but being uttered very indistinctly by the messenger, a gentleman present conceiving that Lord Lumley, who commanded the light horse of Northumberland, had attacked the Highlanders, instantly mounted his horse and galloped through the streets, shouting aloud, "Mount, gentlemen,

mount! Lumley is upon the foot cutting them to pieces!" This announcement produced the utmost consternation among the horse, some of whom, from an apprehension of being made prisoners, tore the cockades from their hats, while others absconded and concealed themselves in the most secret places in the town. The greater part, however, mounted their horses, and went out to join the foot; but so alarmed were many even of these, at the idea of encountering the Government forces, that, according to one writer, they wept like children. If this statement be well founded, these men fully redeemed their character by the gallant defence they afterwards made at Preston.

Instead of advancing upon Jedburgh, as they supposed Carpenter would have done, the insurgents ascertained that he had taken a different direction in entering Scotland, and that from their relative positions, they were considerably in advance of him in the proposed route into England. The English officers thereupon again urged their views in council, and insisted upon them with such earnestness, that Macintosh was induced, though with great reluctance, and not till after very high words had been exchanged, to yield. Preparatory to crossing the Borders, they despatched one Captain Hunter (who, from following the profession of a horse-stealer on the Borders, was well acquainted with the neighbouring country), across the hills, to provide quarters for the army in North Tynedale; but he had not proceeded far, when an order was sent after him countermanding his march, in consequence of a mutiny among the Highlanders, who refused to march into England. The English horse, after expostulating with them, threatened to surround them and compel them to march; but Mackintosh informed them that he would not allow his men to be so treated, and the Highlanders themselves despising the threat, gave them to understand that they would resist the attempt.

The determination, on the part of the Highlanders, not to

march into England, staggered the English gentlemen ; but as they saw no hopes of inducing their northern allies to enter into their views, they consented to waive their resolution in the meantime, and by mutual consent the army left Jedburgh on the 29th of October for Hawick. During their stay at the latter place, the Highlanders were provided with a supply of oatmeal, levied upon the inhabitants, according to their respective abilities, under the inspection of the magistrates. While on the march to Hawick, a fresh mutiny broke out among the Highlanders, who, suspecting that the march to England was still resolved upon, separated themselves from the rest of the army, and going up to the top of a rising ground on Hawick-moor, grounded their arms, declaring, at the same time, that although they were determined not to march into England, they were ready to fight the enemy on Scottish ground. Should the chiefs of the army decline to lead them against Carpenter's forces, they proposed, agreeably to the Earl of Wintoun's advice, either to march through the west of Scotland and join the clans under General Gordon, by crossing the Forth above Stirling, or to cooperate with the Earl of Mar, by falling upon the Duke of Argyle's rear, while Mar himself should assail him in front. But the English officers would listen to none of these propositions, and again threatened to surround them with the horse and force them to march. The Highlanders, exasperated at this menace, cocked their pistols, and told their imprudent colleagues that if they were to be made a sacrifice, they would prefer being destroyed in their own country. By the interposition of the Earl of Wintoun a reconciliation was effected, and the insurgents resumed their march to Hawick, on the understanding that the Highlanders should not be again required to march into England.

The insurgents passed the night at Hawick, during which the courage of the Highlanders was put to the test, by the appearance of a party of horse, which was observed patrolling

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

The intelligence thus conveyed, immediately created another schism in the army. The English, who had been prevailed upon, from the advantages held out to the Jacobite cause by the capture of such an important post as Dumfries, to accede to the proposal for attacking it, now resumed their original intention of marching into England. The Highlanders, on the other hand, insisted upon marching instantly upon

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



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

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

tween them and Newcastle, the seizure of which, he erroneously supposed, was the object of their movement.

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

Next day the insurgents marched to Appleby, where, as at Penrith, they proclaimed the Chevalier and seized the public revenue. After halting two days at this town, they resumed their march on the 5th of November, and arrived at Kendal, where they took up their quarters for the night. Next morning, being Sunday, they decamped from Kendal,

and after a short march reached Kirby Lonsdale, where, after proclaiming the Chevalier, they went to the church in the afternoon, where, in absence of the parson, who had absconded, Mr. Patten read prayers. This author relates a singular instance of Jacobite zeal on the part of a gentleman of the name of Guin, or Gwyn, who entered the churches which lay in the route of the army, and scratching out the name of King George from the prayer books, substituted that of the Chevalier in its stead, in a manner so closely resembling the print that the alteration could scarcely be perceived.

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

The insurgents entered Lancaster without opposition, and instantly marched to the market place, and proclaimed the Chevalier by sound of trumpet, the whole body being drawn up round the cross. After remaining two days at Lancaster, where the Highlanders regaled themselves with claret and

brandy found in the custom-house, they took the road to Preston on Wednesday the 9th of November, with the intention of possessing themselves of Warrington - bridge and securing Manchester, as preliminary to a descent upon Liverpool. The horse reached Preston at night, two troops of Stanhope's dragoons and part of a militia regiment under Sir Henry Houghton, which were quartered in the town, retiring to Wigan on their approach; but owing to the badness of the road from a heavy rain which had fallen during the day, the foot did not arrive till the following day, when the Chevalier was proclaimed at the cross with the usual formalities. On the march from Lancaster to Preston, and after their arrival there, the insurgents were joined by different parties of gentlemen, chiefly Catholics, with their tenants and servants, to the number of about 1,500 in all, by which additions Forster's army was increased to nearly 4,000 men.

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

**Manchester.** General Wills had, accordingly, made great exertions to fulfil, without delay, the instructions he had received, and hearing that General Carpenter was at Durham, had sent an express to him to march westward; but he was unable to save Preston. When the insurgents entered this town, Wills was at Manchester, waiting for the arrival of two regiments of foot and a regiment of dragoons which were within a few days' march of him; but alarmed lest by delaying his march they might make themselves masters of Warrington bridge and Manchester, by the possession of which they would increase their force and secure many other advantages, he resolved instantly to march upon Preston with such troops as he had. He left Manchester accordingly on Friday the 11th of November, for Wigan, with four regiments of dragoons, one of horse, and Preston's regiment of foot, formerly known as the Cameronian regiment. He arrived at Wigan in the evening, where he met Stanhope's dragoons and Houghton's militia, who had retired from Preston on the evening of the 9th. In the meantime, the inhabitants of Liverpool, anticipating a visit from the insurgents, were actively employed in preparations for its defence. Within three days they threw up a breastwork round that part of the town approachable from the land side, on which they mounted seventy pieces of cannon, and, to prevent the ships in the harbour from falling into the hands of the enemy, they anchored them in the offing.

It was the intention of Forster to have left Preston on the morning of Saturday the 12th; but the unexpected arrival of Wills at Wigan, of which he received intelligence on the preceding night, made him alter his design. Forster had been so elated by the addition which his forces had received at Preston, that he affected to believe that Wills would never venture to face him; but old Mackintosh advised him not to be too confident, as they might soon find it necessary to defend themselves. Forster treated this advice very lightly;

but Mackintosh added, "No matter, I tell you man, he (Wills) will attack, and beat us all, if we do not look about us." Thereupon, observing from a window where they stood, a party of the new recruits passing by, the veteran warrior thus contemptuously addressed the inexperienced chief, "Look ye there, Forster, are yon fellows the men ye intend to fight Wills with? Good faith, Sir, an' ye had ten thousand of them, I'd fight them all with a thousand of his dragoons." In fact, a more uncouth and unsoldier-like body had never before appeared in the field than these Lancashire rustics; some with rusty swords without muskets, others with muskets without swords, some with fowling-pieces, others with pitchforks, while others were wholly unprovided with weapons of any sort. Forster now altered his tone; and if the report of a writer, who says he was an eye-witness, be true, the news of Wills's advance quite unnerved him. Undetermined how to act, he sent the letter conveying the intelligence to Lord Kenmure, and retired to rest. His lordship, with a few of his officers, repaired to Forster's lodgings to consult him, and to their surprise found him in bed, though the night was not far advanced. The council, after some deliberation, resolved to send out a party of horse towards Wigan, to watch the motions of the enemy, to secure the pass into the town by Ribble bridge, and to prepare the army for battle.

About day-break of the 12th, General Wills commenced his march from Wigan in the following order:—The van consisted of Preston's regiment of foot, and was preceded by an advanced guard of fifty musketeers, and fifty dragoons on foot. The dragoon regiments of Honeywood, Dormer, and Munden, followed in succession. The baggage was placed in the rear under the protection of a party of fifty dragoons. As soon as it was known that Wills was advancing upon Preston, a select body of 100 well-armed Highlanders, under the command of Farquharson of Invercauld, was posted at Ribble bridge, and Forster himself at the head of a party of horse,

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

General Wills arrived opposite Ribble bridge about one o'clock in the afternoon, and was surprised to find it undefended. Suspecting an ambuscade, he advanced through the way leading to the bridge with great caution, and having cleared the bridge, he marched towards the town. He, at first, supposed that the insurgents had abandoned the town with the intention of returning to Scotland; but he soon ascertained that they still maintained their ground, and were resolved to meet him. Halting therefore his men upon a small rising ground near the town, he rode forward with a strong party of horse to take a survey of the position of the insurgents.

During the morning they had been busily employed in raising barricades in the principal streets, and making other preparations for a vigorous defence. The Earl of Derwentwater displayed extraordinary activity and zeal on this occasion. He distributed money among the troops, exhorted them to stand firm to their posts, and set them an example

by throwing off his coat, and assisting them in raising intrenchments. There were four main barriers erected across the leading streets near the centre of the town, at each of which, with one exception, were planted two pieces of cannon, which had been carried by the insurgents from Lancaster; and beyond these barriers, towards the extremities of the town, others were raised of an inferior description. Behind the barricades bodies of men were posted, as well as in the houses outside the barricades, particularly in those which commanded the entrances into the principal streets. The recent instances of Paris and Brussels have demonstrated how successfully even an unfortified town may be defended against the assaults of an army; and certainly after the abandonment of Ribble bridge, a more judicious plan of defence could not have been devised by the ablest tactician for meeting the coming exigency. But unfortunately for the insurgents, the future conduct of their leaders did not correspond with these skilful dispositions.

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

When the Government general had made himself acquainted with the plan of defence adopted by the insurgents,



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

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

narrow back passage or lane which led into the street in the direction of Wigan, and ordering them to halt till he should personally survey the position of the insurgents, this intrepid officer deliberately rode into the street with his drawn sword in his hand, and amidst a shower of bullets, coolly examined the barrier, and returned to his troops. He then sallied into the street at the head of his men, and whilst with one party he attacked the barrier, another under his direction crossed the street, and took possession of a very high house belonging to Sir Henry Houghton, which overlooked the whole town. In this enterprise many of the assailants fell by the fire of the insurgents who were posted in the adjoining houses. At the same time, Forrester's men possessed themselves of another house opposite, which was unoccupied by the insurgents. The possession of these houses was of immense advantage to the government troops, as it was from the firing kept up from them that the insurgents chiefly suffered. A party of fifty Highlanders, under Captain Innes, had been posted in Houghton's house, and another body in the opposite one; but Brigadier Mackintosh had unfortunately withdrawn both parties contrary to their own wishes, to less important stations. Forrester's men maintained the struggle with great bravery, but were unsuccessful in every attempt to force the barrier. As the insurgents, from their position in the houses and behind the barricade, were enabled to take deliberate aim, many of their shots took deadly effect, and the gallant Lord Forrester received several wounds; but although Preston's foot kept up a smart fire, they did little execution among the insurgents, who were protected by the barricade and the houses. Captain Peter Farquharson was the only Jacobite officer who fell in this attack. He received a shot in the leg, and being taken to the White Bull inn, where the wounded were carried, he called for a glass of brandy, and thus addressed his comrades:—"Come lads, here is our master's health; though I can do no more, I wish you

good success." Amputation being deemed necessary, this brave man expired, almost immediately, from the unskilfulness of the operator.

Whilst this struggle was going on near the church, a contest equally warm was raging in another quarter of the town between Dormer's division and the party under Lord Charles Murray. In approaching the barrier commanded by this young nobleman, Dormer's men were exposed to a well-directed and murderous fire from the houses, yet, though newly-raised troops, they stood firm, and reached the barricade,—from which, however, they were vigorously repulsed. Lord Charles Murray conducted himself with great bravery in repelling this attack; and anticipating a second attempt upon the barrier, he applied for and obtained a reinforcement of fifty gentlemen volunteers from the church-yard. Dormer's troops returned to the assault; but although they displayed great courage and resolution, they were again beaten back with loss. An attack made on the Windmill barricade, which was defended by Colonel Makintosh, met with a similar fate.

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

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

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

He therefore posted Pitt's horse along the meadow ; and lest the whole body of the besieged should attempt to force a retreat that way, he caused a communication to be opened through the enclosures on that side, that the other divisions of the army might the more readily hasten thither to intercept them.

Thus invested on all sides, and pent up within a narrow compass by the gradual encroachments of the royalists, the Jacobite General grew alarmed, and began to think of a surrender. The Highlanders were fully aware of their critical situation, but the idea of surrendering had never once entered their minds, and they had been restrained only by the most urgent entreaties, from sallying out upon the royalists, and cutting their way through their ranks, or dying, as they remarked, like men of honour, with their swords in their hands. Neither Forster nor any other officer durst, therefore, venture to make such a proposal to them ; and Patten asserts, that had they known that Colonel Oxburgh had been sent on the mission he undertook, he would have never seen Tyburn, but would have been shot by common consent before he had passed the barrier. This gentleman, who had great influence over Forster (and who, in the opinion of the last named author, was better calculated, from the strictness with which he performed his religious duties, to be a priest than a field-officer), in conjunction with Lord Widdrington and others, prevailed upon him to make an offer of capitulation, thinking that they would obtain favourable terms from the government general. This resolution was adopted without the knowledge of the rest of the officers ; and Oxburgh, who had volunteered to negotiate, went off about two o'clock in the afternoon to Wills's head-quarters. To prevent suspicion of his real errand, the soldiers were informed that General Wills had sent to offer them honourable terms, if they would lay down their arms. The reception of Oxburgh by General Wills, was very different from what he and his

friends had anticipated. Wills, in fact, absolutely refused to hear of any terms ; and upon Oxburgh making an offer that the insurgents should lay down their arms, provided he would recommend them to the mercy of the king, he informed him that he would not treat with rebels, who had killed several of his majesty's subjects, and who consequently must expect to undergo the same fate. The Colonel, thereupon, with great earnestness, begged the General, as an officer and a man of honour, to show mercy to people who were willing to submit. The royalist commander, somewhat softened, replied, that all he would promise was, that if the insurgents would lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners at discretion, he would prevent the soldiers from cutting them to pieces till further orders ; and that he would allow them an hour for the consideration of his offer. The result of this interview was immediately reported by Oxburgh to his friends, but nothing has transpired to throw any light upon their deliberations. Before the hour had elapsed, Mr. Dalzell, brother to the Earl of Carnwath, appeared at Wills's head quarters, and requested to know what terms he would grant separately to the Scots ; Wills answered that he would not treat with rebels, nor grant any other terms than those already offered. To bring matters to an immediate issue, General Wills sent Colonel Cotton into the town about three o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by a dragoon, and a drummer beating a chamade. Cotton alighted at the sign of the mitre, where the principal insurgent officers were assembled, and required an immediate answer to Wills's proposal. He was told, however, that differences existed between the English and Scottish officers upon the subject, but they requested that the General would allow them till seven o'clock next morning to settle their differences, and to consult upon the best method of delivering themselves up. This proposal being reported to Wills, he agreed to grant the Jacobite commanders the time required, provided they would bind

ment met on the 9th of January; and the commons, immediately on their return from the house of lords, where they had been hearing the speech from the throne, agreed, on the motion of Mr. Lechmere, to impeach Lords Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, and Kenmure of high treason. The articles of impeachment were carried up to the lords the same night; and on the next day these peers were brought to the bar of the house of lords to hear the articles of impeachment read. On the 19th, they were brought back from the Tower; and all—with the exception of the Earl of Wintoun, who petitioned for a longer time to give in his answers—pleaded guilty to the charge of high treason. On the 9th of February those who had pleaded guilty received sentence of death; during the next fortnight strenuous and persevering but vain efforts were made by many of the most influential parties in the kingdom to obtain a pardon for them; on the 24th of February, Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure were beheaded on Tower-Hill; and on the preceding night, Lord Nithsdale, who was to have been executed along with them, made his escape in the dress of a female. The Earl of Wintoun, on various frivolous pretences, got his trial postponed till the 15th of March; and after a trial which occupied two days, was found guilty, and received sentence of death; but his lordship afterwards made his escape from the Tower and fled to France. On the 7th of April a commission for trying the other rebels met in the court of Common Pleas, Westminster, when bills of high treason were found against Mr. Forster, Brigadier Mackintosh, Colonel Oxburgh, Mr. Menzies of Culdares, and seven of their associates; and on the 10th bills were found against eleven more. Forster escaped from Newgate, and so well had his friends concerted matters, that he reached Calais in less than twenty-four hours. The trials of Brigadier Mackintosh and others were fixed for the 4th of May; but about eleven o'clock on the preceding night, the brigadier and 15 other

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prisoners broke out of Newgate, after knocking down the keepers and disarming the sentinels. Eight were retaken, but Mackintosh and seven others escaped. The trials of the prisoners who remained proceeded. Many of them were found guilty; and five, among whom were Colonel Oxburgh and Mr. Paul, a non-jurant clergyman of the church of England, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at Tyburn. Twenty-two prisoners were executed in Lancashire. The remainder of the prisoners taken at Preston, amounting to upwards of 700, submitted to the king's mercy, and having prayed for transportation, were sold as slaves to some West India merchants.