

PART II

THE EXPEDITION
FROM THE PRINCE'S LANDING
TO HIS ARRIVAL AT DERBY



PRINCE CHARLES, æt. 24.

From a miniature painted in Paris, formerly the property of James Edgar, Secretary to the Chevalier de St. George, now in the possession of the Hon. J. D. Edgar, Speaker of the Canadian House of Commons.

PART II

THE EXPEDITION FROM THE PRINCE'S LANDING TO HIS ARRIVAL AT DERBY ¹

ON the day of ² the P landed from on board a French frigate in Loch ³ in the Country of Arrisick, belonging to M'donald of Clanronald, and took up his residence in the house of one Angus M'donald a Substantial farmer in these parts and descended from the family of Clanronald. His first care was to have the frigate sail to a small bay in the Country of Moydart, about a mille from M'donald of Kinlochmoydart's

* After the Engagement betwixt the *Lion* and *Elizabeth* the Chevalier, firmly resolved upon his voyage, made all the Sail he could for Scotland, and the day of made the Isle of N. Wuist, where he went a Shoar and received letters from M'donald of Boisdale which had been brought by Mr. Murray of B. some weeks before, when in the Highlands, where he went to acquaint the Chevalier's friends with his intended Landing and the Signals he was to make upon the Coast. Mr. M'donald took the liberty to object to his undertaking, and advised him very strenuously, tho' in a manner not over polite, to return to france; but the Chevalier, far from altering a resolution he had for so long before determined upon, gave no Ear to what was offered, and Stifleing his resentment at so unexpected and unmannerly a Solicitation, sailed from thence the , and arrived in Loch Naan upon the Coast of Arrisag the , where he went ashoar and took up his quarters in the house of one Ang. M'donald, a Substantial farmer and descended of the familly of Clanronald.⁴

¹ Before compiling the *Itinerary* (Scottish History Society, vol. xxiii.) Mr. Blaikie examined Murray's mss. Murray's dates were in several instances found to differ from those of other contemporary writers. The fact that Murray has left even the date of the Prince's landing blank in his ms. seems to indicate that after the lapse of years his memory was uncertain, and when he does give a date it must therefore be received with caution.

I am content to refer readers of the *Memorials* to Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, knowing that whenever Mr. Blaikie has discarded Murray's guidance he has done so with good reason.

² July 25, 1745.

³ Lochnanuagh.

⁴ This seems an alternative first paragraph. The ms. gives them in parallel columns.

house, where there was greater conveniency of landing the Stores he had brought along with him than at the place where he had come ashore. It was likewise attended with many other advantages as to Situation, first in being nigh to this gentleman's house who was a leading man in those parts and from whom all reasonable assistance was to be expected. Secondly, it was Centrical to the M^cdonalds and M^cleods of the Isle of Skey, the M^cdonalds of Knoydart and morror¹ on the one hand and people of Suenart and Arnamurchan on the other, and pretty nigh opposite to the most of the Islands from whence he had reason to expect assistance, and lastly but two milles distance from Loch Sheil by which he might transport his Stores and heavy baggage within twelve milles of Fort William, formerly called Inverlochy, from its Situation att the mouth of the River of Lochy, which emptys its self att this place in to an arm of the sea. He had no soonner given orders for the frigate to sail for the above mentioned bay, and to put the arms and amunition ashore, than he gave immediate intelligence to M^r Cameron of Locheil of his landing, desiring to see him. This Gentleman, whose zeal and attachment to his interest had always been as conspicuous as any of his predecessors, did not hesitate one moment to answer his Summons but repaired thither immediately and assured him of his readiness to join him with his followers, notwithstanding he was of opinion that he had comed in too private a way to give great hope of Success should any of the persons fail who had engaged to join him, which was not impossible they might do upon pretence of his having no seeming assistance from abroad, and upon the whole advised that he should for some time lay quiete till he knew what force he might depend upon. But told him that it would be necessary he should for some time keep private, till his friends had put themselves in a Capacity to join him, which they could not do immediately, being unprovided with many things necessary of such an enterprise, that there was great scarcity of provisions in the Country the former year's Crop having failed them and that as none of the heads of Tribes had been let into the Secret it would be necessary to have them Conveened and proper instructions

¹ Morar.

given them to assemble their followers and depends, all which would not be done on a sudden. But the Chevalier easily foreseeing the bad consequences that must attend a delay, a proceeding which did not att all suite with his enterprising genius, and who was perfectly well instructed in the nature of the Highlanders, knew how dangerous it was to give them time to reflect upon the dangers of the undertaking. And alledged that his affairs would admit of no delay, that the generality of mankind ought not to be allowed time to reflect on the dangers they were about to undergo which often rendered them cautious if not timerous and unfitt to act with that vigour and resolution that such an undertaking required. Too mature a reflection might make them cool and languid and prevent many from joining who would otherwise appear and if once in the feild let their inclinations be never so strong would nevertheless be ashamed to go back ; besides, it would be impossible to keep his Landing any time a Secret, which might enable the government to take such measures as effectually to prevent his Scheme and oblige him to return to france ; but in all events they would thereby have it in their power to assemble their troops and did they march into the Country they would so surprise, disperse, and overawe the inhabitants that they would be with great difficulty brought into the feild. The success of his enterprise depended chiefly upon expedition, and the news of a sudden juuction with a bold march Southwards would not only surprise but greatly intimidate his Enemys. Upon the whole whatever their numbers were their safety depended upon an immediate declaration. The Chevalier had another and more powerfule reason to enduce, which would have created a Coolness destructive of all his designs, and att the same time being sensible that in every undertaking of so hazardous a nature the outmost expedition was to be used to strick a terror into the Enemy, and prevent the salutary measures that time would enable them to take. It being impossible to keep his Descent long a secret, att the same time he had another reason to enduce him to a speedy appearance which tho private and not proper to be communicated to his freinds was nevertheless the most ergent of any. Tho the French Court had not thought proper to assist him openly by sending over forces alongst with him, yett they was acquainted with his designe and

the assurances he had justly given them of the number of freinds he had in the Country (at least such as had professed their readiness to join him, tho they afterwards shamefully betrayed him) rendered an immediate appearance necessary not only to confirm the truth of what he had advanced, but to encourage them to send him assistance with the greater dispatch. For these, and such other good reasons, he rejected all proposals of this kind and as the most effectual means whereby to enduce to a speedy appearance he had his arms, ammunition etc. landed with all possible dilligence, and furthwith dispatched the frigate whereby all hopes of his return vanishd, picked his real freinds to give the more speedy and immediate assistance, and confirmed those who were in doubt, being ashamed to break their promise and incited by his superior resolution. And here I must be allowed to observe that nothing has so great an effect upon brave and generous minds as when a person appears to despise their own private safety when in competition with the good of their country. Had the Chevalier seemed in the least daunted by the apparent caution of his freinds, or agreed to their not raising in arms for some time and keep'd the ship hovering of the coast for a retreat, it is more than probable that the interest L[ord] L[ovat], Sr A[lexander] M^cDonald with M^cC[leod] had with the others, together with the many dangers that would have occurred to them every day would have oblidge'd him att last to return after a fruitless attempt and if not rendered him despicable in the Eyes of foreigners would att least have enduced them to believe that he had no freinds and had been foolish enough to undertake a thing of such vast consequence to himself and country without any proper encouragement, so ready are menkind to judge and conjecture of the actions of others tho entirly ignorant of their motives. This slip made Locheil with M^cDonald of Keppoch, Clanronald, Stewart of Ardsheil with principal gentleman of Glengarys family to agree to have their people in arms in two weeks after and the Rendezvous was appointed att Glenphinnen, a small place att the head of Locheil upon the day of .¹

¹ 19th August.

After the Chevalier had made some few days stay in Arriseck, where M^cdonald younger of Clanronald had joined him, he sett out for M^cdonald of Kinlochmoyderts where he had ordered his stores, and att the same time dispatched young Clanronald with letters and instructions to S^r Alex^r M^cdonald and the Laird of M^ccleod to acquaint them with his designs and desire them to raise their followers with all diligence possible and to know what number of arms they would require and desiring their opinion in regard to his future motions. If the first of these two gentlemen had not been bitterly enveyd [inveighed] against by the Chevaliers party for not joining of him, I should have esteemd it sufficient only to have said that he disapproved of his undertaking as desperate and therefor did not think himself under any obligation from principle alone to join him however weak a reason it must in its self appear to every man of real principle whose indispensable duty it is in such like cases to give all the assistance in his power to the Person he esteems his prince; yett as I have no other view in writting this narrative than to give a distinct and true account of an affair that has made so much noise in Europe, it would be unfair to the world, as well as unjust to the memorys and characters of some individuals, not to observe the different motives that enduced them to act the different parts they did,—and to show the world how unjust they are to involve one man in the same infamy and reproach with another when nothing so much to blame. I must therefor do S^r Alex^r M^cdonald the justice to say that the winter preceeding the Chevaliers landing when a letter was conveyed to him from him desiring his assistance in his intended expedition he denyed making any possitive promise but said how soon he saw a well concerted scheme he would readily not only to join him himself but endeavour to procure the assistance of as many of his neighbours as he could, and I can say with certainty that from that time he came under no further engagement; att the same time that I do him this justice, I hope the world will not from thence infer that I in the smallest degree approve of his future behaviour. I should be sorry to have so bad an opinion of mankind as to think any of them cappable of attempting an apologie for him.

But to return to what passed att the meetting betwixt that gentleman the Laird of M^cleod and Clanronald. After our young Ambassador deliverd his letters and enforced his instructions with what arguments occurrd to him, S^r Alex^r told him in a few words that tho nobody wished better to the Chevaliers cause than he did, yett [he] must be excused to think that his scheme had not been well concerted, that he saw no probability of Success and therefor declar'd once for all that he would not join but was of opinion that he ought to return, to which Clanronald answered that, that was what the Chevalier had declared he never would do but rather try his fate with a hundred men, and then acquainted him with his own resolution to join him whatever might be the consequences. The Laird of M^cleod, who has since rendered himself so famous by his unprecedented behaviour, conscious to himself how solemnly he was engaged by frequent promises, did not then care to resile, but took occasion upon S^r Alex^r leaving the room to tell Clanronald that he was heartily sorry that his freind could not be prevaild upon, and tho he disapproved of the Enterprize in the manner it was now undertaken, and could wish that the Chevalier could be perswaded to return, yett never the less, if he continued firm in his resolution to stay, that he would join him, tho it would be impossible for him to gett his people together in so short a time as was proposed, many of them being in the Isles att a considerable distance, and begd to hear from him so soon as he had returned to the Chevalier, together with his fixed resolution. Upon the Chevaliers arrival att Kinlochmoydart's house he dispatched him [*i.e.* Kinlochmoidart] to the D[uke] of P[erth] to advise him of his landing, and orders to acquaint Mr. M. of B. to come to him ; but before he could reach Perthshire the Duke was gone of to the north with a design to transport himself to France, having little before made his escape from M^r Campbell of Inveraw, Cap^t of an Independant Company of Highlanders, and here it may not be amiss to give an account of that story, which made so much noise till dround in the superior sound of the Chevalier's landing.

In the beginning of the month of June S^r Hecter M^clean was taken into custody att Ed^r, and, as was given

out, a letter found upon him signd Barclay, mentioning an appointment which he, Barclay, had procured for him att Linlithgow with the D., by which the justice Clerk,¹ it seems, understood was meant the Duke of Perth, and which the ministrey likewise seemed to agree in, having sent orders to have him apprehended. The justice Clerk did accordingly ishue a warrant to have him seised, but as he had baffled all their endeavours to apprehend him the year before, several parties haveing been sent to his house and other places in the country for that purpose, they were now resolved to use more artfull means to gett him into their hands. With this view the warrant was given to Cap^t Campbell of Inveraw, whose company was then quartered att a small village called Menethell,² about two miles from Drummond Castle. Cap^t Campbell, that his comeing to the Dukes house might give him no cause of suspition, apply'd to S^r Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, who had a little before gott one of the new raised independent companys, to introduce him to the Duke. S^r Patrick, to fulfil his engagement, sent his compliments to know if the Duke intended to dine att home att the distance of two three days after, when he intended to waite of him and bring Cap^t Campbell along with him to dinner. The Intimacy in which the D. and he had always lived did not permitt him to suspect any bad design, so returnd his compliment, and that they should be very welcome. Accordingly upon the day appointed they came to the house, when they were very kindly received, and Cap^t Campbell, to make himself still the surer of his prey, had ordered his company to march from their former quarters to a place called Drumond Earnoch, upon pretence of scarcity of provisions, with directions to stop in one of the enclosures behind the house, that he might have an opportunity of perswading the Ladies and the D. to see them when drawn up, and then secure him. They nevertheless rejected the proposal, tho made to them several times, and att last sitt down to dinner, which when ended Cap^t Campbell desired to speak with the Duke in another room, his company still continuing

¹ Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, b. 1692, d. 1766, nephew of Andrew Fletcher of Salton ; succeeded Erskine of Grange as Lord Justice Clerk in 1735.

² Muthill.

under arms, as I mentioned before. How soon they were together, the Cap^t told him that he was very sorry to have received such disagreeable orders, but that he was under the necessity of obeying them, and obliged to tell him that he was now his prisoner; to which the D. answered, without showing the least concern, that there was no help for it, since it must be so, but desired he might first allow to speak with his freind Sir Patrick, to which the other readily agreed, and upon going to the dinning[-room] where S^r P. was, the Duke, in complisance, put Cap^t before him, and took that opportunity running out att a private door into the wood, upon which Campbell called out, by G—d S^r P. he's gone, and they immediatly left the house, and sending a number of the solgers to search the wood, road of themselves to endeavour to intercept in case of his having left the wood. He by this time had got clear of the Park, and having accidentally mett with a little Highland horse, gave the woman it belonged to some money, and without a sadle, having no bridle, but what in Scotland they call branks upon its head, made the best of his way to a neighbouring gentleman's house, and on the road observed the Cap^t and Sir P. not fifty yards from him, making streight to the village of Creif, where they imagined he would go. Having escaped in this surprising manner, and the time appointed for the Chevalier's landing being some weeks past, despairing of his arrival, and sensible how dangerous it was for him to stay longer in a country where he was become a kind of outlaw, he determined to go over to France, and with that view went to the north, where he was bussied in procuring a ship to transport him, when Kinlochmoydart came and procured one of his own servants to be sent in queste of him.

A letter was immediatly dispatchd to Mr. Murray of B., then att his own house, where he had been for some weeks very much upon his guard against a surprise, haveing gott intelligence* that a warrant was ishued to apprehend him, and had sleepd for three weeks with loaded Pistoles by his bedside. He received the letter on Saturday morning the of July, and after having conveyd away

* How far this piece of intelligence was well founded I cannot aver.

two *large Boxes*, containing the Chevalier's Manifestos,* which he had procured to be printed some time before in Edinburgh, and secured a parcel of Arms he had likewise privately provided, sett out in the evening, and sleep'd two three hours att a gentleman's† house about sixteen milles of, who he acquainted with the reason of his journey, and instructed him to go and acquaint some of the Chevaliers freinds with his arrival, and to desire their advice upon some particulars, with instructions likewise to forward to him a portmanteau full of the Manifestos. He than sett out early in the morning, and after staying several hours att a relations house, he crosed the River forth att Higgansneuck, and went to Fairntown, the seat of L[ord] J[ohn] D[rummond], uncle to the D. of P., where he was told that Kinlochmoidart was then att Mr. Buchannan of Arranpriers,¹ about ten milles distance. Thither he went without sleeping, and after talking to Mr. M^cdonald, who was charged with a sum of French money to gett changed, the Chevalier having no guineas, he dispatch'd a gentleman‡ to a freind of his att Ed^r to have it changed, with other private instructions, but tho his presence in the Highlands was very much wanted, he nevertheless found it necessary to stay there some days. There was a gentleman in that Country who had had considerable offers made him, provided he would play the spey upon the D. of P., which, tho he was far from inclining to accept of, yett would not seem entirely refuse, but chose rather to appear their freind, whereby to gett into their confidence. As there was great reason to believe that the servants of the Government at Ed^r had been advertised of the Chevalier's landing, it was judged necessary to blind them as much as possible, and no body was found so fitt as the above

* *N.B.*—Tho M. M. procured these manifestos to be printed at Ed^r. and severals concerned in it, yet who was the printer of the others still remains a secret.

† *N.B.*—This gentleman, with those he was to apply to and the advice they gave, is as much a secret as the former.

‡ *N.B.*—This gentleman with his freind at Ed^r. who procured the exchange of the money, and the person who did change, are equally unknown to ye government.

¹ Arnprior

gentleman, who had been in Town with the then [Lord] advocate¹ and S^r J[ohn] C[ope] a few days before, in relation to the D. of P., who they still imagined to be in that part of the country where the Independant Companys were searching every corner for him. M^r M., to effectuate this scheme, att first hinted att by Arran, sent for M^cg.;² and after seeming to put great confidence in his attachment to the Chevalier, assured him of his being landed, and showed him of what consequence it would be to his interest could a methode be faln upon to deceive the Ministry for a little time, that he had formed a scheme which he was the only person could execute with suitable address, being in favour with the Advocate and G[eneral] C[ope], and did he accept, he might depend not only upon his favour, but ample acknowledgement of reward from the Chevalier, but upon the wholle he would refer all to his superior judgement. Mr. M^cg., far from being unsusceptable of flattery, irregardless of his own private interest, readily assented, and had a paper dictated to him to the following purpose:

That he M^cg. upon his return from Ed^r had gott intelligence that the Chevalier with some others had landed from a ship in the country of Arreseck, upon which he immediately went to one M^r D[rummond] of Cow who had formerly been Steward to the Duke of P., and was in great favour with all his adharents, and that this gentleman far from suspecting of him had told him that M^cD[onald] of Glen[garry] the younger, and M^cD[onald] the Banqueer att P[aris], had landed in the west with leters from the Chevalier to the gentlemen in the Highlands, and that they had sent an express for M^r M.* who had sett out from his own house the Saturday before, and was to meet with them somewhere in the country of Rannoch, that the Chevalier was

* Mr. M. thought it necessary to put in this particular concerning himself to enduce them to believe the wholle, it being in their power to know the truth of his journey in a few hours.

¹ Robert Craigie, born about 1685; Lord Advocate 1742-1746; Lord President 1754-1760.

² James More MacGregor or Drummond, son of Rob Roy. Cf. Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, p. 7.

then actually incognito att S^t Omers in Flanders, and that M^r D. was exulting prodigiously that the government had such bad intelligence. And then instructed him to make them the following proposal. That, as in all probability the Cheifs would not be upon their guard, if they would give him orders to the Commanding officers of Fort William and Fort Augustus to have what parties he should demand from their Garrisons, he would engage to seise Lochail, Glengary, etc. The view M^r M. had in making this proposal was to concert matters, so when he gott to the Highlands, that in case M^cg. procured the order, a body of men might be concealed nigh both the forts so as to be able to render them masters of them when weakened by the Parties drawn of by M^cg., and in all events, if that should not succeed, they would have it in their power to make the parties prisoners. Having dispatched M^cg. with particular instructions to see no body but G[eneral] C[o]pe and the Advocate, and to value himself much upon his intelligence and dilligence to return sooner than they could reasonably have expected, with a view to draw them the more easily into his Lure, he than judged it necessary to give timeous intelligence to some of the Chevalier's frends in the low country who he could the most depend upon. For this purpose he wrote a letter to a Gentleman of that Country, as if having orders from the Chevalier so to do, but being oblidged to leave that Country before the gentleman could come he left a list of the persons to be acquainted with directions, not only who were proper to advertise the other but those who were the most likely to prevail with their friends to be in readiness when an opportunity should offer to join. He likewise wrote to some people who he had previously engaged to give money, begging them to have their several sums ready. He then concerted a scheme with a Gentleman in the neighbourhood who was a very resolute and enterprising genius, to to make the D. of Ar[gyll] prisoner, who it was then imagined intended to go to his house at Inverarray, And lastly, engaged Arran to send a small vessel with some hundred bolls of oate meal to where the Chevalier then was, the Country being very much stretned att that season.*

* Upon the whole of this storey it is necessary to observe that till this day ye government is ignorant of any of the particulars or the persons

Having thus settled matters there in the best manner the time would allow off, he sett out about four in the Evening for Fairntown, where he sleep'd all night, and next morning in Company with Kinlochmoydart begun their journey to the Highlands, and the third day about dinner time arrived att Achnacarry, Locheils house, having sleep'd the night before att Kappoch. The day following they reached the head of Lochsheil, where they stayed all night, and next afternoon gott to Kinlochmoydarts house where the Chevalier still was. The Chevalier had been all this time busied in incitting his freinds to gett their people together, and to have his arms and amunition, &c., convey'd from the place where they were landed to his own quarters, which notwithstanding his own continual care and industry, was a great while of being accomplished, so superiorly indolent and Idle are the people of that part of the Country. Mr. Walsh the gentleman who commanded the Frigate had met with two ships loadened with oat meal off the Island of Skey, which he sent in to the Bay from whence he saild to provide the Chevaliers army, but notwithstanding the absolute impossibility there was to procure bread for the men in that season of the year and the easy access there was from the place of landing to the Loch of Sheil, he could not procure one Boll of it to be carried to the place of Rendezvous, so that in spite of all the care he could take of two ship loads of oat meal and flouer, infinitely more than his army could have destroyd

concerned, save he who carried the message. Had this been inform'd of by M., there would have been no occasion to stretch the law to so unprecedented a lenth as in the case of the unhappy Arran Prier, whos superior good sense alone seems to have been the cause of his fall. A great deal more could be said to prove how much this gentleman, as well as numbers of others yet unknown, was in M.'s power, but as these transactions with Arn. preceded the Chevalier's landing they would be improper to mention at this time, tho' when a more favourable time offers the whole proceedings of the party from ye year 1738-9,¹ at which time M. was first employed, will be made publick to the rash judging world, it will then appear, as they say in Scotland, who's arse is blackest with who was the most able, dilligent, and honest servant, and who deserves the most regard from the Party.

¹ From this it appears that Part 1. was written subsequently.

durring their stay in the Highlands, there were only about Sixty Bolls ever went out of Clanronalds Country.*

As Mr. M. had been long employd in his affairs and was the best acquainted with the dispositions of the people, he was immediately upon his arrival desired to say what he thought was the most proper step to be taken. He accordingly† gave in a list of such persons as he thought ought to be wrote to, either to persuade them to join who had already previously engaged themselves, or to such who had not, for prudential reasons, been lett into the secret, but might possibly join, or give money, with some others as a polite perswasive to act a neutral part. He likewise advised that a person should be sent over to Holland, not only to sound some of the Dutch officers of the Scotts Brigade,‡ but in case they was found inclinable to serve the Chevalier, to have proper Authority to make such agreement with them as should be thought necessary, and as there was then one of these Regiments in garrison at Sleuse,¹ it would have been no difficult matter had any number of officers been gaind, to have made themselves masters of the ships in the Harbour, and transported themselves to Aberdeen or any other convenient port in the north. He proposed likewise that the person so sent should have authority (in case the Govern^t of England made a demand of the six thousand Dutch

* This particular, which may seem of no great consequence, would not have been mentioned here had it not been to show the unjust complaints made by that Clan, as if they had been the chief sufferers from the Chevaliers expedition, when as, in fact, they were the people chiefly benefited by it.

† Of above thirty letters, some of them to people immediately in the government's service, others pretended freinds to them, it has not appeard yt M. mentioned one, so we shall only leave the world to judge what a scene such a discovery must have made; nor would we have mentioned this particular fear of giving suspition, had not the behaviour of these particulars towards M. been so remarkably ungratfull.

‡ *N.B.*—It don't appear that any of the gentlemen in the Brigade have been hindered in their prefermt, which we must allow would not have been the case had M. mentioned them to the Ministry, and that he could mention we are not to doubt, as he never would have made the proposal without giving a list of those the most proper to apply to.

¹ Helvoetsluys.

stipulate by Treaty) not only to make an offer in the Chevaliers name that in case they would continue neuter, that he would confirm all treaties with them that had been entered into from the Revolution, but make a formal demand of the Scots Regiments as his Subjects, with liberty to freight ships and transport them or march them under proper passports where ever he would. Upon the whole, the Chevalier did not object to his proposal anent the Dutch, but for good reasons did not think it proper to be execute att that time, but ordered him to make out letters for the several people he had mention according to their several ranks. The letters being made out with all possible dilligence, Kinlochmoydart was ordered to carry them, about twenty-four in Number, and was preparing to sett out the next morning, but from what unaccountable motive, I cant say, he refused, and att the same time had the childish vanity to ask to be named an Aid de Camp. It is easy to believe y^t such a behaviour would strick the Chevalier to find a person not only refuse to carry his orders after having agreed to it, but att the same time to demand an employment he had neither a tittle to, nor indeed was in any way cutt out for, but the Chevalier's unparraleld good nature and humanity, together with his good sense, which made him sensible that it would not be proper for him to disoblige anybody, especially in the beginning, enduced him not only to overlook the seeming neglect, but even to gratifie his ill judged vanity by granting his demand. This, however, made it difficult for him to find a right person to carry his letters, till he was at last oblidge to employ Mr. M. who, though very much against his inclination, readily complyd and sett out next day, having left the Chevalier very much taken up in writting of letters and sending expresses to hasten the march of his freinds to the Rendezvous which was now fast approaching.

The second day, in the morning, when about seven milles from Locheils house, he observed five persons on horse back who he took from their dress to be officers of the Independent Companys, and they, on the other hand, imagined him, from being in reed cloathe, to be an officer of the Garrison of Fort William about three miles distant. This mutual mistake made both suspitious, but as he was all

alone, his servant and two Camerons who were alongst with him having faln a good way behind, he intended to have passed w^t out taking any notice, when one of the gentlemen desired him to stop, upon which he immediately run aside, thinking to gett into a bog where he could not be followed on horse back, but judging that impossible he stopp'd whille the other, with his pistole coked, asked him who he was, where he was going, and desired a small sword he had gott in his hand; whille they were parlying together in this manner another came up, and pulling the cape of his coat from his head proved to be Glenbucket,¹ to whom he had a letter in his Pocket, and who was then upon his road to pay his Duty to the Chevalier.

He had not parted w^t them above half an hour when he observed several people running towards the River of Lochy and throwing away their plaids as they run, which he att last came to understand from one he mett by the road, was owing to an alarum being given that some of the people who belonged to Cappoch had attacked two companys of G^l. Sinclairs Regiment upon their march from Fort Augustus to Fort William. These two companys had been quartered att Perth and were ordered by G^l. Cope to reinforce the Garrison at Fort William, but Cappoch having gott intelligence of their march only two hours before, was resolved to stop them tho he had then almost none of his people assembled, but to endeavour by stratagem what he could not accomplish by force, sent M^r M^cdonald of Tirrendrish, a near relation of his own, & who was afterwards Major to his Regiment, with Eleven men and a Piper to a little Inn att* Highbridge to waite their comming till he should gett some of his Clan together. M^r. M^cdonald, to make the best of the small number of men, had placed them behind the Inn to waite for the approach of the enemy, and so soon as they appeard upon the opposite

* Describe the place.²

¹ John Gordon of Glenbucket.

² This is evidently one of Murray's notes intended to remind him to add the description when revising his MS. Unfortunately he has not done so. There are several instances of similar omissions throughout the *Memorials*.

bank above the Bridge he ordered his Piper to play, and rushed out from behind the house with a loud huzza. By this sudden and unexpected attack y^e troops were struck with such an unaccountable panick as with one consent to run of without so much as taking time to observe the number or quality of their enemy, tho to do Cap^t Scott justice he endeavourd all in his power to prevail with them to return, but as his brother officers did not show the same spirit or inclination to curiosity his entreates were of no effect. They continued to retreat, or more properly to run, for above five or six milles before the Highlanders came up with them, for tho it was in their power to have overtaken in a very few minutes, yett the smallness of their number would have rendered their undertaking abortive, so chose rather to keep following att some distance till joined by their Chief, who had by that time gott together about twenty men and overtook them. They now began to exchange fires, and the 2 companys continued retreating and fireing till their whole ammunitiion was exhausted without so much as wounding one of the Highlanders, who, by this time, were encreased to about the number of forty-five or fifty att most, and these not half armd. Immediately after the last fire, which the Highlanders received, as near as could be computed, att about the distance of ten or a dozen paces, Kappoch, with his sword drawn, run up to them and told them if they did not surrender they should be cutt to pieces, upon which they immediatly laid down their arms. Cap^t Scott was wounded in the Shoulder, a Serjeant and three or four men killed, with about a dozen wounded. Locheil, who had got a message from Kappoch acquainting him with his design, had gott only five or six people and run up the opposite side of the Loch Lochy, but did not come up before they had surrendered.

It would be easy to make several usefull remarks from this triffling encounter, but as I intend brevity so far as the subject will allow of, I shall first observe of what little signification even the best troops are without officers of Conduct and Resolution. Had these few men (raw and new raised as they were said to be) had a gentleman att their head who knew his business, they could not have been surprised. They were sent to reinforce a garrison, and to march through what might have

been properly stilled an Enemys country, and consequently ought to have been upon the watch by advancing a Serjeant and twelve men in case of accidents, but in place of this they march'd all in a Confused heap without regard to order or discipline. Had the other officers been as desirous to repair that first fault as Cap^t Scott was they had soon discovered the weakness of the Enemy, and must have arrived att Fort William before Cappoch could have come up with them, or even supposing that he had while they was att the distance of two three miles from the Garrison, the noise of their fire alone must have drawn out a party to their assistance, if they had not immediatly dispatched one on horse back to aprise them of their danger, which they might easily have done had they once pass'd the Bridge, as the handfull that opposed them must have retired to the right to favour a junction with their Cheif and thereby leave the high road open to them. And indeed I cant help thinking that never accident of this kind showed more the extraordinary effects of fear than this, they had marched about an hundered milles and owened themselves greatly fatigued, yett after all upon seeing a triffling Enemy Idly throu away their fire without doing the least execution, and run twelve mille with incredible speed. About seven o'Clock in the Evening they were brought prisoners to an Inn att Achnacarry and used with all possible humanity, Cap^t Scott as was carried by men to Locheils house not being able to sitt on horse back and treated more like a freind and brother than an Enemy and prisoner. An express was immediatly dispatch'd to Fort William to desire the Surgeon of the Garrison might be sent to dress M^r Scotts wound, with Locheil's pass for his safe return, but the Governours humanity was not to be moved by the distress of a Brother officer, so refused to allow him. Locheil shocked with the old man's Barbarity gave orders for M^r Scotts being transported to the garrison, haveing first taken his parole.

Some short time before the prisoners were brought to their quarters M^cg.¹ arrived from Ed^r having executed his commis-

¹ James More MacGregor.

sion with so much address as not only to have render'd G[eneral] C[ope] and the Advocate dubious wether the Chevalier was landed if not made them think it was really false, but had procured the orders to the Governours of the several forts to give him what parties they could spare when he should demand them, together with an order on the Commanding officer att Fort Augustus for £50 pound. So that had these two Companys been three or four days longer of marching, it is not unlikely that att least one or other of the two forts would have been reduced, but the action of that day which now rendered the wholle design no longer a secret oblidge'd them to lay aside all further thoughts of any such attempt. Mr M. att the same time finding the war openly declared which w^d necessarily keep all the Country alert, judged it improper for him, being a stranger in those parts, to proceed on his journey. The Highlanders, to whom he must have made himself known to be able to gett out of the Country, would have by their whispers discovered his journey and made it difficult for him to escape the troops on his way through the shires of Nairn, Murray, Bamf, Buchan, Aberdeen, Montrose, Angus, the Mairns, Perthshire etc., having letters to deliver in all these several Counties, so that he judged it more proper for him to go to the rendezvous with Locheil and there fall upon some more proper methode to forward the dispatches he was charged with.

The Chevalier was now preparing to come to the Rendezvous att Glenphinan the 18 of Agust and according arrived there the 17th in the evening with only three Companys of Clanronalds followers.* The next day¹ Locheil joined him with seven hundered and fifty men besides double officers and Mcdonald of Keppoch arrived in the afternoon with his Regiment, consisting of about three hundered. In less than an hour after the whole were drawn up, and the Royal Standart display'd by the D. of A[thole] when the Chevalier made them a short but very Pathetick speech. Importing that it would be no purpose to declaim upon the justice of his Father's tittle to the Throne to people who, had they not been convinced of it,

* Capt Switenam had been taken two days before.

¹ Really the 19th.

would not have appeared in his behalf, but that he esteemed it as much his duty to endeavour to procure their welfare and happiness as they did to assert his right, that it was chiefly with that view that he had landed in a part of the Island where he knew he should find a number of brave gentlemen fired with the 'noble example of their predecessors, and jealous of their own and their Country's honour, to join with him in so glorious an enterprise, with whose assistance and the protection of a just God who never fails to avenge the cause of the injured, he did not doubt of bringing the affair to a happy issue.'

After this ceremony was over, he retired to his quarters, which he had taken up in a little barn att the head of the Loch. He ordered an account to be taken of what arms were a-wanting for the few troops he had now gott together, and had them distributed according to the report that was brought. Having continued there till the 21st, durring which he dispatched expresses to the people of Glencoe, Glengary, and the Steuarts of Appin, to join him upon his march towards Fort Augustus; and, att the same time, others to the low Country to procure intelligence of the motion of the Enemy. Durring the time he remained there, a Gentleman of the name of M^cLeod* came from the Isle of Skey to offer his service, and tho he did not plainly say that his Cheif would not join, yett talked big of the numbers he would bring along with him did he delay appearing in time, but lett the Chevalier to understand that nothing was to be done without money; but, tho it was well known that he was a man of no interest, and that a little money seemed to be the load stone which chiefly attracted him, the Chevalier, determined to encourage every body, lett him have his demands, but from his and his cheif's future conduct, it may not be uncharitable to believe he had been sent there as a Spey, and made the offer of his services a Cloak for his Villane. Locheil and some others, tho beginning to have a very unfavourable opinion of M^cLeod and S^r Alex^{rs} conduct, would nevertheless lett no opportunity slip of endeavouring to persuade them into their Duty, for which purpose they wrote them a Conjunct

* Commonly called Black John M^cLeod.

letter reminding them of their avowed principles and wonted profession of attachment to the Chevaliers Family, with the engagements they had come under to assist him, and concluded by telling them that now was y^e time for them to act a part which must conduce either to their Eternal honour or Eternal infamy. This letter, tho quite well adapted to M^cLeod, was nevertheless not so fitting to S^r Alex^r, who really never had come under any possitive engagements, but the hurry the subscribers were then in ought to have been a sufficient excuse with him for their involving him in the same degree of honour or dishonour as from their future actions, must redound to his neighbour and would be no just reason for his openly appearing in arms against a party whose principles he had always professed as he afterwards did, having as was said pled the affront he had received in that letter for his excuse. But granting that some few individuals of the party had used in the most unjust and opprobrious manner whatever, yett could that be no valid reason for drawing his sword in opposition to a person he had always owned as his Prince. But that he really alledged this by way of excuse is what I have just grounds to doubt, as I shall make appear by the sequell of this story.* Everything now being prepared for the Chevaliers departure, upon the 21st he moved from the Place of Rendezvous to the head of Locheil about nine milles from Fort William, and as the difficulty of finding horses and the badness of the roads in this Country were equally unsurmountable, of twenty large swevel guns he made twelve be buried in a bog about a mille from the place where he first erected his Standart. He had no sooner arrived att the above mentioned place than he received intelligence of G[eral] C[o]pe having moved north ward and att the same time had a Coppy of the proclamation sent which had been ishued by order of the Lords Justices

* It was likewise judged necessary by the principal gentlemen there that a paper should be made out whereby every person of Rank, who already had, or in time might join the army, should oblige themselves by their subscribing of it not to desert the C. or one another upon any pretence whatever, which was accordingly done by Mr. M. and signed by great numbers.

afixing thirty thousand pound upon his head, a Coppy of which here follows.¹

Upon seeing it he was heard to say y^t tho it was true that a reward had been likewise sett upon his father's head in the year 1715, that yett he imagined that in proportion as the world grew in Politeness they had done so in humanity, that it were unjust to call the ancients Rude and Savage, &c., when no example could be given of their taking so mean and unmanly a way to gett ride of their Enemy. That he should have been far from ever thinking of such a device to exterminate the E[lector]'s familly did his success depend upon it, but att the same time he could not in justice to him self gett by² offering the same reward in his turn. Tho if he could allow him self to think y^t any of his friends could be so abandoned as to be guilty of so execrable a deed for the sum proposed that he would alter the sum to thirty pound instead of thirty thousand, and then ordered a proclamation of the same nature to be drawn which was signd and published two days after in the terms as is here insert.³

The two days he continued here were employd in preparing such carriages as the Country could afford, to transport his amunition and baggage, and in bringing up some arms from Arrisek that had been landed there and could not sooner be conveniently removed. The night of his arrival he dispatched expresses to Ardsheil and Glencoe acquainting them with the accounts he had received of G. Cope's Motions and ordering them to meet him att about ten milles from half way betwixt Invergarry and Fort William so as he might be able to give the G^{ll}. a meeting if he should persist to march further into the Country. From hence he marched to Fasfairn,^{*4} and the day following after making a short halt in sight of Fort William, continued his rout and encampd all that night att a place called Moie,†† about four milles from Achnacarry, and

* Here he lett the prisoner officers go upon there paroles.

† Here M^r M. was named Secretary.

‡ Here M^rlean the chairman was let go.

¹ As this proclamation is to be found in the *Scots Magazine*, 1745, vol. vii. p. 396, it is not necessary to reprint it here.

² *i.e.* avoid.

³ See Browne's *History of the Highlands*, vol. iii. p. 36.

⁴ Fassifern, the residence of John Cameron, Lochiel's brother.

almost oposite to _____,¹ where he expected to be joined the next day by the Steuarts of Appin and M^cDonalds of Glencoe. As he did not propose going any further the day following than the above mentioned place of junction, he did not quite his Camp till noon, but had no sooner foirded the River of Lochy than he received certain intelligence that G^{ll}. Cope was upon his march to Fort Augustus, and would probably reach it in four days time. Upon this intelligence he sent orders to Col^l O'Sullivan, who was charged with seeing the ammunition and baggage sent across the river by boat, not to losse time, but to advance, with only a few barrells of powder, ball in proportion and all the arms, after securring the Baggage in the best manner possible, and, to give nobody a handle to complain of the loss of their baggage he ordered all his own to be left save one portmanteau with Linnings, and ordered to follow him to Invergarry where he intended to encamp that night. After these orders given which were punctually obeyd, he persued his march, and arrived late att Invergarry where every thing was prepared for him in a very decent manner by a son of the familly, the old gentleman himself being then in Perthshire with the present D[uke] of A[thole].

It may be thought strange y^t in the beginning of a Campagne which was like to prove very fatigueing he should make a forced march and under night in a manner on the Eve of a Battle, but the nature of the people must be considered who are accustomed to fatigue & were then very much elevatd with the news of G^{ll}. Cope's being so near, and he wisely esteemd it better to give them one entire day's rest immediatly before the engagem^t he expected, than to make two days and a half's easy marches. In persueance of this resolution he had taken to meet G^{ll}. Cope upon the hill of Corriarick, he made a halt all the next day att Invergarry, and sent some people to procure further intelligence. Durring his stay att this place a paper was produced, drawn by

¹ Moy is at the mouth of Glen Gloy down which the Prince marched from Fassifern, and is opposite to High Bridge—General Wade's bridge over the Spean. I am informed by Mr. Colin Livingstone of Fort William that opposite to Moy is a place called Mucomir —, *i.e.* Moy (or plain) at the meeting (of the Spean and the Lochy). Whether the blank should be filled up by High Bridge or the less easily spelled or remembered Mucomir must remain matter of conjecture.

Mr M. att Glenfinnan for reason suggested by Locheil and which may not be so proper to mention here,—whereby the subscribers in the most solemn manner bound themselves not to lay down their arms nor to make their peace without the consent of the whole, which after being read was approven of and sign'd by all the gentlemen there present.

The same day Mr. Frazer of Gortuleg came as he said by L[ord] L[ova]t's orders to offer his humble duty to the Chevalier, with apologys for his mens not being in readiness, and desired two Commissions which he had been assured were granted him some years ago by his father.* Mr M. was employ'd to ask for the Commissions, which had been delivered to the Chevalier by Locheil after his landing, having been in his Custody some time before. The Commissions having

* As this particular has been attributed to M. alone as flowing from him, and that it would not otherwise have been known, it may be necessary first to repeat the fact literally as it happened and leave it to the world to judge how far M. was not his freind, and slurred the affair over in such words as perhaps few was cappable of knowing y^t information already given and so as in law to be really nothing against him. Mr. Fraser here named was in fact sent immediatly by L. L—t with a message of Compliment to the Chevalier and apology that he could not have his Clan ready, the time given being so short and his Country so much exposed to the Garrisons of Inverness and Fort Augustus, but that he wd use all possible dilligence to raise y^m, and to enable him the more he desired y^t the Commissions of Lt. Gill and L. Lieutcy promised him by ye [King], his father, might be sent him, and at the same time represented y^t as Mr. Forbes of Culloden, ye President of the Session in Scotland, was a very great Enemy to his cause and ye most able of any person in ye north to obstruct his interest and his L—ts views desired a warrant might be sent him to take him dead or alive, and, Frazer was by his orders directed to procure an audience of ye Chevalier by Locheil's means wh he accordingly did and delivered his message in ye above terms. The Commissions were not to be found upon which one of L. Lt was actually made out by Kelly, ye warrant for seising Presedent Forbes wrote by M.'s own hand, but not in ye terms demanded, it being only to apprehend his person and keep him in safe custody till further orders, together with a letter in ye Chevalier's name apologising for not sending the original Commissions and promissing them so soon as found, with thanks for his good intentions, which two with ye Commission M. made up in a packet and delivered them wt his Compliments to L. L—t into Mr. Frazer's own hand. What a different effect must the above Storey have had if told by M. in a distinct manner, from ye uncertain triffling relation

been left behind in a trunk with the other baggage, the Chevalier ordered one of Lieutenant Ge^{ll} to be made out for him, and att the same time direct M^r M. to write him a letter of Compliment and appology in his name, promissing the orriginal ones should be sent him by the first occasion, and enclosed sent him a warrant which he had desired and undertook to perform as a thing that would conduce to the Chevalier's interest, Authorising and requiring him to seise upon M^r Forbes of Culloden, then President of the Session in Scotland, which had he execute with equal ardor he then would have made believe he intended, must have been of

he gives of it, first pretending ignorance wether the Commission was delivered or what it was; 2dly, pretending uncertainty wether he write the letter or not; and 3rdly, not taking ye least notice of ye warrant for apprehending ye Precedent, but ye case really was y^t ye whole Country knew and L. L—t himself, tho' too late, was convinced that M^r Frazer informed ye Presedent with every thing he knew, and was often known to go to his house in the night time and return from thence to L. L—t who was unable to keep any secret from him, so if had M. totally deneyd any knowledge of that affair it would have given ye ministry a satisfactory proof of what they in part suspected, that he was putting them off with general Storreys of no Consequence either to them or his party, and it wd have been a loseing of himself to save ye Characters of a few who had been ye cause of all their misfortunes and who were well known to ye ministry by letters they had taken after ye Battle of Culloden, long before they had any prospect of finding who they imagined to be dead for Six weeks before, but to put the affair in its true light and to enable the reader to judge unerringly we shall here insert the Story as M. tells it in the trial pages. The ministry were in possession of a letter wrote by Drummond of Balhaldy to the Chevalier long before M. was taken, wherein he says that he had transacted his affairs for some years with D. of B.,¹ L. B.,² Sr W. W.,³ and Sir J. H. C.,⁴ by means of D. B—y,⁵ tho M. denied possitively his ever having heard that ye noble D. was in the least concerned, so false was the possitive assertion of his being ready to name a noble duke when interrupted, but that was no more ridiculous than ye long list he was said to have had in his hand which ye freinds of the government were too wise to contradict being in hopes that on the faith of his having discovered all those he knew y^t they would foolishly discover themselves.

¹ Duke of Beaufort.

² Lord Barrymore.

³ Sir Watkin Williams Wynne.

⁴ Sir John Hinde Cotton.

⁵ Dr. Barry.

the outmost advantage to the Chevalier, as it would, if not effectually, in a very great degree prevented any opposition from the northern Clans. This was the first time that L't had taken any notice of the Chevalier,* for tho he was amongst the first he wrote to after his landing, yett his L-p, according to his wonted cunning, seemd to take no part in his affairs, being determined to see what turn things would take, and join with the winning side, as he had done in 1715—and That this was his resolution will appear past a doubt from what follows.

This same day the Chevalier's small army was augmented by about four hundred of Glengarys followers, the Steuarts of Appin and M'donalds of Glencoe, and would have amounted to the number of eighteen hundred men had all Keppoch's people returned, but the most of them having had liberty granted them to be absent for one day as they pass'd by their own homes, numbers of them deserted, not from any reluctancy they had to the undertaking, but on account of a private quarrel they had with their Cheif.† Notwithstanding this disappointment, the Chevalier determined to give G^{ll}. Cope battle, and Locheil received an express from Mr. Frazer of

* Not long after the Chevalier Landed he sent a Special messenger to L. L—t to acquaint him with his arrival and how much he depended upon his junction, interest, and advice, to which L—t only answered in a squint way to Locheil complaining of his age and infirmities, with how well he wished ye familly of Steuart in general, and how unable he was to serve them; yet when he sees the Chevalier at the head of a body of men resolved to attack general Cope, uncertain of the success he sends to demand his Commissions, with a double view in case of the Chevalier's success to plead his attachment to him, and should ye government succeed to show of how much consequence he was by proving that they had courted him with a Commission which notwithstanding he would not axcept of. Thus we se ye double part he acted, but don't find that M. takes ye smallest notice of any such message or answer, tho it is well known that the person who carried the message to him was then prisoner in the Burrow.

† N.B. Numbers of them were Roman Catholicks, and he being a very strict Protestant did not think it prudent that their Preist should accompany them, so that to his ordering him home was oweing the desertion.¹

¹ Cf. Mr. Blaikie's *Itinerary*, p. 10 note.

Foiers,* one of the most leading men of L[ord] L[ova]t's Clan, promising to meet him, with two hundred of his tribe, att the pass of , upon the hill of Corriarick. The next morning the Chevalier marched to some small villages about three milles from Fort Augustus, where, after haveing seen his men Cantoned, and proper guards placed, he took up his quarters att a little place called [Aberchalder], resolving to march early next morning by a bye road to evite the Cannon of the Fort, and to get to the top of the hill in good time, expecting to meet G^{ll}. Cope about noon. He here received intelligence by some deserters that Cope was on his march, which confirmed him in the expectation of engaging as he first proposed, but these deserters had quit the army betwixt Dalnacardoch and Dalwhinny, so were not so much to be depended upon, but the report of some who had been sent a purpose seemed to put it past a doubt, he having no reason to imagine that Cope intended to shun† him, having had intelligence some time before that he had orders from above to seek him out with all possible dilligence before he should be able to gett any considerable number together.

Thus full of Sprites in hopes of a successfull action next day‡ early he entered the hill of Corriarick, and tho disappointed of the 200 Frazers promised by Foiers, he did not seem under the least apprehension, well knowing how necessary it was to keep a good countenance, and that his gaining an advantage in that part of the Country would draw severals of the neighbouring Clans,|| who were

* N.B. This old gentleman was extreamly desirous to, and certainly wd have joind, but L. L—t gave strict orders that none of his Clan should stirr.

† N.B. It has been given out by general Cope's freinds that he had possitive orders from the ministry to seek out the Chevalier and give him battle, but it is most certain that this gentleman sent up a plan to the ministry wherein he proposed marching north, in answer to which he had it left entirely in his own power to execute the plan proposed or alter it in wt Shape he pleased.

‡ Augst. 27th.

|| N.B. The M'pharsons, M'intoshes, and Farquharsons had L. L—t then in their eye as an unerring judge, and would not move seeing him quiet.

then att a loss to know what part to act to declare openly in his favours. He had taken care in the morning to order Mr. M., with M^cdonald of Lochgarry, to ride on before to reconoitre the Enemy and give him notice of their approch, being a good deal surprised that he had received no intelligence from the day before in the Evening, which wether it was owing to the carelessness of the person sent or the negligence of the persons employ'd to send I cannot say, but when the two above-named gentlemen had gained the tope of the hill, where they expected to discrey the Enemy, not a Creature was to be seen, upon which they agreed to go down, but with caution, in case of being surprised by anyadvanced parties. Having now gott almost half way down to the plain, they could observe some men in arms att a distince, which they att first took to be G^{ll}. Cope's advanced guard of Highlanders, and were about to retire to a higher ground to have a full view of them, when M^r M^cdonald of Lochgarry said he did not take them to be the Enemy, and proposed going a little nearer—which having done, and made signs of freindship to them which they answered, they went up to them, and found them to be deserters who had left Cope the day before,¹ and gave the following short account, that a Council of War had been held over night in the G^{lls} Tent, and next morning, having marched a little way on the read to Garvamore, they were made to wheel about and march of from their rear to Ruthven, upon which they had deserted together with several others who were then att Garvamore, in all about forty. Intelligence being immediately given to the Chevalier, who was now gott to the tope of the hill, tho he seemd att first uneasy to be so disapointed from want of proper intelligence, he never the less stifled his Chagrin, and encouraged his people by telling them that the Enemy could not have given a stronger proof of their pusilanimity and bad conduct, and that they ought to look upon it as a presage of their future Success against an enemy who durst not venture to attack them when but a handfull, and those not compleatly armed. After talking a little in this manner he continued his rout, and arrived att Garvamore about two in the afternoon, where he ordered a

¹ Cf. Cope's *Trial*, and the *Itinerary*, p. 90.

guinea to be given to each of the deserters. Having marched about fourteen milles in a few hours time he ordered some cattle to be killed for the men, his own dinner to be gott ready, and the deserters and people of the Country to be examined about the motions of the Enemy, desiring the Cheifs to attend him in an hour to Consult what measures were proper to be taken. The deserters in the interim being known to many of their Country men, had represented G^l. Cope's army as very much fatigued and freightned, and att the same time magnified the great quantity of Carriages, baggage horses, &c., that attended him, w^h so enflamed the whole that there was nothing to be heard but a continued Cry to be march'd against the Enemy. This news was no sooner brought to the Chevalier than he ordered his dinner to be delay'd and Called the Cheifs to him, when being inform'd of the surprising desire the men had to be brought to action, he maid the map be laid before him and seemd to think that by the certain accounts he had of G^l. Copes having marched that morning from Ruthven, it would be impossible to come up with him before he reached Inverness, but nevertheless said he should be glad to have their opinions upon the matter, and to know what Scheme either had or could be proposed, saying that the disappointment was as greivous to him as any in the army. The most of the gentlemen present seem to acquiesce in his opinion that it was now almost impracticable to come up with the troops, but that a proposal had been made to them by some of their officers to pick out 500 of their best men and dispatch them immediately the Short way through the hills to the pass of Slochmuich where they might arrive the next morning before G^l. Cope, and amuse him there till such time as he the Chevalier came up with his rear by the great road by Ruthven. The proposal att first view seemd very reasonable, but when he came to calculate the distance which was about 24 milles the Short way, and near thereby by the high road he did not think it prudent to attempt it. Had he gott certain intelligence of S^r John Cope's motions the night before, or even in the morning, h might have march'd by the pass of through the country of Stratherick and meet the G^l. with his whole army att Slochmuich; but now that he had marchd fourteen milles very smartly the men must be so

fatigued before they could come up with him that their Spirits would be greatly exhausted, and did they meet with more resistance than they look'd for would be a means of ruining his affairs att once. He likewise objected that in case the five hundered pick'd men should be too warm to be restrain'd from attackling him in front before he had time to come up, and did not meet with immediate success, it was more than probable that the fatigue of their long march w^d render them to feble to sustain a rude attack which would be equally destructive of all his measures. And lastly, he wisely foresaw that as the highlanders were uncappable of keeping up a regular fire, they would be oblided to come to blows with a body five times their number, which could not possibly be attended with success;* for these and other good reasons he determined to lay all thoughts of it aside and send the Cheifs, who were all satisfied with the force of his arguments, to quiet their people who were quite intoxicated with the Scheme proposed by their officers, which they att last accomplished with the outmost difficulty.

As in a narration of this nature a man that writes fairly can only give an account of the procedings of that party with whose most secret views and actions he had access to be acquainted, it might be thought presumption in him to judge of the motives of the Enemy for having acted the part they did. But I hope the reader will so far gett over this Scruple as to excuse the writter when he only intends to satisfie his Curiosity by laying before him the Situation of the Country and examining how far either party acted a part consisting with their several interests, and in conformity to the Rules prescribed by the best generals in all ages. With this view then hoping that a digression in its self so interesting, wont be disagreeable,

* *N.B.*—There is nothing more obvious than that had L. L—t. joined with the same alacrity as others it w^d have been impossible for Gl^l. Cope to have made his march to Inverness, as he would have had both the Frassers and M'intoshes to have obstructed his passage by Slochmuich, which would have given time to the Chevalier to have attacht him in Rear, and there by gained a compleat victorey. It would be weak to say that it happend better for the party at Gladsmuir, as that depended upon fortune alone which might as well have rendered it otherwise, it an't fair to judge by Consequences.

tho perhaps a little tedious, I shall endeavour to show the errors in Mr. Copes conduct which will abundantly demonstrate the superior abilities of his antagonist. And to sett the affair in the clearest light I shall venture to go so far back as his march from Stirling, taking a short view of the then situation of the Island in regard to its military situation.

There was att this time in Scotland not much above 3000 men, garrisons excluded, and these not the best troops in the service, which must be allowed to have been a body not so infinitely superior to the Chevaliers little army as to put the fate of a whole Kingdom upon the precarious footing of a successfull rencounter with them. Of all the troops than in the pay of Great Britton, there was not above 7000 in England, a body no more than sufficient to protect the Sea ports against Smuglers, far from being cappable to prevent an insurrection in that part of the Country had any such been intended by the Chevaliers freinds in that part of the Island, and that he had encouragement from them the Government could not be so weak as to doubt of, as they could have no reason to imagine that he ever would have made such an attempt trusting to the force he would raise in Scotland alone, tho I shall in due time endeavour to show that had he not been betrayd his Scots freinds alone could have sett him down att St Jameses. That this was the situation of the millitary force then in the Island I imagine will be easily allowed me, and that the sending any part of the troops then in England to strengthen those in Scotland, would have been a most impolitical step in the Regency will less bear a dispute, especially as that step was really not taken. These premises being granted, I must then be allowed to say that Sr John Cope ought not to have crossed the River Forth, but with his Cavalry. In the first place, all the time possible was to be given the Government to have such a body of troops brought from Flanders as might be able to protect them against any insults from insurections att home. In the next place, if Sr John's intelligence was good, which could not well be suspected, he must know that the number than in arms was very inconsiderable, and that, so long as he was entire, there was no great prospect of their

increasing. Thirdly, if they was join'd as before the battle of Gladsmuir, their acquisition was of no avail, being composed of men of aggeurier¹ and of little other use than to make a show and to disburthen the Clans of too fatiguing a Duty. Fourthly, the longer he delay'd coming to action, so much the more did he lessen that inconsiderate spirit and ardour so natural to irregular and undisciplined troops, and which no people on Earth possesses in a higher degree than these he had to deal with. Fifthly, he must thereby have given time to have landed some battalions in the North, who, join'd to the Clanns in the interest of the Government, would not only have prevented any further rising in these parts, but putt the Chevalier betwixt two fires, and either have made his people retire home to preserve their cattle & effects, which they are naturally enough inclined to do, or if they had comed to action must infallibly have over power'd them with numbers. Sixthly, it w^d have been no difficult matter for him, before the Chevalier had comed so far South, to have drain'd Perthshire all their superfluous oatmeal, and rendered impossible for him to subsist without the utmost difficulty. And lastly, had y^e Chevalier in all events pushed southwards, he could have opposed his passing the Forth, and fought him upon his own terms, when it is more than probable he must have gain'd a Victory over a parcel of people not att all accustomed to dispute the passage of Rivers, far less to force them. That Sr John, for the above reasons, did not act the prudent will appear obvious, though, to do the gentleman justice, perhaps it was not his own sentiments that enduced him to take that part, as it is alledged he acted according to orders from above, where they seem to have been, and are to this day, ignorant of the situation of the Country. It may be alledged that it has always been a fixed maxim in every state to crush Rebellions of that nature in the bud and by open force, I shall grant it, but that it ever ought to be attempted but by a force very much superior to the insurgents, and such a one as gives a kind of certainty of Success, ought to be maxim as much fixed as tother. But lett the G^lls march into the highlands have

¹ *i.e.* unwarlike.

proceeded from whatever [cause], I must be allowed to observe that his future conduct did not seem to quadrate in any degree w^t right reason. Having once gott the lenth of Dalwhinny, it may still seem as strange as it did than, what could possibly enduce him to evite comming to action in the manner he did ; that it might not have been proper for him to hazard a battle upon the Hill of Corriarick, I won't deny, as the Chevalier was able to gain the tope of the hill before him, and consequently the advantage of the ground, where, if he had been beat, it would have been difficult, if not impossible, for him to have saved any part of his troops, as it is naturale to believe that those who escaped would have been made prisoners by the Country people, who were all their Enemys, but that the only alternative he could fall upon should be to march to Inverness seems quite unaccountable. Had he encamped upon the plain about two milles south of Dalwhinny, he would have difficulted y^e Chevalier very much, for by this means it would have been almost impossible to bring him to an action, which was what the Chevalier wished for, except upon very advantageous terms, and he had Athole in his rear from whence to draw provisions, whereas the Chevalier had no bread for his people, nor was it in his power to procure [any]. The garrisons of Fort Augustus and Inverness put a stop to any being sent him from the Aird,¹ and he could not spare parties to bring it from Murray through the Grant's Country, nor, indeed, would the people of Strathspey or any of the neighbouring countrys have supplyd them, dreading the consequences that might follow should G^h. Cope prove Victorious, so that the Chevalier, necessitate for provisions, had only one of three courses to take. The first, to risk an action at a disadvantage, which, proving unsuccessfull, must have totally ruined his affairs, and therefor not to be attempted. Secondly, to march into the Country of Rannoch to procure a junction from Struan Robinson's followers, and from thence to proceed to Apnadow² on Tea side to favour a junction w^t the D. of P.'s people, who, it was not probable would have joind when S^r J. C. was yett entire, or

¹ The Ord, in the south of Ross-shire and Cromarty.

² Appin is a portion of the parish of Dull, near Kenmore, on Tayside.

lastly, to endeavour to gain Perth by the way of Minaziz¹ and Dunkell, which would have been very difficult, as in that case G^{ll}. C., by timeous intelligence, might have gained the pass of gillikranky² before them. The first of these would have been extremely impolitick; the second could be attended with little advantage save that of procuring greater abundance of provisions—unequal to the advantage G^{ll}. C. would have reaped by being able to bring his Dragoons to act in conjunction with him, and giving time for the monroes and others in the north to join him. And the third would have been attended with great fatigue, want of provisions, and a great uncertainty of Success; and both the last with the disadvantage of presenting their flank to the Enemy upon their march, yett in spite of all, the General, as was afterwards known, called a Council of war, and there giving ear to idle and false reports of the number and strength of his Enemy, determined upon a shamefull escape (I can give it no better name) to Inverness, which produced many good effects to the Chevalier. It in the first place gave his Army extraordinary spirits to see their Enemy, conscious of his own weakness, fly from them. It in proportion dejected the troops under his command, encouraged a great many to join so soon as they came to know how the affair was, and left them masters of all the low Country where to find provisions, money, and all necessarys.

I shall now return to the Chevalier, who, quite surprised with the unexpected retreat of his Enemy, immediatly called a Council to consult of what was the most proper course for him to take, and soon determined to march south and make the most of the advantages given him. It was, nevertheless, very grateing to him to be obliged to leave G^{ll}. Cope behind for many reasons, three of which, not to be tedious, I shall only mention. In the first place, it must not be forgott that, so soon as the Chevalier received intelligence of the Enemy's march, and that they intended to pass by the Curriarock, he immediatly dispatched an express to the D. of P. to acquaint him with his designs, and orders to have all his people in readiness to

¹ Castle Menzies.

² Killiecrankie.

intercept the debris's of the Enemy if beaten, now that no action had happined he knew that many false reports would be spread before the truth could really be known, which might prove a stop to their joining him when gott South for fear of the Enemys return that way, which was afterwards found to have been a very just conjecture. Secondly, if S^r John Cope should make any stay in the north he would thereby either prevent his freinds from Rising or oblige him to return and fight him which would greatly fatigue his troops ; and thirdly, did he take a resolution of marching into Lochaber and comite any hostilitys in the country, it would either draw the people home to protect their propertys or oblige him to return to their resquey. But as he was resolved upon all occasions to act with that resolution his undertaking required, and to despise any seeming difficulties which could only serve to intimidate his own freinds, without mentioning his own Scruples, ordered the March for to-morrow by 5 o'clock.

As the Cheifs were of opinion that the Barracks at Ruthven ought to be taken, not only to have the country free, but upon account of the quantity of oatmeal y^t might be found there, it was proposed to attempt it by stratagem the night following, but the Chevalier upon enquirey, finding it was flanked, and he having no cannon nor conveniency for making of Scaling Ladders, judged it more proper to let it alone as a place of no consequence and unequall to the lives of those who might fall in the attempt. This wise precatation was nevertheless disproven of by the Cheifs, who, by their entreatys, prevaild with him to agree to the undertaking unsensible of the regard he had to their safety when in competition with a paultry Barrack. Next day, whille upon the march, it was agreed that Col^l. O'Sullivan, with Locheils Brother and some hundred Camerons, should direct their march so as to arrive att Ruthven some time after it was dark, and after taking possession of the Stables, which are but a few yards from the Barrack, put some combustible matter to the back door or sally port, if it may be properly so called, whille they keep a close fire upon the garrison.* A little after this had been determined, one

* Cluney made prisoner and carried to Perth.

Cameron, a deserter, and who had been Corporal in one of the Independant companys, proposed that he should, by taking a circuit, with ten or a dozen other deserters, who were all in the same livery, come to the fort as if detached from G^l. Copes army as a reinforcem^t, and after getting access make himself M^r of the Barracks. This scheme, which was the most prudent, was immediatly orderd to be put in execution, and they directed to post themselves att a particular place upon the road to receive their orders from Coll. Sullivan, who was at the same time sent with the detachment in case the others should not have been admitted, but from what error or mistake in the orders it proceeded I cannot say, yett after having waited several hours without any orders, the Corporal marchd of and joind the main body att Dalwhinny very early next morning. O'Sullivan and Docter Cameron, together with one Gordon who pretended to be well acquainted with the place, having gott there under night, took privately possession of the stables and made a parcel of combustibile stuff be sett on fire att the door * whille they kept a closs fire upon the centinels on the wall, but as there were two steps up to the door it made it tedious for the men to fix the barrel in which the combustibile matter was, so that after some fruitless attempts and having three of their men very ill wounded, they were oblidgeed to abandone the place and rejoind the main body early next morning att Dalwhinny. The Chevalier, who had employed that evening in sending dispatches to his freinds in the northern Counties, was not att all disapointed att the miscarriage having been against the attempt from the beginning as a thing unlikely to succeed, but expressed his concern for the loss of the brave fellows, who he said deserved a better fate.†

He then proceeded on his march and encamped that night ‡ att a place called Dalnacardoch, about six miles from Blair Castle, and sent letters to some of the gentlemen of

* G^l. Cope destroyd their corns, and refused to pay the damage : the Chevalier paid his.

† Here Lochel dismissed 150 of his men, not inclining to have any but who were compleatly armed.

‡ 29th.

Atholl, to whom the D. write att the same time desiring they would meet him the second day after att his house of Blair, where the Chevalier marched next morning,* and on the road was extreamly pleased with the sight of the people of the Country; men, women, and children who came running from their houses, kissing and caressing their master, who they had not seen for thirty years before, an Instance of the strongest affection, and which could not fail to move every generous mind with a mixture of greif and joy.† His troops were here very commodiously quartered, there being a number of small villages in that part of the Country, and here was the first time y^t the men could properly be said to have had bread from the time of their rendezvous att Glenfinnan, having eat nothing but beef roasted on the heath, without even bread or salt, durring their march thither. Having halted there three nights to give the D. time to settle matters with his vassals, he proceeded to Dunkell,‡ another seat of the D^s of Atholl, having receiv'd certain intelligence that G^l. Cope was then encampd under the cannon of the Castle of Inverness.||

* 30th.

† Coll Roy Steuart, who had come by the way of Holland from France in a Scotts vessel and landed in East Lothian, joind the army here, and was the next day dispatched north with dispatches for L. L—t, and instructions to manage the Grants Country and Raise what men he could. *N.B.*—We don't find that M. takes the least notice of the instructions Coll Steuart received in regard to L. L—t nor the answers returned, nether does he seem in the least acquainted with L. L—t haveing sent this gentleman to Rome every particular of which he was acquainted with from L. L—t himself.¹

‡ Sept. 2nd.

|| *N.B.*—What an unaccountable figure must it make in future ages to read that whille a [Prince], born in exille, with a handles of undisciplined militia, was marching full carrier to the Capital of the Kingdome, the Commander-in-Cheif of the Country should be flying for safety with an army of regular troops, vastly superior in number, under the cannon of a garrison. *O Tempora! O Mores!*—but, alas, virtue and true courage is only to be found amongst these barren roks and mountains where effeminacy, bribery, and corruption are yet alliens.

¹ This note is all written in the same hand, and is not, as might appear, compacted of a note by the author and a later commentary.

The same night¹ that the Chevalier halted at Dunkell, Locheil entered the Town of Perth, having marched above 30 milles, and the day following, in the morning, proclaim'd the Chevalier, while the young Chevalier dined at the house of Nairn,² and entered Perth in the Evening on horse back, att the head of his troops. This being the most central place in the Country he determined to fix his residence there till such time as he should learn the motions and designs of his Enemy. For this purpose he dispatchd expresses to the north, to be acquainted with S^r J. C. motions, to Ed^r. to know what was passing there, and to know their sentiments, and likewise to his freinds in England. From thence he was informed that the Enemy were amarching towards Aberdeen, and from Ed^r., that associations were carrying on against him, and mighty preparations making for the defence of that Capital, which was treated by his freinds with that contempt and disdain which so Idle and foolish a design deserved, and the Authoris of it rediculed, as by their future conduct they demonstrated that they had justly merited.*

Parties were sent to Dundee, and some other adjacent places, to seise upon what arms and ammunition could be found, which was executed with the outmost order and discretion, so far were the Highlanders from committing the unheard of outrages and devastations that had been industriously and falsely laid to their charge. All the wrights then in the town were ordered to make Targets for which they were paid, and passes and protections granted indiscriminaty to all that asked them.† It was here

* Insert here the applications made by the Citty to the K. and ministry, with the preparations they made for the defence of the Citty.³

† *N.B.*—Notwithstanding the many false allegations of the Chevalier's having oppressed this Town, as well as others, by contributions y^t are now abundantly disproven, yet it may not be amiss as a further proof for such who either have not given themselves leasure to examin into the truth of the assertions or who are to much prejudiced to be perswaded by hearsay to insert the letter wrote by the principal magistrats upon that

¹ September 4th.

² Lord Nairne's house in Strathord.

³ Murray does not provide us with these. They must be sought from other authorities.

that the Chevalier was first joind by the D[uke] of P[erth],* L[ord] G[eorge] M[urray], Oliphant of Gask, elder and younger, L. Strathallan,¹ L[ord] O[gilvie] with several other gentlemen of family and Estates, not by a parcel of Papists and men of desperate fortunes, as some little fawning cringing scoundrely fellows have advanced, who have attempted to write an account of this affair, with no other view, as their writtings plainly show, but to engratiate themselves with the M[inistr]y, and to procure a few comfortable meals in their stinking garrets. While the Chevalier continued here, the D. of A., who he had left att the Castle of Blair, was bussied in raising his followers, which so soon as they

subject, dated at Perth ye 14th of Sept^r 1745, three days after the Chevalier left it.

‘As to the report of Provost Patrick Cree and me being carried prisoners by the highland army as hostages for pay^t. of other 500 pound than what was payd, I must do that army justice, as I would wish to do to every body, by declaring that this report was without all foundation. We were, indeed, carried the lenth of Tullibarden and there liberated. The reason for taking us with them was not told us; ’tis true they were much displeased with the town in general, as wanting in respect. There was no money levied off the Inhabitants, for the 500£ that was payd was ordered out of the Town Common Good. signed D. SANDEMAN.’

* James D. of Perth was about 34 years of age, six foot high, of a slender make, fair complection, and weakly constitution, had a good genius for improvement in wh he spent much of his time, and fired with an extraordinary love for his Country, gave great encouragement upon all occasions to manufactors of several kinds, but his unpareld affection for the Exiled family of Stuart made him bend the most of his thoughts towards their interest, and to accomplish that end he laboured with unwearied zeal, not only inciting others, but upon every occasion condescending to execute himself these offices which people of his Rank often, from a mistaken notion of grandeur, employ others to do for them, by wh means they frequently miscarry or are discovered. His pocket was not only open to that interest, but to every one in distress, and if erring in any thing, it was in being too liberal; as he was bred in France till the age of 19, he never attaind to the perfect knowledge of the English language, and what prevented it in a great measure was his overfondness to speak broad Scotts. His judgement of things was very just and good, but his Ideas were so various, and crowded so fast upon him,

¹ William Drummond, 4th Viscount Strathallan, fell at Culloden.

had certain accounts of L[ord] G[eorge's] * joining, succeeded to his wish. L. Ogilvey sett about raising his men, and L. P.¹ write from the north that nothing prevented him from marching south w^t the gentlemen of these parts but G^{ll}. Cope's being in the Country.

The Chevalier having certain intelligence that Cap^t Rogers had been sent south by G^{ll}. C. to provide ships att Leith to transport him to the firth of Forth, and that these transports were actually providing for him, called a Councill of War to consult of what was proper to be done upon that occasion. He urged that the bad consequences of the Enemy being entire, and in possession of the north, were obvious, for it not only prevented his frends in these parts from joining him, but made those of the south much cooler than probably they would have been (which plainly demonstrates that had Mr. Cope, together with those by whose advice he seems to have been all along directed, been acquainted with the Country, or cappable of any conduct, he w^d have continued there, and either effectually have prevented any further rising, or oblided the Chevalier to march north to him). That in case the Enemy gott south, it was not impossible but they might be

which, together with the want of the Language, made him a little prolix and rather over tedious in his discourse. He was very affable and of easy access, being void of all ceremony, tho' no man knew better when any one faild in the respect due to his birth. He was Roman Catholick, but far from being bigotted, never introducing the subject, and if introduced rather choosing to shunn it; full of disinterestedness, of undaunted courage, the most exemplary, humanely, and universally beloved. In short, never was man possessed of more shinning qualities, nor attended with worse fortune.

* *N.B.*—The joy is scarcely to [be] imagined which the news of L. G.'s joining occasioned amongst the vassals and followers of the Atholl familly, the cautious part which he had acted for many years never having given them any reason to believe that he had any inclination that way, had made them give him up as a person lost to their cause; but when they found his behaviour had proceeded from policy and not from principle, it was like all unexpected benefits, it created a double pleasure, and made them exert themselves with uncommon alacrity.

¹ Lord Pitsligo, who, however, did not join the Prince till the beginning of October.

joind by some of the troops ordered from Flanders before he could bring them to an action, and so become infinitely superior to him, as it would be impossible for him to gett the numbers together that he expected in so short a time, and that upon this account it seemd necessary for him to have matters ordered so as to be able to give them a meetting immediatly upon their landing, before they could be reinforced. The uncertainty of the place where they might debark, appeared to some of the Council a difficulty not easily to be surmounted; for tho there was time sufficient to gain any part of the coast the length of Berwick before it was possible for the Enemy to reach it, yett the intelligence by sea could not fail to be good, so that did they march the length of Dumbar, or anywhere nearer to England, the Enemy in that case, in place of landing thereabouts and risking an immediate attack before they could be recoverd from the fatigue of their voyage, would naturally, if the wind permitted, run up to Leith and take possession of Ed^r, before it was possible for them to prevent it. And, on the other hand, it would be equally in their power to land att Berwick, and join themselves with the troops coming from Flanders. Whereas could it be certainly known att what Port they intended to land, their march might be so ordered as to cover their designe, and be able to fall upon them in a few hours after they were come ashore. To prevent this difficulty, and to procure the immediate rising of their freinds in the north, it was proposed to march north from Perth, and attack S^r J. on his road to Aberdeen. Tho the Chevalier seemd of opinion that he might by forced marches gett to Aberdeen before him, and that his army would be augmented on his march, yett he was too quick sighted not to discover the ruin he might bring upon his affairs by that step; for so soon as the Enemy discovered his intentions, they had only to post themselves on the side of the River Spey att Gordon Castle, till they had drawn him within a day's march, and if they than did not care to risque a battle, they had it in their power to retire again under the cannon of Inverness, whille the two Regements of Dragoons then att Stirling would have marchd to harrase his rear, so that he must thereby have very much fatigued his troops, and losed a great deal of time,

w^tout any probability of success. Having thus convinced them of the inconveniencys attending their scheme, he demonstrated the advantages of marching south to waite for the Enemy there, and of what consequence it would be to render himself Master of the Capital before it was possible for the Enemy to come to its relief, and therefor gave orders for the march of the army to Dumblain against Thursday the 11th of Sept^r. — M^cpherson of Cluney had been alalong kept prisoner from the time he was taken att his own house as the Chevalier marchd to Dalwhinny, but being att last prevaild upon to engage, was sent home to raise his Clann.

The day fixed for their departure, the Chevalier sett out on foot att the head of the Clanns, took up his quarters that night att Dumblain.* He halted here the 12th, and the next day, the 13th, he passed the firth att the foord of the Frews without any opposition from the Dragoons that had been encampd att Stirling, and camped that night att Touch. Att passing the River, he expressed a good deal of surprise to find that he had mett with no opposition, and demanded what for officers they had gott in Brittain, who were cappable of abandoning so advantageous a post. The River runs very still, and in a deep channel, not fordable for several milles above nor below but att one place, and that commanded by the Castle of Stirling, so y^t had the two Re^ts of Dragoons first cutt the banks of the River, and then entrenched themselves with two or three piece of cannon, they would have made it very difficult for him to pass, and in all events could have had their horses so near as to have made a safe retreat had they been oblidge to abandon the post, and must have cost the Chevalier a good many men; for tho he had the higher bank, he was without cannon. From Touch he marchd † by the Town of St. Ninians, and as he passed some few shott was fired from Stirling Castle, but tho the balls fell very nigh him they hurt nobody. The army made a halt of some hours near to

* Sent to Glasgow.¹

† Ye 14th.

¹ *Sic* in Murray's own hand: he probably means that a messenger was sent to Glasgow, but the letter asking contributions from Glasgow is dated from Leckie where the Prince stayed the night of the 13th, while the army was at Touch.

Bannockburn, and had provisions brought them from Stirling and the Places about, while the Chevalier dined att Sr H. P.,¹ and gott intelligence that the dragoons had retired to Linlithgow, and were encampd betwixt the Town and the Bridge, about half a mille to the westward. So soon as the Army had refreshed themselves he continued his march, and encamped about a mille and a half east of Falkirk upon the high road to Edn^r and took up his quarters att the House of Kallender. The Earl of Kilmarnock, haveing dined that day in the Enemy's Camp, which he left about six in the Evening, and all the Country about agreeing that they were still there, the Chevalier determined to attack them before day, and with that view, provided himself with guides and ordered a detachment² of five hundred men to be ready on a minutes warning. Having supped, he retired as if going to bed to prevent any intelligence being given of his designe and went privately to the camp where he put himself at the head of the detachment, and marched with a view to pass the river of [Avon] att a foord half a mille above the bridge and attack the dragoons in flank, but before he had marched above half way he gott intelligence of the Enemys having retired towards Ed^r and encamped att Kirkliston Water upon the accounts of his aproach, so that he took possession of the Town of Linlithgow about six in the morning y^e 15th, where the rest of the army joined him about noon. It happening to be of a Sunday, the Chevalier ever carefull to show the world how much he was determined to keep up to the engagements in his Manifesto, encampd his army to the eastward of The Town, and discharged any of the men from entering save a very small guard he kept with himself in the Palace, ordered the bells to be rung, the church doors to be open'd, and gave orders to assure the magistrates in his name that they should not be disturbed in their worship, notwithstanding of which the Minister either left the Town, or declined preaching, to enduce the ignorant vulgar to believe that if he had, he would have been insulted and persecuted. In the

¹ Sir Hugh Paterson, uncle of Miss Walkinshaw.

² No other contemporary authority gives this incident. Mr. Blaikie in the *Itinerary* (p. 13 n 6) states that Murray is corroborated by local tradition.

Evening he encamped* about three milles from the Town and sleepd himself in a small farm house in the rear of his army, having ordered the whole to be under arms next morning by five a clock. How soon all was ready in the morning,† the Chevalier drew up his army six in front, making them close their files as much as possible, the Country not allowing him to march in two collumns, and advanced in the greatest order, not a man offering to quite his Ranks, being ready to receive the Dragoons in case they should venture to attack them. He continued his march in this manner till he came to Todshall, a gentleman's (Mr. Horn) seat upon Newliston River, where he made a halt for two hours and sent out parties to reconnoitre the Enemy, who retired to the Colt Bridge, about a mille from Edin^r. About two in the afternoon he advanced to Corsterphan, three milles from the Capital where were numbers of people mett him from thence, chiefly from curiosity, and then filled of to the right and encamped at Gray's Milles, 2 milles distant from the Citty to the south west, having sent a summons to the Provost and Majestrates requiring them to open their gates and receive him into the Town, a copy of which may not be amiss to insert here.¹

This summons being read, it was agreed upon by the Provost and Majestrates to depute some of their number to the Chevalier to know what terms were required of them, and to gain a little time to see how matters would turn out. Accordingly Baily Hamilton, etc. came to Bells milns about att night. After notice had been given of their arrival, and that they were brought into the Chevalier's quarters he ordered Mr M. to go to them and know their errand. They told him that they was deputed by the Majestracy and Town Council to the Prince to know what was expected from them, to which he answered that his Master required no further than that they

* It is to be observed that the officers, L. G. M. as well as the rest, sleepd att the head of their several Corps without other covering than their plaids.

† 16th.

¹ Murray does not give this, but it may be found in Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 58.

should open their gates to his army and deliver up the arms of the Town and garrison, with the ammunition and Military Stores than in the Town, in which case the liberties of the City should be preserved, and all necessary protection given them. They answered that in regard to the arms of the militia they could not take upon them to be responsible, as they were not in their power, having received them from the Castle, but upon the whole desired time to return and consult with their brethren. After Mr M. had made his report to the Chevalier, he agreed that they should have two or three hours to bring back an answer, but grant them no further respite, having good intelligence that they desired no more than to delay of the time till they saw how far it was possible for them to be relieved by G^l. Cope. The deputies had no sooner liberty to return, than the Chevalier sensible that they meditated to to gain time and tire him out by a trifling treaty, and exasperated to think that they should have the impudence to pretend terms for the surrendery of a Town quite defenceless, proposed to send a Detachment to render themselves Masters of it by force, in case y^e deputies did not return at the time appointed with a resolution to surrender. With this view he ordered Lochiel to putt his people under arms to be ready to march upon a minutes warning, and ordered Mr M. to be their guide, as he was well acquainted with all the avenues to the place, giving strickt orders to behave with all moderation to the Inhabitants, and that the soters should not be allowed to taste spirits, and to pay for w^hever they got, promising them two shillings each so soon as they rendered themselves Masters of the place. The detachment had immediately orders to march, and was commanded by Lochiel and Col^l. O'Sullivan taking the road by Merkistown and Hopes Park, where they passed without being observed by the garrison in the Castle, tho so near as to hear them distinctly call their rounds, and arrived at the nether bow Port without meeting any body on their way, and found the wall of the Town which flanks the Pleasants and St. Marys wind mounted with cannon, but no person appeared. Lochiel ordered one of his people in a great coat and hunting cape to go and demand entrance att the gate, while he was ready to have followed him in case he had obtained admittance,

but the fellow being refused access, and it now being clear daylight, Mr M. proposed to retire to a place call'd St Leonards hills, and after securing themselves from the cannon of the Castle, to waite for orders from the Chevalier where to attack the town, that tho they had it then in their power to force their entry by any of the houses in St Marys wind which makes part of the Town wall, yett their orders of moderation were so severe that they could not take it upon them to demolish any of the houses without liberty given. This retreat being thus agreed to Mr M. went to the rear of the detachment to make them march and guide them to the place proposed, but before he had time to get so far, the Coach which had returned with the deputies came down the High Street and oblidge the Guard to open the Port, upon which Locheil took the advantage and rushed in, the guard immediately dispersing. Thus did the Chevalier render himself master of the Capital without shedding a drop of Blood, notwithstanding all the mighty preparations and associations entered into for its defence.

But as no one incident that happened durring the whole course of the war made so much noise, and as the Chief Magistrate not only suffered a long and painfull Confinement, and at last was brought to a Trial as if guilty of negligence in the administration of his office, breach of trust, and secretly giving up the Citty it won't perhaps be disagreeable to the reader to know the fact, as in truth it was. It is not to be imagined that I intend what follows as a vindication of that Gentleman's Conduct, that would be needless after a judicial acquittal, and to take pains to vindicate the only man in the Citty who from the trial appears to have exerted himself the most to barr y^e Enemys entry, would be extremely idle. It is rather with a view justly to reflect upon his conduct together with all those who had foolishly adopted the Don Quixote fancy of defending a place not only open almost on all hands, but a place that in forty eight hours time might have been starved. And to make the affair as clear as the nature of it will allow, I shall endeavour to give a short description of the Citty, and than suppose y^t the Volunteers had kept to their first resolution of defending it, and that the two hundered Dragoons had been admitted to assist

in the defence, and lastly endeavour to show what must have been the Consequences.

The Citty is surrounded from the Castle upon the South Side till the Cowgate Port, with a pretty high wall flank att particular distance though not att proper ones, the wall is thine and in very bad repair from the Cowgate Port to the nether bow Port, along St Marys wind the houses compose part of the Town wall, and from thence to ¹ Port at [Trinity] hospital by Leith wind the wall is in good repair, but then, it is to be observed that the hospital on the north side makes likewise part of the wall, and can easily be taken possession of by the College Church² without being much exposed to the fire from the walls. From thence, westward to the new port the wall is much the same as on the South Side, and from the new port, the north Loch stretches itself to the foot of the Castle. I shall first observe that a body of men, three times the number who were then in the Citty, would not have been sufficient to defend it for these reasons, first, they was composed of a parcel of raw undisciplined fellows, numbers of whom had never seen nor heard a gun fired. Secondly, they had no officers to head them who were better versed in military matters than themselves, and consequently could not have been brought to the several attacks that would have been made, and thirdly, the gentlemen volunteers themselves, from whom most was to be expected, were infinitely inferior in courage to their Enemy.

But to put the impossibility of a defence past all doubt I shall observe the methods proposed to attack the place by which means it must infallibly have faln into the Chevaliers hand, in a few hours time. Upon the South Side there is a house belonging to one Nicolson, a little way from the Potter-row Port, and but a few yards from the wall, it was proposed to have taken possession of it, and while the walls were cleard by the fire from the higher windows of the house a Sap would

¹ Edgar's Map (1742) gives no name to this gate, which it shows to the south of the Hospital and exactly opposite to Carthrae's Close. There seems to have been another gate just at the back of Trinity Hospital before you came to the New Port further west. If the gate had a name it seems odd that Murray should have forgotten it.

² Trinity College Church.

have been carried on to the foot of the wall and a few barrels of powder would have made breech for a dozen to enter abreast. On the north Side again a strong diversion would have been made by the Phisick garden to render themselves master of the Sluice upon the north Loch, while a party attacked the hospital att the foot of Leith wind, and all these carried on while the principal attempt would have been made in S^t Marys wind by taking possession of the houses on the east side, and setting fire to those on the west, which notwithstanding all the efforts of the Garrison, must have been reduced in a few hours time, and either obliged them to surrender at Discretion or occasiond a great deal of bloodshed. Thus in less than half a days time would the Town have been reduced, with the wholle garrison made prisoners without terms, and a number of lives lost to no purpose under the heavens, but to please some hotheaded ignorant fools.

I shall now observe the behaviour of the Highlanders after their getting possession of the place. After making a short halt att the Cross,* Col^l O'Sullivan posted a gaurd att the weigh house,¹ sent gaurds to the several gates, and drew up the rest of the men in the Parliament Close till proper places should be pitched upon for their quarters, and tho they remained there from Six till eleven in the morning under arms, after the fatigue they had undergone, before the Keys of the outer Parliament house could be got and straw found, yett was they kept in such good order by y^e Cheif that not one of them offerd to quite his ranks, and were so far from committing any abusses that they took nothing but what they paid for, the people brought them plenty of bread and drink, nor did one of them taste Spirits, haveing been charged by Locheil before their entry.

The Chevalier with the main body made a Circuit about the Town, and entered † the Palace of Hollyrood house by the Kings port about twelve att Noon amidst the acclamation of

* Att this time the garrison in the Castle having gott intelligence of their entry fired some shot by way of defiance.

† Sept^r ye 17th.

¹ The old weighhouse was in the Lawnmarket.

vast numbers of people of both sexes. The same day the Chevalier was proclaimed over the Market Cross, and the two following declarations¹ read by the heralds in there robes when was present a great Concourse of people of the best fashion in the place, not a few women² only, as some of the Grub-street writers on this affair would make believe.*

The Chevalier had no sooner taken possession of Hollyrood house that he sett about giving all proper orders for supplying his little army with all necessary, made a quantity of bread to be provided, and ordered the Town Arms to be given to such as either had none or whose arms were bad, tho notwithstanding the great noise that has been since made of the advantage he reapd from these arms it is undeniably certain that one half of them were good for little, and that of the whole of his army there was not two hundred men without Musquets, so that his future success at Preston was not in the least owing to any advantage he reap'd from having acquired possession of Edinburgh. No more men were quartered in Town than were necessary for its preservation, and a small gaurd att the Palace, the rest of the Army was quartered att Duddingston, to be ready to march to G^{ll}. Cope so soon as his motions were known.

The day following a proclamation was ishued requiring all the Inhabitants of Edr and the Country adjacent to delivre up all the arms and ammunition in their possession, the Chevalier wisely judging that it would be very improper to leave any arms in the hands of the Country people who tho they than had not resolution to oppose him openly, tho some, perhaps, inclined it, might nevertheless in case of any disaster take the advantage cowards ever do over a broken Enemy. In y^e afternoon a Drum beat up for Volunteers when a good many entered the D. of Perth's regiment. On thursday the 19th, in the evening, the Chevalier had certain intelligence that G^{ll}. Cope had marched that morning from Dunbar, and was to encamp that night att Haddingtown, upon which he

* Here insert the declarations.¹

¹ See Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 65.

² Mrs. Murray's presence at the ceremony explains the acerbity of the writer.

immediately gave orders for the gaurds of the Citty to retire early next morning, and he went himself that night to Duddingston. Upon the accounts of G^l. Copes march which was again confirm'd that night, he expressed a great deal of satisfaction to some of his officers, being always suspitious that the G^l. would retire to Berwick till such time as he was joined by some of the troops expected from Flanders, and assured them that he would not lett the first good occasion slip to fight him when he did not in the least doubt of proving victorious.

In obedience to the orders given on the morning of the twentieth the gaurds retired from the Citty and joined the Army att Duddingston, and brought alongst with them some Surgeons, with whom the Army was then very ill provided, and some Coaches and Chaises were likewise ordered for the Conveniency of the wounded, so certain was the prospect of a battle, and even a successfull one.* Thus all things being prepared about

* *N. B.*—Coll Roy Steuart and Capt George Hamilton who had gone so far as Musselburrrough to procure intelligence of Mr. Copes March happend accidentally at a Publick house to be mett by Mr. Robert Cunninghame, son to Major Cunninghame of Stirling Castle, and Mr. Francis Garden who taking Steuart and Hamilton for officers from their dress joint company and were enquiring about the highlanders. Coll Steuart immediatly suspecting them alledged they was Rebels, whilst they to convince them of his error assured that they had been in the highland Camp the Evening before, return'd to Haddington to give Gill Cope Intelligence and were now upon their return to learn further of, therewithall showing Mr. Copes pass, upon which they were immediatly seised and Carried prisoners to Dudiston and from thence marched in the rear under a gaurd of Atholl men to Carberry hill above Preston where Mr. Cope was encamped and dismissed how soon the army had orders to march east ward by the Town of Tranent. This would not have been mentioned had not Mr. Cunninghames immoderate freight made him represent the best usage in the most hideous Colours, and, as was afterwards known, to have retained his panick after his arrival at Jedburgh 30 milles distant, where as soon as released he went without sleeping to such a degree as not be easy till he had got to Durham, but as the representations of his sufferings and the dangers he had endured procured him a post in the army and the favour of a great man, it is now to be hoped that he knows the difference of the front and rear of his Regiment.¹

¹ This is a more plausible account of the capture of the future general and judge than that given by the Quarterly reviewer quoted by Browne, vol. iii. p. 71.

nine in the morning, after receiving an exact account of the number* of the enemy taken at Haddington, the Chevalier putt himself att the head of his small army, drawing his sword, said with a very determin'd Countenance, Gentlemen, I have flung away the Scabbard, with Gods assistance I dont doubt of making you a free and happy people, Mr Cope shall not escape us as he did in the Highlands, and then began his march, ordering the few horse, he than had, not above fifty in number, to advance att some small distance in front, and to detach a few to discover the Enemys march. In this manner, with the Camerons in front, he marchd in good order crossing Musselburogh bridge by Pinkey park wall, by this time the party of horse sent intelligence y^t G^{ll}. Cope was nigh to Tranent from which the Chevalier conjectured that he would engage him on the muir to the west ward of that Village, and therefor quicken his march to prevent his gaining the Brow of Carberry hill before him, but before he had near reached the Top of the hill he was told that Sir John had marchd to the left, and posted himself in a low ground betwixt Preston and Seaton. This naturally lead him to imagine that he intended to avoid comeing to action, & made him determine, if possible, to attack him the same day. With this view he advanced to the hill and drew up his army opposite to G^{ll}. Cope who was formed in the low ground before mentioned in two lines, with the two regiments of Dragoons on his wings. So soon as the Chevalier had taken a view of the Enemy he judg'd it impossible to attack them in the post they was then in, having a deep ditch in their front which runs along the high road where he must have sustained great loss before he could pass it, but being determin'd that att no rate the Enemy should give him y^e slip a second time he ordered a detachment to take possession of the Church yard which commanded their Camp on the left, and as that seemd the only side where it was possible to come att them, he enquired if there was none in the army acquainted with the Country to know if the ground would allow him to attack them upon the left. There happend to be a gentleman†

* *N.B.*—This was the most exact account of Mr. Copes numbers y^t the Chevalier had then received, about 2700.

† Mr. Anderson [of Whitburgh, cf. Notes to *Waverley*].

in the army of that County who told him that there was only one pass on the left whereby not guarded he could come to them, upon which he ordered it to be reconnoitred, and finding it neglected he ordered a detachment of five hundred men to be posted upon the high road to the west of Preston to prevent the Enemys retiring by that road to Ed^r, and recalling the detachment from the Church yard he marched his army eastward by the town of Tranent, and drew up in one line opposite to the flank of the Enemy who upon that motion made a half wheel to face him, expecting, as it was imagined, that he than designed to attack them, and which L. G. M—y proposed as the Highlanders were then full of Spirits, and, above all things desirous to engage, but the night being than far advanced the Chevalier thought it better to delay coming to an engagement till next morning, not knowing what might be the Consequence of a rencounter in the night should the Enemy if beat rallie and come upon him while in Confusion and not able to gett his people together, knowing how difficult it was to keep irregular troops together in a body after an action, so resolved to delay it till early next morning, and ordered his Army to halt upon the ground about three or four hundred yards from the Enemy, and to continue under arms to be ready to march upon a minutes warning. They accordingly lay close in order of Battle the whole night without the least whisper or noise to be heard, while G^l. Cope made Some Fires in his Camp and threw a few Shells, which did no hurt. Having continued in this position for some time, he was inform'd that the detachment of five hundred Atholl men which he had posted upon the west side of the Village of Preston had rejoined the army; this made him very uneasy lest the Enemy had filed off during the night by that road and taken possession of the Citty of Edin^r, to prevent which and to intercept the runaways had enduced him to make that disposition. He at first seemed resolved to make them return, but when he reflected that their march, if discovered by the enemy, might induce them to believe it was the whole army and occasion them to alter their disposition or occasion any confusion or distrust amongst his own people, he judged it safer and better to put up with the disappointment and continue the rest of his plan, tho he could

not help complaining that his orders had been neglected in so material a point.

Notwithstanding this *fauæ pas*, he kept in very high Spirits the rest of the night, laying on the ground without any Covering but his plaid, and in the morning about an hour before daylight made his army, guided by the gentleman above mentioned, march from the left in three Collumns, making the left of the first line the right of the army for the attack,* which motion tho perhaps irregular was yett necessary, and executed with so much order and Silence that the small body of horse posted in the rear knew nothing of their march; the officer on duty, either through forgettfullness or that he thought they could be of no service, neglected to give them orders to march. In this order he marched to the Enemy, passing a deep bog w^t out the least observation. The right, composed of the M^cdon^{ds} of Glengarry and Clanronald, was Commanded by the D. of P., and the left, Commanded by L. G. M., which had

* *N.B.*—As the Several clans could not well be distinguished, as to precedency or their ranks by Seniority Sustained without Creating disputes, which might, upon the Eve of a battle, prove detrimental to the Common interest, the Chevalier, who was ever watchfull of the least thing that prevents Cavil, proposed while at Perth that the Several Cheifs should amongst them selves agree of the posts they was to have in the line of Battle and offered as the most equitable way that they should draw lots, which they readily agreed to. The M^cdonalds of Glengarry, Clanronald, and Ceppoch as choosing to fight together drew one lote, which proved to be the left, the Camerons and Steuarts inclining likewise to be in a body drew one lote, which fell out to be the Right, the Center naturally fell to the other Corps who did not pretend to any precedency, thus this affair seemd to be amicably adjusted and the Several commanders Contented till the morning before the Battle at Gladsmuir that the M^cdonalds whilst at Didistoun being informed of their destination objected against it to a man notwithstanding y^t their Commanders acquiesced in the lote that had faln to their Share, but as Glengarys son was young and a second brother, his people who were the most forward had ye less regard to his Authority, so that after a very long dispute Locheil, unwilling to create any differences that might the least obstruct his Masters interest, generously offerd that in case no action happened that day which did not seem probable he would willingly quite his post the next to the M^cdonalds notwithstanding the agreement, in persuance of which ye M^cdonalds marchd from the left next morning and formed the right of the whole.

made the right the preceeding day, consisted of the Camerons and Steuarts of Appin. The third Collumn, which was made up of the Atholl men, was commanded by My L[ord] N[airn]. So soon as the two first Columns had passed the bog, they formed and march'd straight to the Enemy, who by this time had formed and presented themselves in the same order of Battle they had appeared the day before. By this time the third Column had likewise passed and formed themselves about four score yards in the rear of the first line; rather too near, if the ground would have allowed of a more regular disposition. The left, when pretty near the Enemy finding themselves outwinged, made a motion to front the artillery, which occasioned a gap in the Center, but marching up briskly, they recived one fire of the Cannon, which did little hurt, and than receiving a fire from the foot, they gave a loud huzza, returning the fire, upon which Gairdners dragoons run off, and the Highlanders, throwing away their musquets, attacked the foot with incredible impetuosity, who immediately gave ground. Upon the left of the Enemy the resistance, if such behaviour merits the name, was much less, for before the D. of P. was within three Score yards of them Hamiltons Dragoons began to reel and run of before they could receive his fire; the foot likewise fired to soon, and almost all turned their backs before the Highlanders could engage them with their Swords. In a few minutes the rout was total; the Dragoons on the right run of by the high road through the Town of Preston, and those on the left by the Shore towards the east; the few of the foot that saved themselves escaped by Preston Park, the wall of which had been broke down the day before by G^{ll}. Copes orders. All the baggage of the army was placed in a yard upon the left of their army, guarded by two Companys of L. Lowdons Regiment, where so soon as the action was over Cap^t Bazil Cochran of Coll. Lees¹ was sent by L. G. M. to tell them that if they would immediatly surrender as prisoners of war they should be used as such, if not, they would be immediatly attack'd and no quarter given, upon which they readily gave up their arms.

Att first one would have imagined that few or none of

¹ Lee's regiment, the 44th, now the Essex Regiment.

the troops had excaped the Slaughter, they lying in heaps along by the Park wall, tho in less than a quarter of an hour nine of ten found their feet, for to evite death numbers threw themselves on the ground, the greatest part not so much as wounded; nor was there ever more mercy showed upon any occasion, notwithstanding the many false and malicious Storys that have been alledged to the Contrary, not a Creature having been refused quarter so soon as they asked it. Instances have been given, such as M^r Sandilands, son to Lord Torpichen, M^r Myers, a volunteer, and Steuart of Phisgill; but the two first, yett alive, cannot say they ever asked quarter, and therefor cannot complain of their usage; and as to Cap^t Steuart, nothing but a mistaken notion of honour was the occasion of his death, having been several times offered quarter by a gentleman * of his own name who had engaged him, which he was so far from accepting that he gave him bad names and oblidge the gentleman, tho with regrate, to kill him in self-defence. The many Storeys spread about Col^l Gardners death were equally groundless; that gentleman, picqued to see the shamfull behaviour of his Regiment, seemed determined not to survive the odium that might thereby have been thrown upon him, and by his obstinacy occasioned his own fall. But these Storys are not to be wondered at, when people were cappable of Continuing to believe them att the distance of ten months after, and to hang an innocent man † as author of the Coll^s death when it was well known to many that this person was on horse back att the distance of some hundered yards from the Spott where the Col^l fall by some of the foot.‡ In this action on the side of the Chevalier there were not above three or four officers killed, and these people of no distinction, with

* Donald Steuart Ensign in Ardsheils Regiment a very brave resolute honest man who dyed of the wounds he received at the Battle of Culloden.

† John M^cnaughton watch maker an honest inoffensive creature who was executed at Carlisle as the person who had killed Coll^l Gardner.

‡ Locheils Regiment.

N.B.—Amongst the first who called out for quarters to an officer of the Camerons was Coll. Lassels, and was by him ordered into the rear of the Regiment where he should be taken care of, but instead of waiting till the affair was over he put a white Cocade in his hat and rode of to Berwick, how this gentleman will account for his proceedings I don't

about thirty private men and seventy or eighty officers and Solgers wounded ; whereas of G^{ll}. Copes, according to the best Computation that could than be made, there were seven or eight officers with about three hundered private men killed, and betwixt four and five hundered wounded, with almost the whole taken prisoners, of whom there were eighty three officers.

So soon as the action was over the Chevalier gave orders to have the wounded dressed and carriages provided to take them of the field, which was executed by his Surgeons* w^t all the care and expedition imaginable, to the great loss of the wounded of his own army, who from being neglected till most of the troops were taken care of, their wounds festered, being all gun Shott and mostly in the legs and thighs. He breakfasted on the field, but not amongst the dead and within hearing of the groans of the wounded, as has been falsly asserted by little ignorant Scholl master¹ who has pretend to write the history of an affair of which he could be no judge, but when people will act above their Sphere they must be allowed to stuff their performance with whatever suits their confined fancy best, tho att the expense of truth.

But before I proceed any further in this little history, which becomes now more interesting (the face of affairs in Scotland being entirely altered), the Success of that day having rendered the Chevalier entire master of that Kingdom, save the forts of Ed^r and Stirling, with the four small garrisons in the north, I shall make some few remarks upon the procedure of both armies with all possible impartiality, and than leave the world to determine which of the two Commanders merited most the name of general. In speaking of the difficulties that occurred to the Council att Perth, when consulting of the course than most proper to be taken, no methode seemed to them more

know, but I imagine it will be difficult for him to account for his having a white Cocade in his pocket if not that he had previously determined to Change Sides should Mr. Cope be worsted.

* *N.B.*—They had but few of their own and they not to be easily distinguished from the other officers prisoners.

¹ Andrew Henderson, author of *The History of the Rebellion*, published at Edinburgh 1748. He was a master in the High School of Edinburgh and in Watts Academy.

proper for the Enemy to disapoint their main Scheme, which centered in coming to blows, than their landing att or near to Berwick, and there waite till joind by the troops coming from Flanders. Mr Cope seemd att first to have had this in view by landing att Dunbar, a place att no great distance from the border, but what reasons Could induce him to alter his mind,* if that really was his plan, is more than any person of the most accute genious has hitherto ever attempted even to Conjecture, if not that his orders from Superior powers more versant in matters Military than he oblided him in spite of Common Sense to lay aside his own plan to confirm to his instructions, nothing could be more obvious than that his marching north was risking the whole Kingdome of Scotland upon the Success of a rencounter with the Chevalier att the head of an army very nigh equall to his in number, and infinitely Superior in resolution, whereas had he either marchd to Berwick, or encampd himself att Dunbar, in such ground as where the Chevalier could not have brought him to a battle, he must have in a few days been joind by a body of troops very nigh equal in number to those under his Command, and more accustomed to fire, which would in all humain probability oblided the Chevalier to have sought his own safety by retiring north. But after resolving to give the Highlanders a meetting, as if that one blunder had not in its self been sufficient, *quos deus vult perdere*, etc., he determines to use all methodes to intimidate his own troops and give, if possible, more courage to his Enemy. Having marchd the first day to Haddington, than where it was impossible for him to have found better and more advantagious ground to fight on, with the River on his left, a deep hollow way with some farme houses on his right, and the Town in his rear, yett he was in too violent a hurry to think of taking any such advantage, and waiting there for the Enemy, who would undoubtedly

* *N.B.*—It has been alledged that Mr. Cope was unwilling to march north to Ed^r, but that the representations, complaints, and entreaties of many people of Rank who had fled to him upon the Chevaliers entering the Capital enduced to take that part, but it is to be hoped Mr. Cope had better reasons for his procedure than the advice or entreatys of a parcel of people who, however distinguished they were as to Rank, were never-the less totally ignorant of the art of War.

have sought him out, but marches on next morning with great Composure, without knowing the Chevaliers progress, nor where he might be obliged to engage. He had the good luck, however, had he known how to manage it, to gett the lenth of Gladsmuir, a fine open heath where he could see about him for a Considerable distance, and where his Dragoons had not only room to act, but, if broke, to railley again and again if necessary. Thus one who is att all versant on the art of war would have by any means chosen when to encounter with undisciplined militia, who, tho they should att first gett the better, are seldom able to withstand the attack of regular troops when rallied in the Confussion their own advantage generally throws them. But G^{ll}. Cope, not carring to risk an action in a ground where he wrongfully imagined he should fight upon equall terms, sought out a spot just large enough to put his army in order of battle and strongly fortified by nature, so turns to the right and encamps on the low ground betwixt Seaton house and Grange¹ park wall, with a large ditch and some enclosers in his front, Cokeny glass work on his Rear, a marsh upon his left, and Grange park wall on his right. It must appear obvious to every body, however ignorant of these matters, that this procedure could have no other effect than that of discouraging his army. There were, we may suppose, abundance of them quick euough to reflect that their general either wanted conduct or did not think himself a match for his Enemy, otherwise he had never pent himself up in such a Corner, and either of these two apprehensions were more than sufficient to dishearten his army. It would be tedious to sho y^e many advantages G^{ll}. Cope had it in his power to have taken from the nature of the country and the Troops he Commanded. Could he have prevaild on himself to have marchd an hour or two earlier and taken possession of the banks of the Messelburray River from Inveresk to Pinkey, it would not have then been in the Chevaliers power, lett his genious have even been better than he showed it, to have attacked him without very great loss, and indeed the outmost probability of an entire defeat. But to return to the G^{ll}. att Preston, I may

¹ Not Prestongrange, but old Purton House, now the site of Miss Murray's, late Schaw's, Hospital.

be allowed to affirm that he could have no other view in taking up the ground he did than from a notion that the Chevalier would attack him in front, a very unaccountable conceit, for sure he had no title from what had passed to flatter himself that the Chevalier was less master of his business than himself, at least could never imagine him so weak as to fight at such a disadvantage. If from reflection during his march he thought he had been to blame in not waiting till joined by the troops expected from Flanders, and now thought of rectifying his mistake by pitching his Camp in a ground where he could not be brought to fight but upon his own Terms, he ought to have reconnoitred the ground with great Care, when the morras by which the Chevalier marched to him the next morning could not possibly have escaped him, which had they guarded only with two or three peice of Cannon and two hundred men he might have continued there as long as he could procure provisions by sea, and obliged the Chevalier either to march back to Ed^r, or to benume his army by lying out in Cold frosty nights. But what appeared the most extraordinary of all was his ordering Preston Park wall to be beat down to show his men the manner of making their escape, for nothing seemed more obvious than that he expected to be beat by that Strange Caution.

It presented itself in quite a different light to the Chevalier, and was one of the reasons that induced him to order the detachment of 500 men to guard the end of the Village, imagining that the Enemy intended in the night to file off by that gap to the west and take possession of the Capital, and how it came to escape the G^l. I dare say cannot well be accounted for. The execution was quite easy, for so soon as the detachment retired from their post, of which he could not, at least ought not, to have been ignorant, he had only to send his baggage in front, and, when once got Clear of the village, march with his whole foot, leaving fires with the two Regiments of Dragoons, who might safely have staid till morning, when by making as quick a retreat as they did on the 17th from the Colt Bridge, would soon have got out of reach of the Highlanders. That this was a Capital mistake must be obvious to every body who will give themselves leave to consider of the Consequences that must naturally have

followed. In the first place, it would not then have been in the Chevaliers power to have render'd himself Master of Edr, nor to have in any great degree Streitned Sr John in his provisions, for allowing that he could have destroyed the milles upon the River of Leith, Sr John could always have keep't a free communication with the Town of Leith, and have received plenty of all necessary by Sea. Secondly, as he had few horses, he could not have raised the publick money of the adjacent Counties. Thirdly, it would have very much lessened his Character as an officer, and thereby weakend his party; and lastly, not being able to bring his army to an action, would have tyred out his men, impatient of delays, and enduced numbers of them to return home, and be in all probability obliged to march back to Stirling, which would have enabled Sr J. to repair his former blunder of Crossing the Forth, in short, many more reasons might be given to show how necessary a Step this was, but the innumerable advantages that accrued to the Chevalier by his antagonists oversights are a sufficient demonstration of the truth of what I have said.

Some hours after the action, the Chevalier quitted the feild and went to Pinkey house, having given the Strictest orders to have the officers used with all imaginable Civility. The dead to be buried, and all the arms secured. The whole baggage of the army was taken, and amongst the rest the military Chest, hid under a Stair in Cockeny house, amongst a parcel of old broken barrels and other lumber, where was found betwixt two and three thousand [pounds] with the Generals papers, the rest of the money, as is alledged, having been convey'd by Sea on board a man of War in the Road.

Next day the Chevalier came to the Palace of Hollyrood-house, and being told that rejoicings and bone fires were intended for the victory, he gave possitive orders against it saying that he was far from rejoicing att the death of any of his fathers Subjects, tho never so much his Enemys y^t he pittied their unhappy way of thinking, which had drawn so many misfortunes upon the Country, and ended in their own fall, and that he should think it unnatural in his followers to make publick rejoices upon the deaths of their own Country

men.* And so great was his care to prevent any thing that could in the least seem like a want of humanity, as if his orders had not been Sufficient, he made the following proclamation.¹

He likewise sent a message to the Prysbyterian ministers, desiring them to preach as usual and that they might depend upon meeting with no disturbance; but they, determined by any means to procure grounds for calling out Persecution their favorite Plea, Sent a deputation of their Number to S^r Thomas Sherridan to enquire if they might pray for K[ing] G[eorge], the oddity of the demand surprised S^r Thomas a good deal, and it is natural to imagine he would have given them a very Short and desisive answer, but the Chevalier resolved to give them no grounds for Complaints, was pleased to direct S^r Tho: to tell them as from himself, their deputation being to him, that he could not pretend to give them that Liberty, which in its self would be a flatt Contradiction, but that he would venture to assure them that no notice should be taken of any thing they said, which tho it must, by every impartial person, be allowed to have been an unheard of instance of humanity and good nature, yett they, nevertheless, refused to comply, pretending fear of insults and the like.† And whilst I am talking of the Clergy, I cant help taking notice of an incident that happend soon after. One M^evicar,

* *N.B.*—Upon receipt of the news of the battle of Culloden at Ed^r publick rejoicings were ordered and such who either from a natural reluctancy to joy on the day of the fall of their freinds and Relations did not put out candles or whose houses were only inhabited by Stwarts had their windows broke and were mobb'd, paintings in Some windows Such as victorey trampling Rebellion under foot and justice plunging her naked Sword in her Bowels; bone fires in every Corner of the Citty and what is still more remarkable that day twelve months observed as a day of Jubilee: we shall leave it to the reader to make his own reflections upon the conduct of one and tother as to this particular.

† *N.B.*—Every where as the D. of Cumberlands army march'd north all the Church of England meeting houses were by his orders burnt to the ground and the Clergy men obliged to abscond.

¹ This proclamation is dated 23rd Sept. from Holyrood, and is signed J. Murray. See *Scots Magazine*, 1745, vol. vii. p. 441.

Minister of the west Church, who was the only one of them who continued to preach, lett fall some things in his prayer reflecting on the Chevalier which, when he was told of, as there are always people bussy enough to carry complaints, he did not in the least seem to mind it, but said that he looked upon the fellow as an honest fool and would have no notice taken of him.¹

The Army was now cantoned in the Citty, Suburbs, and villages adjacent, but not in the oppressive manner that has been taken in Towns when there was less occasion for it, only publick houses and people of low rank was burthened with them. To ease the inhabitants they was numbers made to lay on Straw in the Trone Church and Lobbie of the Parliam^t house. The Burgesess and people of fashion were not harrassed with common fellows for their guests.* The Chevalier being sensible upon the report that was brought him of the Arms taken att the Battle, that they did not amount to near the number that must have been taken, judging that the Country people, who had flocked into the field, must have Carried them off, ordered the following proclamation to be isshued, requiring them to delivre up whatever arms or Slings they had in their Custody.²

As many people have pretended to find fault with the Chevaliers not marching immediatly after the Action att Preston, to Berwick, it may not be improper to give some few reasons for his Conduct to satisfie the more ignorant, for to those of more knowledge the thing will appear to have been, if not impossible, at least improper.

That it was not either for want of knowledge or inclination in him is well known to those to whom he declared his mind. He not only proposed it, but for some hours Considered Sereously of it, and for undeniable reasons resolved against it.

* *N.B.*—When the army under Gl^l Haley came to Ed^r ye Spring following they were quartered in the gentlemens houses within the Citty by Sixes and Sevens at free quarters, and every Inhabitant oblided to furnish Sheets and blankets for their use, few if any of which were ever returned, so Superiorly honest are the Reed Coats to the Highlanders.

¹ This refers to the well-known story of Mr. M'Vicar's prayer, that the young man who had come seeking an earthly crown might soon be given a heavenly one.

² This is also signed by Murray, and is dated Sept. 30th. This may be found in the *Full Collection of Proclamations*, published in 1745.

There was small ground to doubt that if he had marchd some hours after the affair was over he might have reachd that place the night following, when without any Scruple we may conclude that the Panick Copes flight had struck the inhabitants with, would have given him easy access to the garrison, that the Dragoons would not have fought is plain, and that the few Dutch then landed were too much fatigued* with their voyage to have made any resistance. Indeed letters att that time from Berwick represented Consternation as inconcievable. But what made him lay aside all thoughts of it att that time was, first, the Smallness of his army, which in whole did not consist of above 2700 men, with which had he been in possession of Berwick he could not possibly have kept the Communication open with Edinburgh, for to imagine y^t he ever would have attempted to have marched further is out of the question, that would indeed have given his Enemys just grounds to have called it a Don Quixote expedition. Had L. L.—t and the L. of M^l—d kept to their engagements & joind him with their frends and followers, that he could have marchd to S^t. James's, is more than reasonable to believe, but to have advanced into England with such a handfull, would have been sacrificeing himself and his freinds to no purpose under the heavens. Secondly, the troops, both Dutch and Brittish, would have taken possession of Ed^r and Newcastle, thereby put him betwixt two fires, and made it difficult for his freinds who were comeing from the North to join him, and rendered it impossible for him to transport the Stores that afterwards landed from France, as he could not have favoured their passing the Forth where they did, nor would he have had a detachment Sufficient to protect the Convoy against the troops that might have been landed att Leith, so that had he gott into possession of Berwick, all he would have done was to

* Extract of a letter dated at Berwick Sept^r ye 25th. 'Col. Herschol is landed here from Holland with 722 dutch forces: they seem mostly papists, use the popish Ceremonys, and ask where they hear Mass. They are tollerable men but much fatigued. Since G^l Cope arrived here with a part of 2 Regiments of Dragoons from the battle in East Lothian we have been in the outmost Consternation, some gave out that they were attackt by 16,000 men, 10,000 of which were French in highland dress,' etc.

have Stay'd a Couple of days to nail up the Cannon and destroy some few of the fortifications, all which Could have been soon supply'd and repair'd, as he could not have Spared a number Sufficient to defend it after his return to Edr., the only proper place to waite for a junction, find provisions, provid things necessary for his army, find recruits, horses. &c., and raise the publick money. And lastly, it is well known how difficult it is to assemble an irregular army after an action, that his was a good deal dispersed, tho kept in better order than ever any highland army was before is certain, and I am of opinion, that had he determined to march to Berwick he would not have had above 1500 men to follow him, by which means the others would have had an opportunity to run home, to which they are too much given, even when Victorious, and had he faild in the attempt from the Smallness of his numbers, the bad Consequences that must have attended it are too many and to obvious to be hear mentioned.

The great Scarcity of Silver Coin proving very incommodious to the Inhabitants, as well as the Army, by the banks being carried to the Castle, and some of the inhabitants haveing made loud and repeated Complaints of it, the Chevalier to conduce as much as in him lay to their ease and Conveniency, ordered the following Proclamation to be made invitting them to return.¹

Tho one would have imagined that the most malicious person whatever could not have dared to find fault with the above Security which alone tended to the interest of the Country and to those chiefly concerned, yett has there been people weak and wicked enough to put a bad Construction upon it, which if it had not been to show how industriously ill-natured men will be, should have been passed over as a thing beneath notice. The following Proclamation was likewise made, Signd by L. G. Murray, prohibiting all abusses from the Army which had an affect so Contrary from what was given out that there is no instance in the history of any times in whatever Country where the Soldiery either regular or irregular behaved themselves with so much discretion, never

¹ See *Scots Magazine*, 1745, vol. vii. p. 442. Cf. 'Campbell's Diary,' *Scottish History Miscellany*, vol. xv.

any riotes in y^e Streets, nor so much as a Drunk man to be seen.¹

As I study brevity as much as possible I would not insert these proclamations, if not for two reasons, first to do the Chevalier and his army the justice every good man ought, lett his principles be what they will, & in y^e next place for the satisfaction of the reader who may either be ignorant that ever any such were ishued or might not have an opportunity of finding them else where.

All this time Mr Kelly who had for many years been Confined to the Tower of London, as concern'd in what was Called the bishop of Rochesters plot in the year [1722], and had made his escape in the year [1736], being one of those who landed with the Chevalier, was sent by him to France with dispatches, which he carried from the north Coast by the way of Holland, and not as our School master² would ignorantly and improbably have it by ridding post to Dover, which Shows the man's good sense to imagine that it was possible for any body att that time to traverse the Country without being discovered, especially so remarkable a person as Kelly. A party was sent att this time commanded by Mr Hay of Restalrig to Glasgow, to demand a loan of money from them, but the Chevalier took care that the party should be so inconsiderable as might plainly evince to the Inhabitants that he did

¹ FORBIDDING ABUSES BY THE ARMY.

ABBAY, 23^d September, 1745.

These are declaring that it is his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's Will

That it be proclaimed immediately over the Market Crosses of *Edinburgh*, That if any soldier or officer, in his royal highness's army, shall be guilty of any abuse in taking, pillaging, or disturbing any of the good people of *Edinburgh* or in the country, by forcibly taking away any of their goods, without making a fair Bargain, and Payment made, shall be punished, whenever taken up, and found guilty of the above offenses, by a court-martial and shall suffer death, or whatever other punishment the court-martial shall think fit to inflict upon them; it being his Royal Highness's unalterable resolution to protect the country in the full Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges. It is also declared, That no officer or soldier shall, of themselves, seize or take any horse (upon any Account whatsoever, except any horses belonging to the enemy in time of action in arms against his royal highness) without a signed order from a general officer, Signed by his royal highness's order, by me

GEORGE MURRAY.

One of his highness's lieutenant-generals.

² Henderson.

not intend to have it by force but in freindship,¹ with ample Security for the pay^t when affairs were Settled, w^h was all they could reasonably demand, and the Sum taken was so inconsiderable, as plainly Showed he meant them no hurt, and that he did [not] come as a Conqueror to levey Contributions, but as their Master to desire a loan, he soon hoped to repay them. The Sum taken was so inconsiderable as £5000 ² pound a very trifle 25 Sept. to so rich a place. Till wednesday the 25th the Communication to and from the Castle was undisturbed, nor did the Chevalier post gaurds upon the hill from any other view but that of Caution to prevent any Sallies from the garrison, but for what reason could never yett be learnt, they begun to fire upon the Town without any Regard for the lives of the innocent Inhabitants.* It has, indeed, been pretended that the Highlanders were making approaches, but that really was and has since been known to the world to be false, and it may be justly asked what would be their fancy to make approaches, they had no Cannon but those taken att Preston, small feild pieces that could Scarcely have broke open the gate fare less had any effect upon the walls—but the case seems to have been that they were determind to do mischeif and so alledged any thing however frivolous for their excuse. The Chevalier much surprised what could be their reason for this unexpected proceedure made enquire if any of the highlanders had fired upon the Castle contrary to his orders, but finding no such thing had happened was a good deal irritated, but gave no further orders save that they should keep a Stricter gaurd than formerly, and not to allow any Stores or numbers of people

* The Chevalier having been inform'd that numbers of the Citizans who had unthinkingly taken arms for the defense of the place, and upon his taking possession of it had deserted their homes for fear of punishment and were then either in ye Country or Secreted in Town, w^h was not only detrimental to y^r particular famillies but to the trade of the place in general, pittying their weakness and moved by that Compassionate temper so natural to him did of himself order a Speciale indemnity to be ishued pardoning what had passed, which to all men of Sense and reflection must demonstrate a Singular humanity notwithstanding the iddle gloses y^t have been put upon it by ye vulgar.

¹ Cf. *Itinerary*, p. 18.

² The sum first requisitioned was £15,000; but £5000 in cash and £500 in goods were what was actually received.

to enter, not knowing what Scheme they might have in hand. Intelligence was brought about this time of the preparation making in England to raise an army there to march northwards and join with those landed, and to Land att Berwick, Sheils, holly Island, &c, and y^t orders was given to the Several Lords Lieutenants to raise and arm the militia, upon which the Chevalier not only dispatched several of his officers to raise all the recruits in the Country who had been before left behind fault of arms and time to be provided with necessaries, but wrote to the principal people in the Highlands inviting them to join him, amongst others S^r Alex^r M^cdonald, M^cleod and L[ord] L[ova]t to whom there were no less than three people Specially ordered, Viz., M^cdonald of Kinlochmoydart, Frazer¹ and [Barrisdale],* all with letters from the Chevalier Seeming to excuse his not having joined him before by attributing his delay to want of time, and as there was but little hopes of either of them appearing, M^r M. sent a letter to Kinloch,² with orders to give it out wherever he went that the two gentlemen from the Isle of Skey were actually in arms, and either readie or upon their

* *N.B.*—Tho it is well known that Mr. M. was the person that made out ye dispatches for L. L—t to all the three, and that had he told as he well might the contents of their Several instructions as well as of the letters he wrote to his Lordship with the answers he received to them it would have amounted to almost as much as all that was advanced against him upon his trial, but so far from that he pretends want of memory (tho known to be possessd of a very happy one) and only owns his having Spoke to Frazer, but dont recollect possitively if he write alonst with him. To have pled entire ignorance of the fact would have been Childish, knowing that Frazer had told every thing he knew and could have gaind our Credit. And indeed it is just matter of wonder how he could so far impose upon the ministry as to make them believe he was sincere in the insignificant account he gives. But what is Still more extraordinary tho M^cdonald of Barrisdale was sent to his Lordship as the most fit person to work upon, and that by M. advice and direction, and that the ministry by the means of Robert Fraser³ became acquainted with a good deal of what passed and seemed to lay most Stress upon that than on any other particular, yet we find M. never takes the least notice of it nor so much as pretends to have known of his journey.

¹ Hugh Fraser 'an attorney in Edinburgh,' secretary to Lovat till 1744. Cf. *Lovat's Trial*, pp. 81 and 108.

² *i.e.* Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart.

³ Secretary to Lovat after 1744.

march, whereby to encourage others who tho very willing might nevertheless be desirous to delay joining till they Should See these three principal Clans openly declared, he likewise write to some people in England, but recived no answer either by word or writting.

The Chevalier had made a demand upon the Town of Ed^r for Shoes, tents, and Cantens, with some few Targets, and to disburthen the inhabitants of the Town and Suburbs as much as possible, formed a Camp att Duddiston, about a mile and a half to the Eastward, keeping only proper ^{29 Sept.} gaurds in the Citty and Palace, with Some few att Leith. As the Castle had Continued to fire without the smallest Shew of reason, the Chevalier gave possitive orders upon y^e 29 to allow none to go in or come out but such as could Show passports, not with any view, as has been childishly alledged, to reduce it, the Chevalier was too good a Solger as ever to propose reducing the place by blockade, his plan of operations were to well concerted to think of any Such undertaking, nor would it, indeed, have been consistent with his honour either as a [Prince] or a Solger to be foil'd in such an attempt. He had no view of loitering so long, but was determind to proceed into England so soon as he had a Sufficient force to favour the raising of his freinds there, and lastly tho he had reason from what he had till then mett with to have a very poor opinion of the Capacity of the Commanders, yett he could not allow himself to believe that they could be so Scandalous as Surrender the fort for want of fresh provisions, and he knew well that there was then three months provisions for the Solgers, so that had things come to the worst they had only to turn out a parcel of fools and silly women who had run there to save themselves from they did not know what, upon the whole, Since the Garrison had behaved so foolishly and Show'd so little regard to the well being of the Inhabitants, as it was but Consistant with his Charracter and humanity to y^m to Streten them as much as possible. The ^{30 Sept.} following day¹ G^{ll}. Guest who had for some time commanded in Cheif in Scotland, but upon the Chevaliers marching towards Ed^r, unable to undergoe the fatigues of a Campagne had betaken himself to the Castle for safety, wrote a letter to M^r

¹ The *Caledonian Mercury* says the 29th, the same date as the Prince's order.

Steuart, the Provost, in a very blustering military Stile, intimating that did the highlanders Continue to obstruct the Communication betwixt the Citty and Garrison, he would in Conformity to the orders he had received from Court be obliged to Cannonad the Town. Upon this a metting was had amongst the then magistrates, and a deputation Sent to the Chevalier, representing the miserable consequences that must thereby ensue to the inhabitants, and praying him in a most earnest manner to recall his orders, and leave the Communication free. He received the gentleman charged with the Commission with the utmost Curtesy, and was extremely desirous to have granted their request had it been consistant with his honour, but for two reasons refused to comply, first that he did not really in his own mind imagine it possible that the orders pretended to have been received were really given, but that it was a sample of the Commanders policy to procure it by freighting the inhabitants, never allowing himself to think that such barbarous orders could be given by any ministry especialy when it was their business to court the freindship of every one, and to distress and disoblige none, in the next place it might have given a handle to his enemys to impute so Sudden a complayance to the timidity of his troops so Concluding the whole to be a gasconade he gave the following answer in writing. ‘GENTLEMEN, I am equally surprised and Concerned,’ etc.*¹

* *N.B.*—Upon this Proclamations being ishued Mrs. Guin who lived in general Guests house was very much freightend and made to believe that all would be riffled and destroy’d, which Mr. M. being told of, and having been formerly acquainted with the Gell and his familly, he wrote the Lady a polite letter assurring this that his master was uncappable of really intending any such thing, but had it been so She might depend upon it that he would have taken care to let her have had timeous warning to put things out of the way, and begd She would let him know if there was any thing in his power wherein he could oblige her and the Gll. To which he receved a very Civil answer returning him thanks and saying that as the general lived mostly on milk and butter which he could not well be provided with in the Castle desired he would give leave to a Servant to carry some in for him every day. M. according procured the pass, but to his great Surprise Some days after the officer who com-

¹ See *Scots Magazine*, 1745, vol. vii. p. 443.

The answer requires no interpretation if the appellation of barbarity is given to y^e orders, it was no more than they justly merited when to all men of understanding on either side there did not appear, nor was there really in fact the smallest reason for them, so y^t if they never were given, the generals are alone to blame for drawing such a reflection upon the Master as to the Stile of it. I believe no man in his right wills will find fault with it, sure they would not have had the Chevalier to talk of the person he was endeavouring to dethrone as any other than he would have had all the world think him, or to the generals but as his father's Rebellious Subjects. Threatning to make reprisals upon their estates was telling them w^t they deserved, and he had in his power, tho att the same time he in his heart Scorned Such oppressive theiving methods, he always judged it far below his Character tho he often mett with the justest provocations to use fire and Sword, but in the field and that only in the heat of action, as both Preston and Falkirk will ever evince.

The Duke of Atholl was all this while, having been left to command all the Country benorth the Forth, bussied in raising his own followers and encouraging those of his neighbours to join the Chevalier, whilst numbers of gentlemen joined att Ed^r and of part of them two Troops were formed, the first under the Command of Lord Elcho, the Second intended for L. Kenmure, but afterwards given to L. Balmerino.

Upon the answer given by the Chevalier to the deputies that were Sent from the Citty being communicated to the Commanders in the Castle, they promised to suspend all hostilities till Such time as an answer could be had from London to a letter they was to Send, and demanded a passport for the

manded the weigh house gaurd Suspecting some thing more than ordinary Searched the Servant and found a letter of intelligence in the print of Butter. This Storey would not have been told if not to Show the advantages that were taken of the Chevaliers humanity and his nevertheless continuing it upon all future occasions. Had such a thing happend to another gen^l much of his own age¹—it isn't difficult to guess what would have been the fate of the Servant if not of the mistress.

¹ *i.e.* Cumberland.

Courrier, which the Chevalier readily granted. But as if they had been determined in every Shape to act opposite to all rule, on the Second [October],¹ they begun to fire as against a Town beseiged, tho the Chevalier's gaurds had not been in any Shape altered, nor one Shot fired att them. How far they could answer to themselves or their masters for Such Strange doings is more than I shall endeavour to Conjecture. To the inhabitants it was openly, declaring they nether minded their own promise nor their lives or effects. In this Shape they Continu'd firing and as if a regular Seige had been commenced against them, Sallied out and dug a trench opposite to the gate, and with some feild peices fired Cattridge Shot down the Streets, and with their great guns demolish'd one house and Sett fire to some others, but fortunately their being little wind it did no further hurt but cost the lives of some innocent people who, for fear of its Spreading, run to extinguish it durring this imaginary Seige. They killed Several people of both Sexes, inhabitants of the Citty, and only wound one man and a boy of their enemy who, on the fourth in the evening, retired to the Weigh house and Milns Court about 100 yards from their former Posts. The Cittizens, unaccustomed to such devastations, made the most hideous complaints against the garrison, and used Such moving entreaties with the Chevalier that, notwithstanding the just reason he had to be provoked, was nevertheless so much Struck with their unheard of Sufferings that, to Show them the Superior regard he had for their interest and well fare, determined next day² to comply with their request and according ishued the following proclamation taking of the Blocade.³ On the 7th⁴ L. Ogilvey and Gordon of Glenbucket join the Army with their several Regiments and were furnished with what arms they wanted by those taken from Cope att Gladsmuir. Accounts att this time was brought that a ship from France had landed att Montrose with the Marquise deguille,⁵ ambassador from the French. Several Scotts and Irish officers with some peices of Cannon and a large quantity of Small arms

¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, 1st October.

² This was issued on 2nd October.

³ See Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 100.

⁴ *Caledonian Mercury*, 4th October.

⁵ Du Boyer, Marquis d'Aiguilles.

which were ordered to be brought South with the utmost expedition and a detachm^t sent to Kiggans newk and the opposite Side of the Forth to secure the passage. Lord G. Murray was sent to give what instructions he Should judge necessary, and ordered some redoubts to be raised to defend the passage against the armd boats upon the River which was executed by M^r Kerr of Graden,¹ formerly a Col^l in the spanish Service, and one Cap^t Brown a french officer. It being well known that numbers of people in Scotland whose Situation in live either rendered their joining the Chevalier impossible or imprudent were nevertheless very desirous to be assisting to him in whatever could conduce to his Interest it was thought requisite to ishue a proclamation to lett them know that their Showing their good will to his Service in an other thing would be well taken.*²

* *N.B.*—Notwithstanding the natural desire that they ministry had to know what Sum were privately given and by whom assured supporters and abetteres of a party are ever look'd upon as more dangerous to a State than those who publickly bid them defiance and tho it is very certain that no money was given to any other person then about the Chevalier but M. himself, yet the ministry are to this day ignorant of any one who Contributed to the Chevalier assistance in that Shape. How ridiculous must such people appear to themselves when they reflect not only with what virulence and madness they at first railed against M. imagining no doubt he had discovered all and every thing, but that when they found by their undisturbd quiet he had not betray'd them, they nevertheless weakly and ungenerously continued to join in the general

¹ Kerr of Graden was aide-de-camp to the Prince. He was taken prisoner but reprieved.

² CHARLES, *Prince of Wales*, etc., *Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland*, and the dominions thereunto belonging,

Being informed that many of our father's loyal subjects, disabled from joining us, by advanced years, broken constitutions, and otherways, are heartily disposed to assist us with money, horses and arms, but have signified that they were at a loss to know to whom they should apply for these purposes.

We therefore hereby declare, that the persons in the circumstances aforesaid, sending to our secretary at the palace of *Holy-rood-house*, or where we shall happen to be for the time, money, arms, and horses, will be considered by us as a very seasonable and acceptable mark of their loyalty. Given at our palace of *Holy-rood-house*, the eighth day of *October*, 1745.

By His Highness's command,

JO. MURRAY.

The Chevalier being informed, y^t the Parliament was Summoned to meet att Westminster Oct^r y^e 17th, found himself under a necessity to take notice of it, and made publish the following proclamation. ‘WHEREAS we are certainly informed,’ etc.¹

To give reasons for this Step would realy be blotting of paper to no purpose, not one person of tollerable understanding Clamour rather than openly and honestly, as men ought, to declare they knew better things and only blame him for what he was apparently guilty of. I have often wondered at their madness and never could form any reason to my self but one or two, either that they thought by publickly ruining him to make the world believe they were not in his power, or that they inclined to be fashionable with the ignorant herd. The first we may justly say was ill judged, such procedure would have tempted many less attached to the interest of the party to have discovered all from revenge, was unjust, and demonstrated the timidity they laid to his Charge. The Curious may blame me for not acquainting the world how M. perswaded the Ministry to believe that he knew of no persons not openly engaged who gave money, tho’ I have had access to know, and that from the very best Authority, yet I am almost ashamed to say that seems to have proceeded from the most trifling Shift a continued and positive denial with a great deal of earnestness and Seeming Sincerity, so Shall conclude this note by desiring the gentlemen who have Mr. M.s receipts for the money by them pay’d to look at them, and then reflect of the injustice they have done him.

¹ PROCLAMATION AGAINST MEETING IN THE ENSUING PARLIAMENT.

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

CHARLES, P.R.

WHEREAS, we are certainly informed, that the Elector of *Hanover*, has taken upon him to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the seventeenth of this instant October; We hereby warn and command all his Majesty’s Liege Subjects, whether Peers or Commoners, to pay no Obedience to any such Summons, and not to presume to meet or act as a Parliament at the Time and Place appointed, or any other; the so doing by any Authority, but that of the King our Royal Father, since the setting up of his Standard, and his Majesty’s gracious Pardon offered for all that is past, being an ouvert Act of Treason and Rebellion: But if, notwithstanding this our Declaration, any Number of Persons shall presume to meet in either House, and act there as Members of a lawful Parliament, they cannot but be sensible that no Right or Privilege of Parliament can avail to justify what they shall say or do in such an unlawful Assembly.

And for those of his Majesty’s Subjects of this his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, whether Peers or Commoners, who shall, contrary to these our express Commands, presume to sit or vote as aforesaid, as soon as the same shall be verified

Concerned in the Government that was not sensible how necessary the Step was, and to have neglected it would have been giving a Seeming assent and kind of tacit acknowledgment of his antagonists tittle.

So many Scurilous libels had been dispersed about the Country, and such numbers of false and Scandalous things alledged against the Chevalier & his family, together with the great pains that was taken to Stuff the peoples ears with the old bugbear of popery, Arbitrary power, french despotism and dependancy, &c, which, tho it all appeared to the Chevalier as the undoubted Sign of a weak Council and a government, conscious to themselves how little they could depend upon the hearts and affections of the people they had so long governed, yett wisely judging that as the Vulgar and more ignorant of all Nations are easily imposed upon by possitive and daring assertions how ever false in them selves to prevent the bad effects that might follow from such triffling Storeis as were industriously spread abroad he published the following Manifesto to quiet the minds of every reasonable man 'AS SOON AS WE,' etc.¹

All this time the Chevalier was indefaticable in regulating his Small army, which was so dayly augmented by recruits from the highlands. Mr M^ckinnon of M^ckinnon* joind him from the Isle of Skey with about 120 men, realy brave and honest, inured to fatigue, and pateint to undergoe any thing that tended to the Service of their Masters, and might, according to the litteral Sense of the word, be called Solgers.

* M^ckinmons Charracter.²

unto us, the Transgressors shall be proceeded against as Traitors and Rebels to their King and Country, and their Estates shall be confiscated for his Majesty's Use, according to the Laws of the Land ; the pretended Union of these Kingdoms being now at an End. *Lastly*, We hereby strictly enjoin and command all his Majesty's faithful Subjects, of what Rank or Degree soever, to pay no Obedience or Regard to any Act, Vote, Order, or Resolution, that may be published in the Name of both Houses, or of either of them respectively, as they shall answer the contrary at their Peril. Given at our Palace of *Holy-rood-house*, the Ninth Day of *October*, One thousand seven hundred and forty-five.

CHARLES, P.R.

By his Highness's Command,
J. MURRAY.

¹ Printed in Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 104.

² Murray does not give this.

14 Sept. The next day, being the 14th, The Marquis D'eguille arrived att the Palace, where he was very graciously received by the Chevalier, to whom he delivered his dispatches and Credentials from his Court, and had the honour that night to sup att his table. As a great many Slighting things were thrown out to that gentleman's prejudice by the freinds of the government, with an intention, no doubt, not only to lessen the fears of their freinds as to the assistance they from thence naturely expected the Chevalier would have from france, and likewise to Create jealousies amongst their Enemys, as if he had only been sent by the Court of france as a Spey upon the Chevalier and his Army, and which, indeed, had too visible an effect amongst some of the less understanding of his freinds, it may not be amiss to Say something about that gentleman's Charracter.* The Chevalier, ever watchfull of the peice and quiet of the Country, and the regular and decent behaviour of his Army, was mighty uneasy att some representations that were made of some oppressive things being done in the Country by people Clade in Tartan and who called themselves of the army; and to be certain of the truth of what was alledged, he made the utmost pains to be taken to find out the aggressers, but after the Strictest enquirey only one Monro and a fellow, a Stabler, afterwards hang'd att Stirling by the D. of C.'s orders as a Spey, could be discovered. Monro was taken into Custody, tryed by a Court martial, and found guilty of Robbery and having forcibly and unwarrantably exacted money from the Country for protections, under the Charracter of an officer in D. of Perth's Regiment, for which he was condemned to be Shott, and the Sentence executed upon him in the Links of Leith y^e 16th. The Stabler was likewise tryed, but the proof not coming out so clear against him, was acquitted. Tho this example of justice and care of the Country might have been Sufficient to convince every body how much he had the good of the Subjects att heart, he never theless insisted upon further enquirey being made to discover the rioters, which, after a good deal of difficulty, was by means of a fellow in the Cannongate who was a kind of recitt to house breakers and

* Here insert his Charracter and behaviour.¹

¹ Murray has not left this.

such Cattle, found to be a parcel of loose people, both men and women of that kind, who had assembled themselves together, and putting on tartan Cloaths, took advantage of the Armies being negh to pass for some of them, and round about the Country going into the farmer's houses in the night time and robing and plundering, upon which orders were given to Send Safe gaurds wherever demanded, which pretty effectually prevented the outrages for the future. One Smith, formerly a Centinel in Lassel's Regiment, and who had inlisted with Col^l Roy Steuart, had afterwards deserted and employ'd himself in Robbing the Country, was made prisoner, tryed, Condemd and Shot. The fellow Confessed before his death what he had done. Att the same time one M^cvicar, who had been outlaw'd, put a Cockade in his hat, pretending a Strong attachment to the Chevalier's interest, but as he was determined to have no such fellows in his army, nor to do any thing that might seem to fly in the face of the laws of the Country, he ordered him to be took up and imprisoned, and in Short upon all occasions took the greatest care to do every thing that could in any Shap conduce to the interest and peace of the Subject.*

My Lord Pitsligoe,† with S^r William Gordon of Park, Hay of

* Att this time certain intelligence was brought by a person sent express from London that a fellow was sent from thence who had undertaken to Murder the Chevalier, the thing had been very accidentally discovered, and care taken immediatly to send this gentleman with the intelligence. The person employ'd was very exactly described not only by the person sent, but in several letters to different people in Town, who all brought their letters to the palace, upon wh^{ch} a very Strict enquirey was made, but only one Stranger to be found who tho not answering the description in every respect yet came so near to it as to give good grounds of Suspition, upon which he was ordered into Custody and examined two three Several times, but nothing being found from his answers to make believe he was the person, he was Soon released, and afterwards joind the army and marched with us into England. By letters from London, all the same, we were undoubtedly inform'd of Capt. Vere's¹ being sent as a Spey, but tho it was known that he had been in Town, and some said in the Camp at Duddiston, yet he took such care to keep him self private that there was no discovering of him.

† His Charracter.

Lord Pitsligoe is a little thinn fair man, has lived much at home, being a great Schollar and fond of Study, of the primitive Stamp, and fitter to

¹ Cf. p. 248, *infra*.

Rannas, and a number of gentlemen from the North, arrived att Ed^r with a body of about 150 horse, and the hon^{ble} Lord Lewis Gordon, who had some days before joined the Chevalier, Sett out from Ed^r to the north to raise the followers of that family.* The D. of Atholl, who had raised a Considerable number of his Clan, and had escorted the Cannon, ammuniti^{on} and baggage landed from France, together with the Clan M^cpherson, Came to Hollyrood House, having quartered his brigade in and about Duddist^{on}, leaving the M^cpherson † to proceed with the Stores to Dalkeith. Lord Elcho, as I had observed before, having had the Command of the first troop of gaurds Conferred upon him, had with great Dilligence Compleated it all of gentlemen of familly and fortune; and tho they did not amount to above a hundered, yett I may say there never was a troop of better men in any service, their uniform blew and reed, and all extreamly well mounted. On fryday the 18th [October], Lord Kenmure,² for whom the Second troop was designed,

have been a martyr in the days of *Nero* than to live in an age of villany and Corruption, where piety is ridiculed, humane to a fault, and brave to admiration, extreamly affable and engaging in Conversation. The deservedly most popular man in his Country, not beloved but adored, being ever employ'd in doing good offices to his neighbours. In short, to do justice to his Charracter, it would be necessary to cull out the most conspicuous virtues of the Saints and heroes of old, all which he is alone blessed with in an ample degree, and if it would seem descending too low to imitate the often undeserved Characters given by news writers, I would conclude by saying y^t he is the best husband, the best father, the best freind, and the Best S—bj—t in Brittain.

* His Charracter.¹

The fellow M^cleod mentioned in the beginning of this historey to have come to Glenfinnan now joined the army at Ed^r in Company with a very worthy man of that name, M^cleod of _____, but brought no men with him as he had promised, and for which he got the money.

† Cluneys Charracter.

Ewan M^cpherson of Cluney is of a low Stature, very square, and a dark brown complection, of extreme good sense, and inferior to none in the north of Scotland for Capacity, greatly beloved by his Clan, who are by all their neighbours allowed to be a Sober, regular, Sedate people. A man not only brave in the general acceptation of the word, but upon reflection and forethought determined and resolute with uncommon calmness.

¹ Lord Lewis Gordon's description is not given in Murray's ms.

² John, second son of Lord Kenmure, who was beheaded in 1716; his elder brother Robert died in 1741, aged twenty-eight.

came to the palace in company with L. Nithsdale and the Earl of Kilmarnock, who were all presented to the Chevalier and very graciously received, especially Lord Kenmure, to whom every body observed he show'd a particular Civility, both in his manner and in what he said to him, and when he told him he had reserved the command of the 2^d troop for him, seem'd to appologise for his not having had the first, assuring him of the particular regard he had for his family, and how sensible he was of what they had suffered upon his account, with which his Lordship seem'd quite happy, and expressed him self very desirous to be of service, and said that, as he was Situated in a Country where the minds of the people had been very much debauched from the Chevalier's interest since y^e year 1715, it would have been dangerous for him to have made any preparations which he could not have conducted with Sufficient Secresy, and therefor it would be necessary for him to return home for some few days, but desired letters from him to some of his freinds who he hoped to be able to bring out, and that he would join him and take the Command of the troop upon the boarder, with which the Chevalier, seeming extreamly well satisfied, agreed to his proposal, and ordered the letters to be writ out. The three Lords had the honour that night to sup with him, but the afterwards unfortunate Kilmarnock* was the only one who acted the honourable part. Kenmure never returned for the letters he had asked, but went to the Country and made his Ladie †¹ write a triffling letter to the Chevalier's Secretary acknowledging the honour done hir Lord, but at the same time pleading y^t he was now the only brother left, and if any misfortune should befall him, what would become of hir and hir Child, and praying that as he was his L—d's Relation,² that he would make Suitable apologies to his Master for My L—d's not joining, as he had engaged, att the same time saying

* Kils Charracter.³

† *N.B.*—She is Sister to this present Earl of Seaforth, member of Parliament for [Ross-shire].

¹ Frances, daughter of fifth Earl of Seaforth. They were married in 1744.

² The Lord Kenmure of the '15 married a granddaughter of Sir William Murray of Stanhope.

³ Again this is omitted by Murray.

that had he had a following like hir brother,¹ she would not have endeavour'd to diswade him from it, but on the Contrary, as he could be of little service, being able to bring none but a few servants. Notwithstanding, M^r Murray had the greatest reason to take his Lordship's conduct as a personal affront, he having att his repeated desire engaged for him to his Master long before he landed in Scotland, yett he was nevertheless unwilling to hurt him, looking upon it as a piece of Instability and weakness, and therefor showed this remarkable letter only to a few of his Lordship's former freinds, and made the best natured apologies to his Master the thing would allow of. Some days after that he received a few Lines from My Lord himself, telling him that the Situation of his affairs (he had better said his wife) would not permitt him to join, and that the troop might be disposed of to whom the Chevalier should think fitt, the oddity of which letter will appear to every impartial reader to glaring to need make any observation here, and in consequence of his Lordship's refusal it was bestowed on M^r Elphinston, afterwards L. Balmerino,* a much worthier a man in every Shape of life.

Lord Nithsdale,² from whom no better was expected by all who had the honour to know him, after he retired home from the palace was Struck with such panick and Sincere repentance of his rashness that he was confined to his bed for some days in a fitt of despondency, where nothing but the most dreadful scene of Axes, Gibbets, and halters presented themselves to his weaking and sleeping thoughts, in so much that he was oblinded to be sent to the Country, where he continued Crazy for some time, tho his Lady, who it was alledged had with the outmost difficulty perswaded him to pay his duty, and who had stoll to hir self the magnanimity and spirit of hir whole family, was so much ashamed of the pusilanimity of hir husband that she Scorned to accompany him, but Stay'd in town, quite ashamed

* Balmerinos Charracter.³

¹ Kenneth Mackenzie, eldest son of the fifth Earl of Seaforth, who was attainted in 1716, was M.P. for Inverness 1741, and for Ross-shire 1747 and 1754; died 1761, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He was known by the courtesy title of Lord Fortrose.

² Son of the Lord Nithsdale of the '15. The estates had been conveyed to him in 1712. He died in London in 1776.

³ Omitted by Murray.

of his Cowardice and willing as far as lay in hir power to show what she would have done had nature destined hir the other sex. I should not have been so particular in relation to these to Lords had their Storey been a Secret, but to show how much it is a man's duty to know his own strength of mind and how cautious he ought to be of going lenth when he has not resolution to carry it through or able to extricate him with honour. It is positively said that Lord Kenmure had no sooner gott home than he wrote a letter to Mr. Fletcher, Lord Justice Clerk, begging to be excused for his rashness in going to the Palace, but that he had been so harrassed and plagued with letters and messages that he was under a necessity of going and saying some Severe things against the Rebels, as he termed them, but how far that is fact or not I shall not take upon me to determine. It is lucky for his Lordship if false, for that he ever had more than one letter from the Chevalier and another from Mr Murray, who he had engaged to give him notice so soon as a proper occasion offered, I can certainly affirm, having had access to know it.

There being nothing to be had but evasive answers from L. L-t., who pretended one day to be fond to serve him, and appointing a time for the Rendezvous of his Clan, and the next forging of reason for his delay, whereby he prevented the Mcintoshes from marching south, having disapointed them three Several times after a day had been fixed and they in arms; nor from Mcleod but Oaths and curses that so soon as he went to Skey he would raise his men and march south, att the same time that he had no sooner made his solemn promises and consulted of how he was to march and where to meet the other Clans than he went directly to Mr Forbes of Culloden, the President, and told what had passed. So the Chevalier, seeing no hopes of any assistance from that quarter and being joined by all those they expected in time, bethought him self of what was next to be done. To have continued longer att Edr would have been very improper; he had been there nigh six weeks, and it was natural to think that his army, little accustomed to the effeminacy to common in town, might be debauched both by women and drink, which would render them less able for the fatigue they must of necessity go through, and the rains which in that season of the year falls very much in these parts

might naturally occasion deceases they are little acquainted with in their Country, and staying to long in any one place, a thing the Highlanders dont like, being naturally fond of being in action, might have led many of them to think that they had no more to do loitering there and so gone home. The rumour that was than spread of his brothers being in France and intending a descent in England gave him reason to apprehend that the government might for their own Safety take some of his freinds whom they most suspected into Custody and prevent their joining him. But above all the intelligence he received of general Wades march north and the preparations making on all hands in England determined him to ly no longer idle, seeming resolved to give him battle before his troops could recover the fatigue of their long march. All these things weighing together made him think of settling the Country durring his absense before he fixed his departure for England. He accordingly Constituted the Viscount of Strathallan Governor of the Town of Perth and Commander in Chief of all the forces that were or afterwards might be durring his own absense in the Town, but not Commander in Chief of his forces beyond the Forth, as he vainly addopted. He likewise ordered Mr Oliphant of Gask to attend him, being a man of a Considerable Estate in the neighbourhood, but without any Commission. Mr Mcgregor of Glengyle was appointed governor of Down Castle, about four miles from Stirling, being judged the fittest man in the Country to keep that garrison in awe and to prevent their making excursions into the Country to disturb the familleis of such who were in arms, and to be sure it was impossible for any to have made a better Choise Glengyle is,* etc. [David Fotheringham]¹ was made Governor

* Glengyles Charracter.

Glengyle, now the oldest branch of the familly Mcgriger, in person a tall handsome man and more of the mein of the antient heroes than our modern gentlemen, possest of a Singular deal of humanity and good nature, honest and disinterested to a Proverb, extreamly modest, brave and intrepide, and born one of the best Partizans in Europe, in that the whole people of that Country declared that never did people live under so milde a Government as Glengyles, not a man having so much as lost a Chicken while he continued there.

¹ Murray has left the names of the three governors blank. They are supplied from other authorities.

of Dundee, [Carnegie of Balnamoon] of Montrose, and [Moir of Lonmay] of Aberdeen, and some particular officers of every different Clan was sent home not only to keep the Country in peace, but to prevent desertion and bring out all those at home able to bear arms, and with them to join the Chevalier upon the border, where he expected to have staid for some time.

Thus everything being ordered with all the care and Caution 30 Oct. imaginable, he then called a Council of war the night of the 30th,* where were present his Grace the Duke of Athol, D. of Perth, L. George Murray, Lord Elcho, L. Pittligoe, Cameron of Lochail, M^cdonald of Kepock, M^cdonald of Clanronald, M^cdonald of Lochgaray, etc., to consult of his march Southwards, and after telling them the reason of his calling them together and acquainting them with the intelligence he had received of General Wades March and the other motions and preparations of the enemy in England, he desired they would give their several opinions on what they judged the most proper step for him to take. It would be tedious and might likewise be disagreeable to the reader to give the several opinions and reasonings of every particular, so shall confine myself to the two most material, whither to march the east road towards Newcastle, and there give General Wade Battle, or to march the west by Carlisle. The Chevalier him self was clear for marching towards newcastle, first, because M^r Wade could only arrive there a day or two before him, and Consequently his troops must have been very much fatigued with their long march after a Campaign in Flanders. Secondly, having been unsuccessfull there, together with Copes defeat then quite recent, made it reasonable to believe that they would not act with that vigour they might do if let to rest for any time; thirdly, their numbers were not so greatly superior to his own as to append a defeat, being well assured that the Dutch would not fight should the Marquise de guille require them upon the Capitulation of Tournay to be neuter. 4^{thly}, to march towards Carlisle would be a means to dishearten his own Army, as it would look like shunning Wade, and thereby give them a more formidable opinion of his strength than it really

* Oc^r 30th.

deserved. 5^{thly}, the advantages following a victory in these parts would be innumerable; the reduction of Newcastle, besides giving a Charracter to his arms, would enable him to strecken the Citty of London and very probably create the utmost Confussion amongst the inhabitants, which might have turned greatly to his advantage, made him absolute master of all Northumberland and the County of Durham, with Cumberland to the gates of Carlile, and not only encouraged but given the fairest opportunity to all his friends to join him from Lancashire, Yorkshire, etc., and Could then have left a garrison in the place and marched forward before any Considerable force could be got together to oppose him. Besides, did he march Directly from Ed^r to Carlile, M^r Wade had it in his power to have crossed the Country, it being only about forty miles, and have opposed his passing the River Esk before it was possible for him to reach it, which put him to a stand, the Country there about not being well affected to his Cause, he would have been very much put to it, for provisions, especially bread, and he had attempted to cross the Country to Newcastle and take the advantages of Wades march to the west, yet he must have been oblided to leave his Cannon behind him, and might have been kept out by the small garrison w^h would no doubt be left behind, these and many other reasons of equall weight enduced the Chevalier to encline giving general Wade battle as soon as possible.

On the other hand, my Lord George Murray with most of the Cheifs, argued that his marching into England being Chiefly to give his friends there an opportunity to join him, they thought he ought not to risque a battle unless upon good terms which might not be in his power, as M^r Wade being there before him had the Choosing his own ground, and might consequently or not as he pleased, that should he be defeated his affairs would be totally ruined, and a retreat very difficult should the Enemy follow the strock having the river of Tweed to cross, seldome fourdable att that Season of the year and the garrison of Berwick to oppose his passage, or to harrass his rear when passed. That the road by Ouler and Whitingham¹ through Runsidemuir was extremely bad, and as some

¹ A village in Northumberland—not the Whittinghame in East Lothian.

rains had lately faln, might be impassible with his Cannon and other Carriages—no quarters to be had but in small dispersed villages, a hut would give the Enemys horse, if alert, occasion to annoy them, and therefore they was of opinion that by marching to Carlile and being there joined by his freinds from Lancashire, northumberland, &c., as he expected they might then Choose to march to Newcastle and give Mr Wade Battle or not as should be thought most advisable. To which it was answered that tho by his march into England he principally intended to favour a junction with his friends there, yet nothing could influence there rising so much as his gaining a victory in their own Country, and thereby getting possession of Newcastle. That as had been said before tho a defeat was little to be looked for yet should it happen the retreat was not so difficult as was apprehended for in place of making it towards Kelsoe y^e road they had come by it behoved to be done higher up y^e Country towards Moffat and where the horse could not persue, and the foot easely out marched, and the passage into the highlands by Menteith was easy and safe, there being nothing to disturb y^m but the garison of Stirling, which durst not Stirr fear of Glengyle and his Garrison at Doun. That tho the roads were bad, yet the rains had not then faln in such quantitys but by the help of the Country horses, their own being then fresh, their Cannon and baggage might easily be got forward and the difficulty of quarters would only Subject for two nights betwixt Kelsoe and Morpeth, which the men would willingly put up with, with the help of good fires, and there was great plenty of wood and turf to be had in the Country. And lastly, should it be found impossible to bring Mr Wade to action, but upon disadvantageous terms, it was then easy to march to Carlile, which would be so far from dispiriting his friends that it would rather encourage them by showing y^t Mr Wade did not care to risque a battle.

Notwithstanding the arguments used by the Chevalier and those of his side, the question seemed to be the strongest and most rational, yet the majority Still inclined tother way, and were of opinion that risquing the uncertain event of a battle even upon equal terms before he had given his friends in England an opportunity to join him, would be

ill judged, and if unsuccessfull might give them a handle to blame the Scotts and impute the miscarriage of the whole to their timerity and rashness. After a very long debate on both sides the Council was adjourned till next morning at nine aClock to consider further of what had been offered on both Sides, but when the Chevalier had retired to his own apartment he begun to reflect that as the most, if not all the Cheifs were for marching to Carlile, his forcing them the other road contrary to their inclinations, might be of bad Consequences, especially should it become known, which was more than probable, as it might thereby enduce some of the Solgers to desert, thinking them selves warranted to do it as being against their Cheifs opinion, at the same time that he knew they were generally averse to Cross the borders, as well as many of the gentlemen, this together w^t the desire to do nothing that might give cause of backwardness to his friends in England, prevailed with him to agree to their proposal. Accordingly, next day how soon the Council had mett, he told them in a very obliging manner that he had Seriously Considered of their arguments the night before, and was now, upon reflection, given to think they was in the right, and that he was ready to follow their advice, and then proposed y^t the rout might be agreed upon, and proper orders conserted for their speedy march. This condescension on his part, made in so oblidging a manner, and as if proceeding from the Superior strength of their arguments seemd to give great contentment.

31 Oct.

He then told y^m that he had been athinking how to evade any difficulties that might ensue should M^r Wade, who would in twelve hours at most get intelligence of his motions, march across the Country, and that what to him appeared the most proper Step to be taken was to march at the head of the Clans to Kelsoe, which would cover his design, it being on the Road to Newcastle and probably bring Wade to Morpeth to meet him, the ground being much stronger there than att Newcastle by which means it would not be in his power, however willing, to gett to Carlile before him, and that the other Column with the Cannon and heavy baggage should march to Peebles, which being only nine miles further by the way of Selkirk to Kelsoe than by Lauder could not for the first day discover their intentions—so halting one day with the Clans att Kelsoe, or even two if found

necessary, would effectually disappoint Mr Wade, and give the 2^d Column time to march up the Tweed by Drumelzier to Moffat, and join him at Carlile. This proposal than which none other could be more judicious was universally approved of by all present and it was immediately agreed on that my L. G. M. and Du. of P. should see that nothing was wanting for the Conveniency of the march, and D. of A. Charged with the Command of the 2^d Column, D. of P. under him, the Chevalier the first L. G. under him. The first was composed of the Camerons, M^cdonalds of Glengary, M^cdonalds of Kappoch, M^cdonalds of Clanronald, M^cdonalds of Glencoe, the Steuarts, M^cgrigors—and M^ckinsons. The 2^d was composed of the Athol Brigade, D. of Perth's Regiment, Glenbuckets, Roy Steuarts, Lord Ogilveys and the M^cpharsons, Lord Elchoes and Balmerinoes troops, the Perthshire horse, L. Pitsligoes troop with the Hussars commanded by Major Bagget marched with the first Column. The Carriages having been all previously provided with a large quantity of biscuit, and nothing further requisite to be done, it was determined to evacuate the Citty of Ed^r y^e 4th of November.* ¹

The Second in the morning orders were given to all the Regiments to make ready to move, and the day following all save the guards kept in the Citty march'd to Dalkeith—

* Orders had been given to make litters for carrying the wounded across the Forth to their respective homes, but as there were some so ill that they could not be transported, the majestates were applyd to give Security for their Safety, but as that was judged precarious, it was proposed to carry hostages along for their good behaviour, and accordingly one Wilson, a baillie, was pitched upon for one and carried the lenth of Dalkeith, but there made interest to be lett go. Having few Surgeons of experience in ye army, the Chevalier gave orders that if none could be found to go willingly, y^t they should be pressed, and in obedience to his order Mr. R., Mr. Lauder, and Mr. Ramsay were severally taken out of their beds the morning y^t that the town was evacuated, but Mr. Ramsay representing that he was of a very weakly constitution and unable to undergoe the fatigue of the journey, had his liberty to return home, the other two being thought abundantly robust were refused to return.

N.B.—To do justice where it is due, it has been since known that a Common Sentinel then in the Castle offered to G^{ll} Guest that provided his wife and Childeren were taken care of, he would murder the Chevalier.

¹ The Prince left Edinburgh on Oct. 31.

Musselburgh, Inverask, and the Villages adjacent, the Chevalier lay that night at Pinkie house, and next morning went to the Palace of Dalkeith L. G. M. who was left behind at Edr drew of the guards att the Several ports and assembled the whole in the Parliament Close, then ordering them to march he covered their retreat in good order, him self in the rear of the guard at the weigh house.

The Garrison in the Castle, who did not dare to Stir while a highlander was in Town no Sooner were assured that they might safely appear, than they broke out like a parcel of hungry dogs, and without any Command or the least Shew of order, discipline or humanity, run into every house where either Solger or officer had quartered, and pillaged, and destroy'd what they could not carry of, abused the poor house keepers where ever the highlanders had been quarterd, and treated some of those that were left woundéd in the most barbarous manner imaginable, particular one poor fellow in the Cannongate, who after they had taken him from out his bed pulld him down Stairs by the heels, his head Striking against every Step, and then pulled him in the same manner allong the pavement till he expired, many more examples might be given of the unprecedented barbarity but y^t I dont care insert to many things of this nature least Should seem too full of Complaints.

Let us now leave the Chevalier at Dalkeith with his army cantoned there and in the ajacent, to take a view of the Situation of his Enemy, and the Strenth he had to encounter with. *Here insert the whole proceEDURE of the Gov^t from the first news of the Chevaliers landing till this date.*¹ . . .

3 Nov.

The Chevalier having Staid 2 nights at Dalkeith, whilst the arms brought from France were distributed to them who wanted or had insufficient ones, and the Cannon carriages put in Repair, with all other necessary preparations made for a march, he moved on y^e 3^d, in the morning, at the head of the first Column, to Lauder, and took up his quarters that night in Lauder Castle, whilst the Second Column, under the Command of the Dukes of Athol and Perth, marched the same day with the Cannon and baggage to Peebles. A part of the Column

¹ Murray has not provided us with this.

he commanded being quartered at Gingle kirk,¹ a village about four miles Short of Lauder, he returned there early in the morning,* to bring them up to the main body, and then begun his march for Kelsoe, the horse in front and Rear, where he arrived that night, having given orders as he went along to send Safegaurds to the Several gentlemens houses upon the road to prevent plundering. Next morning, Coll. Kerr † was ordered out with a detachment of horse to reconotter the Country towards Ouler, where the remains of the 2 Regiments of Gardeners and Hamiltons Dragoons were encamped, who, upon hearing of the Chevaliers approach, had kept all y^t night under arms, tho at milles distance, and so soon as day appeard gallopd of to Whitingham. Another small party was sent towards Berwick, where one of them going carelessly into a house at Coldstream, was made prisoner and carried to Newcastle. After Staying two nights at Kelsoe, to give the 2^d Column time to meet the same day at Carlile, the Chevalier Crossed y^e tweede and march'd to Jedburgh, where he halted y^t night, the 6th, all the horse, save the Husars, marching by 6 Nov. Hawick & Langtoun, &^c., the next morning he continued his march through the Country of Liddesdale, ‡ and quartered his

* *N.B.*—It is worthy of observation that perhaps never general, especally a Prince, was so minutly assiduous as the Chevalier to see every the most minute motion with his own Eye, never neglecting, throughout the whole march, So Soon as he had put all in motion, to return and view the whole Column, after which he repaird again to the front and from time to time as he judged necessary view'd the whole and prevented them from Strageling.

† Coll^l Kerrs Charracter.²

‡ Here a gentleman mett him with despatches from the Dukes of Athol and Perth from Moffat to acquaint him that they had found great difficulties in bring[ing] the heavy baggage y^t lenth, and that they did not think it was possible for them to reach Carlile till the Tenth. Upon which orders were sent them to advance with the Cannon with all possible dilligence, and to leave a Strong detachment to escort the baggage and bread waggons. And at the same time a person was sent across the hills into Northumberland to procure intelligence of General Wades motions with orders to rejoin the Army the next night at —, but as was afterwards known, the gentleman was unluckie enough to be taken prisoner

¹ Channelkirk.

² Omitted by Murray.

army at ¹ , &c, and on friday, the eight, he crosed the River of ² with the Clan Cameron, the other regiments, being quartered on the Scotts Side, Sending the Hussars for some milles befer to Scour the Country. It was remarkable that this being the first time they entered England, the Highlanders without any orders given, all drew their Swords with one Consent upon entering the River, and every man as he landed on tother Side wheeld about to the left and faced Scotland again.

That night the Chevalier quartered at a small farm Called Reading,³ and the day following, haveing staid on the banks of the River till the whole were passed, he ordered the hussars to go before and reconnoitre Carlile, whilst he march to a place called Rockley, and there passed the River Eden about 2 in the afternoon, milles below Carlile, and quartered that night in some Villeages to the westward, where Major Baggot brought him intelligence of his having gone so

by some of the militia and Carried to Newcastle. When upon the march about Six milles from Reading, L. G. Murray proposed to devide that Column and march the one half under his Command the near way to Brompton, the Chevalier to march with the other to Reading with this view that in case G^{ll} Wade had moved from Newcastle, of which we then could not be certain (the person sent for intelligence not being return'd), he might take up what ground Should be judged most proper till join'd by the whole, and his being there would make ye General advance with greater Caution, as he could not learn by his first intelligence whether it was the whole or a part of the army being to march in the night, and give out his numbers larger than they were, and that the whole would be there in ye morning, by which means he might gain time till joint by both Columns, but the Chevalier appeard unwilling to make four divisions of his little army, which in that case he must have done, his horse with the 2^d under the Command of D. of A. by the way of Moffat and Echelphechan being in two on his right, and now this detachment on his left was dividing his Strenth too much, and Should the Enemy be advancing before he could get all together, he might thereby give them occasion to beat him *en detail*, a thing which every good general ought to by all means to evite, so that it was determined not to Seperate till intelligence was had of the Enemys Motions.

¹ Haggiehaugh (now Larriston)—according to Maxwell. Cf. *Itinerary*.

² The Esk.

³ Reddings.

far as Carlile bridge, from whence he could see a good many people upon the walls, that they seemed very alert, and that they had no Sooner observed them upon the Bridge than they fired Some of their guns from the Castle, but without doing any execution.*

The next day being Saturday, the tenth, the whole army ^{10 Nov.} was formed upon a muir to the west of the Town, but the fog was so great that there was Scarcely a possibility of reconnoitring it to any purpose, however, about 2 in the afternoon, the Athole brigade with Cluneys regiment and Some others of the 2^d Column came to the ground, & immediately the Duke of Perth, Col^l O Sullivan, Coll^l Gachagan, with the engeneer and Some others, went within pistole Shot of the walls on that side, and into the Suburbs opposite to Penrith port, and after their return and their report made, it was determined to raise a battery a little to the north west of the Penrith gate.† The horse were ordered to quarter at —, the Chevalier, with some foot and the hussars, at Blakwel¹ and the rest of the troops in the other villages about, to form the Blocade.

The Chevalier having left the D.s of Perth and Atholl with his regiment and part of the athol brigade to open the trenches, repaired late in y^e Evening to his quarters, where he had not

* *N.B.*—To show how incredibly ignorant the Country people of England are, and industrious the freinds of the government were to impose upon their ignorance and credulity, in the little house where ye Chevalier was quartered after he had been for above an hour in the Room, some of the gentlemen who attended him heard a ruseling below the bed, and upon Searching they found a little girl of five or six years old. The mother comeing into the room to fetch something, seeing the Child discovered, called out for God's sake to Spare her Child, for She was the only remaining one of Seven she had bore. Upon which some of the gentlemen being currious to know what She meant, followed to the door and enquired what made her express herself in that manner. To which she answered that indeed She had been assured from Creditable people that the highlanders were a Savage Sett of people and eat all the young Children.

† But to leave no room for the Inhabitants to complain, he sent ye following letter to the Mayor.²

¹ Blacklehall.

² See Browne's *History*, vol. iii. p. 58.

been above an hour when he received intelligence that G^l. Wade was marching, or ready to march, from Newcastle, he immediatly sent orders to the Several Corps to be ready by day light in the morning to march for Brampton,* being determined to give him battle there, as being the best ground in that part of the Country.

It is almost impossible to describe the joy that was in every body's face upon the news of Wade's approach; the Chevalier him self expressed the utmost Satisfaction, as he was now likely soon to be able to execute the plan he had formed to himself at Ed^r by the reduction of Newcastle, which inevitably must have followed a victorey, and every common Solger was pleasd to think that they now had not taken that rout to Shunn him, but for reasons they could not comprehend. In Short nothing could equal their transport, but the mortification they had after two day's Stay there, to find that after M^r Wade had marchd so far as Hexam,¹ finding the roads so bad, and the fall of Snow so great, had retired to his old Camp.

13 Nov.

This agreable prospect being now vanish'd, the Chevalier determined not to be idle, and notwithstanding the Severity of the weather, he ordered Carlile to be besieged. Accordingly, on Wedensday the thirteenth the blockade was formed by one half of the Army under L. G. M., and the disposition left to himself, which he performed with so much judgement, that the few French officers then in the Army allow'd they had never seen any thing of the kind better executed, and regreted that a man possessed of so fine a natural genious for war Should not have been bred a Solger. The Duke of Perth was entrusted with the Seige, and opened the Trenches that night with his own Regiment, within musket Shot of the walls, midway betwixt the English and Scotts Gates, fixing his own quarters at milles, about Cannon Shot from the Town. The Trenches being opened under a very Smart fire from the walls of Cannon and small arms, the Cannon were brought up to batter the Town, more to intimidate than from any hopes that they could peep upon the walls,

* 7 milles on the road to Newcastle.

¹ Wade did not march till after Carlisle had fallen.

but the dread the inhabitants had of a Seige, together with the Cowardice of the militia, made them hang out a white flag the 14th in the Evening, which being carried to the Chevalier 14 Nov. at Brampton whilst sitting at Supper, he immediatly ordered M^r Murray to go to the Duke of Perth's quarters, and together with him to treat with the deputies from the Town.

The Mayor and another Gentleman of the Citty came according to their appointment, and agreed to surrender the Town upon the following conditions, their liberties and effects being safe, the militia who composed the garrison to have leave to retire to their homes, and the officers to have passports to go where thy would, and that all the Cannon and Arms Should be delivered up in the Condition they were in upon hanging out the flag of Truce, and that the mayor and some of the Aldermen Should go next morning to Brampton, and delivre the Keys to the Chevalier. The Castle they at first pretended they had no influence over, and the gentleman* who was deputed alongst with the Mayor pleaded very Strongly that the Castle might not be insisted upon that the Magestracy could by no means prevail with the Governour to Surrender, and that it would be very hard to make the Town suffer on that account. But D. of P. and M^r Murray were both sensible that it was only a fetch, and that the terror the Inhabitants were then in would prevail with the Governour, knowing at the same time that it was imposible to keep quiet possession of the Town the Castle in the Enemy's hands, and, above all, that it was inconsistant with the Chevalier's honour to accept of one without t'other, possitively insisted upon the Surrendry of both, and threatned that if they did not, they must give orders to fire upon the Town immediatly. So that after a good deal of reasoning on both Sides, it was agreed that the Castle Should be given up alongst with the Town. The same day, in persuance to the Capitulation, the Mayer, with some other of the Magistrates, came to Brompton and delivered the Keys to the Chevalier, which he returnd them, assuring y^m in a very obliging manner of his future favour and Protection, upon which they were dismissed, and returnd home. In the evening the D. of P. took

* One Douglas a Scotsman, Phisician in the place.

possession of the Town and Castle, Capitulation being sign'd by both parties, and the Governour, Col^l Durand, had his horses and baggage given him, with a passport to go where he pleased. Sir John Pennington, who Commanded in the Town, with the other officers, had likewise passports granted to go where they pleased. During both times y^t the Town was blockaded, notwithstanding the continual fire, there was but one man killed, a french officer, and a Solger Sleightly wounded.* In consequence of the Articles of Capitulation the arms of the Garrison was demanded, but not one of them to be found, the ammunition in y^e Castle very much damaged, and the balls thrown about the vaults, with the most of the Cannon upon the walls spicked up, notwithstanding that so impudent and audacious an infringement of the Capitulation entitled the Chevalier to use the Town as he Should think fit, and authorised him, according to the rules of war, to have put the garrison to the sword, yet he was so far from taking the

* Mr. Murray being appointed to treat with the Mayor of Carlile, had given umbrage to Lord George, who thought as having ye Command of the blockade that he and Duke of Perth were ye only proper persons to have been employ'd, or rather he alone, as it might be cause of Complaint that the other being R. Catholick, Should be principally employ'd in England where they were so obnoxious. Another reason y^t was ascribed for his seeming disgust was, that Mr. Murray the night he was sent to meet the deputation from the Town had Stopped at his quarters to procure a guide without sending any message or otherwise taking notice of him, tho it was obvious to every body that the reason was y^t he thought Mr. Murray had more of his Masters ear than he. The day the Town was Surrendered, in the Evening Mr. M. was told of L. G—s. complaints, and that they were cheifly against him as his advice was so much follow'd by the Chevalier. Upon which being determined that his interest with his master Should not in any Shape conduce to hurt or hinder his affairs, he uo Sooner was returnd to Brampton than he acquainted the Chevalier in presence of S^r Thomas Sherridan of what he had learnt, told him that as he hoped he was Sensible that he had Served him faithfully all along, and that his interest was the thing in life he had most at heart, he would now, to prevent all uneasynesses that might arise, be pleased to allow him in time comeing to absent him self from his Councils. The Chevalier at first seemd unwilling to grant his request, but upon M—ys representing to him that it was alone with a view to his interest, that he was ready to Sacrifice his own, and that it was Still in his power to advise in a private manner, he agreed y^t it Should be so, which seem'd to quiet L. G. a good

just advantage which he had in his power that he attributed the whole to their ignorance, protected them in the full enjoyment of their liberties and properties, made no exactions by way of reprisals, and kept the most exact discipline in his army, paying for every individual thing they got. The day after y^t Surrendery of the Town the Chevalier made his entery, and Continued there till the 20th, having his Army Cantoned in the Villages adjacent.

And now it may not be amiss to observe what had passed all this while at Newcastle, and what Methodes Mr Wade had taken to assist or Relieve the Town of Carlile, and how far the Town and Castle, if rightly managed, might have baffled all the Chevaliers efforts. It would [be] tedious to take notice of every false and Scurrilous allegation that has been thrown out against the Chevalier in regard to their exorbitant exactions of money in the Several Towns through which he passed, let it suffice here for once for all to say that the moneys said to have been levied at the different places, as well as here at Carlile, are without foundation, save the publick moneys due and such as shall be here mentioned, which at this place did not in whole amount to above £60 pound, and not much above one hundred in most of the other places, the Crown officers having taken Special care to be before hand with the army. Upon the eighteenth a Council of war was Called to determine of what was next to be done, and after some deliberation it was agreed on to march into Lancashire. Tho the Chevalier in all appearance had little reason to expect any

deal. But that was not all. He was resolved to have the Sole Command, and therefore represented how improper it was that the Duke of Perth, a R. C., Should have any Command in England, Setting furth ye bad consequences that might follow, with the handle it would give their Enemys to talk. In this he had L. Elcho and Some others to join him. The Duke of Perth, so soon as he heard it, was very justly dissatisfied, being sensible of the weakness of the plea and his view in it, but as he had nothing at heart but the Chevaliers interest he very readily declined having any Command, which compleated the dryness that had almost from the beginning Subsisted betwixt them. But what comforted the Duke and his freinds and gave them cause to triumph over tother was that durring the whole march there was Seldome any favour asked or application made by the people of the Country but to the Duke.

considerable assistance from his freinds there if held in the same light with those in Northumberland, where only two gentlemen joind him,* yet he was determined that they should not have it to say that it was owing to the difficulty of passing the militia in the Country, and that their people were unwilling to rise without some troops to make a head for them, and therefore fixed his departure for the 20th. To have laid there any longer would have been both idle and dangerous; idle, having no prospect of a junction from his freinds in those parts, and from the disposition that at that time seem'd to be formed by the Enemy, he must have been cooped up in that Corner by the Dukes army from the South. Mr Wade at Newcastle, and the 2 Regiments with the foot detached to Scotland on his left, so to prevent a junction of the D. and Mr Wades armies, his only proper methode was to march forward, that in case he came to action he might only have one army to deal with, whereas had they Continued till the D.s march north, who would have been joind by Mr Wade from Newcastle near to Carlile, he had only 3 things to choose upon—first to fight with an army more than 3 times his number, give then the Slip if possible, and march South where it was most certain nobody would join him, seeing such a powerfull army in his rear which he must one day have engaged, or lastly to have retired to Scotland where he must have encountered with Dreus¹ and Ligonier's Regiment of foot, the Glasgow, Paisley and Lothian militia & hamiltons, & the Late Gardners Dragoons who were Sufficient to Stop his passage over the firth till the D. and Mr Wade had comed up, besides, he must have had the whole horse of these armies harassing his rear the whole way on his march from Carlile.

The recruits that he expected from Scotland not being able to get up so soon as was expected, he detached M^clachlan of Castle Lachlan with a few horse to Perth to give them intelligence of his designs and to hasten their march to Carlile, either to favour a retreat if found Necessary, or to join him further in the Country. Should he find it convenient to Stop any time by the way, or enable him to engage Mr Wade with the greater Safety Should he cross the Country, to offer him

* Mr. Sanderson and Mr. Taylor.

¹ ? Price's, the 14th, now the West Yorkshire. Ligonier's became the 44th.

battle, at the same time he ordered detachments from some particular Corps to remain as a garrison in the place, and appointed Mr Hamilton Governor, leaving some two three old officers to assist and advise him.*

Having thus regulated his affairs he begun his march early on the 20th, which day the van of the army march to Penrith under the Command of L. G. Murray, and the day following, the Chevalier, with the main body and Artillery came to Penrith, and the van advanced that day to the village of Shap about Six Milles further, The Chevalier w^t the main body halted here all this day whilst the Van proceeded to Kendal, the roads being so full of Snow and Ice that it was necessary to give all possible rest to the horses. On the 23^d the main body march'd to Kendal, the foot by the hills and 23 Nov. the Artillery and horse by the low Road by Orton and there joind the van which had made a halt that day at Kendal. The day following being sunday, the Van proceeded to Lancaster and y^e Main body remaind at Kendal where Divine Service was performed in the Churches as usual and attended by all the people of Rank in the Ranks in the Army, R. Catholicks as well as Protestants. The Chevalier him self could not goe, there being no Church man of higher rank than the Curate then in the place.† On Monday the 25th the van continued their march 25 Nov. to Preston & the same Evening the Chevalier with the main body arrived at Lancaster about four a Clock. As Preston had

* N.B.—Some days before the Chevalier marchd from Carlile, he was joind by Mr. —, ¹ who had been sent to L. L—t and M^cLeod and brought back the most distinct answers from them both, having been present at most of their Consultations and agreements where to rendezvous and join their Clans to March South. We dont find that Mr. M. took the Smallest notice of the report this gentleman made, tho it is more than evident that had he told what he knew, the judgement given against his L. Ship would have allowed of less Cavil and dispute than it has done by people versant in the Lawe.

† A person, an inhabitant of the Town, was dispatch'd from hence a Cross ye Country with orders to go in to Mr. Wades army and bring intelligence of his motions, numbers, and Situation of his troops, and if possible to learn his design.

¹ See p. 216.

been twice an unfortunate place to the Scotts nation in the year 1648 and 1715, having Nether of the times got further than the Town its self, L. G. M—y than whom nobody knew the humours and dispositions of the Highlanders better, and that there were few if any of them ignorant of what their predecessors had Suffered, as a means to evade any Superstitious Scruples that might have arisen, continued his march to the further Side of Repple¹ bridge to convince them that the Town Should not be their *ne plus ultra* for a third time, which seemd to give them a good deal of Satisfaction.

26 Nov.

The 26th the main body arrived in the Evening at Preston where the Chevalier was mett by a great course of people and welcomed with the Loudest Shouts and acclamations of joy. L. G. with the Van evacuating the Town and quartering the Troops under his immediate Command in the Villeages on the South Side the Bridge. Next day the whole army halted, & the Chevalier mounted on horse back to take a veiw of the ground where the two former actions had happened, and after having been shown the dispositions that were made in the year 1715 here, and the passes to the town described as well as possible by some gentleman then in the Army who had been there made prisoners, he seem'd to think it Strange that so fair an occasion of fighting G^l. Wells had been lett Slip, or that they Should have deserted the Bridge and made so easy a Capitulation when the Town was Cappable of making so good a defense.

28 Nov.

Here he was join'd by the two unfortunate gentlemen Col^l Townley and Counseller Morgan, with one M^r Vaughan from Wales, and some few Common people, but no numbers as was expected. The 28th the whole Army marched to Wiggan, 14 mills from Preston, and quartered in the Town and Villages adjacent, and the next day continued their march to Manchester, where numbers were expected to have join'd. The next day, whilst the Chevalier halted, a good many of the Towns men enlisted, and it being thought necessary to leave the Choosing of the officers to them selves, the Chevalier made intimate to them that, which ever way they Should agree about their Several Ranks, he would confirm it by giving Commissions

¹ Ribble.

according to the list they Should give in, and they accordingly met at a Tavern * in Town and Condescend amongst them selves upon the following list of officers, which, when presented to the Chevalier, was approven of and the Commissions ishued accordingly.¹

Nothing could more fully demonstrate the terror and Consternation that this march had Struck the Govern^t with than the great care they had took to prevent the Sudden advance of the army by throwing all possible obstructions in their way. They had not only taken down an arch of the bridge at Warrington, least he had directed his march thither but broke down one of bridge across the river of Mersey, about 3 milles from Manchester, which, tho the Chevalier had no occasion to repair for his own passage, he nevertheless made it be refitted to oblige Mr Wade with a quick passage had he mind to follow him.

All this day the horse that were quartered at Stock- 30 Nov.
port and the other Villages near to the town kept patroles about the Country to find what intelligence they could of the preparations to the Southward, and some people, were dispatched to learn if Mr Wade seem'd inclined to march that way. The Chevalier got on horse back in the afternoon, and rode through the Town to view it by way of amusement, attended by the principle officers of his Army, when he was followed by vast Croweds of people with loud huzzas and all demonstrations possible of their zeal for his Success.

The next day, ye 1st of December, the whole army marched to Macclesfeild, where a Council of war was held that Evening, 1 Dec. and resolved that the main body of the army Should halt there next day, and that L. G. M. Should proceed with the Van to Congleton, about nine milles from Newcastle under line, where the whole horse of the D. of C——d's army lay. Before L. G. reach'd Congleton, he ordered a party of horse to advance through the Town and go as near to NewCastle as

* N.B.—Maddox, who was Evidence against Capt Townly, etc., perjured him self, Mr. M. never having been in a Tavern in Town, and Capt T. having received his Commission from the Chevalier himself.

¹ Murray does not give the list.

they might in case of an attack make their retreat to the foot, to get intelligence of the Enemy's Situation, who, upon coming to a small village about two three miles from Newcastle, and there enquiring the Situation and numbers of the Duke's troops, they accidentally Stumbled upon the house where Mr Weir, or Vere, who had acted the Spey, not only at Ed^r, but all the way upon the road, keeping a few miles before them. He was then agoing to Supper, and endeavour'd to concele himself, but was discoverd and brought to Lord G. at Congleton, who sent him immediatly to Macclesfeild. As this fellow had rendered himself so remarkable and obnoxious to the Chevalier, not only by his Speying at Ed^r and on the road, but whilst he was in france, of which he was convicted by a gentleman * in the army who he had met upon the Coast in the year 1743, durring the preparations at Dunkirk, and emparked to him his design, endeavouring to perswade him to go to france, and afterwards meet him at Newport to give him intelligence, for which he promised to reward him; yet so surprising was the Chevalier's humanity and good nature, that he would not inflict upon him the punish^t he so justly demerited, but only ordered him to be carried Prisoner alongst with the army to put it out of his power to do him any more hurt. It was a pitty that so humane an action Should have been followed by such fatal consequences as to have put it in the power of so vile a Creature to be a main Instrument in the Death of so many of his Servants.†

3 Dec.

On the 3^d the Van march'd to Ashburn, and the same day the main body march to Leeck, where Intelligence being brought that the Cavalrey at Newcastle, upon the Chevalier's approach, had retired to Stone, a Council of War was immediatly Called, and there determined that, as the Enemy had retired, the whole army Should put in motion Early in the morning and march to Derby, which they entered the next night, being y^e fourth.

* Mr. Buchannan.

† N.B.—Here the person sent to observe Mr. Wades motions joind the army and gave the following account; and the same day a fellow who had deserted from Mr. Wade at Newcastle, and had been left behind with some others att Carlile, gave the following account.

[*The end of the MS.*]